2.7.29

THE ROMANE HISTORIE

WRITTEN BY

T. LIVIUS of PADUA.

Alſo,

The Breviaries of L. FLORVS:

with a Chronology to the whole Hiſtorie;
and the Topography of *ROME* in old time.

Tranſated out of Latine into Engliſh, by PHILEMON HOLLAND, *Doctor in Phyſick.*

To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of *LIVY*,
(which was loſt.)

Lately written in Latine by

IOHN FREINSHEMIVS,

and now newly Tranſlated into Engliſh.

LONDON,
Printed by *W. Hunt*, for *Gabriel Bedell*, at the middle Temple Gate. 1659.

1278:12

To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Soveraign) by the grace of God, Queen of *England*
France, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

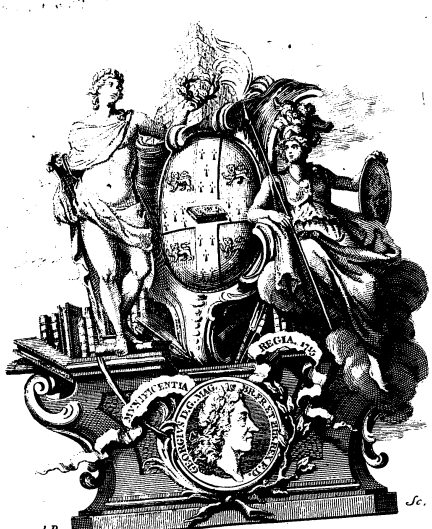
ALL my labour whatsoever, in translating another mans work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortall memory of your most sacred Majesty. In which profession) in regard of mine own imperfections, overventurous and overbold; as the first enterprise, right hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most Worthy and Powerfull Empress; Who is there so unsufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect, as of my self the meanest of many thousands, under all proportion: but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equall: no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second. Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royall person, the wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency shewed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare vertues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius who having arrived long since and conversed as a meer stranger in this your famous Iland, and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour to be ranged with other free denizens of that kind, so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegeance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, policy, vertue, valour, loyalty, and not otherwise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty always with his holy Angels, prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divine graces, maintain your Regall estate in all honour; bless the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble
and obedient subject,
Philemon Holland.



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Ad Anglicam Livianæ Hiſtoriæ verſionem, Interpretis Proſopopœa.

NAte (decem decies ſenſi faſtidia menſes,
Longa nimis; matri dum grave pondus eras)
Quid lucem refugis? (nocuit pudor iſte parenti)
Atria quid fugitas regia? ſiſte pedem.
Siſte pedem, audentes ſequitur fortuna; nec auſis
Excidere è magnis dedecus eſſe reor.
Horri dulum peperit ſi ruſtica Nympha; paternum
Te genus aut virtus nobilitare poteſt.
Nempe Decus Patavi genuit te Livius *ingens:*
Sume animum, tanto es quàm genitore ſatus.
Et, quæ fovit opemque tulit Lucina vocanti,
Εἰλείθυια *potens, dia Diana mihi;*
Hæc oculis, hæc te manibus refovebit aletque:
Audiet, ipſa leget, fauſtaque verba dabit.
Agnoſcet proprias, Princeps ter maxima, laudes;
Sive artes pacis, ſeu fera bella refers.
Quid ſi πυλυμαθὴς, quid ſi πολύγλωσσος & orbis
Mirandum Decus, hæc Elizabetha *tenet,*
Quæ tulit in Latium Patavinum, tranſtulit inde
Teutonus, Hetruſcus, Gallus, Iberus, Arabs?
At patrias mavult audire & reddere voces,
Quæ patriæ princeps, alma parensque ſuæ eſt.
(Scilicet ille Ithacus ſapiens optavit Ulyſſes
Vel fumum è patriis poſſe videre focis.)
Illius *aſpectu vitalis, numine tutus,*
Auſpiciis fœlix atque beatus eris.
Aulam ſive colas, ſeu Sacra, aut Caſtra ſequaris:
Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratus eris.
Sive togata legat gens ingenioſa, placebis:
Sive mage civilis turba frequenſque poli.
Aulicus, Antiſtes, Miles, prudenſque Senator,
Cauſidicus, Civis, fœmina, virgo, puer,
Hinc documenta petent: diſcet juvenisque ſenexque
Vir bonus, & patriæ commodus eſſe ſuæ.
Ergo macte animi; nec te gens Critica ladet:
Candidior, quo quis doctior, eſſe ſolet.

Σὺ δὲ χαρίζεσθε (τὰ γὰρ ὅς διωνὸς ἄριστος)
Τέκνον, σῇ πατρίδι σπουδαῖα πάντα καμοῦσ᾽
ὡς τόχα σοί τε χάρις, ἠμοὶ μέγα χάρμα γένοιτο·
Τῶν καὶ πόνος πάλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἔπλε.

TO THE READER.

TRue is that Axiome received from Philoſophy, Τῶν δὲ φθορὰν γένεσιν τοῦ ἑτέρου εἶναι. *i. The corruption of one thing is the generation of another.* Thus out of the aſhes and ruines of *Troy* ſprung the City of *Rome*: and by the woful fall of that one ſtate, aroſe not only the moſt glorious empire of the Romans, but alſo the beſt writer of their hiſtory, *Titus Livius*. For wheras after the fatal deſtruction of *Troy*, two principal men of name remained alive, *Æneas* and *Antenor*: the one with his fleet arriving in that coaſt of *Italy* where Tybre runneth, built *Lavinium*, and became the firſt father of the Romans, according to *Virgil* in the firſt Æneid:

——— *genus unde Latinum,*
Albanique patres, atque mœnia Romæ:

——— from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of ſtately *Rome*.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of *Padua*, the native place of *Livy* their hiſtoriographer; as the ſame Poet writeth a little after:

Hìc tamen ille urbem Patavi ſedéſque locavit
Teucrorum, &c. ———

Yet here the City *Padua* built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when *Troy* was loſt, who reſting ſeat did want.

And I wot not well, whither they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs, (whereof ſo much they boaſted) for *Æneas* the author of their beginning and admirable greatnes: than for this writer *Livy*, who commended their deeds to everlaſting fame. For from their very firſt riſing [even with *Æneas*] unto their ſenſible declining and decay, were not 1200 years compleat: but ſince *Livy* enchronicled their acts, ſixteen hundred are come and gone: yet continue they as freſh this day as at the firſt, and ſpred ſtil far and neer into all parts of the world. So much more durable and permanent are the memorials recorded by learned Hiſtorians, than either any Monarchy be it never ſo great, or all thoſe wonderful Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by moſt magnificent Kings, and mighty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This *T. Livius* then, was born at *Padua*, in the year 694 after the foundation of *Rome*, when *L. Furius* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer* were Conſuls. He flouriſhed

riſhed all the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and died in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. By which account, he lived full LXXVI. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at *Padua*, (where it is thought he died) with the pourtraict of his viſage: whereof the one is repreſented here, and the other immediatly before the beginning of the Hiſtory.

TITVS LIVIVS PATAVINVS,

Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum facta ſcripta ſunt.

TITE LIVY OF PADVA.

Who wrote long ſince with peer-leſs pen,
The acts of Romans, match-leſs men,

Other evidences there be concerning the ſame, which needleſs it were to call to witneſs: for no Epitaph nor inſcription either enchaſed in ſtone or cut in braſs, is there left, better than the monuments of his own writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the teſtimony of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Auguſtus*, he wrote the worthy deeds of the Romans, and continued the narration thereof, from the very foundation of the City of *Rome* unto the one and twentieth year of his Empire. A ſtory of 750 years, and a peece of work for the artificiall frame and elegant ſetting out, comparable to the beſt in that kind. My purpoſe is not here, to enter into a large field and Rhetorical diſcourſe of his praiſes in regard of any gifts of fortune wherewith he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativity, a City more ancient by 400 years than *Rome*; flouriſhing in martial puiſſance, able to ſet out and maintain 100000 fighting men for the wars; in ſtately port at home, having a nobility of 400 in number; in gorgeous and coſtly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Marchants thither; as alſo, that *Venice* was a Colony deducted and drawn from thence; and, which is not the leaſt, how at this day the famous Vniverſity there, affordeth excellent Profeſſors in all kind of learning: nor his happineſs and felicity to live and die with the glory and beauty of *Rome*, and not to behold with his eyes thoſe daies of her declining ſtate & deformity, which in great wiſdome he foreſaw in his ſpirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the ſpecial favour wherein he ſtood with his Prince *Auguſtus*, and *Livia* the Empreſs: much leſs then mean I to ſet forth the ſingular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and paſſing eloquence, which my pen is more able now to deſcribe and amplify to the worthineſs therof, than it was to imitate and expreſs the ſame in tranſlating of his ſtory. Moreover, if I ſhould ſet into his commendation, beſides that I muſt needs come far ſhort of his merit, the thing it ſelf would but renew the juſt grief, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maime and defect of that notable peece of work & uniform compoſition which he left unto poſterity. For having digeſted the whole hiſtory into an hundred and two and forty books, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well collecteth: like as alſo it is evident by the Breviaries of *L. Florus* the Epitomiſt, wherof we have 140, with an evident flaw and default of twain, to wit, the 136 and 137: ſee the partial injury of the time, the crooked and maligne deſtiny of the man! Books of far leſs moment and importance, yea, & thoſe of greater antiquity, have been ſpared & remain ſafe: but of that work of his, one fourth part hath not eſcaped the envy of fortune: and that which now is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious medling of ſome buſy *Ariſtarches* of late daies depraved, who with their correcting have corrupted; and in ſtead of reforming words, have deformed the natural ſenſe and primitive conſtruction. Where, by the way, I muſt advertiſe the Reader of that which *Pettus Crinitus* hath obſerved, even againſt the common opinion proved by thoſe who otherwiſe

are

are well learned, namely that our Author diſpenſed not this hiſtory into Decades: that is to ſay, ſuited and ſorted them not into ſeveral Tomes and Sections of ten books a peece. For *Priſcian* and other old Grammarians, when they cite any teſtimony out of *Livy*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade; and with him the above-named *Petrarch*, *Florus*, and *Politian* do agree. Now in theſe 35 books, ſo few as they be, preſerved as another Palladium out of a generall skare-fire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull eloquence of our writer in the whole; for the farther he proceedeth into a world, as it were, of matter, the more copious ſtill he floweth; and with ſuch variety, as that he never iterateth one thing twice; but at every change of new affairs, returneth alwaies freſh and gay, furniſhed with new deviſes, inventions, and phraſes; much like a ſecond *Antæus*, gathering greater ſtrength and more forces ſtill at every turn; or after the manner of a little hill, which iſſuing from a ſmall ſource, is maintained with freſh ſprings and new riverets; and haſting toward the vaſt Ocean, carrieth a deeper channell and broader ſtream. For the form of his ſtile, I refer the readers to the ſound and ſtaid judgment rather of *Quintilian*, who compareth him with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and the beſt Greeks; than to the fantaſticall conceits of ſome Criticks of our time, who ſeeking *nodum in ſcirpo*, have dreamed of I wot not what Patavinity in him. What ſhould I ſpeak of that Patheticall ſpirit of his in moving affections? But, that which moſt of all commendeth an hiſtory, which being *lux veritatis*, ought eſpecially to deliver with ſincerity the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without reſpect of face or perſon; to keep only to the ſubſtance and train of the ſubject argument; the due and orderly regard of the important circumſtances thereto belonging, without incerting extravagant and impertinent by-matters, much leſs than fabulous tales; therein he hath the prick and price above all others. For, neither forbeareth he to reprove (as occaſion is offered) the Romans, in whoſe favour he might be thought to have written; nor doubteth to praiſe the good parts and the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls he may ſeem to gall more bitterly upon a ſiniſter affection, glancing at them, as he doth, in many places for their greedy deſire of gold and idle ſloath, as not able to endure any long travell, and heat leaſt of all; yet ſo, as the French, now living, ſeem not much offended therewith; for above other Nations they have given him moſt friendly entertainment, and twice enfranchiſed him among them. I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principall point and vertue of an Hiſtoriographer, I mean the delivery of a ſimple truth in his narrations; for that I have obſerved in him throughout, that he hath been moſt modeſt in reporting from others by hearſay any thing that ſoundeth to an untruth; ſo little deſerveth he to be noted with the infamous brand of lier. The wary circumſpection of his in that behalf which I dare be bold to recommend unto the Reader, I propoſed unto my ſelf in making him Engliſh; endeavouring by conference eſpecially of the ſelect copies in Latine, yet not rejecting other tranſlations (ſuch as

I had ſome little skill in) to come as near as poſsibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author; making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reaſon and underſtanding, all other my wants and defects might ſooner be paſſed by and pardoned. A deſire I had to perform, in ſome ſort, that which is profitable to the moſt, namely, an engliſh Hiſtory of that C.W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affoordeth moſt plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wiſdome, pollicy, juſtice, valour, and all vertues whatſoever. According to this purpoſe and intent of mine I framed my pen, not to any affected phraſe, but a mean and popular ſtile. Wherein, if I have called again into uſe ſome old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the ſentence be not ſo conciſe, couched and knit together, as the originall, loath I was to be obſcure and dark; have I not engliſhed every word aptly? Each Nation hath ſeverall manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themſelves; have I varied in ſome places from the French or Italian? Cenſured I look to be, and haply reproved; but like as *Alcibiades* ſaid to one, πάταξον μὲν ἀκουσον, *i.e. Strike hardly* (*Euribiades*) *ſo you hear me ſpeak*; even ſo I ſay, Find fault and ſpare not; but withall, read the originall better before ye give ſentence. And howſoever I have faulted otherwiſe by overſight, ſet againſt it my affection and deſire to do ſome good whiles I live to my ſweet native country; add thereto the long travell that I have taken to teſtifie the ſame; and if that will not bring down the ballance, let the profit and delight both, which you ſhall find in the argument and diſcourſe of the hiſtory, counterpoiſe and overweigh my wants, more or leſs. And thus I recommend unto my countrimen *Livy* in engliſh habit; *Livy* (I ſay) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this day of forrain nations, I cannot eaſily determine. For like as then (by the teſtimony of S. *Hierom*, and *Pliny* in his Epiſtles) there repaired many great and noble perſonages from the fartheſt parts of *Spain* and *France*, only to ſee his face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence; even ſo of late time, his ſpirit (which yet liveth in his writings) hath made a voyage by *Florence* into the ſame *France* and *Spain*; and hath paſſed as far as into *Arabia* one way, and *Almain* another. In which diſſite and remote parts he hath found ſuch kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates; but alſo with the people in generall; that they ſeem to ſtrive no leſs (who may endow him with moſt ample franchiſes and free burgeoſie) than thoſe ſeven cities in old time who every one challenged to themſelves the birth of the Poet *Homer*. Since then, he hath thus long been deſirous to croſs the ſeas into this noble Iſland, not as a traveller to ſojourn for a time in the Court only or the Vniverſities, but to remain here ſtill both in City and country, and thereto hath learned our language indifferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the reſt.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF TITUS LIVIUS OF *PADUA*, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF *ROME*.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the First Book.

A *He comming of Æneas into* Italy, *and his acts there: the reign of* Ascanius *in* Alba: *of* Sylvius Æneas, *and so forth of other* Sylvii, *Kings thereof, are contained in the first Book.* *The daughter of* Numitor *with child by* Mars, Romulus *and* Remus *are born.* Amulius *killed,* The City *of* Rome *built by* Romulus. *The Senate by him chosen. He made war* Romulus 1.
with the Sabins. *He presented unto* Jupiter Feretrius *the royall spoiles of their King,*
whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into Centuries, vanquished the
Fidenates and Veientians, *and was canonized a god.* Numa Pompilius *taught the rites and ceremonies of* Numa Pompi-
sacrifice and divine service, erected a Temple to Janus, *and was the first that shut the doores thereof, after he* lius 2.
had made peace with all the Nations thereabout: and framing that he had secret company and conference by
night with the goddesse Ægeria, *won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion.* Tullus Hostilius Tullus Hostili-
B *warred upon the* Albans, *whereupon ensued the combate of the three brethren, twins on both sides.* Horatius us 3.
was acquit for killing his sister. The execution of Metius Suffetius. Alba *rased and destroyed. The* Albans
made free denizens of Rome, *and there dwelt. War denounced against the* Sabines. *Finally,* Tullus *was con-*
sumed with lightning. Ancus Martius *renewed the ceremonies by* Numa *first ordained. Unto the Latines, be-* Ancus Mar-
ing conquered and made Citizens of Rome, *he assigned the mount* Aventine *to inhabit. He won again by* tius 4.
force a town of the Latines called Politorium, *which the old Latines had surprised and possessed themselves*
of, and utterly destroyed it. He made the Sublician or wooden bridge over Tybris, *and adjoyned to the City*
the hill Janiculum. *He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built* Ostia, *and reigned three and thirty years.*
In the time of his raign, Lucumo *the son of* Demaratus *a Corinthian, removed from* Tarquins, *a City of* Tarquinius
C Tuscane, *and came to* Rome: *and there entring into amity with* Ancus, *began to bear the name of* Tarqui- Priscus 5.
nius, *and so to be called: and after the death of* Ancus *took the Kingdom upon him. He encreased the num-*
ber of the Senators by one hundred, subdued the Latines, appointed the Circus or Theater, set forth the pub-
like games and plaies: and being warred upon by the Sabines, he augmented the centuries of the horsemen.
And for to make proofe and triall of Accius Navius *the Augur his cunning, he demanded of him, as they*
say, whether that which he conceived in his mind were possible to be effected: and when he made answer, that
it was, he commanded him to cut a whetstone in two with a razor, which out of hand was by Accius *done.*
Moreover, he won the field of the Sabines, and defeated them, walled the City about, made the vaulted sinks
and when he had raigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the sons of Ancus. *There succeeded after* Servius Tullius 6.
him Servius Tullius, *the son of a Captive, a noble Lady of* Corniculum, *who being a child, and lying swad-*
led in the cradle, had a flame of fire (as the report goeth) burning about his head. He discomfited the Veien-
D tes *and* Tuscanes *in battell: He was the first that numbred the people of* Rome, *valued their goods and in-*
stituted the Lustrum every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbred eighty thousand Citi-
zens. He described the Classes and Centuries: set out further the bounds of the Pomerie, without and with-
in the City walls: and put to the City the hils Quirinalis, Viminalis, *and* Esquilinus. *He together with the*
Latines founded the Temple of Diana *in mount* Aventine, *and when he had raigned four and thirty years,*
he was, with the privity, and by the counsell of his daughter Tullia, *murdered by* L. Tarquinius, *the son of* Tarquinius
Priscus. *After him* L. Tarquinius Superbus *usurped the Kingdom, without the election either of the Se-* Superbus 7.
nators or the people. On which day Tullia (*most wicked and cursed wretch that she was*) *caused her Coach to*
be driven over the Corps of her father, lying dead on the ground. He had about him a troup of armed men
for the guard of his person. By a subtile wile he put to death Turnus Herdonius. *He had war with the*
E Volscians, *and of their spoiles edified a Temple to* Jupiter, *on the hill Capitoll where the god* Terminus *and*
goddesse Juventas, *agreed not to be displaced, whose altars could not be stirred nor removed, as the others. By*

the

the fraudulent practise of his son Sex. Tarquinius *he brought the* Gabians *to his obeysance. Unto his other* H *two sons, being gone to* Delphi, *and consulting there the Oracle, whether of them should be King of* Rome, *answer was made, That he should reign who first kissed his mother: which answer they interpreting wrong,* Junius Brutus, *who accompanied them in their voyage, made as though he caught a fall, and kissed the ground, the mother indeed of all: which proved true on his part, as it fell out in the end. For when as* Tarquinius Superbus *by his proud tyrannicall demeanour, had incurred the hatred of all men: he at last upon the forcible outrage and villany done by* Sex. Tarquinius (*his son*) *in the night season upon the body of* Lucretia: *who sending for her father* Tricipitinus, *and her husband* Collatinus, *besought them earnestly not to see her death unrevenged, and so with a knife killed her selfe: he, I say, by the means of* Brutus, *especially was driven and expelled out of* Rome, *when he had raigned five and twenty years. Then were the Consuls* I *first created,* Lu. Junius Brutus, *and* Lu. Tarquinius Collatinus.

The Preface of Titus Livius *to his whole Work.*

WHether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of *Rome*, from the first Foundation of the City, I shall perform a work of importance and worth my travail, neither wot I well, nor if I wist, dare I avouch: seeing it is a thing both old and usuall, that new Writers alwaies perswade themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certainty, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgo the rudenesse of elder time. How- K soever it fall out, this yet will do me good, that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to eternize the worthy deeds of that people which is the soveraign of the whole world. And if, among so many Writers, my fame chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort my selfe in this, That they who shall darken and shadow the same, are men so highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing it self is of infinite toile and labour, as counting and comprizing from above 700 years past, and which arising from small beginning hath proceeded and grown so great, as now the bigneſſe thereof is combrous to it self: and I doubt not, but the Readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those far-fetched Originals, or in the times next ensuing, for haste they make to these novelties of later daies, wherein the puissance of that so mighty people hath wrought long since their own downfall and overthrow. But I contrariwise will seek even this for L guerdon of my pains, namely, to turn away from beholding these calamities, which this our Age for many years hath seen, so long at least: whileſt I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirits in considering those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to withdraw my mind as I write from the truth, yet to make it pensive and heavy. As for such things as are reported, either before, or at the Foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets Fables, than grounded upon pure and faithfull Records, I mean neither to averr nor disprove. This leave and priviledge hath antiquity, by interlacing the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of Cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawfull for any people under heaven to consecrate and ascribe unto the gods their Originall, surely, such is the renowned martiall prowesse of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to M report Mars above the rest, to be the prime father both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can be content to live in subjection under them. But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have every man rather to think upon in good earneſt, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means, both in war and peace, their dominion was atchieved and enlarged. Afterward as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him mark how at the very first their behaviour and manners sunk withall: and how still they fell more and more to decay and ruin yea, and began soon after to tumble down right even untill these our daies, wherein we can neither endure our own sores, nor salves for the cure. For this is it that is so good and profitable in an history, when a man may see and behold, as in a conspicuous monument and lightsom memorial N the lively examples of all sorts, set up in open view for his instruction, whereout he may chuse for himself and his Country what to follow, as also learn how to eschew a foul enterprise, and avoid a shamefull end. But unleſſe I be deceived with the affectionate love of mine own commenced work, never was there Common-weal, either more mighty, more holy, and devout, better stored of good presidents, or into which covetousneſſe and exceſſe more lately crept, or wherein poverty and frugality were so greatly or so long time honoured, insomuch as the more they wanted, the leſſe they desired. Now of late daies wealth hath brought in avarice, abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot, luſt, and looſe life, to destroy and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull, banish we muſt (howsoever we do) at our first entrance of so weighty a matter: when as we rather should begin (if as the Poets use, it O were our manner also) with good presages and lucky foreſpeakings, with vows and prayers to gods and goddeſſes, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happy succeſſe to the enterprise of so great a Work.

The

The First Book OF TITUS LIVIUS.

AFIrst of all, this is generally held for certain, That the *Greeks*, after the winning of *Troy*, dealt cruelly with all the *Trojans*, save only *Æneas* and *Antenor*: to whom, as well in regard of the bond of mutuall entertainment, as also for that they ever perſwaded peace and the rendring again of *Helen*, they wholly forbare to shew any rigour at all, as by martiall right of war they might have done. And how *Antenor* afterwards, accompanied with a number of *Henetians*, who driven by civill discord out of *Paphlagonia*, and having loſt at *Troy* their King *Pylemenes*, were to seek both a reſting place, and a Captain to conduct them, arrived through many adventures and accidents of fortune, in the inmoſt gulf of B the Adriatick sea: and after they had expelled the *Euganians* that inhabited between the sea and the Alps, those Henetians together with the Trojans, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, called *Troy*, whereof the Territory and Seigniory thereabout was also named *Troy*, and the whole people in general called *Henetians*. Moreover, how *Æneas* upon like misfortune, having fled his countrey, yet aſpiring by the fatall direction of the deſtinies to greater affairs, came first into *Macedony*: and after into *Sicily*, seeking an abiding place: and sailing with a fleet from *Sicily* arrived at length, and landed in the countrey of *Laurentum*: which place likewiſe was termed *Troy*. Where the Trojans being set a shore, having after their long wandring nothing in a manner left them but ships and armour, as they forraged and drave booties out of the Countrey, King *Latinus* with the *Aborigines*, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike man- C ner out of town and countrey, to withstand the violent invaſion of theſe ſtrangers. But what befell thereupon, is two manner of waies reported. Some say, that *Latinus* being in a battell vanquiſhed, first made peace with *Æneas*, and after that allied himself to him by marriage. Others affirm, that as both armies ſtood ranged in battell array, before the trumpets ſounded the battell, *Latinus* came forth into the Vanguard, and called out the Generall of the ſtrangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their own home, and to what end they entred the Laurentine borders? After that he heard the company were Trojans, the Captain *Æneas*, ſon of *Venus* and *Anchiſes*, and that upon the burning of their City, they having forgone their countrey, ſought ſome place to abide and build them a City in: wondred much, not only at the nobleneſſe of the people and their leader, but also at their couragious hearts, reſolved either for war D or peace: whereupon, by giving his right hand he plight his troth, and faithfully promiſed them friendſhip and amity. So the two Generals made a League, and each hoſt saluted other. And *Æneas* was by *Latinus* entertained and lodged in the Court. Where *Latinus* ſolemnly in preſence of his familiar houſhold gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to *Æneas*, joyned private alliance to the former publike confederacy. Which thing truly put the Trojans in good hope and full aſſurance to end one day their wandring and ſlitting to and fro, and to ſettle themſelves in one certain place of abode. Hereupon, a Town they built, which *Æneas* of his wives name called *Lavinium*. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had iſſue a ſon: whom the parents named *Aſcanius*. But after all this, were both Trojans and Aborigines warred upon. For *Turnus* King of the Rutilians, unto whom *Lavinia*, before *Æneas* his coming, had been eſpouſed, taking it to heart that a ſtranger was E preferred before him, made war both upon *Æneas* and *Latinus*: but neither Army departed from the battell with joy and well appaid. For the Rutilians were vanquiſhed: the Aborigines and Trojans wan indeed the field, but loſt their Captain *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the Rutilians miſtrusting their own ſtrength, fled for ſuccour to the puiſſant and mighty Tuſcans, and to their King *Mezentius*, who keeping his Royall Court at *Cere*, a town in thoſe daies of great wealth, not well pleaſed even from the firſt beginning, with the foundation of a new City, and ſuppoſing the Trojans power was already much more encreaſed than might well ſtand with the ſafety of the borderers, joyned full willingly his forces with the Rutilians, *Æneas* to win the hearts of the Aborigines againſt ſo dreadfull and dangerous war, to the end they all ſhould not only live under one government, but alſo be all of one name, called both Nations Latines. And from that time forth were the Aborigines no- F thing inferiour to the Trojans in love and loyalty towards their Prince *Æneas*. *Æneas* alſo truſting confidently in the valiant and faithfull hearts of theſe two States, growing up daily more and more in mutuall amity, albeit *Hetruria* was ſo mighty, that the name thereof was renowned not only throughout the inland parts, but the ſea coaſts alſo, even from one end of *Italy* to the other, from the

Venetians at this day deſcended from *Henets*, a people of *Paphlagonia*, and the Trojans under the conduct of *Antenor*.

Æneas and the Trojans arrive in *Italy*. King *Latinus*.

Æneas eſpouſeth *Lavinia*.

Lavinium built. *Aſcanius* born. *Turnus*.

Latinus ſlain. *Mezentius*.

The Latines.

the Alpes to the narrow seas of *Sicily*: yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies and maintained a defensive war within his wals, he brought his Army forth into the open field. This was the second battell that the Latines fought, and the last deed that ever *Æneas*, whilest he was man, atchieved. And howsoever by right he ought to be named, he lieth interred upon the river *Numicius*, and *Jupiter Indiges* men him call. Now was not *Ascanius*, *Æneas* his son, ripe as yet for age to sway the Scepter. Howbeit the Royall Crown remained whole and safe for him, untill he came to fourteen years of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the Kingdom by grandsire and father descended, unto the childs behoof, under the government only of a woman, as Protectresse: of so vertuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame *Lavinia*. Doubtfull much I stand (for who can certainly avouch a thing so long ago?) whether this were that *Ascanius*, or one elder than he, who had to his mother *Creusa*, whilest *Ilium* flourished, and who fled with his father from thence, and from whom being named also *Julus*, the house and family of the *Julii* do fetch their name and pedigree. That same *Ascanius*, whersoever, or of whomsoever he was born; (but *Æneas* his son of a truth he was) when *Lavinium* grew exceeding populous, left that City now flourishing and wealthy (as the world went then) unto his mother or stepmother, I wot not whether. He himself built another out of the ground under the mountain *Albes*, which of the situation thereof, stretching out in length on the side of the hill, was named *Long Alba*. Between the building of *Lavinium* and *Long Alba*, which became an under-town or Colony drawn out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirty years. But so mighty grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the Tuscans, that neither upon the death of *Æneas*, nor during the time of a woman as government, nor all the while that the young Prince learned to be a King, durst either *Mezentius*, or the Tuscans, or any other of the borderers once stir or rise in arms. But peace was concluded upon these termes, That the river *Albula*, which now they call *Tyberis*, should divide the Tuscans from the Latines, and limit to either of them their own bounds. After this raigned *Sylvius*, the son of *Ascanius*, born by chance within the forrests: who begat *Æneas Sylvius*, and he had issue *Latinus Sylvius*, by whom were certain Colonies or petty Townships erected, and the inhabitants named *Prisci Latini*. And from thenceforth all the Kings of *Alba* continued the name of *Sylvius*. This *Latinus* begat *Alba*, of *Alba* came *Atys*, *Atys* begat *Capis*, and of *Capis* descended *Capetus*; whose son *Tiberinus* in ferrying over the river *Albula* was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posterity. Next unto him raigned *Agrippa* his son, and after him succeeded *Romulus Sylvius* in his fathers Kingdom, who being stricken dead with a thunderbolt, left the Crown to *Aventinus*. This *Aventinus* was buried in that hill, which now is part of the City of *Rome*, and beareth his name. Then raigned *Procas*, who had two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. And unto *Numitor*, because he was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the ancient Kingdom of the Sylvians line. Howbeit, might prevailed more than either the will of the father, or the reverend regard of elder brother. For *Amulius* having driven out *Numitor*, raigneth himselfe: and not herewith content, heapeth one mischief upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making *Rhea Sylvia* his brothers daughter a Vestall Nun, and that under colour of honour and dignity, by perpetuall vowed virginity, he bereft her of all hope of child-bearing. But it was a fatall thing, and (as I think) which God would have, that so great a City should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mighty. For behold, the Vestall Virgin was by force deflowred, and after delivered of two twins: and were it that she thought so in very deed, or because the name and credit of a god might carry away and cloake the fault more clearly, she fathered her bastard children upon *Mars*. But neither god nor man was able to save her self or her children from the Kings cruelty. For the Votary was committed to close prison, and there kept bound in irons: as for the babes he commanded they should be cast into the stream of the river. But (as God would) by good hap the *Tyber* overflowed the banks, and the standing waters on either side was nothing rough, yet so, as there was no coming to the deep current or channell of the very river: and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in any place of the water, were it never so still and low. So to fulfill after a sort the Kings commandement, they laid the children in the next plash they came to: even where as now standeth the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, called, as they say, *Romularis*: but all that ground then was nothing but waste deserts, and a very wildernesse. The report yet goeth, that when the ebbe and shallow water was gone, and had left on dry ground the floating trough or vessell, wherein the babes were put forth, a she-Wolf from out of the mountains thereby, being athirst, turned towards the childrens cry, and with her pendant teats so gently gave the infants suck, that *Faustulus* the head Reeve and overseer of the Kings Cattell found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestall, and gave them to his wife *Laurentia* to be fostered. There be that think, that *Laurentia* being a common strumpet among these heardmen and shepherds, was usually called *Lupa*. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they born and so brought up. And as soon as they grew once to some bigger, it was no boot to keep them within doores, nor to set them idly to tend the cattell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the forrest: whereby having gotten strength of body, and courage withall, they were able now not only to withstand the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high-waies side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoile them thereof, yea, and divide the prey among the shepherds, and as the number of younkers dayly encreased with them to keep holidaies, to make merry, and follow their disports. And even in those daies

The death and sepulture of *Æneas Jupiter Indiges.*

The wise government of *Lavinia*, Queen Mother, *Iulus* or *Ascanius*.

The family of the *Iulii*.

Long Alba built by *Ascanius*.

The Kingdom of *Alba*.

Albula or *Tybris*.

Latinus Sylvius.

Tiberinus.

Aventinus.

Procas.

Numitor and *Amulius*.

Rhea Sylvia.

Romulus and *Remus* born.

Romulus and *Remus* miraculously saved.

Faustulus.

Laurentia.

daies (as men say) was the festivall pastime *Lupercal*, used in mount *Palatine*, which of *Palanteum*, a City in *Arcadia*, was first called *Pelantium*, and after *Palatine*, wherein *Evander*, who descended from the Arcadians, long before reigned in that country, and ordained a solemn game and recreation yearly to be held, as aforetime in *Arcadia*, in this manner: that young men in the honor of *Pan Lycæus*, whom the Romans after called *Inuus*, should loosely and wantonly run naked. Now whilest they were busily occupied in this kind of sport, which by vow yearly they performed; there lay in ambush the robbers aforesaid, in revenge and for anger of the prizes which they had lost: Where *Romulus* manfully quit himself, but *Remus* they took prisoner: and being thus taken, they brought him before King *Amulius*, accusing him grievously, and laying especially to his charge, that he with others invaded and made rodes into *Numitor* his Land, and with a power of lusty youths, assembled in warlike sort, had forraged and spoiled the same. Thus was *Remus* delivered unto *Numitor* to be put to death. Now had *Faustulus* even since the first day conceived some hope, that there were in his house sotter children of royal bloud: For well he wist, that both by the Kings commandment the babes were cast forth to perish, and also that the time when he took them up fell out fitly therunto: mary this would he in no wise should be known in haste, and before due time; unlesse it were either upon good occasion or great necessity. Necessity hapned first: and so for very fear he was driven to reveal the whole matter to *Romulus*. It hapned also, that *Numitor* himself having *Remus* in durance, and hearing they were brethren twins, by comparing their age, and viewing withall their very countenance and towardnes proceeding from no servile and base parentage, bethought himself of his sisters children: and by farther enquiry and computation came so far, as he seemed well-neare to acknowledge *Remus* for his nephew. Thus on all hands were means wrought to circumvent and surprize King *Amulius*. For *Romulus* on the one side not accompanied with a troup of tall fellows, for he was not able in open fight to make his part good: but giving the herdmen his assistants, in charge to come at a time appointed, some one way, and some another, to the Kings Palace, he set upon the King. On the other side, *Remus* with another crue from *Numitor* his house, came to second him: and so they slew the King. *Numitor* at the first uprore giving out eftsoons, that the enemies had entred the City, and assailed the Kings Palace, and thereupon having called the youth of *Alba* into the Citadell, to keep it by force with a good guard, and espying the two young men after the murder done, comming towards him with joy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared openly before them all, the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his Nephews, the manner of their birth and bringing up, and how they came to be known: after that, he reported the murder of the Tyrant, and took it upon himself as the author thereof. The two young men passing with their companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandsire King, whereat the whole multitude also with one accord and voice ratified the same: so was his royall name and estate by them established. Thus was the whole Regiment or Kingdom of the Albans committed to *Numitor*. Then *Romulus* and *Remus* had a great desire to found themselves a City in the very place where they had been cast forth and fostered. Now were there of Albans and Latines both, very many that might be spared: besides, a number of herdmen: who all set together, put the ningood hope, that *Alba* and *Lavinium* too, would be but small Cities in comparison of that which now was a building. Whilest they were devising of these things, an old canker came between to mar all, even desire of rule and soveraignty, the same which had trombled their grandsires before them: and thereupon a foule fray, which arose from a small and slight occasion. Forasmuch as they were both twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yeeld no choice and difference, it was thought good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Augury or flight of birds declare and shew whether of the twain should both name the City, and also rule the same. *Romulus* chose the mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* the *Aventine*, for their temples or religious quarters, to mark the bird-flight, and each one apart to receive their Augury. First (as they say) had *Remus* appearing in flight six vultures or gripes: and as tidings came unto him of this Augury, it happened that the number unto *Romulus* was presented double: whereupon they were both of them by their assistants and favorites saluted Kings. The one side took the vantage of the time: the other of the number, for the prerogative of the Kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from chollerick words to blows and bloudshed: in which stir and presse of the people, *Remus* was wounded and slain in the place. The more common report goeth, that *Remus* in scorn of his brother, leapt over the new walls: whereupon *Romulus* in great choler slue his brother with his own hands, and in menacing wise, added these words withall, So perish he, whatever else he be, that shall once dare to leap over my walls. Thus *Romulus* alone became King, and the City new built, of the founders name was called *Rome*. Wherein first he fortified mount *Palatine*, in which he was himself reared. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and custome of the Albans: only to *Hercules* after the manner of the Greeks, according to the first institution of *Evander*. For the fame goeth, that *Hercules* upon a time, after he had slain *Geryon*, drave that way exceeding fair Oxen, and near the River *Tybris*, where he had sworn over with his drove afore him, laid him down in a fair green meadow, as well to refresh himself, being weary of his way, as also to rest and bait his cattell in so plentifull grasse and forrage. There, falleth he into a found sleep, as having well charged himself with wine and viands: and one *Cacus* a shepherd dwelling thereby, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength, being greatly in love with the fairnes of the beasts, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that booty: but for that if he had

Lupercal, *Evander*.

Pan Lycæus or *Inuus*.

Remus taken prisoner.

Amulius the usurper slain.

Numitor King of *Alba*. Theft and detention of *Rome*.

Difference between brethren for soveraignty.

Augury.

Remus slain.

Romulus King of *Rome*.

The story of Table of *Hercules* and *Cacus*.

had driven the beasts into his own cave, the very tracks would have led the owner of them thither, H
he drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tails into his hole. *Hercules* early in
the morning when he awoke, and beheld his drove, and missed some of his count, went on towards
the next cave, if haply their footing would traine him thither: But seeing all traces fromwards, and
leading no other way; as one troubled in spirit, and doubtfull what to do, he began to drive farther
out of that theevish and dangerous corner. But as some of the Oxen in driving, missed their fellows
behind and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: *Hercules* chanced to heare them low
again, and answer from out of the cave wherein they had been bestowed: whereat he turned back,
and made haste thither. But as *Cacus* forcibly made head against him, and would have kept him from
entrance. *Hercules* smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other herdmen for help, slew I
him outright. At the same time *Evander*, who fled out of *Peloponnesus*, governed that Countrey, ra-
Evander the inventer of Latine letters Carmenta mother of Evander. ther by a kind of countenance and authority, than by force and Lordly command. A man much ho-
nored for his wonderfull invention of Letters, a strange and rare thing among those rude and unlear-
ned sort: but more honored for the opinion that the people had of his mother *Carmenta*, reputed
to be a goddesse, whom for her spirit of prophesie, those countries, before that *Sybilla* came into *Ita-
ly*, had in great reverence and admiration. This *Evander* being raised with the concourse of the shep-
herds, affrighted about the stranger, guilty of manifest murder, and hearing of the fact committed,
and the occasion thereof: viewing well therewith the person of the man, his feature and favour,
more stately a good deal, and carrying a greater Majesty than the ordinary proportion of men; de-
mandeth of him who he was. And as soon as he understood his name, his father, and native Coun- K
try: *O Hercules* (quoth he) the son of *Jupiter*, All hail: my mother a most true Propheteſs hath fore-
shewed unto me, that thou shalt encrease the number of heavenly wights, and that in this place an
Altar shall be reared and dedicated unto thee, which the most mighty and richest nation one day of
Ara Maxima dedicated to Hercules. the world shall name *Maxima*, and honour according to the ceremonies by thee ordained. In a good
hour be it spoken (quoth *Hercules*) and the presage I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faith-
fully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected straightwaies and consecrated an Al-
tar in the place. There and then first, he sacrificed one of the faireſt Oxen, chosen out of the whole
Potitii and Pinarii, drove, calling to the ministry of that divine service and feast, the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*, two most noble
houses at that time in those parts. It hapned so, by chance, that the *Potitii* were ready at hand in due
time, and the inwards or intrals were set before them: which being eaten, the *Pinarii* came to the L
good cheer behind: whereupon the custome held that so long as the family of the *Pinarii* continued
they might not feed of the sacred inwards. But the *Potitii*, instructed by *Evander*, became the Priests
of that holy sacrifice many ages after: untill the solemn service and ministery of this family was put
over to publike servants, and the whole stock of the *Potitii* utterly worn out and dead. These were
Romulus ma-keth Lawes. the only fountain sacrifices of all other, that *Romulus* received and admitted, being even then a fur-
therer and maintainer of immortality, by his own prowesse atchieved, and whereunto his fortune
conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods,
he assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by Laws be
united together into one body and society of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministred justice un-
to them. And supposing that those Laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and M
rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himself by some regall ensigns venerable: he carried with
Royall robes. him a greater port and Majesty, not only in his robes and princely habit, but most of all in the at-
Lictores. tendance of twelve Officers and Sergeants, called *Lictores*, whom he caused to go ordinarily before
his person. Some think he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augury did foreshew
and prognosticate his raign: I rather am of their opinion, who think that Sergeants at Arms, and
this kind of Officers came from the Tuscans their neighbours, from whence also the Ivory chair
Chair of estate, called *Sella curulis.* The purple robe, called, *Toga pretexta.* of estate, called *Sella curulis*, and the Royall purple robe embroidered, named *Toga pretexta*, was
fetched, as also the very number of Serjeants or Lictors. For that the Tuscans had this manner,
when they chose their King by the common voices of their twelve principall States, each one found
a Sergeant. All this while grew the City more and more to be fortified with Ramparts and Bul- N
warks, as men still built in sundry places where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide ra-
ther for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then
peopled. Furthermore, lest that the City, so large in compasse, should stand void and vacant, *Ro-
mulus* for to encrease the number of the inhabitants (according to the old practise of the founders
of Cities, who by gathering about them the base multitude and obscure, feigned that they were an
The Asylum first erected. off-spring born out of the earth) set up a Sanctuary, or lawlesse Church, called *Asylum*, in that place
which at this day between the two groves, is enclosed and fenced round about with thick briers and
bramb'es. Thither resorted (as to a place of refuge) out of the neighbour Countries, a rabble and con-
fused medley of all sorts, tag and rag, bond and free, one with another; folk desirous of change and
novelty. O
The institution of a Senate So began first the City according to the plot of large buildings, to be well peopled and grow migh-
ty. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought then upon a Councell and policy to his
power. And so created a hundred Senators: either because that number seemed great enough,
or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to be elected counsellors or
Patres, Patritii. (wise) fathers. These men certainly for honor and dignity were called *Patres* or Sage fathers:
and their lineall descent *Patritii* or Nobles. Now by this time was the State of *Rome* so mighty and
puissant,

A puissant, that it was able in fight to match any City neer adjoining whatsoever. But for default of
woman kind, this puissance was to endure but the age of one man: for neither had they hope of is-
sue among themselves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbors abroad. Whereupon
Romulus by the advise of his Senators, sent Embassadors to the countries thereabout, to treat for
society and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alledging that Cities also, as well as
The Embassage of Romulus, treating for marriage. other things, arose of base beginnings, and in proceſs of time by their own prowesse, and help of
God withal, grow to great power and reputation: "Whereas therefore they were full well assured,
"that as the gods were gracious to their first uprising, so their own vertue and valor should not be
"wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common humanity, and as they were men, think
B "much and disdain to join in blood and kinred with them, being also men as well as they. How-
beit, this embassage in no place had gentle audience and courteous entertainment. For they all in
general despised them, and were in fear for themselves and their posterity, by reason of so mighty a
state, encreasing in the midst of them, and under their very noses. And from the most of them the
Embassadors were dismissed and sent away, with skirts this frump and demand, Whether they had
set up a Sanctuary or lawless place for women too? For that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed
to sort together. This took the youth of *Rome* in great displeasure, and doubtlesse the quarrel grew
like to be tried by knocks. But *Romulus* dissembling his inward heart-burning, to the end he might
find time and place meet for the purpole, prepareth to set forth certain solemn playes and games,
which he nameth *Consualia*, to the honor of *Neptune Equestris*. Hereupon he commanded to pro-
The games Consualia. C claime these games all over the country adjoining; and with as great preparation and furniture, as in
in those days either their skill or ability might afford, they celebrate the same, and all to make the
shew more goodly, and worthy so great expectation. Thither resorted many a one, desirous also
to see this new City, but their next neighbours especially of *Cenina*, *Crustuminum*, and *Antemnæ*:
The whole multitude of Sabins likewise came with their wives and children. Who being friendly
invited to their houses from one to another, and courteously entertained: when they beheld the
situation of the City, the strong walls and fair buildings, so thick standing, wondred how in so short
a space the City of *Rome* was grown so great. Now when the time of this solemn sight was come,
and that their minds were buried, and their eyes bent thereon; then at once, as it was agreed be-
The Sabin maidens ravished. fore, there arose an uproar. And the youth of *Rome* upon a token and watch-word given, fell on e-
D very side to carry away the Sabin Maidens. A great many of them were ravished by hap hazzard, as
they did light upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other some more beautiful then
the rest, were appointed for the chief of the Senators, and by certain of the Commons, as they had
given them in charge, conveyed home to their houses. But one passing fair and lovely above all o-
thers, was hurried by the company or crue of one *Talassius* (they say) and when as any asked to
whom they carried her, they ever cried out (forfear she should be forced or deflowred) *Thalassio*, *Thalassio.*
i.e. Unto *Thalassius*. Whereupon *Thalassio* became a common by-word at Weddings ever after.
Thus their sport and pastime upon this fit and fright, was marred, and the Parents of the Virgins
fled away with heavy cheer, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hospitality:
and calling upon the god for vengeance, to whose festival games they being come, were under colour
E of religion and truth, beguiled. The Damsels likewise that were ravished, conceived neither better
hope of themselves, nor less indignation against them. But *Romulus* himself in person went from
Romulus his speech to the Sabin maidens ravished. one to another, declaring, "That their fathers pride, who denied their neighbors marriage was the
"cause of all this, promising nevertheless that they should be linked in lawful wedlock, made par-
"takers of all worldly goods, obtain the freedom of a City, and (then, which nothing is more deer to
"mankind) enjoy the blessing of children: exhorting them to appease their anger, and quiet them-
"selves, and to give them their hearts, whose hap it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes up-
"on wrong and injury there groweth love and reconciliation. Alledging moreover, that they should
"find their spouses so much more loving and kind, as every one of them for his part would endea-
"vour, after they had in their turn and course fulfilled the duty to them of good husbands, for to
F "make amends, and supply the miss they have of father, mother, and native countrey. Their hus-
bands with al used fair speeches, and flattering words, excusing the matter, and laying all the weight
upon fervent affection and pure love: which kind of perswasion of all other, prevaileth most with
womens nature. Thus were the ravished young Wives in some sort quieted in mind, and held them-
selves well contented. But their fathers then most of all arayed in mourning weed, with tears and
heavy complaints, stirred up the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained they their mood with-
in home, but assembled themselves from all parts unto *Tatius* the King of the Sabins: and to him re- *Tatius King of the Sabins.*
paired their Embassages, for that the name of *Tatius* was highly renowned in those countries. They
of *Cenina*, *Crustuminum*, and *Antemnæ*, who were partly touched and grieved for that wrong done,
thought that *Tatius* and the Sabins dealt but coldly in the action, and went but slowly about re-
G venge. These three nations therefore banded themselves, and agreed to prepare for war. But so
sharp set were the Ceninians that the men of *Crustuminum* and *Antemnæ*, bestirred not themselves
quick enough for them. So they of *Cenina* entred alone by force of arms the Territories of the Ro-
mans. As they wasted and spoiled without order and measure, *Romulus* met them with an army,
and in one small skirmish made proof, how Mood without Might is vain and bootless. For he dis- *The Ceninians defeated. Their King slain.*
comfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase their whole host, slew their King in battel, and him de-
spoiled: and having slain their General, at the first assault he won the town: and after he had from
thence

thence brought back his army with conquest and victory, as a man no less desirous to shew his no- H ble acts with glory, then to atchieve the fame by prowess, he bare afore him on high as a pompous Pageant in a frame fitly for the purpose wrought, the spoile and armor of his enemies Captain, by himself slain: and so ascended up to the Capitol Hill, where laying them downat the Oak which the shepherds had in great reverence, he consecrated them as a present to *Jupiter*: and set out withal, the foundation and bounds of a Temple unto him: giving moreover this addition and title to the god, and saying solemnly: "O *Jupiter Feretrius*, I King *Romulus* upon my victory, present un- "to thee this armor of a King, and within this compass of ground, which even now I have con- "ceived and assigned, I dedicate a Temple, to receive those rich and royal spoils, which the po- "sterity, following mine example, shall bear away from the Kings and Captains general of their I "enemies, whom they shall happen hereafter to kill. This is the very beginning of that Temple, which first of all other was in *Rome* consecrated. And so it pleased God, that neither the first founders words were spoken in vain, whereby he foretold and pronounced, that his posterity should bring their spoils thither: nor his glory made vulgar and common to many co-partners with him in the like exploit and glorious present. For after him, in so many years, and after so many wars, two royal spoils only were won of the enemies. So rare was the happiness of honor in that behalf. By *Carvil. Cossus.* and *M. Marcellus.* Whilst the Romans were thus employed about *Cenina*, the army of the *Antemnates*, taking the vantage of time and of the Romans absence from home, and seeing their frontiers without a guard, with a power of armed men entred the confines of *Rome*. Against whom also the Roman Legion made head in all haste, and finding them scattered out of order in the fields, charged upon them. By reason K whereof, at the very first shock and shout made discomfited were the enemies and their town surprized. As *Romulus* returned with triumph and joy for these two victories, his Wife *Hersilia*, at the importunate suit of the Wives that had been ravished, earnestly besought him to pardon their "fathers, and receive them into his City: for so by concord and unity the Weale-publick, and the "good estate of his Kingdom might flourish and grow mighty. This suit was gently heard, and soon obtained. After this, he set forth against the Cruituminians that began to war upon him: with whom he had the less ado, for that their courages were well abated already by the overthrows of others. To both these places as unto Colonies, were new inhabitants sent. But the greater number were desirous to enter their names, and to plant themselves at *Crustuminum*, for the fertility of the soil. And many likewise removed from thence to *Rome*, the parents especially and kinsfolk of L the ravished women. Last of all, the Sabins warred far more sharply and dangerously then the rest, for nothing did they either in fury and rage, or for covetous desire of spoil. Neither made they talk and shew of war, before they warred indeed and were seen in field. And besides this their considerate policy, they dealt also with craft and subtilty. For whereas one *Sp. Tarpeius* had the charge of the Castle in *Rome*, his daughter a young maiden, *Tatius* with a sum of money corrupted and procured at what time as she went to fetch water without the walls for sacrifice, to receive armed souldiers into the fortress. But so soon as they were let in, they with their armor smothered and killed her: either for that thereby it might be thought the Castle was won by force: or because they would make her an example to posterity, that no Traitor should ever think to escape unpunished. But hereto belongeth a tale, namely, that the Sabins used commonly on their left arms to wear M bracelets of massie and weighty gold, and fair rings besides on their fingers, set with precious stones of great value: and that she covenanted and agreed with them to have that which they wear on their left hands, whereupon she had their targets in stead of those golden ornaments, heaped upon her. Others say, that upon agreement and covenant made to deliver that which was on their left hands, she demanded their armor and because she seemed to deal deceitfully, she was overtaken therewith and perished by receiving a reward of her own chusing. However it was, the Sabins were possessed of the Castle. From whence the morrow after (when as the Romans army well appointed in battel ray, had taken up and overspread the whole plain that lieth from mount *Palatine* to the hil Capitol) they would not come down on even ground before that the Romans partly nettled with anger, and partly pricked with an hot desire to recover the Castle again, began with their N great disadvantage to climb against the hill. Whereupon the Captains on both sides joined battel. *Metius Curtius* for the Sabins. *Hostius Hostilius* for the Romans: who albeit he was on the lower ground, yet in the forefront most courageously and stoutly underwent the brunt of the conflict. But so soon as he was stricken down and slain, incontinently the Romans retired and gave ground: and thus discomfited fled backward to the old gate of *Palatium*. *Romulus* himself also, born back with the press and throng of those that fled, lift up his weapons on high towards heaven, and cried out saying: "O *Jupiter*, I *Romulus* by thy direction guided and ruled, have here in this mount *Pala-* "*tine* laid the foundation of this City: and now already have the Sabins by corruption and treache- "ry got the Citadel and fortress thereof: from whence they having passed the midst of the vale be- "tween, make hither in haste with force of arms: But thou O father of gods and men, vouchsafe O "yet from hence at least wise to repulse the enemies, deliver the Romans from this so great fear, and "stay their shameful flight. And here to thee O *Jupiter Stator* I vow a Temple, for a memorial to "all posterity, that by thy present help this City was saved and preserved. Thus having once prayed, as if he had known for certain that his prayers were heard. Even here (quoth he) O ye Romans doth *Jupiter Opt. Max.* i. the best and greatest of all the gods command you to stay and begin the battel afresh. Herewith the Romans, no less then if they had been commanded from heaven above, made

Romulus presenteth unto *Jupiter Feretrius* the spoil of the king of the Ceninians.

Colonies of the Romans first planted.

The Sabins make war.

The Castle of *Rome* betrayed to the Sabins.

A cruel battel between Romans and Sabins. *Metius Curtius. Hostius Hostilius.*

The prayer of *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator.*

A made a stand. And *Romulus* in person hyed him with all speed to the formost in the vanguard. Now was *Metius Curtius*, principal leader of the Sabins, run down from the Castle, and had scattered and chased the Romans back as far as the *Forum* or common place of *Rome* at this day reacheth in length: and being come within a little of the gate of *Palatium*, he lift up his voice and cried aloud: "Vanquisht we have these faithless friends, and heartless foes: and now know they well, it is one "thing to ravish maidens, and a far other thing to fight with men. In this sort, as he braved it out, *Romulus* with a troop of lusty young men, made head against him. *Metius* haply at that time fought on Horseback, whereby he was forced the sooner to recule, and the Romans made after and pursued him. The other battel of the Romans in like manner, being much encouraged with the valour B of their King, discomfited the Sabins. *Metius* with his horse under him, affrighted at the noise of them that ran after, leapt into a marish or bog thereby. Which accident, considering the danger of so great a person, made the Sabins to look back to him. And he verily taking heart again at the calling and encouragement of many of his favourites, escaped. But the Romans and Sabins both, in the middle valley between the two hills, renew the battel again: where the Romans got the better hand. Then the Sabine Dames, for whose wrongful usage all this war arose, with their hair hanging loose about their shoulders, and renting their garments, for very grief and sorrow part all fear, ventured to run amongst the javelins and darts as they flew: and thus having thrust themselves violently overthwart between them, began to part these bloody armies, and to end their deadly feud: Be- seeching their own fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they being fathers C and sons in law, would not embrew themselves with so unkind and unnatural bloodshed, nor as parricides, murder the young ones newly born, some their grand-children, and others their own heirs of their body begotten. "If ye our fathers, think much (say they) of the affinity between our hus- "bands and you, or if ye our husbands are displeased with our marriage, bend all your anger and "malice against us: we are the cause of this war, we are the cause of wounding and killing both "husband and father: yet will we rather die, then live either Orphans without the one, or Widows "without the other. This thing moved as well the multitude of Souldiers, as also the Captains; and presently of a sudden all was husht, and the fight ceased. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a League. Neither made they peace only, but one City of two: united their Realms, and joined together in the Regiment: but the royal estate they setled in *Rome*.

D The City thus being made one of twain, the Romans for to gratifie the Sabins in some sort, were of *Cures*, a town of the Sabins, called *Quirites*. And for a memorial of that battel, the very place where *Curtius*, after he was gotten out of the deed-marish, first set his horse on firm ground, was named *Curtius* his lake. This joyous peace ensuing presently upon so cruel war, made these women better be loved of their husbands and parents: but especially of *Romulus* himself. And therfore when he divided the City into thirty Wards or Parishes, he called them by their names. But it is not left in any record (for out of all question the women were far more in number then so) whether those that should give names unto the Wards, were chosen by age, or by their own dignity and worthiness, or their husbands degree and calling, or by casting lots. At the same time were enrolled and ordained three Centuries of Gentlemen or Knights: The *Ramnenses* were so called of *Romulus*, the E *Titienses* of *Titus Tatius*; but of the name and first beginning of the *Lucerians*, the occasion is not certain. So these two Kings not only reigned together, but also governed with great unity and concord. But after certain years the kinred of King *Tatius* chanced to beat and evil entreat the Embassadors of *Laurentum*. And when as the Laurentines pleaded the law of Nations, for satisfaction of this outrage; *Tatius* his kinsfolk what by favour, and what by intreaty, prevailed more with him then the just complaint of the others. Whereby he brought vengeance due to them upon his own head: for being come upon a time to *Lavinium*, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast, there in an uproar or hurliburly the people ran upon him, and so was he slain. Which thing (they say) *Romulus* made less regard of then was meet: either for that fellowship in Lordship is never faithful, or because he esteemed him not unjustly to be made away. Whereupon he forbare indeed to make war: yet to F the end the wrong done unto the Embassadors, together with the murder of the King, might be expiate and purged clean away, the League between the Cities of *Rome* and *Lavinium* was renewed. But whilst peace verily was beyond mens expectation with them concluded: behold another fresh war arose, much neerer then the other, and hard almost at their very gates. For the people of *Fidene* supposing the Romans power and riches to encrease over much so neer unto them; before they should grow to such greatness as they were like to do, began first to war upon them: and sending a power of lusty tall souldiers, invaded and wasted all the country between the City of *Rome* and *Fidene*. And taking their way on the left hand, for that the *Tyber* kept from the other, they forraged and spoiled as they went, to the great fear of the Peasants and country people. So as this sudden tumult and garboil heard out of the fields into the City, brought the first news of the war, *Romulus* G raised therewith (for so nigh a war might bear no delay) led forth his army, and encamped within a mile of *Fidene*: and leaving there a competent guard, he departed thence with all his other forces, commanding part of his souldiers to lie close in certain covert places, among the thickets in ambushment. Himself with the greater number, and all his horse, advanced forward, and riding up and down before their gates after a disordered and bragging manner, made semblant of a bravado, and all to train the enemy forth, which was the thing he only sought. This kind of horse service was a means that the Fidenates less suspected and marvelled at their flying, which they were to counterfeit.

X III

The Sabins women to their husbans and fathers.

Quirites.

Curtius Lacus.

Curia. 30.

Centuries.

X IV

Tatius murdered.

A Stratagem of *Romulus.*

feit. For whilst the Cavalry stood unresolved, as it were, in a mammering whether to fly or fight, G
and the Infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner sallied forth of
the gates, and chased the Romans so fiercely, that in their eager pursuit they were drawn to the ve-
ry place of ambush. Thence the Romans suddenly arose, and charged the flanck of the enemies: And
to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left behind to guard the camp, shewed themselves
with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terrified sundry ways, before well neer that *Romulus* and
his men of arms could rein about their horse-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards
the town again, and so much the faster, for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pur-
sued them, who a little before made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape
the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, rushed together with them pel-mel into the town, H
before the gates could be shut against them. At this Fidenatian war spreading so dangerously, the
Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kin-
dred and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewise Tuscans. And fearing left (if the Roman forces
should thus distress and lie upon all the borderers) they being so neer should not go free, they were
the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entred in arms the confines of *Rome*,
spoiling and rifling, more like robbers then professed warriers. So without pitching any tents, or
abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the
fields, they return again to *Veii*. The Romans contrariwise, not finding the enemies in the field, but
yet provided and resolved to give battel, and to hazzard all, passed over the *Tyber*. Whom the Vei-
entians understanding to be encamping themselves, fully minded to come against their City: issued I
The Veientians discomfited by *Romulus*. forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of sword, and in open field, rather then to
be mued up within the town, and to fight and defend themselves from off their houses and walls.
There the Roman King with the strength only of his old beaten souldiers, without any other help
and supply whatsoever, without policy or stratagem, had the better: and having thus discomfited
the enemies, he chased them even to their very walls. And for that the City was exceeding strong,
fortified as well by natural situation, as by walls, he forbare to assault it. But in his return home-
ward, he wasted the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoil. With this deseature
Truce between Romans and Veientians for an hundred years. the Veientians no less subdued then if they had lost a field, sent Orators to *Rome* to sue for peace:
unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were amerced to lose part of their
lands. These were in manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign K
of *Romulus*. Whereof none seemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth
and beginning, and also of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous
The commendation of *Romulus*. heart in recovering his Grandsires Kingdom: his policy and wisdom in founding the City first, and
after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whose good proceedings
it got such strength, and so sure footing, that for forty years space after, it enjoyed peace with safe-
ty. Nevertheless of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his
Souldiers most heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Esquires of the body,
Celeres. three hundred Pensioners armed, not only in time of war, but also of peace, whom he called *Celeres*.
XVI Thus having atchieved these noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time assembled all his people
upon the plain, at the marish *Capræ*, there to number or muster his army: behold upon a sudden there L
Romulus his end. arose a tempest with great cracks of thunder, which with so thick and cloudy a storm, covered the
King, that the people lost the sight of him. And never after was *Romulus* seen on earth. The Ro-
man youth, after their fear was at length past, and that upon so dark and troublesome weather, it
proved a fair day again, and calm withal, seeing the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the
Senators that stood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storm: yet struck
into sad dumps, as it were for the loss of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards,
when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, All hail god Romulus *the
son of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome*: With earnest prayer beseeching him of his grace,
that he would vouchsafe to be propitious, and save their off-spring and posterity for ever. I am of
this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly surmised that the King was M
pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumor also was bruited abroad, although in
very dark and obscure tearms. But by reason of the high admiration of the man, and the present fear
withal, the former opinion took place, and was more currant. Over and besides, it grew the rather
credible, through the politick practise of one person. For as the whole City was pensive and for-
rowful for the miss of their King, and sore displeased with the Senators, one *Proculus Julius*, a sub-
stantial good author (as men say) and to be beleeved in a matter of great importance, stepped forth
The speech of Proculus Julius. into the assembly. "*Romulus* (quoth he) O *Quirites*, the Founder and Patron of this City, even
"this very morning at the day break, descended suddenly down from heaven and met me, and as
"I stood all quaking for fear, ready to worship him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold
"him face to face: Away (quoth he) and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that N
"my City of *Rome* shall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow
"and practise chivalry, and the knowledg thereof: and wot this well, and so let them teach their
"posterity, to wit. That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Ro-
"mans. Which (said he) was not so soon spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A won-
der it was to see, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the miss of *Romulus*
both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digested.

In

A In this mean while the Senators fell to strive who should be King, and the desire of soveraignty XVII
troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no banding nor siding from any
one person in particular: for that in a State so newly risen, and of so small continuance, there was
not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two several Strife between the Romans and Sabins for the Crown.
factions in general. For they that were descended of the Sabins, fearing left because after the death
of *Tatius* there was none of their part, that had reigned with *Romulus* in equal jurisdiction, they
should now lose their possession and title to the Crown, were desirous to have a King chosen out
of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or forraigner to be King.
Howbeit, thus diversly affected as they were, a King they all will needs have, as who (God wot)
B had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty and freedom. Besides, the Nobles began to fear, left per-
adventure in case the hearts of many Cities thereabouts, should not be well disposed, but provoked
against them, some forraign power would make invasion, finding the City without government,
and the army without a Captain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could
find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators associate and com-
bine together in the rule of the Common-weale, by dividing themselves into ten Decuries, and for
every Decury chusing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that ten governed at once, but one a-
lone had the regal Ensigns and the Lictors before him. This soveraignty and preheminence deter-
mined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner,
they continued the space of one year. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is still at
C this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a year began the Commons to grudge and mutter, that
their servitude was greater then before, having now Lords over them, an hundred for one: and see-
med they would no longer endure, but have a King again, yea, and one of their own chusing. The
Senators seeing them thereabouts, and taking it to be good policy for to offer that of their own ac-
cord, which they were otherwise like to forgo, curbed favour with them in this wise, to wit by
granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in chusing a King) yet so, as they gave them no grea-
ter priviledg, then they reserved to themselves. For thus it was decreed, that when the people had
elected a King, it should stand firm and ratified, if the Senators liked thereof, and gave thereto their
royal assent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chusing of Magistrates or Rulers, the same
right is in some sort observed, setting aside the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the peo-
D ple give their voices, the Senators passe by their authority, that which they would have done, fall
it out in the assembly of people, by scrutiny, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interregent
having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) O *Quirites*, and which may be
to you good, lucky, and prosperous, elect, or nominate ye a new King: for so is the good pleasure
of the Nobles and Senators: and in case ye shall elect a man of such quality as may be deemed wor-
thy to succeed *Romulus*, then will they by their assent pass the same, and allow thereof. This pleased
and contented the Commons so highly, that because they would not seem behind in bounty and
courtesie, they answered again, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Se-
nate should determine who should be King of *Rome*. There was in those days one *Numa Pompilius*, XVIII
much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religious: he dwelt in *Cures*, a City of the Sabins,
E a man right skilful and very well seen (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine and
humane: whose teacher and first master, for want of other Author of his Science and Knowledge
(they say) but yet untruely, was *Pythagoras* of *Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well known, that
he 100. years after and above, in the days of *Servius Tullius* King of *Rome*, held a School of young
men Students, that were his Disciples, and followed his Sect, in the utmost and farthest coast of *Ita-
ly*, about *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Croton*. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time)
what fame of him could spread so far as to the Sabins? or by what entercourse and affinity of lan-
guage might he possibly have trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by
what good means and help could *Numa* travel alone unto him in safety, through so many coun-
tries, of divers tongues and sundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature
F was framed and disposed to vertue, and that he was instructed, not so much in strange and forraign
Sciences, as after that strict rule, that stern and severe discipline of the ancient Sabins: then whom,
there was not a nation in times past, more precise, reformed, and void of corruption. The Roman
Senators hearing the name of *Numa*, although they saw well enough, that the Sabins were like to
prove of great reputation and power, by chusing their King from among them, yet was there none
of them so audacious, as to prefer either themselves, or any one of their party and faction, not any
one, I say, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but all in general with one accord, agreed to con-
fer the Kingdom upon *Numa Pompilius*. Who being sent for and come: like as *Romulus* at the foun-
ding of the City was inaugurate King, or attained to the Crown by means of Augury: so also he would
needs, that the will and counsel of God should be sought for, touching his own election. Where-
G upon he was by the Augur (unto whom for ever after that publick Ministry or Priesthood, in regard
of honor and reverence by patent belonged) brought unto the Castle hill, and there he set him
down upon a stone, with his face toward the South. Then the Augur on his left side, with head
covered, took his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staff without knot or knob, and hoo-
ked towards the top, which they called *Lituus*. From whence after that he had with good advise,
taken a prospect and view towards the City and Country, and made his prayers unto the gods, he
limited the quarters of the Heaven, from East to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for
the

the right hand, and those Northward for the left. And so far as ever he could cast his eye and see H
forward, he imagined to himself a mark: then shifting his staff into his left hand, and laying the
right hand upon *Numa* his head, he prayed in this form: O Father *Jupiter*, if it may be right and law-
ful, that this *Numa Pompilius*, whose head I lay my hand upon, shall be King of *Rome*, shew I be-
seech thee some certain and manifest signs within that compass and those precincts, that I conceived
and set out. Then pronounced he in plain words what tokens by sight or flight of fowls he would
have to appear. Which being once seen, *Numa* was declared King, and so came down from the
Temple or place of prospect aboresaid.

In this manner, being inaugurate and invested in the Kingdom, he provideth by good Orders, I
Laws, and Customs, to re-edifie, as it were, that City, which beforetime had been new built by force
and arms. Whereunto, he seeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of war, whose
hearts were already by continual warfare grown wild and savage: and supposing that this fierce
people might be made more gentle and tractable, through disuse of arms, he therefore built the Tem-
ple of *Janus* in the nether end of the street *Argiletum*, in token both of war and peace: with this
invention, that being open it should signifie, that the City was in arms; and standing shut, that all
the neighbor countries were in peace and quiet. Twice only after the raign of *Numa* was this Tem-
ple shut: once, when *T. Manlius* was Consul, after the first Carthaginian war was done and end-
ed: and a second time (as God would) in our age for us to see, when as the Emperor *Cæsar Augu-*
stus, after the battel of *Actium* (with *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) had obtained peace both by Land
and Sea. *Numa* then having knit the hearts of the borderers about him in firm league and amity, K
and thereupon closed up the doors of *Janus*, secured now from all fear and care of dangers abroad,
yet doubting lest through ease and idleness their minds might fall to looseness and riot, whom the
dread of enemies and martial discipline had held in aw and good order: devised above all things
to strike some fear of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: a policy no doubt, with the
simple multitude (rude in those days and ignorant) most effectual. Which reverence of God, for
that it could not sink nor enter well into their heads, and take a deep impression, without some de-
vice of a fained miracle, he made semblance, and gave out, that he conversed in the night season, and
had, I wot not what, secret conference with the goddess *Ægeria*. By whose counsel and direction
forsooth, he ordained such divine service and sacrifices to the gods, as to them was most accepta-
ble: and to every god appointed several Priests for the ministery thereof accordingly. But first a- L
bove all other things he divided the year, according to the course of the Moon, into twelve months:
and for as much as the Moon hath not full thirty days to every month, whereby some days are wan-
ting to make up the just year, after the revolution and circle of the Sun: he, by putting the odd days
between every month, so disposed and ordered the year, that in every three and twenty years space
the days agreed just to the same point of the Sun from whence they began, and so made up the void
spaces, and accomplished fully the term of every year. He appointed likewise law days and days of
vacation, called *Fasti* and *Nefasti*, thinking it good, that otherwhiles there should be rest from at-
tendance on the Courts, and no dealing with the people. After this, he set his mind about the cre-
ation of Priests, albeit in his own person he performed very many sacrifices, especially those which at
this day pertain to the Priest of *Jupiter*, called *Flamen Dialis*. And supposing that in a City so mar- M
tial, there should succeed more Kings like to *Romulus* then *Numa*, who in proper person would go
forth to war: lest haply the divine ministry that belonged to the King, might be neglected, he cre-
ated a Flamine to *Jupiter*, for to be a sacrificer continually resident: endued and adorned him with
a rich cope or vestment, and with an ivory chair of state upon wheels, called *Sella curulis*. Unto him
he adjoined two Flamines more; one for *Mars*, another for *Quirinus*. He instituted also a Nun-
nery, as it were, of religious Vestal Virgins. A Priesthood that had the beginning from *Alba*, and
suted well with the house, from whom the first founder of the City was descended. And to the end
they should attend continually about the Church, as resiant Chaplains, he allowed them an ordina-
ry fee or pension, at the publick charges of the City: and made them by perpetual vowed virginity
and other ceremonies to be reverenced and accounted holy. Likewise unto *Mars Gradivus* he e- N
lected twelve Priests called *Salii*, and gave unto them a rich purple coat, embroidered for an orna-
ment, and to wear upon that coat a brazen brest-plate, and to bear certain scutchions or bucklers
that fell from heaven, called *Ancilia*: commanding them to run about the City, chanting hymns
and songs, with dancing and leaping full solemnly. Moreover, he chose for a Superintendent or
high Priest, *Numa Martius*, the son of *Marcus*, one of the Senators: and to him he gave in writing
set down under his hand and seal, a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for
sacrifice, upon what days, and at which Temples, and how the money should be levied and disbur-
sed for the defraying of all charges. All other sacred rites as well publick as private, he submitted
and referred to the discretion and ordering of that high Priest: to this end, that the common peo-
ple might know unto whom they were to resort for counsel and instruction, and that no part of O
Gods worship and service should by neglect of the ancient rites and traditions of their own coun-
try, be confounded and corrupted by bringing in any strange and forraign superstitions. He ordai-
ned besides, that the same Arch-Prelate should teach, not only these heavenly ceremonies, but al-
so funeral obsequies, and how the spirits beneath, and ghosts of bodies departed, should be quiered
and pacified: and what strange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightning, thunder,
or any other fearful sight whatsoever, should be expiate and purged by sacrifice accordingly. And
for

A for to know the truth, portended by these tokens even from the minds of heavenly spirits above, *Jupiter Elicius.*
he consecrated unto *Jupiter Elicius* an altar upon the mount *Aventine*. And by the means of Au- XXI
gury, he consulted with that god, what things he was to enterprize and go about. Whilst the
whole multitude was thus drawn away, and clean turned from thinking of force and arms, and
busied about devising and ordering of these matters, not only their minds were occupied in doing
somewhat, but also the continual fear of God now setled in them, (as being persuaded that the
heavenly power was present in the managing of mens affairs) had possessed now all their hearts
with such piety and religious holiness, that faithful promise once made, and the reverence of an
oath taken, abandoning all fear of law and punishment, was able to rule and govern the City. And
B as the people framed and reformed themselves to the fashions and manners of their King, as the
only and special pattern to follow: so the nations likewise bordering upon them, who beforetime
verily thought that City to be built, and as it were encamped in the midst of them to the disturr-
bance and disquieting of all their peace, were now become so respective of them, that they thought
it an impious and sinful deed, once to offend or offer abuse to that City, so well given, and devo-
ted to the worship and service of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the midst whereof was
watered continually by a spring that issued out of a dark and shadowed cave: into which, because
Numa used very oft to retire himself alone, without any other, as it were, to have familiar com-
pany with *Ægeria*, he dedicated that grove unto the Muses, for that, their affiliance also in coun-
sel and advise he desired together with his wife *Ægeria*. And to *Faith* alone he instituted a so- *Ægeria.*
C lemn yearly festival day, and erected a chappel: Unto which he commanded the Flamines to ride *The Temple of Faith.*
in an arched or embowed close Chariot, drawn with two horses, and to sacrifice and execute
their function, with their hands covered and wrapped close to their fingers ends: signifying there-
by, that faith is to be kept and preserved: and that her seat was sacred and consecrated even upon
the right hands. Many other sacrifices, and places for sacrifice, which the Priests call *Argeos*, did
he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was most worthy and memorable, that during the
time of his raign he had no lesse regard to preserve peace, then to maintain royal estate and domi-
nion. Thus two Kings one after another, taking either of them a several course by himself, that
one by war, this other by peace, mightily promoted the welfare of the City. *Romulus* raigned
D 37. years, *Numa* 43. So that now the City became very puissant, as being well and equally tem-
pered both with feats of arms, as also with discipline of peace.

Upon the death of *Numa* the regiment returned again to an inter-raign. Then the people no- XXII
minated and elected for their King, with the royal assent of the Senators *Tullus Hostilius*, the Ne- *Tullus Hostilius.*
phew or Grandson of that *Hostilius*, who had in times past fought valiantly against the Sabins, at
the foot of the Castle hill. This man was not only unlike the former King, but also more fierce and
hardy then *Romulus* himself. For besides the heat of youth, and strength of body withal, the glori-
ous remembrance of his Grandfather set him on, and pricked him forward. Supposing therfore that
the City through rest and ease began to age, as it were, and to decay, he sought every way to pick
quarrels, and to give occasion to make war. It fortuned, that the Peasants about *Rome*, and those
of *Alba* likewise, preyed upon and spoiled one anothers land. At that time *C. Cluilius* was Lord
E and King of *Alba*. From both parts well neer at one time, were Embassadors addressed to demand
restitution of goods, and satisfaction for their harms. *Tullus Hostilius* he had straitly charged his
messengers to have no dealing with the Alban Prince, before they had delivered unto him their
message. For well he wist, that he would make denial, and yeeld no amends: and then might he
with safe conscience justly proclame war against him. On the contrary side, the Alban Embassadors
followed their business but slackly for being courteously invited, and friendly entertained by *Tullus*,
and lodged within his palace; they were well content to be feasted by the King, and were his day-
ly guests so long, that the *Romans* had by this time both challenged their own first, and upon deni-
al made by the Alban King, given defiance and proclamed open war within thirty days next ensu-
ing. Upon which tidings by them related to *Tullus*, he gave the Alban Embassadors audience, per- *The Embassadors of the Albans to king Tullus.*
F mitting them to declare what their errand was, that they came about. "They (simple men) ignorant
"of all that was done, first spent time in excusing themselvs, saying, they were very loth & unwilling
"to speak ought that might displease *Tullus*, but being commanded by authority, they might not
"wil nor chuse and therupon were come to make claim of goods & amends for wrongs, and if they
"were not restored and recompence made, they had commission to denounce war against him.
"Whereunto *Tullus* made answer in this wise, "Tell your King and Master (quoth he) that the
"Roman King calleth the gods to witness, whether of the two Nations sent the Embassadors a-
"way first, and rejected them when they demanded restitution, that upon his head they might XXIII
"bring the misery, loss, and calamity of the present war." With this dispatch the Albans returned
home. So they made preparation of forces on both sides all that they could, most like in all the
G world to a civil war, between fathers and sons, proceeding both from the Trojan race: considering
that by Trojans *Lavinium* was founded: from *Lavinium* came the people of *Alba*: and from the
Alban Kings were the Romans in right line descended. But the final issue and end of this war,
made the war it self less woful and lamentable, both because they came not to a set field, and also
for that by rasing the houses only of the one City, two nations were intermingled & united in one.
The Albans first with a mighty power entred the Territory of *Rome*, and encamped themselves
not past five miles from the City, where they strongly entrenched themselves: which place

Cluilius hic fecit.

Metius Suffetius Dictator of the Albans.

of the Captains name was called * *Fossa Cluilia*, many years after: until both it and the name with- H
al in proceſs of time, decayed clean and came to nothing. In this camp the Alban King *Cluilius* ended his days, in whoſe ſtead the Alban army created *Metius Suffetius* their Dictator. *Tullus* in the mean time became haughty and proud, eſpecially upon the death of the King, oftentimes giving out and ſaying, that the mighty power of the gods, having thus begun at the very head, would likewiſe take vengeance on the whole body of the Alban Nation, for this their unjuſt and godleſs war: and one night above the reſt paſſed ſecretly by the camp of his enemies, and in warlike manner invaded the Alban land. This news raiſed *Metius* out of his ſtanding camp. Who led forth his army and marched on as neer to his enemies as he could, diſpatching aforehand an Herald unto *Tullus*, to notifie unto him thus much from him, that it was needful and expedient before they I
joined battel to parle and commune together. If he would vouchſafe to conſer, he knew very well, that he ſhould alledge and lay forth ſuch matters, as might concern the Weale of the Romans, as well as of the Albans. *Tullus* refuſed not the offer, albeit they were but vain toies that were pretended, and therefore ſet his men in battel aray. The Albans in like manner came forth againſt him. After they were thus ranged and embattelled ready to fight, the Generals on both ſides, accompanied with a few of their principal Nobles, advance between both armies. Then began the Alban Dictator in this wiſe: "Me thinks (quoth he) I hear already of injury and wrongs done, and how
"ſuch goods as were demanded are not reſtored again according to the form of the league, as alſo
"that *Cluilius* our King was cauſe of this war: neither doubt I, O *Tullus*, but even you pretend, K
"and are about to alledge as much. But if we would as we ought to do, ſtand upon the truth of
"things rather then upon I wot not what gloſſes, and goodly ſhews of words: it is ambition and
"deſire of rule only and nothing elſe, that ſpurreth on two nations of one blood and neer neigh-
"bors to take arms and war one with another: juſtly or unjuſtly, I am not able to ſay, Let him on
"Gods name that firſt began the quarrel, in conſcience ſee to that. As for me, the Albans indeed
"have made me their General. But this one point *Tullus*, I would have you to remember and
"conſider: How ſtrong about us and you eſpecially the Tuſcans are, you know better, the neerer
"ye are unto them: mighty they are by land, much more by ſea. Then wot well this, that when
"you ſhall cauſe the Trumpet to ſound unto battel, theſe two armies will be to them a fair mark
"and ſpectacle to behold: that they may give an aſſault to both at once, as well the victors, as
"them that are vanquiſhed, whilſt they are wearied and toiled out of heart. For the love of God, L
"if there be any ſpark of grace in us, ſince we not contented with that liberty which we ſurely en-
"joy, will needs venture and put in doubtful hazzard, which of us ſhall rule and command, and
"who ſhall ſerve and obey the other, let us take ſome good courſe whereby it may be decided
"without great loſs or bloodſhed on both ſides, whether ſhall be Lord and Soveraign. The mo-
tion *Tullus* miſliked not, albeit both for diſpoſition of nature, and hope of victory, he were the haughtier of the twain. And as they ſought on both parts what way to take, this means at length they found, whereunto fortune it ſelf preſented fit matter and occaſion. For by good hap even then, in either hoſt three brethren twins there were born at one birth, and thoſe neither in age nor ſtrength unlike. Their names were *Curiatii* and *Horatii*, that is very certain, neither is there any thing of ancient record more famous and notable. Yet as clear in ſubſtance as it is, there re- M
maineth ſtill ſome doubt and error in their names: of whether people the *Curiatii* and the *Horatii* were. Writers there be on both ſides, but the greater number ſay, as I find, that *Horatii* were the Romans, to whom I rather encline, and my mind giveth me ſo follow them. With theſe three brethren the Kings went in hand, perſwading them to fight for the honor of their country, and try the quarrel by dint of ſword: ſhewing them, that on whether ſide the victory fell, there ſhould remain the ſoveraign dominion. Nothing refuſed they to do, the time and place both were agreed upon and appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted between the Romans and Albans, and theſe conditions drawn: That whoſe champions in fight ſhould have the better, that nation ſhould peaceably command the other. There are of covenants many and ſundry Capitulations far different in matter: but they run all after one manner and form. As for this, it was N
made, as we have heard in this wiſe, neither is there extant a more ancient record of any compoſition whatſoever. The Herald (called *Fecialis*) demandeth of King *Tullus* in this wiſe: Is it your will and commandment my Lord, That I make a covenant and accord with the *Paterpatrate* of the Alban people? It is (quoth the King.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you ſacred herbs. The King anſwered again, Take them pure and clean. The Fecial then reached from the Caſtle hill pure herbs from among the graſs: which done, he thus asked the King: Do you (my Lord) ordain me the Meſſenger Royal of the Commons of the people of *Rome*? and allow neceſſary implements, all furniture for my ſelf, and my retinue and train? The King anſwered: I do, ſo far forth as may be, without the harm or detriment of my ſelf, and of the Citizens of the people of *Rome*. The Fecial or Herald for that time, was *Marcus Valerius*, who created *Paterpatrate* a King at Arms, *Sp.* O
Fuſius, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. Now the *Paterpatrate* is for to confirm the agreement with an oath. and ſo he read out the covenant and oath, and that with many words: which to reherſe, as they were in a long preſcript form pronounced, were very needleſs. After this having recited all the Articles and conditions thereof. "Hearken (quoth he) O *Jupiter*, liſten
"thou Herald for the Albans, attend alſo and give ear ye the Alban people, how theſe conditions
"from the firſt to the laſt, have been read aloud out of thoſe Books or Tables of wax, without
„ covin

The Oration of Metius unto Tullus.

Curiatii. Horatii.

A "coven, or fraud, and how at this day they are moſt rightly meant and underſtood, according to
"the tenure of the words: from theſe articles I ſay, ſhall not the people of *Rome* ſtart back firſt,
"nor make default: If they ſhall firſt go back and fail therein by publick conſent, and fraudulent-
"ly; that day, O *Jupiter*, smite thou the City of *Rome*, as I to day will ſtrike this Swine: yea, and
"smite thou home ſo much more, as thou art more able and powerful then my ſelf. And after he had thus ſaid, he ſmote the ſwine with a flint ſtone. The Albans likewiſe repeated their preſcript form of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Prieſts for the purpoſe. The complements of the covenant and compoſition thus performed, and all concluded, then thoſe three brethren of both ſides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arm themſelves. And being encouraged on both hands, B by their well-willers and friends, that put them in mind of their country gods, their native ſoile and parents, ſaying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whatſoever, both at home in the City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and their hands: the young men being both of themſelves by nature forward and luſty, and alſo emboldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth between both armies. Now were the two hoſts ſet on both ſides before their camps, rid of preſent danger, rather then void of care and penſiveneſs. For why? the whole trial of ſoveraignty and rule, reſted in the valour and good ſpeed of a few. Whereupon they longing to ſee the ſequel and iſſue, were wholly bent to behold, and only minded this unpleaſant fight and ſpectacle. At ſound of Trumpet theſe brave brethren, three to three like as they had been two ſet battels, and carrying the ſtomachs verily of two C great armies, affronted one another, and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither regarded they their own proper peril, but ſet before their eyes, only the rule or ſervitude of the Common-weal, as if the ſtate of their country from thenceforth lay wholly upon their good or bad ſucceſs in this action. So ſoon as they began to cope together and make aſſault, that their harneſs and weapons once clattered, and their drawn ſwords ſhone and glittered again, behold ſuch an exceeding fear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal: and during the time of equal combat, ſeeing no inclination of victory to the one ſide or the other, they were ſo aſtonied, that hardly they could well ſpeak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they were come to hand-ſtroaks, and that now not only the ſtirring of their bodies, and the doubtful handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds alſo were ſeen, two of the Romans D (having ſore wounded all the three Albans) fell down one upon the other, and yeelded up the ghoſt. At whoſe fall, the Alban hoſt ſhouted again for joy: but the Roman legions, albeit they were now paſt hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amated, and an extaſie as it were, with very fear what ſhould become of him, who being but one, had three *Curiatii* upon him at once. But as good hap was, he as yet was freſh and unwounded. And as he was not able alone to make his part good with them altogether, ſo in ſingle fight, man to man, he thought himſelfe good enough for them all, one after another. To ſingle therefore, and to part them in fight, he begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place where they fought, and looking behind him, eſpied them following far aſunder; and one of them not much behind E himſelf; he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilſt the hoſt of the Albans cried out to the *Curiatii* to reſcue and ſuccour their brother, *Horatius* by that time had ſlain his formoſt enemy, and was in hand with the ſecond. Then the Romans with ſuch a ſhout, as they are wont to make, who after a great fright recover themſelves and take heart again, encourage their champion: and he himſelf hatteneth to finiſh the combat. And before that the third, who was not far off, could get to the other, he had ſlain the ſecond *Curiatius*. So that now there was but one to one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor ſtrength equally matched. As for the one of them, his body as yet not wounded, and his double victory withal, cauſed him to attempt the third conflict ſtoutly and courageouſly. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with running, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, ſeeing his two brethren lie ſlain at F his feet, offered himſelf as a prey to his victorious enemy: for ſurely between them was no ſtop at all to ſpeak of. The Roman, he triumphing and crying out for joy, Two brethren already (quoth he) have I ſent to the Divel, the third likewiſe ſhall I ſend after them, that a Roman may command an Alban, which is the cauſe of all this war.' And therewith he thruſt his ſword aloft into his throat, who had much ado to hold his weapons: and ſo ſoon as he was down, ſtript and rifled him. "The Romans with great triumph and gratulation, receive *Horatius* rejoicing ſo much the more, "as his caſe was more dangerous and well neer deſperate. Then of both ſides addreſs they them-
"ſelves to bury their champions, but not with like cheer and alacrity of heart: For why? they of the one part were become Lords, and they of the other, Subjects. Their tombs remain yet to be ſeen in the very places where they were each of them ſlain, two of the Romans entombed together G in one place neerer unto *Alba*: the three Albans towards *Rome*, but diſtant aſunder, like as they fought and left their lives. Before they diſlodged and departed thence the one from another, *Metius* according as it was capitulated in the compoſition, asked and demanded what *Tullus* would command him to do: who enjoined him to keep his youth ready in arms at an hours warning, for that he would employ them in ſervice, in caſe he ſhould war with the Veientians. So were the armies diſmiſſed home. And *Horatius* he went formoſt, baring afore him the threefold ſpoile of three brethren. Whom his Siſter a maid affianced before to one of the *Curiatii*, met before *Capena* gate: &
eſpying

The cruel combat between the brethren Curiatii and Horatii.

espying upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her espoused husband, which she her self had wrought with her own hands; she unbound her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victory, and amid so great and publick joy, moved the proud and hauty young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the silly damsel through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unseasonable and foolhatty love, forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the honor thereof: and so with a mischief go she, whatever she be, that shall bewail an enemy of *Rome*. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and fresh desert made it the less treespass: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not seem the author of a judgment so unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doom, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duumvirs to sit upon *Horatius*, in trial of a criminal cause of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form. [*The Magistranes called Duumvirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duumvirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they overthrow him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a cursed Gallow tree by a rope, and strangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either within the Pomery or without.*] By vertue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltless person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O *Publius Horatius* a murderer and an enemy to the state of *Rome*. Go Lictor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Lictor and cast a cord about them. But *Horatius*, by the advise of *Tullus*, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of *Publius Horatius* the Father, crying out and saying, "That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authority. Beseeching moreover, that they would not now make him childless, whom erewhile they saw with a goodly company of children about him. And therewithal the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoils of the *Curiatii*, set up and hanging in that very place which now is called *Pila Horatia*, i.e. *Horatius* his Pillar, "And can ye indeed (O ye *Romans*, quoth he) abide to see him bound under a Gallows, yea, and whipped and tormented, whom a while afore ye beheld to march in great glory and jollity for his atchieved victory? So unseemly and foul a sight as which, the Albans themselves can hardly suffer. Go Lictor, go bind those hands fast, which armed a little before, wan the people of *Rome* their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwink his head who saved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the neck, and strangle him upon a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the walls, so it be among those javelins and spoils of the enemies: or without the walls, so it be within the compass of the *Curiatian* Sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honorable acts may not save him from so unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himself still the same, and not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess and valor, then in the right and equity of his cause. Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly known, should be in some sort expiate, and satisfaction made therfore, his father was charged to purge his sons sin, and make amends, at the expences of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the *Horatii*, put a raster or beam cross overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoak or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the City charges repaired, and they call it *Sororium Tigillum*, i. e. The Sisters beam. And in that very place where *Horatia* was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stone.

Horatius killeth his sister.

The judgment of *Horatius*.

P. Horatius the Father to the people.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three souldiers, infected so, and poisoned the vain and shittle head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he sought peace: and seeing his people had more heart then hand, and their strength not answerable to their stomacks: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make war, and reserved his own men under a colour of league and confederacy, for to practise treason and falshood. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having made the Veientians partakers of their counsel, and combined with the Albans to forsake the Romans, when time came, and turn unto them, brake out and took arms. When *Fidene* had thus openly revolted, *Tullus* sent for *Metius* and his power from *Alba*, and setteth forward against his enemies: and passing over the river *Anio*, encamped neer the confluent, where both streams meet together. Between which place and *Fidene*, the army of the Veientians had crossed the *Tyber*, who put themselves in the right wing of the battel fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,

A left neerer to the mountains. *Tullus* directly opposeth his own forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honesty and truth, neither durst keep his standing, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdraweth himself toward the mountains: and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, displayeth his ranks. His intent and purpose was, on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that stood next, perceiving their flanks naked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there gallopt an horseman, and advertised the King that the Albans were

B gone away. *Tullus* in this so fearful and dangerous case, vowed twelve Priests *Salii*, and two Temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*, i. e. to Paleness and Fear: and with a loud voice cryed out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the battel, saying, There was no cause at all to fear, for that himself had commanded the Alban host to wheel and fetch about, and so to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him expressly moreover, to cause the men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And those that had seen them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to speak, fought so much the more hotly. So the fear turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King when he spake so lond, and also a great many of the Fidenatians being co-habitants with the Romans,

C understood Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans should all on a sudden run down from the hils and stop their passage to the town, they turned their backs and fled. Then *Tullus* pressed hard upon them, and having discomfited the Fidenatians wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the fright of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the brunt. Howbeit the river behind at their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water: other lingering still, and staying on the bank side, doubtful whether to flee, or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and hewne in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battel. Then the Alban army, which beheld and saw all this conflict, descended down into the plain. And *Metius*, forsooth, rejoiceth much on

D *Tullus* behalf for his victory. *Tullus* again speaketh *Metius* fair, and gave order, that the Albans in a good hour should join their camp to the Romans: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lustral sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readiness, according to the manner, he commandeth both armies to assemble together to an audience. The Criers, beginning at the farthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first. Who also for the strangeness of the matter, and desirous to hear the Roman King to make his Oration, pressed forward to stand next. The Roman legion on set purpose, as it was before decreed, stood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded.

Then began *Tullus* to speak in this wise, "If ever in any war heretofore had cause, O *Romans*, The Oration of *Tullus*.

E "to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, certainly it was in yesterdays battel. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more "then with the treachery and falshood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater "conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer "in hand with a wrong persuasion: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commission, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and countenance only of command: to "this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from "fight, and also that your enemies weening they were environed behind, should be afraid and so "enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I re"prove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewise would have done, if I had willed the

F "march to have turned any whither from thence. It is *Metius* that was the guide and leader of "this journey, *Metius* is he that is the worker and deviser of this war, *Metius* I say it is, and none "but *Metius*, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. But let who that will from henceforth presume hardly to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centurions stood armed round about *Metius*, and the King goeth on with the rest of his speech as he began, and said: "That which I pray God may turn to the good prosperity and happiness of the "people of *Rome*, of my self, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to "*Rome*: to endue the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentle"men to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common-wealth: that as in "times past the Albans state, out of one body was divided into twain, so now it may be united

G "and become one again. At these words the Alban youth unarmed, and beset on every side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general fear to keep silence, and hold their peace. "*Metius Suffetius* (quoth *Tullus* then) If thou couldst have "learned to keep allegiance, promise, and covenants, thou mightest have been taught it at my "hands with life. But now since thy froward nature is incurable, teach thou by thy fearful exam"ple and death all mankind, to hold and repute those things for sacred and holy, which have by "thee been broken and violate. Like as therefore erewhiles thou barest a double heart in doubt-

"ful ballance, between the the Fidenates and the Romans ſtate: even ſo ſtreightways ſhalt thou H
"yeeld thy body to be drawn aſunder, and plucked in two peeces accordingly. Then forthwith
"he cauſed two teames of four horſes to be ſet to, and *Metius* to be ſtretched out and tied unto
the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the horſes driven a contrary way, and carried
with them in both chariots the body torn in pieces, as far forth as the limbs hung faſt together by
their cords and ligaments: which made all men avert their eyes from behoiding ſo cruel and hor-
rible a ſpectacle. This was the firſt and laſt puniſhment that ever the Romans executed with ſo lit-
tle reſpect or none at all (to ſay a truth) of the laws of humanity. In all other they may ſafely make
their boaſt, that no nation in the world hath been leſſe delighted and pleaſed with extremity of
torment.

XXIX Whilſt theſe things were in doing, there had been certain horſemen ſent afore to *Alba*, for to I
tranſlate the multitude to *Rome*. After whom were the legions alſo of the footmen thither led, to
raſe and deſtroy the city. At whoſe entrance within the gates, there was not that ſtir nor fearful
hurry, as uſually is ſeen when cities are loſt: and when with breaking down the gates, beating
and battering the walls with rams and other engins, forcing the citadel, the enemies ſhout, and the
armed ſouldiers run to and fro in the city, killing and ſlaying, firing and burning all afore them
as they go: but a ſad ſilence, and a ſtill kind of ſorrow and penſiveneſs ſo poſſeſſed and aſtonied
all their minds, that for fear forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them,
without adviſe and counſel, one asking another what to do, they one while ſtood in their houſe
entries, another while ran up and down wandring in their houſes, as if their laſt day had been K
come. But ſo ſoon as they heard the horſemen cry aloud, and command them with menacing to
void and depart: and that now the rattling of the tiles and ſlates from off the houſes as they were
a pulling down, was from the furtheſt part of the town heard: and that the duſt raiſed from places
far off, had as it were with a cloud overcaſt and filled all: then every man catching up haſtily, and
carrying forth what he could, leaving their domeſtical gods, leaving their houſes wherein they
had been born, bred, and brought up, departed forth: ſo that now they filled the ſtreets as they
went cloſe on a row together, and the ſight one of another with mutual commiſeration, re-
doubled their tears and woefull complaints. Yea, and pitious mone and lamentations were heard of
women eſpecially, as they paſſed by their fair and ſtately churches, beſet with ſouldiers, and aban-
doned their gods as it were captives and priſoners. After the Albans had thus quit the city, down L
went the Romans every where with the buildings, as well publick as private, and laid them even
with the ground: and ſo in one hour deſtroyed and raſed four hundred yeers work, for ſo long
had *Alba* ſtood and flouriſhed. Howbeit the temples of the gods they ſpared: for ſo the king had
XXX given commandment. *Rome* all this while riſeth by the fall of *Alba*. The number of Citizens in-
creaſed double: to enlarge the city the mount *Celius* was annexed to it: and that it ſhould be bet-
ter peopled and more inhabited, *Tullus* had his royal ſeat and palace there, and therein from that
time forth he kept his court. The chief Citizens of the Albans he advanced to the order of Sena-
tors, that he might augment that ſtate alſo of the Commonweal; namely, the houſes of the *Tullij*,
Curia Hoſtilia. *Servilij*, *Quintij*, *Geganij*, *Curiatij*, *Cloelij*: and for that degree and order of Senators by
him encreaſed, he built an hall or new court, called until our fathers dayes *Hoſtilia curia*. M
i. Hoſtilian court. And that all eſtates and degrees might out of this new people be ſome-
what ſtrengthened, he choſe from out of the Albans ten troops or cornets of horſemen, and
with the ſame ſupply he both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and alſo made and enrolled
new.

War with the Sabins. *Tullus* upon this affiance he had in his ſtrength and power, denounceth war againſt the Sabins,
a people in thoſe dayes of all other moſt puiſſant and mighty, both in men and munition, next the
Tuſcans. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and reſtitution or
amends demanded, but to no effect. *Tullus* found himſelf grieved, that divers occupiers or mer-
chants of *Rome*, at an open mart or fair of great reſort before the temple of *Feronia*, were laid hold
upon and apprehended. The Sabins on the other ſide complained, that their men, notwithſtanding N
they took ſanctuary in a certain ſacred and priviledged grove, were areſted and in hold at *Rome*.
Theſe were the quarrels and occaſions pretended of the war. The Sabins well remembring, that
not onely part of their own forces was by *Tatius* tranſlated to *Rome*, and there planted, but alſo
that now of late the puiſſance of the Romans was well amended by the ſupplement of the Albans,
began likewiſe for their part to caſt about, and ſeek for help abroad, and forrain aids. Now was
Tuſcan their neighbour nation, and of the Tuſcans the neereſt unto them were the Veientians.
From thence they gat certain voluntaries to take their part, by reaſon that their minds already
were well diſpoſed to revolt upon old grudges and rancour remaining ſtill of the former war paſt:
otherſome alſo vagarants and idle perſons of the raſcal ſort, and needy commons, were ſoon hired
for mony. But as for any ſuccour from thence by publick conſent of the ſtate they had none at all. O
So much prevailed even with the Veientians (for in the reſt it was leſs marvel) the faithful covenant
of true conclu̇ded with *Romulus*. Now when theſe preparations of war were made on both ſides
to the uttermoſt of their power, and that it ſtood upon this point, That they were like to have
the ods and vantage, who ſhould begin firſt, and enter the field: *Tullus* prevented the enemies, and
invaded the Sabine land. A ſharp and bloody battel was there fought under the wood *Malicuſa*.
Where the Romans bare themſelves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legionary
foot-

A footmen, but more upon the ſtrength of their men of arms, whoſe number lately was augmented:
for by the ſuddain and forcible charge of the horſemen, the battel of the Sabins was ſo broken, The Sabins defeated by the Romans.
their ranks ſo diſordered, that they could neither ſtand cloſe together to fight it out, nor yet
ſpred themſelves to flie, without great ſlaughter and bloodſhed. XXX

The Sabins thus vanquiſhed, and the kingdom of *Tullus* and the whole ſtate of *Rome*, being very
glorious and wealthy: behold, news came to the King and Senators, that in the *Alban* mount it
rained ſtones: which hardly was believed, and therefore certain men were ſent of purpoſe to ſee
this ſtrange and prodigious ſight: who might plainly behold ſtones to fall thick out of the ſkie like
as when ſome forcible winds drive hail in big round bals upon the earth. They imagined more-
B over, that they heard a great and mighty voice out of the grove from the very top of the hill cry-
ing unto them, and warning the Albans to do ſacrifice and divine ſervice according to the rites and
ancient maner of their forefathers, which they had diſcontinued and forgotten, as if together with
their country they had abandoned their gods, and either taken to the Roman faſhion, or elſe be-
ing angry with fortune (as it is commonly ſeen) forſet and neglected the worſhip of the gods al-
together. The Romans likewiſe upon that miraculous ſign, for the purging and expiation thereof,
celebrated ſolemn publick ſacrifices for the ſpace of nine dayes, called a *Novendial*: either becauſe
they were moved thereto by that voice from heaven (for that alſo is reported) or took direction
from the Soothſayers that pry into the inwards of beaſts. Certain it is, that a ſolemn cuſtome re-
maineth ſtill unto this day, that whenſoever word cometh of the like wonder, they keep holyday
C nine dayes together. Not long after this, the peſtilence raigned in the city. And albeit the people
began thereby to ſlack ſouldery and military ſervice: yet would not this martial prince give them
reſt and reſpite from war: being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthy in
armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the city under covert: until himſelf at length
fell ſick of a long and lingering diſeaſe. Then that haughty and couragious ſtomack of his, toge-
ther with his luſty and able body, became ſo abated, that he who earſt before thought nothing
leſſe befitting a king, than to ſet his mind, and buſy his brains about religious ceremonies: now
all upon a ſuddain became wholly devoted to all kind of ſuperſtition both more and leſſe, yea, and
filled the peoples heads beſides with holineſs and devotion. So as now the very common ſort
wiſhing again for the old world, under the reign of king *Numa*, were fully perſwaded, that there
D was no other remedy left for their ſick and diſeaſed bodies, but to obtain at Gods hands grace and
pardon. Men ſay, that the king himſelf in peruſing and turning over the Commentaries and regi-
ſters of *Numa* his predeceſſour, and therein finding certain hidden and ſolemn ſacrifices that had
been unto *Jupiter Elicius*, retired himſelf, and kept cloſe within a houſe to celebrate the ſame. But
for that this holy ſervice was neither begun aright, nor duly adminiſtred, he had not onely no di-
vine apparition and heavenly viſion preſented unto him, but alſo incurred the heavy diſpleaſure
and wrath of *Jupiter*, whom by his prepoſterous religion he had thus diſquieted; and ſo both
himſelf and his whole houſe were conſumed with lightning. This *Tullus*, in great glory and re-
nown of martial proweſs, raigned two and thirty years. XXXII

When *Tullus* was dead, the government returned again, as it was from the firſt beginning or-
E dained, unto the Senators: who named an Interregent, and he called a Parliament, wherein the
people elected *Ancus Martius* for their King, and the Senators gave their aſſent thereto. This
Ancus Martius, was *Numa Pompilius* his daughters ſon, who ſo ſoon as he was come to the
crown, both in remembrance of his grand-fathers glorious government, and alſo in regard of the
raign of his next predeceſſor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this
onely failed, and was not ſo happy: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due
ceremonies exerciſed; and thinking it a thing moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt moment, to re-
duce all publick divine ſervice and ſacrifices to the firſt inſtitution of *Numa*, commanded the
Arch-prelate or High-prieſt to make an extract, and tranſcript of all the ſacred rites and myſte-
ries out of *Numa* his Commentaries, and ingroſs them into one table, and to publiſh them a-
F broad unto the people: whereby both his ſubjects and citizens deſirous of peace, as alſo the
States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether comform himſelf,
and take after the cuſtomes and ordinances of his grand-father.

Hereupon the *Latins*, with whom in King *Tullus* his dayes a league was made, took heart
unto them, made inrodes into the countrey about *Rome*, and fetcht out booties. And when
the Romans demanded reſtitution, they made them a proud anſwer, ſuppoſing belike, That the
King of *Rome* would paſs the whole courſe of his raign in eaſe and idleneſs, ſitting ſtill in his
chappels, and by his holy altars. But *Ancus* was of a mean and indifferent diſpoſition by na-
ture, having an eye as well to *Numa*, as to *Romulus*, and compoſed as it were of both. For
over and beſides, that he thought peace more expedient and neceſſary for his grandſires reign, the
G people being as then but new riſen, unſetled, and fierce withal: conſidering alſo, that him-
ſelf ſhould not eaſily, without taking wrong, enjoy the quietneſs which to him hapned: for
that his patience was already tried, and not onely tried, but alſo deſpiſed: and ſeeing that
the State of the preſent time was fitter for a *Tullus* to be King, than a *Numa*: yet to the end
that, as *Numa* in time of peace inſtituted ceremonies of religion, ſo he might likewiſe
ſet out to poſterity others concerning war: and that wars ſhould not be onely made,
but alſo denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in ſome religious form of ſolemnity:
he

he set down in writing that law and formal order, by vertue whereof restitution is demanded (which at this day the Feciales or Heralds observe) like as he received it from the ancient people *Æqui*.

The Embassador Fecial, coming to their borders, at whose hands the goods are required again, covering his head with a bonnet or vail of woollen yarn, saith thus: *Hear O* Jupiter, *give ear ye limits and confines* (naming them of such and such a Country) *let Justice and Right hearken also to what I shall say: I am the publick messenger of the people of* Rome, *of a just and religious embassage am I come, and to my words give credit.* After this, rehearseth he all his demands, and then calleth *Jupiter* to witness, saying, *If I unjustly and impiously demand, that such persons should be delivered, or such and such goods be rendered unto me, the publick messenger of the people of* Rome; *then let me never return again to enjoy mine own country.* These words rehearseth he, as he setteth foot, and steps into the confines: the same also he speaketh to him whomsoever he meeteth first: the self same words he pronounceth, as he entreth within the gate of the City: yea, and when he is come into the market place he saith the same, changing and varying in some few tearms, from the prescript form of the demand, and taking the solemn oath. In case then, the persons whom he requireth, be not yeelded after 33. days expired (for so many just are usually granted) then proclameth he war in this wise. *Hear O* Jupiter, *and thou* Juno, Quirinus *thou: ye celestial Saints all, and terrestrial powers, ye infernal spirits also listen and give ear. I call you all to witness, and protest before you, that this nation* (naming them whosoever they be) *is unjust, and doth not according to right and equity. But of these matters will we consult at home in our own country, with our elders, and ask their advice how we may come by our own.* Herewith returneth the messenger unto *Rome* for counsel, and presently the King would in these or such like words, sitting in Councel with his Peers, move them in this manner. *Whereas the* Paterpatrat *or Herald, in the behalf of the people of* Rome, *and their* Quirites, *hath treated with the* Paterpatrat, *or Herald, in the name of the ancient* Latines, *and with the folk of the ancient* Latines, *concerning certain things, differences, sutes, and causes thereupon depending; which things they have neither yeelded nor paid, nor performed and done; which ought to have been paid, yeelded, performed, and done; what is your judgment?* speaking to him, whose opinion first he asketh in this case. *Then* (saith he) *My advice is, that those things be sought for, and recovered by mere force, by just and lawful war. This do I fully agree unto, this do I determine resolutely.* After him were the other asked in course: and when the greater number of them who were present accord thereunto, then by general consent, they were wont to proclame war in this order: That the Fecial or King at Arms should go with a javelin, having an iron head, or with a red bloody spear burnt at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the presence of three witnesses at the least, not under fourteen years of age, should say thus: *Whereas the people of the old* Latines, *and the old* Latine *folk have practised and trespassed against the people of* Rome *and the* Quirites, *and whereas the people of* Rome *and the* Quirites *have so determined, consented, and agreed, that war should be made with the ancient* Latines: *I therefore together with the people of* Rome, *do denounce and proclame and make war with the nations of the old* Latines, *and with the old* Latine *folk.* And when he had thus said, he lanced his spear or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was restitution demanded of the Latines, and war denounced or proclamed: which order of proceeding, their posterity by tradition received.

XXIII *Ancus* having committed the charge of divine service and sacrifice unto the Flamins, and the other Priests, levied a new Army, went forth into the field, and by force won *Polstorium*, a City of the Latines. And following the usual manner of the former Kings his progenitors, who had mightily encreased the Roman State, by admitting their enemies into the number of Citizens, transported the whole multitude from thence to *Rome*. And because the ancient natural Romans inhabited *Palatium*, the Sabins about the Capitol and rock *Tarpeia*, and the Albans replenished the mount *Coelius*: therefore the hill *Aventine* was allowed this new company to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came fresh inhabitants to people it, upon the winning of *Tellene* and *Ficana*. But after this, the Romans were driven to recover by war *Politorium* again: for that whilest it stood void and empty, the old Latines had surprised and taken it. Which was the cause, that the Romans destroyed that City quite, that it should not be at all times a receptacle for the enemies. Last of all, when as now the Latines war was driven wholly and brought before *Medullia*, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtful issue of fight, and interchangeable victory: for that the Town was both well fortified with bulwarks, and furnished with a strong garrison of men: and also by reason that the army of the Latines being incamped in plain and open ground, had sundry times with banners displayed, encountred hand to hand with the Romans. At the last *Ancus* bending his whole power against them, first gave them an overthrow in a set battel: and so having gained rich pillage, returned to *Rome*. At that time also were many thousands of the Latines received into the City: Who to the end, that the *Aventine* and *Palatium* should meet together, were appointed to seat themselves about the Temple of * *Murtia*. The *Janiculum* likewise was adjoined unto the City, not for want of ground, but because it might not be at any time a fortress and hold for the enemies: which was thought good to be united unto the City, not only with a wall, but also for more commodious passage to and fro, with a wooden bridge over *Tyber*. The *Quirites* fosse or ditch also, no small defence against the easie access from the plain grounds, was a work of *Ancus*. Thus the estate being grown

* Vide.

grown to exceeding strength and bigness: when as now in so huge a multitude of people there was much confusion, and no difference of well doing or ill, and thereby many mischiefs and outrages began secretly to be committed: for to restrain therefore with some terror, such boldness increasing dayly more and more, there was a goal or common prison built in the heart of the City, even over against the common place of assembly. And in this Kings days not only the circuit of the City was enlarged, but also their Lands and Territories. For by reason that the forrest *Maesia* was conquered from the Veientians, their Seignory reached to the Sea: where, in the very mouth of *Tyber* was the town *Hostia* built, and the salt pits made there about, and upon such noble exploits by arms atchieved, the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, was in more ample and glorious manner redified.

In the reign of *Ancus*, there came to dwell at *Rome* one *Lucumo*, a pregnant nimble headed man, and a wealthy, upon a desire especially and hope of advancement and honor, which at *Tarquinii* (where he was born, although descended of forraign parentage) he had no means to attain unto. The Son he was of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, who upon civil troubles and dissentions having fled his country, and by chance planting himself in *Tarquinii*, there married a wife and had issue by her two sons, named *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* survived his father, and became heir of all his goods. *Aruns* died before his father, leaving his wife behind him, conceived with child: neither lived the father *Demaratus* long after his son, who not knowing that his daughter-in-law and sons wife was with child, made no mention at all of his Nephew in his Will, and so departed this world. Whereupon the child after his Grandsires decease, being born to no part of his goods, for his poor condition, was called *Egerius*. But *Lucumo* on the other side, the sole heir and inheritor of all, as he began by his wealth to be haughty enough, and to look aloft, so he grew much more proud for his matching in marriage with *Tanaquil*, a dame of a right noble house descended, and who could hardly bear a lower estate and degree then that wherein she was born. When she was once married, and saw the Tuscans to disdain *Lucumo*, for that his father was a stranger and banished person, she could not endure that indignity. But forgetting all kind of affection to her native country, so she might see her husband raised to high promotion, she resolved and plotted to leave *Tarquinii* and depart. To which purpose and design, *Rome* seemed a place most fit and convenient of all others. For thus she projected and discoursed: That in a City lately founded, where all kind of Nobility suddenly cometh up, and ariseth from vertue and prowess, her husband a valorous and industrious man must needs have place, and be entertained: that King *Tatius* a Sabin born, had raigned there: that *Numa* was from *Cures* sent for thither, and called to the Crown: that *Ancus* also a Sabin by his mothers side, had the only image of *Numa* to shew for his Nobility. Thus she soon perswaded him, as being a man ambitious and desirous of honor, and whose mother only was a Tarquinian born, and therefore he was to make less scruple of abandoning the place of his Nativity. Thereupon they removed with all they had to *Rome*. And it fortuned that to *Janiculum* they came. Where, as *Tarquinius* sat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently flying down from aloft, and took up his bonnet from his head, and soaring over the chariot with a great noise, and clapping of her wings, as if she had been sent from Heaven to do this feat, set it gently and handsomly on his head again: which done, she mounted on high, and flew away. *Tanaquil*, as they say, embraced this Augury with great joy, being a woman skilful, as commonly all the Tuscans are, in such prodigious sights and apparitions from heaven; and therewith taking her husband about the neck, willed him to be of good cheer, and to hope for great matters and high preferments: saying, how that bird came from such a quarter of the Heaven, addressed as a messenger from such a god, and shewed a divine token and presage upon the highest part of man, even the top of the Crown, and lifted up the ornament that stood upon his mortal head, to give it him again immortal, as from God above. In these hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entred the City: where they took an house, and from thence forth he was commonly called *L. Tarquinius*. Now within a while both his new coming, and his wealth withal, made him well known: and himself also besides, set forward his good fortune by courteous and fair speech and affable language to every man, by friendly inviting, and liberal feasting, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours, and good turns; so far forth, as the fame of him came into the Kings Court: where, by his willing service and singular dexterity, in short time he had not only access to the Kings knowledge, but also entred into familiar acquaintance and friendship with his Highness. Insomuch, that both in private Councels and publick consultations, as well at home as abroad, he was always present, and bare a great stroak. And having in all kind of offices carried himself with credit, was in the end by the Kings last Will and Testament made Tutor or Protector of his children: Thus raigned *Ancus* 24. years, for glory and reputation of his sage government, as well in war as in peace, equal to any of the former Kings his predecessors. The end of *Ancus*.

XXXV

Now were his sons neer 14. years of age when he died. *Tarquinius* therefore made the more haste, that the high Court of Parliament should with all speed possibly be summoned for creation of a King, which being against a day proclamed, he sent away the boys to the chase a hunting, at the very instant of the said election. He himself (as men say) was the first, that both ambitiously sought for the Crown, and also for to win the hearts of the Commons, devised and framed an eloquent Oration. "Saying, it was no new and strange thing that he stood for: And why? he was not the

"the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in *Rome* H
"affected and aspired to the Kingdom: that both *Tatius*, not of a forraigner only, but of an ene-
"my became King: and *Numa* likewise, a man unacquainted with the City and matters of State,
"was without any suite or or seeking of his part, by the Romans sent for, & advanced to the crown.
"As for himself, he alledged and said, That from the time that he was at his own liberty and dispose
"of himself, he with his wife & all that he had removed and came to *Rome*: and of that age wherin
"men are employed in civil affairs, he had spent a greater part in *Rome*, then in his own ancient
"country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the City and in war abroad, to the
"knowledg of the Roman laws, orders, and customs, and that under no mean person but an ex-
"cellent master, even King *Ancus* himself. And finally, for faithful service and diligent attendance I
"about the King, he had endeavoured to pass all others: and for liberality and courtesie towards
"all others, he had striven to go beyond the King. These and such like allegations, as he laid forth
and pleaded, and that right truly; the people of *Rome* with exceeding great consent elected them
their King. Who being a man otherwise of singular parts and of great worth, as he was ambitious
in seeking the kingdom, so continued he still, when he ware the crown: and minding no less to e-
stablish his own stare and throne, than to maintain the good estate of the Common-weal, he advan-
ced one hundred more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called *Minorum Gentium*
Patres, as a men would say, Senators of a later sort, and meaner quality. A faction, no doubt to take
part and side with the King by whose means they had been admitted into the Senate. The first war
he made, was with the Latins: from whom by force he won the town *Appiolæ*: from thence ha- K
ving brought away a greater pillage in proportion than the war imported in brute, he set forth ga-
mings and plays more stately and with greater furniture and provision, than the other Kings before
his time. Then was the plot or compass of ground first set out & appointed for the lists or theater,
called now *Circus maximus* wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the Gentle-
men or Knights severally by themselves, called *Fori*, where they might make them places to see the
pastimes at their ease and pleasure. And in this manner stood they to behold: namely, upon scaf-
folds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were
running of horses, and fighting at fists and buffets: for performance whereof, there were champi-
ons sent for of purpose, especially out of *Tuscan*. These sports continued afterwards from year to
year in great solemnity, and named diversly, either the Roman games, or the great Games. This L
King moreover assigned certain places about the *Forum* or common place for private men to build
in: where the galleries and shops were made. He went in hand likewise to wall the City about with
a stone wall, but the Sabin war staid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that
work. This came so suddenly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river *Anio*, before
the power of the Romans could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great fear
there was at *Rome*. And at the first a cruel conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts,
but no appearance of victory. But after the enemies were retired once into the camp, and that the
Romans had time to gather fresh forces, *Tarquinius* supposing his only want was in his cavalry,
determined to join unto the *Rhamnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*, which *Romulus* had ordained other
Centuries or Cornets of horsemen, and them to leave unto the posterity after him, bearing his M
own name. Which because *Romulus* had done aforetime by the counsel and advise of Augurs, *Ac-*
cius Navius renowned and famous in those days for his skill that way, opposed himself and gave
out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalf, unless the birds
first approved and allowed the same. Whereat the King was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his
art, as they say: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) areed, and tell me by the flight of your birds,
whether that may possibly be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand *Navius*,
who had first made proof therof by his learning, answered resolutely, that it might in very deed be
effected. Why then (quoth he) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a whetstone a-
sunder with a razor: Heretake them to thee, and dispatch that which thy fowls foreshew may be
done: then as the report goeth, without more ado, he cut the whetstone quite in two. And in that N
very place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of *Accius* was erected, with his head co-
vered, even in the *Comitium*, at the stairs therof on the left hand of the *Curia* or Council house. It is
reported that the whetstone also was set up in the same place, for a memorial to all posterity fol-
lowing, of that miracle. Certainly, both Auguries, and the Priesthood and Colledg of Augurs from
that time forward was so highly honored, and had in such reverence, that never after was there
ought done, either in war abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsel and advise. Assemblies
of people summoned were dismissed, armies levied and ready to take the field were discharged,
yea, and the greatest affairs of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed not
thereof. Neither did *Tarquin* for that time alter the Centuries of the horsemen any whit, only he
redoubled the number, so that in three Centuries or Cornets there were 1300. horse: and those O
later sort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because
they be double, are called the six Centuries. *Tarquin* thus having encreased that part of his power,
bade the Sabins battel the second time. And over and besides, that the Romans army was in
strength well amended, he devised also privily a subtile stratagem, and set certain men to set on fire
a mighty stack of wood, lying upon the bank of *Anio*, and so to cast it into the river: the wood
burning still by the help of the wind, and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge,
and

Circus max. imu.

A and there sticking close together with the boats and planks, fired and consumed it clean. This ac-
cident both terrified the Sabins in their flight, and when they were discomfited, troubled them
much, and hindred their flight: so that many a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the
very river. Whose armor and weapons floating down the *Tyber*, were known at *Rome*, and brought
news thither of this victory, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this
conflict the horsemen won greatest price and praise. For being placed at the skirts of both the
wings, at what time as the main battel of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire,
they charged so forcibly upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were mar-
shalled, that they not only stayed the Sabin Legions pressing hard and fiercely upon those that be-
B gan to shrink and give back, but all at once put them to flight. The Sabins ran amain towards the
mountains, but few gat thither: for the greater number, as we said before, were by the horsemen
driven into the river. *Tarquinius* thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them-
whiles they were frighted, after he had sent to *Rome*, the booty with the prisoners, and burned on
a great heap together (as he had vowed to *Vulcan*) the spoils of the enemies, marched on still for-
ward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already sustained an
overthrow, and could not hope for better success, yet because they had no time to consult and ad-
vise with themselves, with such a power as might on a sudden in that stir be raised, met with him.
Where they once again were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in despair to make
their part good, they sued for peace. Then was *Collatia*, and all the lands about it taken from the
C Sabins, *Egerius* the Kings brothers son, was left with a garrison at *Collatia* to keep that place. And *The form of ren-*
(as I find upon record) the Collatins were yeelded into his hands, and the manner of their sur- *dering a City.*
render went in this order. First, the King demanded thus and said: Are ye Embassadors, or de-
puted assigns sent from the people of *Collatia* to make surrender both of your selves and the Colla-
tines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of *Collatia* in their own power, and at liberty to
do what they will? They are (say they.) Do ye also render up your selves, the people of *Collatia*
their town, their territory and lands, their waters, their limits, their temples, their household stuff
and implements, and all thing else, as well sacred as prophane, unto my power and the peoples of
Rome. We do yeeld (say they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands.
The Sabin war thus finished, *Tarquinius* returned to *Rome* in triumph. After this, he warred
D upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so far on any side, as to join issue in a general bat-
tel, and one set field for all. But bringing his power first to one town, and after to another, he
made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latins. So as these towns, *Corniculum*, old *Ficulnea*,
Cameria, *Crustumerium*, *Ameriola*, *Medullia*, *Nomentum*, were recovered from the old Latines,
or from those that had revolted unto them.

After all this ensued peace. Then was he more earnestly bent to go forward with his works,
begun in time of peace, then he was before busied in managing of his wars: insomuch, as he gave
the people no more repose at home, then he had in wars abroad. For besides that he prepared to
compass the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a stone wall, the beginning
of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he devised also certain
E draughts or vaulted sinks from aloft into the *Tyber*, whereby he drained and kept dry the base Ci-
ty, or lowest grounds about the market place, and the other vallies between hill and hill, for that
out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conveyance away of the wa-
ter. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Tem-
ple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war, his mind even then giving him,
that one day it should be a stately place.

At the same time there hapned in the court a wonderful strange thing, both in present view,
and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was *Servius Tullius*, as
he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcry raised
at the wondering of so great a matter, the King arose: and when one of the household brought wa-
F ter to quench the flame, he was by the Queen stayed. And after the stir was somewhat appeased,
she forbade the boy to be disquieted, until such time as he awoke of himself: and within a while
as the sleep departed, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away. Then *Tanaquil* the Queen
taking her husband aside into a secret room. "See you this boy (quoth she) whom we so homely *Tanaquil* the
"keep, and in so poor and mean estate bring up? Wot well this, and know for certain, that he will *Queen unto King*
"one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affairs: he will be the chief *Tarquinius.*
"pillar and succour of the afflicted state of the Kings house. Let us therfore cherish and foster with
"all kindness and indulgence the subject matter of so great a publick and private ornament. Wher-
upon they began to make much of the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to in-
struct and train him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are stirred to great enterprises, and to
G atchieve high place of wealth and honor. And soon came to that pass, which pleased the almighty
gods. For he proved a young man indeed of princely nature and towardness: in such sort, that when
there should be a son in law sought out to match with *Tarquinius* his daughter in marriage, there
was not one of all the young gentlemen of *Rome* to be found comparable to him in any respect. So
as the King affianced his daughter unto him. This so great honor whereunto he was advanced, up-
on whatsoere cause or occasion it was, induceth me to think he was not the son of a bondwoman,
nor that he served whilst he was a little one, as a slave. I am of their mind rather, that report thus:

When

When *Corniculum* was won, the wife of *Servius Tullius*, a great Lord and principal personage of H
that City, and there slain, was left great with child: and being among other captives known whose
wife she was, in regard of her rare nobility only, was by the Queen preserved from servitude, and
at *Rome* in *Priscus Tarquinius* his house, was delivered of a child upon which so special favor, there
grew more familiar acquaintance between the two Ladies, the Queen and her self; and the child
also brought up of a little one there in Court, was both tenderly beloved, and also highly regarded.
But his mothers fortune, whose hap was after her country was lost, to fall into the hands of ene-
mies, caused men commonly to think that he was the son of a bond-slave. Now in the 38th. year
almost, after that *Tarquinius* began his reign, was this *Servius Tullius* in right great estimation and
credit, not only with the King, but also with the nobility and commons. Then the 2. sons of *An-* I
cus, who as they always before disdained in the highest degree, that they were by the deceitful
practise of their guardian, so unworthily put by the inheritance of their fathers Kingdom, and that
a stranger raigned at *Rome*, one who was not descended of any neighbor house thereby, no nor so
much as of Italian blood: so now they began much more to take stomach and indignation, in case
that after *Tarquinius*, the Kingdom should not return unto them and their line, but should still run
on end, and headlongwise fall unto such base varlets: That in the same City, 100. years almost
after that *Romulus* the son of a god, and a god him self, raigned therein, (during the time he remai-
ned here upon the earth) a very bond-slave and no better, and one born of a bond-woman, should
be possessed of the Crown: and that it would be a foul stain and dishonor generally to the name of
the Romans, but most especially to their house & family, if whilst the issue Male of *Ancus* lived, the K
Kingdom of *Rome* should lie open, and be expoted, not to strangers alone, but which is more, to
very bond-men and slaves. This ignominy therefore, and open wrong, they resolve by meer force
to put by and avoid: howbeit, the grievance of this injury done unto them, set them on against
Tarquinius himself, rather then *Servius Tullius*; both for that the King if he lived still, would be a
more sharp revenger of the murder, then a private person: and also if they should happen to kill
Servius, whomsoever besides, the King would vouchsafe for his son in law, him was he like to
make heir apparent, and inheritor also of the Kingdom. For these considerations they lay wait for
to murder the King himself in this manner: There were for the purpose to do this feat, two pas-
sing stout and sturdy herdmen chosen, who having such rustical iron tools about them, as they were
wont both of them to occupy, and made a great shew of a most tumultuous brawl and fray in the L
very porch of the Court gate: by which means, they drew all the Kings officers, sergeants, and guard
about them: then as they called with a loud voice, both the one and the other upon the King, in
such wise, as the noise was heard within the palace, they were convented before his Highness. At
their first coming they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outragious man-
ner, so as by a sergeant they were fain to be restrained and commanded to speak by turns, until at
length they gave over their confused brawlings. Then one of them on set purpose, as it was before
L. Tarquinius the King killed. agreed upon, began his tale: and while the King as wholly bent to give ear turned aside towards
him, the other lift his Ax aloft, and struck the King on the head, and leaving it sticking there still
in the wound, they whipt out both of them together, and ran their ways. And whilst they that
stood next about *Tarquinius*; took him up ready to die, the sergeants made after them that were M
fled, and apprehended them. Whereupon an outcry arose, & a great concourse of people, wondring
what the matter might be. *Tanaquil* in this hurliburly caused the Court gates to be shut, and com-
manded every one to avoid the place: and at one instant with great diligence provideth things re-
quisite to cure the wound, as if there were some hope of life: and withal, if that should fail, she
prepareth other means and remedies against the worst that might happen. Sending therefore in all
speed for *Servius*, when she had shewed him her husband half dead, and already blood-less: she took
him by the right hand, and besought him not to suffer, either the death of his father-in-law unre-
Tanaquil to *Servius*. venged, or his wives mother to be a laughing stock unto the enemies. Thine is the kingdom O *Ser-*
"*vius* by right (quoth she) if thou be a man: and not theirs, who by the hands of others have com-
"mitted a most shameful & villainous fact. Take a good heart therfore, and arm thy self, and follow N
"the guidance and direction of the gods, who long since by a divine and heavenly flame burning
"about thy head, foreshewed that one day it should be highly advanced. Now let that heavenly
"blaze raise thee up: now awake in every deed: what man! we also being strangers have born the
"Scepter: consider with thy self who thou art now, and not from whence thou art descended. And
"if in so sudden an occurrence thine own wits be astonied, and to seek, then follow my rule, and be
"advised by my counsel. In this while the noise and violence of the people was so great, that it
"could not well be suffered, Then *Tanaquil* from the upper lost of the house, out at a window that
opened into the new street (for the King kept his Court hard by the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*)
Tanaquil to the people. spake unto the people willing them to be of good cheer. "The King indeed (quoth she) was ama-
"sed and swooned at the sudden stroak, howbeit it went nothing deep: for now is he come again O
"to himself, his wound cleansed from blood, and searched: all signs of life, and no danger of death:
"and I trust in God within a whil you shall see him self again. In the mean time his pleasure is, that
"the people shall be obeysant to *Servius Tullius*; he shall minister justice and give laws, he shall
"execute and perform all the offices of the King. Then came *Servius* abroad in his royal robe,
"called *Trabea*, attended with the Lictors: and sitting in the Kings throne, some causes he dispatch-
"eth himself, of other some he maketh as though he would consult and confer with the King.

Thus

A Thus for certain daies, the King being dead, and his death concealed, he, under colour of exercit-
ting the function of another, gathered strength to himself. But when at the last it was openly
known by the wailing and lamentation which arose in the Palace, that the King was departed, *Ser-* *Servius Tullius* taketh the Crown upon him.
vius accompanied with a strong guard, shewed himself and was the first, that without the electi-
on of the people only by the will and consent of the nobles, took the Kingdom upon him.

The sons of *Ancus* at the first, seeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the King was
alive, and *Servius* so mighty, retired themselves as banished persons to *Suessa Pometia*. And *Servius*
now sought means to make himself strong, as well by private helps, as by publike. And lest per-
adventure the children of *Tarquinius* should another day be as ill affected against him, as the chil-
B dren of *Ancus* were against *Tarquinius*, he gave in marriage his two daughters to *Lucius* and
Arunx, two of the Kings sons late deceased. Yet could not he with all the policy of mans wit
stay the fatall necessity, nor stop and divert the course of the destinies; but that the envy that fol-
loweth a Kingdom bred all disturst, disloyalty, and malice, even among those of his own hou-
shold, for all their alliance and affinity. Howbeit, in very good time, and fitly for the quietness
of the present state, was the war with the *Veientes* (for now was the term of the truce expired)
and other Tuscans, taken in hand. In which war, both the valour, and also the good fortune of
Tullius was well seen and greatly renowned. Who having dis.omfited a mighty host of the ene-
mies, as undoubted King in the conceit and judgment as well of the Senators as of the Commons,
if their hearts had been sounded, returned to *Rome*.

C Then in hand went he with a work of peace, and of all other the greatest, and of most impor-
tance. To the end, that as *Numa* was the first author of divine Law and Religion: so the poster-
ity for ever after might report and record, that *Servius* was the founder of all distinction and order:
whereby between degrees of worship and wealth, there might be seen due difference, and regard
of worth. For he devised and ordained the Cense, to wit, the Assessing, and Taxation of the Citi- The Levy or taxation of the people first instituted.
zens: a thing most profitable to that state and government, which was like in time to come to
grow so mighty. By which Cense, the charges and contributions, either in war or peace, was not
levied by the poll upon the Citizens, as aforetime, but according to the valuation of their wealth
and ability. So he erected certain *Classes* and Centuries, and appointed their degrees, according to As, or Assis, a piece of brass coin, ob q. Engl. halfp.
the assessing, and valuation, meet in decent manner to serve in war, and meet to be employed in * 11 li. 10 sh. sterling.
D peace. And first of those who were rated at an * hundred thousand *Asses* and above, he ordained
80 Centuries: 40 of the elder sort, and as many of the younger: and all joyntly were counted the
first Classis. The elder were charged to be in readiness at all hours, for defence of the City: the
younger to follow the wars abroad. These were bound to find harness, for defence of their own
bodies, an headpiece or morion, a shield, greeves, and corselet, all of brass: and for offence of the
enemy, a javelin, and a sword. To this Classis were adjoyned two Centuries of Carpenters and
Smiths, or Enginers, who were in wage, and served without armour: and their charge was to
find the Campe Engines of battery and artillery. The second consisted of those that were valued
between 100000 and * 75000 Asses. And of this sort both young and old were enrolled twenty * 234 lib 7 sh. 6 d. sterl.
Centuries: who were enjoyned to provide for their armour, a target or buckler instead of a
E shield; and excepting only a corselet, in all points as the former. The third he would have to be
of those that were esteemed worth * 50000 Asses, and as many Centuries of them, and with the * 156 lb. 5 sh. sterl.
same distinction of age. Neither concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for their
greeves they were dispensed with. In the fourth Classis were those that were assessed in the Sub- *78 li. 2 sh 6 d.
sidy book, between 50000 and * 25000 Asses, and of them were so many Centuries. Their ar-
mour was changed, having no more but a spear and a casting dart, with a loop called *Vernum*. The
fifth was greater, containing thirty Centuries. These carried with them slings and stones to sling
afar off: among whom were reckoned the beadles or criers, together with the trumpeters and
cornettiers, who were divided into three Centuries. This band stood of them that were assess'd *74 lib. 7 sh. 6 d. sterl.
from 25000 unto * 11000 Asses. The valuation under this comprised all the rest of the multi-
F tude. Whereof arose one Century, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having furnished
and disposed the forces of the Infantry, he enrolled besides twelve Centuries of horsemen, and
those out of the principall men of the City: and six other Centuries likewise, to those three that
Romulus instituted, retaining the same name still that they in their first solemn institution had.
These horsemen for to buy their great horses had * 10000 Asses out of the chamber of the City * 31. lib. 5 sh.
a peece: and for to find and keep those horses were the rich widdows set yearly at * 2000 Asses a * 6. lib. 5 sh.
peece. Thus were all these charges and burdens shifted from off the poor mens shoulders, and
laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignity and honour so much the more. For
in the grand-leets and solemn elections of Magistrates, every man had not prerogative alike, nor
equall authority, as *Romulus* first ordained, and the other Kings continued, when they gave their
G voices by the poll indifferently, one with another: but there was distinction made, and certain de-
grees; but so, as neither any one was excluded or shut out, and yet the whole rested and lay in the
power of the richer sort, and chief of the City. For first the horsemen were called: afterward,
the eighty Centuries belonging to the first Classis, of the principall footmen: who if they disa-
greed, and hapned to be at any difference, then the Centuries of the second Classis were cited.
And never went they likely so low as to the last of all. Neither ought any man to marvell, that this
order in these daies, after five and thirty tribes compleat, agreeth not with the Centuries of the

D elder

elder and yonger sort, according to the computation set down by *Servius Tullius*, considering their H
number is now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters
and hils; those parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I suppose,)
For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equall contribution and paiment, pro-
portionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these Tribes any waies at all
respective to the division or number of the Centuries aforesaid. When this Levy and taxation
was finished, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the peoples fear of an act by him made,
concerning those that should not come in to be registred and enrolled in the Subsidy book: he
published an Edict, under pain of imprisonment and death, that all Citizens of *Rome*, as well horse-
men as footmen, should the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century, I
shew himself in *Campus Martius*, *i.e.* in *Mars* field. There, after he had mustered and embattelled the
whole Army, he assoiled and purged the same with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull.
And this was called *Conditum Lustrum*. Which was the very closing up and accomplishment of
the assessement. In this *Lustrum* there were numbred and assessed 80000 Citizens. *Fabius Pictor*,
a most ancient writer saith moreover, that so many there were of able men to bear arms. For to
contain this multitude, it was thought good the City should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoy-
neth unto it two hils more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment
the mount *Esquilie*: and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt him-
self, and had his Court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the City, and then
Pomœry what it is. walled it: by occasion whereof, he set out the Pomœry further. *Pomœrium*, according to the E- K
tymology and literall signification of the word, is as much to say, as *Postmœrium*, or the *Arrier-
mure*, that is, a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the
wall on either side, which the Tuscans in old time, when they built their Cities, used by advice of
Augurs, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to
set the wall: that neither within, the houses might joyn upon the wall (whereas now adaies
they build close to) and without also there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free,
and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared
and plowed, as well because it was without the wall, as the wall without it, the Romans called
Pomœrium. And ever as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls should
be set out further so far those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the Pomœry were extended. L

Thus the City being much increased in compass of building, and all things disposed in good or-
der, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not alwaies seek to purchase
wealth and puissance by war and martiall prowess only, he attempted to amplifie his dominion
by policy, and withall to bestow upon the City some glorious ornament to beautifie the same. And
even at that time was the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which
as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of *Asia*. When as therefore
Servius would use highly to praise and commend unto the Lords and heads of the Latines (with
whom of purpose he had both in publike and private, mutual entertainment and familiar acquain-
tance) that generall agreement of the Princes of *Asia*, in matters of religion, and in the uniform
worship of the same gods: at length, by much iterating and following still that theam, he prevai- M
led with them so far, that the nations of the Latines, and the people of *Rome* together, built at *Rome*
a Temple unto *Diana*: which was a plain confession, and clear case, that *Rome* was now the impe-
riall seat, for which they had so often warred. This quarrell, albeit now the Latines all in a manner
had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, seeing they had so often attempted it by force
of arms, and sped so badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to cast a favourable aspect, and
yee'ld good hope, by his private policy and industry, to recover again the imperiall dignity unto
the Latines. A certain houshold-stuff, forsooth, of the Sabins, had, as they say, a cow bred with him of
a wonderfull bigness, and faire withall. (for a memorial of which so rare and wonderfull beast the
horns were set up, and remained fast fixed in the porch of *Dianas* Temple, many a hundred years
after:) this was supposed (as it was no lesse in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the N
wise men or wizards prophesied, that the soveraignty and Empire should be setled and established
in that State, whereof any one Citizen sacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This prophesie came to the
ears of the Priest of *Dianas* Temple. The Sabin above said, so soon as he had espied a meet and
convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to *Rome*, and leads her to the Temple of *Diana*, and
there presented her before the Altar: where the Roman Priest wondring to see so huge a beast,
whereof there had been so much speech, and calling to mind withall the foresaid Oracle, spake to
the Sabin in this wise. My friend (quoth he) what mean you to sacrifice so uncleanly unto *Diana*,
and do not rather purifie and wash your self all over in some running stream, before you come hi-
ther? Lo where *Tyber* runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple
of conscience, who desired nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, that an O
happy success might be correspondent and answerable to so prodigious a beast, forthwith went
down to the *Tyber*. In the mean while, the Roman killed the Cow in honor of *Diana*. This thing
pleased the King and the whole City wonderfull well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by so long continuance, fully and really inve-
sted in the Kingdom yet because he heard say, that young *Tarquinius* other while gave out speeches
of him, that he raigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had
first

A first won the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certaine lands gotten by
conquest from the enemies, he adventured to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffra-
ges and voices, Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should raign over them. Thus was he
declared King with as great consent, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this,
had nevertheless hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather so much the more, because
he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and pas-
sed against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion thereby to accuse and
blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with
the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he was
B both himself a young man of great courage and hot stomack, and his wife likewise at home, dame
Tullia, lay ever upon him, and pricked forward his distempered and troubled mind: for you must
think, that the royall Court of *Rome* also hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragi-
call and horrible act: that by a weariness and loathing conceived against the Kings government, li-
berty and freedom might the sooner ensue: and that raign be the last, which was by mischief got-
ten first. This *L. Tarquinius*, whether he were the son or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius*, it is not ve-
ry clear, howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son. A brother he had,
Aruns Tarquinius, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the
two *Tullias*, the Kings daughters, and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike. And happi-
ly it so fell out, that two froward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such
C was the good fortune, I beleeve, of the Roman people, that thereby the raign of *Servius* might con-
tinue the longer, and the City brought and setled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame
and a proud, grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no mettall or matter
at all either to covet and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the
other *Targuin*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed,
and descended of royall bloud. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that she having a
and descended of royall bloud. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that she having a
forward and valorous Knight to her husband, sat still, and seconded him not in audacity and bold-
ness, as a woman should do. Well, in short time likeness and disposition soon brought them toge-
ther, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naught, and sort best together. But the mischief
and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For she using to have secret
D conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband
unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. "Affirming in good earnest, it were better
"both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than so to be mis-
"matched as they were, and through the craven cowardise of others to languish and come to no-
"thing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and
"worthiness, she doubted not to see, and that very shortly, the Crown in her own house, that now
"she seeth in her fathers. In this manner possesseth she quickly the humorous young man, and fil-
led his head with her own rashness and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius*, and the elder *Tul-
lia*, who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and
overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and con-
E nivency, rather than his good liking. But then every day more than other began *Tullius* to be a
continuall mote in their eies, his old age hatefull, and his raign more odious: for now the woman
minded nothing but one mischief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest
night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and past, should serve to no purpose, *Tullia to her husband.*
and miss the effect of their designments. And thus she brake out and said, That she wanted not be-
fore one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and
said nothing. "But she had a want of one, that thought himself worthy of a kingdom, that remem-
"bred he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be seised of a Crown and sceptre
"indeed, than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof. But sir (quoth she) if you be the man to whom
"I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: if not, then is our case changed for
F "the worse, in that cowardliness is accompanied now with wickedness. Why resolve you not?
"why arm you not your self, and go about this business? you need not go so far as to *Corinth* or
"*Tarquinii*, for to seek and compass forrain kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own
"house and native country, the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein
"the royall seat and throne of estate, yea, the very name of *Tarquin*, createth, nameth, and saluteth
"you King. But an if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why bear you the world in hand
"and deceive them? why take you so upon you as you do, to shew your self as a kings son? Get
"you hence to *Corinth* again, away to *Tarquinii*, turn backward to your former stock and condi-
"tion, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of
reproof she checked the young man, set him on and pricked him forwards, and she her self for her
G part, could be at no repose, for thinking that *Tanaquil*, an alien and stranger born, could contrive in
her head, and effect so great a matter, as to make two kings together one after other, namely, her
husband first, and afterwards her son in law: and she her own self, a Kings daughter, could bear no
stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom. *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and tempta-
tions of a woman, went about, laboured and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were
Minorum gentium: oftentimes putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father
had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men, the
flower

flower and manhood in generall of the City, he wrought and won to himself with gifts: and so H
partly with great promises, what wonders would he do, and partly with raising slanders upon the
King in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mighty. At the
last, espying a convenient time to let on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a
strong guard of armed men, he entred forcibly into the Forum or common place of assembly,
whereat the people all surprized with great feare, he sat him down upon the Kings throne, even at
the entrance of the *Curia* or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Sena-
tors to counsell before King *Tarquinius*. Who forthwith there assembled together: Some, thereto
made and prepared aforehand: others, for fear lest their not coming might turn them to displeasure.
And as they were astonied at this strange and wonderful sight, so they thought *Servius* utterly un- I
done, and his case desperate. There *Tarquinius* began an invective in spightful & reproachful termes,
touching the first pedigree or parentage of *Servius*: " saying, that he being a slave, & born of a bond-
" woman, after the cruel and shamefull death of his father *Tarquin*, usurped the Kingdom: not by
" means of an Interregn, as the order was aforetime, nor by a solemn assembly, and the free voices
" of the people, nor yet by the assent of the nobles, but only through the wile and fraud of one wo-
" man. And as he was (quoth he) thus born and thus created King, so hath he been a partial favorer
" ever of the baseft sort, even such as himself; and in hatred of the noble birth of others hath divi-
" ded amongst the vilest persons, lands taken from the chief men of the City; and all such burdens
" and charges, as had been in times past common to all, he hath cast upon great personages of quali-
" ty and worth, and set up an assessing or taxing, that the state of the wealthier persons being made K
" known and exposed to envy, he might bring them into disgrace with the people, and bestow their
" goods upon the poorest and neediest at his pleasure. Amidst this Oration of his came *Servius* in
place, advertised of the matter by a fearful messenger in all hafte. And presently began to cry out
with a loud voice at the very porch or entry of the *Curia*: " What is here ado, (quoth he) and what
" meaneth this O *Tarquin*? how darest thou during my life, assemble the Senators or sit on my seat?
" Whereunto he stoutly made a proud answer, that he did but keep his fathers throne, and being
" as he was, a Kings son, he deemed himself more worthy to be inheritor of the Kingdom than a
" bondslave: and as for him, he had been suffered long enough to play with his good Masters, and
" to insult over his betters. With this arose a great clamour from the partakers and complices of
both sides: the people they ran from all parts to the Councill-house, and like it was, that the stron- L
ger should be King. Then *Tarquinius* being put to his shifts, and forced to try the utmoft, seeing no
other remedy, took *Servius* by the middle, as being himself much yonger and stronger far, carried
him out of the Council-house, and threw him down from the stairs head to the foot, and so return-
ned again into the Senate-house, to get the Senators together. The Kings Officers with the guard
attending upon him, fled. Himself well near dead, with certain of his courtiers and train, breathless
also for fear, made speed, and retired towards his Pallace, as far as to the top of *Cyprius* ftreet, where
Servius Tullius killed. he was overtaken by them that were sent by *Tarquinius*, and so slain outright. And it is verily
thought, that this was done by the suggestion and procurement of *Tullia*; so little disagreeth it
from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certainty, that she came riding
in her coach into the common place of assembly, and nothing dismaied or abashed at the presence M
of so many men, there met together, called forth her husband out of the Senate-house, and was the
first that stiled him with the title of King. By whom she being willed to depart away out of that
throng and uproar, as she returned homward as far at the pitch of *Cyprius* ftreet, where was of late
a place consecrated unto *Diana*, called *Dianium*, the coachman that had the guiding and driving of
the steeds as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliff *Virbius*, for to pass up to the hill
Esquilie, suddenly staid for fear, and reined in his horses, and shewed unto his Lady and Mistris *Ser-*
vius lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report goeth) a beastly part, and beyond
all sense of humanity, which the very place doth witness still at this day, called thereupon *Scelera-*
tus Vicus, *i.e.* the wicked ftreet: wherein the raging and frantick woman *Tullia*, hurried with the
furies and haunted with the ghosts of her sister and husband, caused (men say) her chariot to be N
driven over her fathers dead corps; and being her self besprinkled and beraied with the bloody
chariot, carried home with her some part of it in token and witness, that her hand was in this par-
ricide and murder of her own father: to the end, that she might provoke her own domesticall
gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure: and so consequently, as they entred their raign
with mischief and wickednes, they might soon after be turned out thereof with shame and infa-
my. *Servius Tullius* raigned four and fourty years, in such wise carrying himself, as it were hard, e-
ven for a good and staid Prince that should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover
for his glory and fame, that together with him died all right and lawfull government of Roman
Kings. And even that regiment of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it
rested in the absolute power of one man, he was minded, as some do write, to have forgone and O
given over had not this wicked intestine practise from his own family come between, to prevent
and cut off his good designs and intent to set his country free.

After him began to raign *Tarquinius*, for his insolent acts surnamed *Superbus*, *i.e.* the proud.
For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind son in law he) to be interred: saying oftentimes
in jibing manner, that *Romulus* also died and was never buried. Moreover, the principall heads
of his Peers and Nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured *Servius* his proceedings, and took

part

A part with him, those he made away and slew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his own consci-
ence, that he had given an ill precedent for others, to take vantage against himself, attaining to the
Crown so lewdly; he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his body: and in very truth,
setting only might aside, no other right had he to wear the diadem, as who raigned neither by peo-
ples election nor Senators approbation. Over and besides all this, to the end he might sit safely in his
seat by servile fear and dread, who reposed no trust nor hope in the love of his subjects; therefore
to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in awe, he by himself alone without assistance
of any counsell, sate upon all matters of life and death: by means whereof he was able to kill, ba-
nish, and condemn in forfeiture of lands and goods, not those only whom he suspected and hated,
B but also them, from whom he could look for nothing else but spoil. Thus when he had decaied the
number of the nobles especially, he purposed to chuse no new in their place, for to make supply: to
the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemptible the whole order might grow: and with
less discontent put up the indignity, that they were not employed in the State, nor ought done by
their advice. For this King was the first that abolished the custome received and continued by all
others afore him, of consulting with the Senate in all matters, & managing nothing without them.
He governed the Commonweale by himself, and after his own waies: with whom it pleased him
he made war and peace, league and society, even of his own head: & would break the same as him-
self thought good: thus he did, and ordid all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind,
or the Senates authority. Above all, he sought to win the hearts and good wills of the Latine na-
C tion, that by support of forrain power also, he might be more secure and safe among his own peo-
ple: neither entertained he with their Princes friendship and amity only, but entred also into alli-
ance and affinity with them. For unto *Octavius Mamilius* a Tusculan, he gave his daughter in mar-
riage. This *Mamilius* was of all Latines the principall and nobleft person, lineally descended (if we
may beleeve the common bruit and report) from *Ulysses* and *Circe*. By this marriage he gained ma- L
ny kinsfolk and friends of his new son in law. So that now *Tarquinius* was in great authority and
reputation among the Lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon he gave them knowledge, and
proclaimed, that upon a certain day they should all meet him at the sacred grove of *Ferentina*, to
treat and commune together about matters concerning the common good of both States. Thither
resorted they in great number betimes in the morning. And *Tarquinius* himself failed not for his
D part to keep the very day appointed but it was sunsetting well near before he came. There, in that
assembly all day long, before his coming, was much talk and reasoning, *pro & contra*, touching him.
Turnus Herdonius of *Aricia*, had inveighed spightfully against *Tarquinius* in his absence (for his *Turnus Herdo-*
being away) saying, " It was no marvell indeed that he was at *Rome* surnamed *Superbus* (for even *nius* his Ora-
" then commonly they termed him so, although secretly, and in whispering wise.) For could there *tion against*
" be (quoth he) a prouder part plaid, than thus to mock delude, and abuse the whole state of *Lati-* *Tarquinius Su-*
" *um*, that when their princes and nobles were cited there to appear, far from the Cities and dwel- *perbus.*
" ling houses, he only should be absent that summoned the assembly? Which verily was but a de-
" vice of his to try their patience, that if they once took the yoke, he might keep them still under
" as his vassals: for who seeth not what he reacheth at? even to command and Lord it over the
E " Latines. And in case his own Citizens have done well, in trusting him in the rule over them (if a
" man may say they trusted him, and not rather that he came foulely and forcibly by it even with
" shameful murder) the Latines also may put themselves into his hands with security. And yet I see
" not why they should so do, considering he is a meer stranger and alien. But how and if his own
" subjects repent, and are discontented with him, being one after another by him murdered, bani-
" shed, deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may the Latines hope and look
" for? Therefore if they would be ruled by him, they should depart home every man, and not keep
" the day of the Diet no more than he doth that published and proclaimed it. Whileft this seditio-
us and dangerous person, who by these and such like factious courses was grown to be a great
man and powerfull in his country, stood arguing thus, inforcing and following hard upon other
F points, tending to the same effect, in cometh *Tarquinius*. Whereupon he brake off his speech, and
all was husht. Then turned every man to salute and welcome *Tarquinius*: Who after silence made
(being advised by some of his familiars that were next unto him, to excuse himself for coming at
that time of the day) said, that he had been taken to be an arbitrator or daiesman between the fa-
ther and the son: and because he was desirous and carefull to procure an attonement between
them, and to make them good friends: he made the longer stay and came the later. Which occa-
sion of businels seeing it had disappointed them of that day, therefore the morrow after he would
deliver that which he had in purpose and intended to move unto them. But *Turnus* (as they say)
could not hold, nor put up so much as this with silence: but brake out and said again, there was no
speedier deciding and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son; a thing that
G might be dispatched in few words: for if he would not obey and give place unto his father, he
should abide the smart of it with a mischief. And thus the *Aricine* having girded as it were, and
glanced at the Roman King, departed out of the Assembly. Which thing *Tarquinius* taking more
disn easantly a good deal than he made semblance of, forthwith devised and practised to bring
Turnus to his death, that he might strike the same terrour into the hearts of the Latines, where-
with he had kept under his own subjects at home. And for that he had no absolute power to cause
him openly to be slain, he framed most falsely a criminall action against the guiltless man; thereby,

wrongfully to work his destruction. By means of certain *Ariciani* of a contrary faction, he H
wrought a bondslave of *Turnus* with a sum of money, to suffer a number of swords privily to be
Tarquinius against Turnus Herdonius. conveyed into his Masters Inn or Lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, *Tarquinius* somewhat before day, sent for the chief Lords of the Latines to come unto him; and pre-
tending as though he were frighted by some strange accident, said, "That his long tarrying the day
"before, (by Gods speciall providence, as it were, so appointed) was for the safety of him and them
"all. For he was informed that *Turnus* contrived to massacre both him and the heads of their na-
"tion, to the end that he alone might raign over the Latines: That he minded yesterday to have
"put this plot in execution, even in the very assembly; but the deed was deferred, for that him-
"self (the principall author of that meeting) whose life he sought for above all other, was not in I
"place: and hereupon it was (saith he) that he fared so as he did, and railed against him so bitterly
"the day before in his absence; for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his hope and the
"effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the
"morning at break of the day, so soon as they were set in Councill together, he would come ar-
"med and well appointed with a crew of his adherents and sworn confederats: for reported it is,
"(quoth he) that a number of swords & other weapons are brought into his lodging: which whe-
"ther it be so or no might soon be known. And therewith he desired them to take the pains to go
with him thither. And verily, considering the proud nature and haughty spirit of *Turnus*, together
with his yesterdaies Oration, and the long stay of *Tarquinius* besides, for that the pretended mas-
sacre seemed thereby to have been put off and prolonged, the matter became very suspicious and K
pregnant. Thus go they with minds verily somewhat enclined and disposed to beleeve all, and yet
so, as they would think all the rest but tales and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being
come to the house, and *Turnus* awakened out of sleep, certain warders were set to keep him on e-
very side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their Lord and Master
began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hostel-
ry openly to be seen: then was it a clear case and past all peradventures: and *Turnus* was appre-
hended and irons clapt upon him. And immediatly in all haste the Latines assembled together to
councill in that great tumult and uproar: Where, upon bringing forth the swords in sight before
them all, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer
Turnus Herdonius put to death. and plead for himself, but was presently at the source or spring head of the *Ferentine* water plunged L
down, and a hurdle done aloft upon him, and great stones heaped thereon, and so after a new kind
of death stifled and drowned. *Tarquinius* then, after he had called the Latines again to the place of
councill, and much commended them for duly executing *Turnus*, who practising thus to alter and
trouble the state, was detected of a manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: "I
Tarquinius to the Aricins. "might (quoth he) if I would, by vertue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that forasmuch as all the
"Latines are descended from *Alba*, they are comprised within that confederacy and league,
"whereby in the raign of *Tullus* the whole Commonweal and State of *Alba*, together with their
"inhabitants, became incorporate into the Empire of *Rome*. Howbeit, in regard rather of the com-
"modity and weal-publike of all, I judge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the
"Latines might enjoy and be partakers of the prosperity and happy fortune of the people of *Rome*, M
"rather than evermore to hazard and suffer the destruction and desolation of their Cities, with
"the spoiling and wasting of their lands, which first in *Ancus* daies they tasted, and after in my fa-
"thers time they had abidden & suffered. The Latines were hereto soon perswaded. And although
in that league the preheminence and soveraignty rested in the Romans, yet they saw well enough
that both the Heads and Rulers of the Latine Nation stood with the Roman King, and were
wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also *Turnus* unto them was a fresh precedent and
example, to teach them what danger might betide every one that should make a part against him
and cross his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made according as it was
capitulated, that all the serviceable men of the Latines should at a day appointed repair in good
number with their armour unto the grove of *Ferentina*. Who when they were there met together N
from all parts according to the Edict of the Roman King, to the end they should have no Cap-
tain of their own to lead them, no privy watchword or regiment by themselves to direct them,
nor private ensigns distinct from the rest to keep them together; he shuffled or mingled the bands
and companies of Latines and Romans one with another, making one of twain, and two of one:
and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in
peace an unjust Prince, yet was he in war no bad Captain: nay, for martiall prowess he had been
equall to the former Kings, had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and thereby stained
and hurt his glory even in that behalf. He was the first that warred upon the Volscians, which war
Suessa Pometia won by the Romans. after his time lasted more than 200 years: and won from them by force *Suessa Pometia*. Where
** 1070 li. sterl.* having made portsale of the pillage, and raised as much gold and silver as amounted to * 40 talents, O
he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of *Jupiter* as might beseem the soveraign
King of gods and men, become the noble Empire of *Rome*, and answer the Majesty also of the ve-
ry place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that mo-
ney apart, that came of the spoil aforesaid. But presently upon this was he surprised with a war
that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vain upon *Gabii*,
a neighbour City to *Rome*, and despairing also of any good success by beleaguering the town,
for

A for that he was valiantly repulsed from the wals, at the last he devised and resolved to get it by
wile and deceit: a course that Romans had not usually practised. For making as though he had gi-
ven over and abandoned this war, as being now earnestly bent and busily occupied about laying
the foundations of the Temple, and following other publike works in the City: *Sextus* his son, the
youngest of three, fled on purpose to *Gabii*, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigour and cru-
elty against him: saying, "That now he had turned his accustomed pride from strangers upon his *Sextus Tarquinius to the Gabians.*
"own bloud, and was grown to be weary of so many children: that as he had made good hand
"and clean riddance of his Nobles, and left the Senate desolate, so he might bring it to pass in his
"own house, to leave behind him no issue nor inheritor of the Kingdom. And for his own person
B "verily, he was escaped from among the pikes and swords of his father, and was perswaded fully,
"he might no where be sure in safety, but with the capitall enemies of *L. Tarquinius*. For to put
"them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abused, the war continued still against
"them, which seemed in outward shew given over and laid away: and his father would not fail,
"but whensoever he could spy his vantage and fit opportunity, come upon them at unawares. But
"in case there were no place of refuge and protection for poor & humble suppliants amongst them,
"he would wander & travel all over *Latium*: and if he might not rest there, he would from thence
"go to the Volscians, Æquians, and Hernicks, untill he came to them that knew how to save the
"children from the cruelty and inhumane persecution of the fathers. Perhaps he should find
"means to stir coals and kindle war, yea, and perform himself good service against that most proud
C "King, and that most stout and insolent people. And seeming with all in great anger and discon-
tentment, (if they would not regard his complaints) ready to depart and go his waies, he was kind-
ly entertained and friendly entreated by the *Gabians*: "who willed him to be of good chear and *The Gabins to Sextus Tarquinius.*
"not to marvell at all, that *Tarquinius* became now at length so ill affected against his own chil-
"dren, like as he had tyrannized already upon his subjects and confederats: for he would no doubt
"in the end exercise his fell stomack even upon himself, for want of other subject matter to work
"upon. And as to him, right welcome he was to them, assuring themselves that within a while it
"would so come to pass, that if he with them would set to his helping hand, they should remove
"the war from the gates of *Gabii* unto the very walls of *Rome*. After this was he admitted to sit
with them in common counsell. In which he used oftentimes to say, "That in other matters he *Sex. Tarquinius to the Senators of the Gabins.*
D "gave place, and referred himself to be advised by the ancient Gabins, as men more practised and
"experienced than himself, but for the war, which ever and anon he perswaded them unto, himself
"took upon him a speciall insight and skill therein; as he that knew the strength of both nations,
"and was fully perswaded in his conscience, that the Kings pride must needs be odious to his sub-
"jects, which his very own children could not brook and endure. Thus whiles by little and little
E he sollicited the principall Citizens to rebell, and went himself daily in person with a crew of the
most forward and able young men, sotraging, spoiling, and making rodes into the Territory of the
Romans, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end,
they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceive them, he was at
last chosen Generall for the war. And having made certain small skirmishes between *Rome* and *Ga-*
bes, in which for the most part the Gabins had the better (whiles the simple people, God wot, saw
not his drift and how he carried the matter:) then all the Gabins from the highest to the lowest,
thought verily and in good earnest, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was sent them by speciall grace even
from God above to be their Captain and Protector. But with the souldiers, what with attempting
painfull enterprizes and performing dangerous service, and what with dealing prizes liberally a-
mongst them, it passed how he grew into credit, and how dearly he was beloved: insomuch as *Tar-*
quinius the Father was of no greater command at *Rome*, than *Tarquinius* the Son at *Gabes*. Thus
when he saw he had gathered strength sufficient, and was fully furnished against all assaies; he dis-
patched unto his father at *Rome*, one of his trusty servants with credence, to know his will and plea-
sure, seeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at *Gabes* was able to do all in all. To
F this message made the King no answer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily
think, for one hardly to be trusted. But as one musing with himself and in a deep study what answer
to shape, he went into a garden on the back side of the house, and his sons messenger followed af-
ter. There walked he up and down, and said never a word: only with his rod or walking staff, as
if it is reported, he knapt off the uttermost heads and tops of the poppies. The messenger weary with
calling for an answer, and waiting such attendance, returned to *Gabes* as wise as he came, and with-
out effect of his errand. He reported what he had said and seen, namely, how the King, whether
upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrafted by nature, uttered no speech at all. But *Sextus* knowing by
these mysticall and secret circumstances, his fathers will and direction, made no more ado but slew
the chief of the Citizens: some by accusations unto the people, and others by reason of disgrace
G they were already in, and thereby exposed unto violence, were soon overthrown. Many of them
were openly executed, and some, whom there was little apparance or colour of justice or none at
all to accuse, were secretly murdered. Divers of their own accord fled into voluntary exile, or else
they were forced into banishment; whose goods as well as theirs that were put to death, were di-
vided among the people. By sweetness of this largess of spoil, by the profit and wealth that grew to *The City of Gabii sureendred to Tarquinius*
private persons; the publike woe and calamity was nothing felt and seen: untill such time as the
Gabine whole estate, despoiled of counsell, bereft of aid and succour, yeelded without dint of sword
unto the King of *Rome*. *Tarquinius*

Tarquinius having thus gained the town of *Gabes*, made peace with the nation of the Æquians, H and renued the league with the Tuscans. After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principall, to leave behind him the Temple of *Jupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memoriall of his raign and name. That of two *Tarquins*, Kings both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions, might wholly be dedicated to *Jupiter* and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to exaugurate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chappels, which having been first vowed, by King *Tatius*, in the very extremity of the battel against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and I soveraign deity, moved the gods to declare the future mightinesse of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signs out of the Augurs learning, admitted and allowed the exauguration and unhallowing of all other cels and chappels besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to confirm the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous prefage, and thus interpreted, That seeing the seat and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not displaced and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuity being received for good and currant: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, portending the greatnesse also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared (as they say) a mans head, face and all, whole and sound: which sight imported no doubt, and plainly foretold, that it should be K the chief Castle of the Empire, and the Capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City, as those whom they sent for out of *Tuscan*, to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly set upon sumptuous building, and spared for no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Pometia*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therfore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but * 40 talents, and no more, than to *Piso*, who writeth, that there was * 40000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which sum or mass of money could never be looked for to arise out of the saccage of one only City in those daies: and must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being L thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of *Tuscan*, employed not only the Cities money and stock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall. Which was no small toil of theirs, considering the travell of warfare besides: yet were they less agrieved and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their own hands the Temples of the immortall gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were less in shew, so were they more painful and of greater trouble, namely, the making of scaffolds or standing-places in the Cirque or Theater; and to the conveyance of a mighty great sinke or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, scarcely is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect comM parable. Having in this wise held the commons in continuall labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but over-charge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the Confines of his Dominions, he therefore sent part of them to inhabit and people *Signia* and *Circeii*, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

Terminus the god of bounds and meers.

Tarquinius Priscus founded the Temple of the Capitoll.

* 7500 li. sterl.

* 125000. lib. sterl.

Whilest he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearfull sight, namely, a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and caused them to flie into the Kings palace, did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentany fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the *Calchars* and wise men of *Tuscan* about N publike prodigious tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearfull sight, being domesticall, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *Delphi* to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatall lots, he addressed two of his sons to take a voyage through unknown lands in those daies, and more unknown seas into *Greece*. *Titus* and *Arunx* were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way, *L. Junius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the son of *Tarquinia*, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He having heard say, that certain principall Citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death; to the intent that himself might have nothing left, either in O the parts of his mind for the King to fear, or in his outward state for him to covet and desire: resolved under the cloak of base contempt to save himself, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safegard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a noddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an escheat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriate to unreasonable creatures; that under the shadow & colour of that surname, that courage of his lying close hid, which

Jun. Brutus counterfeiteth a foole.

A which should one day set free the City of *Rome*, might abide the full time and appear in due season. This *Brutus* being by the *Tarquins* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing stock to make them passtime by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men say) for to offer and present unto *Apollo* a golden rod within a staffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by secret circumstances, of his naturall disposition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers commission accordingly, were very desirous and earnest to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them should be King of *Rome*. And from the bottom of the deep Vault, this answer, as men say, was delivered in their hearing: [*Which of you (O young men) shall first kisse your mother, he shall bear chief and soveraign rule in* Rome.]

B The *Tarquins* then intending that *Sextus* their brother who was left behind at *Rome*, might neither know the answer, nor yet obtain the kingdom, willed the matter should by all possible means be carried so secret as might be, and concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twain, when they were returned to *Rome*, should first kiss his mother. But *Brutus* supposing the speech of *Apollo* his Priest, tended to another sense, made as though he stumbled forward and took a fall, and so touched the ground with his mouth and kissed the earth, thinking this with himself, that she was common mother of all mortall men. Then returned they to *Rome*, where they found great preparation for war against the Rutilians.

Ardea besieged by the Romans

The Rutilians then were Lords of *Ardea*. A people in those parts, and for those times, very rich and wealthy: and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of war. The C Roman King was desirous both to enrich himself, as having about the sumptuous building of publike works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his naturall subjects: being much discontented (besides their generall mislike of his pride otherwise) at his manner of government; and disdaining greatly that they were by the King made labourers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held so long to servile toil and painfull labour. The Romans assaied at the beginning to surprise and win *Ardea* by assault: but when that way sped but ill, then began they to annoy and distresse the enemies by laying siege, by casting trenches, raising forts, and fabricks about the town. During this siege, and the standing camp lying there, (as it falleth out commonly, when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruell) there were granted large licenses and pasports to and fro between the Camp and *Rome*, with much liberty: and D yet more to the Principals of the Army than to the common Souldiers. And the Kings sons had otherwhile good leisure to feast and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whiles they were drinking and making merry with *Sextus Tarquinius* in his pavilion, where *Collatinus Tarquinius* the son of *Egerius* sat at supper; there arose among other good table-talk, some arguing about their wives; whiles every man highly praised and wondrously commended his own. And growing to some heat and contention thereabout: There need not many words for this matter, quoth *Collatinus*, for in few hours it may be known how far my *Lucretia* surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any lustinesse and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horseback, and in our own persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shall be found and seen, taken of a sudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, so let everyman judge of them, and set that down for the only triall of this controversie. They had all E taken their drink well, and were prettily heat with wine: Mary, content say they all, and to horse they go, and away they gallop on the spur to *Rome*. Thither were they come by the shutting in of the evening when it grew to be dark; and so forward without any stay to *Collatia* they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the Kings sons wives, whom they had supriséd and seen afore, passing the time away in feasting and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up far within the night in the midst of her house amongst her maidens, hard at woollwork by candle-light. Whereupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praise and commendation rested in *Lucretia*: Her Husband and the *Tarquins* had a loving and courteous welcom at her hands. And be again for joy of the victory, invited the Kings sons kindly and made them friendly cheare. There at that instant *Sextus Tarquinius* was bewitched and possessed with F wicked wanton lust, for to offer violence and villany unto *Lucretia*: her passing beauty and her approved chastity set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had disported themselves all night long like lusty and pleasant youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the Camp. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinius*, unwitting to *Collatinus*, attended with one only man came to *Collatia*, where he was again in good and friendly sort received by them in the house, that suspected nothing less than that whereabout he was come. And being after supper brought up into the guest chamber, when he thought all about him sure, and that every body was fast asleep, all set on fire and burning in love, he steppeth with naked sword in hand to *Lucretia*, as she lay sleeping full soundly, and bearing down the womans breast with his left hand, Peace (quoth he) *Lucretia*, & not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinius*, I have my drawn sword in hand: if thou once G speak thou shalt surely die. The silly woman thus starting out of sleep was sore affright, as seeing no remedy but in a manner present death, in case she had cried for help. Then uttered *Tarquinius* and confessed his amorous passion, fell to entreat and entreat again, and with his prayers intermedled threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all means to stir, to sound and tempt the womans heart. But when he saw her obstinate and invincible, and (to die for it) not relenting one jot; then, besides the fear of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame: pretending

The story of dame *Lucretia*.

pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man- H
servant with his throat cut: that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthy
Lucretia forced by Tarquinius Sextus. adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, see how sinfull lust gat the victory, and conquered
constant chastity: and *Tarquinius* in great pride and jollity, that he had by assault won the fort of
a womans honour, departed thence. But wofull *Lucretia*, all sorrowing for so heavy a mischance,
dispatched a messenger to her father at *Rome*, and so forward to her husband at *Ardea*, with this
errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and trusty friend, and
hereof they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a grievous
chance and horrible. So there repaired to her *Sp. Lucretius* her father, accompanied with *P. Vale-*
rius the son of *Volesus*: and *Collatinus* her husband, with *L. Jun. Brutus*. Who both together by I
chance going back to *Rome*, encountred in the way his wives messenger. *Lucretia* they found sit-
ting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad: and she at the coming of these her deareſt friends,
The pitifull plaints of chaste *Lucretia*. shed tears and wept apace. How now my dear (quoth her husband) is all well? "No God wot sir,
"(quoth she again:) For how can ought be well with a woman that is despoiled of her honour
"and womanhood? The print, *Collatinus*, of another man is to be seen in thy own bed. Howbeit,
"my body only is distained: my mind and heart remaineth yet unspotted: and that my death shall
"make good and justifie. But give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promise that the
"adulterer shall not escape unpunished. *Sex. Tarquinius* is the man, he it is, who this night past, en-
"tertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken
"from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me: and to himself also no less, K
"if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give their assured word, comforted the
wofull hearted woman, excused her self that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that
committed the shamefull act: saying, It is the mind that sinneth, and not the body: and where there
was no will and consent, there could be no fault at all. "Well (quoth she) what is his due to have,
"see you to that: as for me, howsoever I quit and assoil my self of sin, yet I will not be freed from
"punishment. And never shall there by example of *Lucretia*, any unhonest woman or wanton har-
"lot live a day: & thus having said, with a knife which she had close hidden under her cloaths, she
Lucretia killeth her self. "stabbed her self to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yeeld up the
"ghost. Out alas, cried her husband and father hereat: and whilest they two were in their plaints
and moans, *Brutus* drew forth the knife out of the wound of *Lucretia*, & holding it out afore him, L
all embrued and dropping with bloud, "Now I swear (quoth he) by this bloud, by this most chaste
"and pure bloud, before the villany wrought by the Kings son, and here before the gods I protest,
"whom I call to witness, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main persecute
"and drive the country of *L. Tarquinius* the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood
"of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to raign as King at *Rome*. Then
gave he the knife to *Collatinus*, and so to *Lucretius* & *Valerius*, who greatly amazed at this so strange
occurrent, and wondring how it came to pass, that *Brutus* should of a sudden be so changed, and
become so stout of stomack and couragious, took the same form of oath that he sware afore: and
so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed
Brutus as their Captain and Leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and ut- M
terly to root out their race. The dead corps of *Lucretia*, was had out of doors, brought into the
market place, and there shewed. And thither, what with wondring (as the manner is) at so strange
a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they raised much people together.
Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickednes and violence done by the
Kings bloud. The sorrow of *Lucretius* the father on the one side, the resolution of *Brutus* on the o-
ther side, who rebuked and blamed all vain weeping and foolish moaning, moved and persuaded
all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms a-
gainst them that demeaned themselves no better, nay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
the braveſt and tallest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. The
rest of the youths followed streight after. And having left at *Collatia* the one half of their forces in N
garrison, toward the gates, and set certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the
King and his sons, of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner,
followed their leader *Brutus*, from thence directly to *Rome*. At the sudden coming thither of this ar-
med multitude: no marvell if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there arose a fear
and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall Citi-
zens in the forefront, they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily
this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no less at *Rome*, than it had before at *Collatia*. Ther-
fore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the market place. And being
thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appeare before the Tri-
bune of the *Celeres* or Captain of the guard: which office haply *Brutus* bare at that time. Where O
The Remonstrances of *Ju. Brutus*, inciting the people against the King and his bloud. he made an Oration not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that quality of nature which
unto that day he had pretended and made shew of unto the world, for he inveighed against
the violence and filthy lust of *Sextus Tarquinius*: the shamefull villany and not to be named,
done upon the body of *Lucretia*: "he discoursed of her lamentable end and pitious death, and
"the desolate case of *Tricipitinus*, bereft now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of
"his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pitifull, than her very death. Moreover he
"laid

A "laid abroad the pride of the King himself, the miseries, the infinite toile and pains of the Com-
"mons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleansing and casting of ditches, voiding and car-
"ming of the sinks. Saying, that the men of *Rome* which were the conquerers of all nations about
"them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of stone and day-laborers. He reckoned
"up also and put them in mind of the unworthy death and cruell murder of *Servius Tullius*: and
"how his daughter (oh abominable act!) rode over the corps of her father in her cursed chariot:
"And herewith he calleth on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents.
Thus rehearsing these and other matters, much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleeve) ac-
cording as the present indignity at the very time doth minister and give utterance for, not so easily
B penned and set down by writers that come after, he so mightily inflamed the multitude, that he
caused them to depose the King, to deprive him of his royall state and dignity, yea, and to decree
and enact, that *L. Tarquinius* with his wife and children should be banished for ever. Himself ha-
ving selected and armed the younger gallants who offered their service, and willingly entred their
names, set forward in person to the Camp lying before *Ardea*, for to excite the Army there against
the King: leaving the government of the City unto *Lucretius*, who had before been appointed
Deputy and Lieutenant there, by the King. In this time of garboile, *Tullia* left the palace and fled,
and all the way as she went, both men and women cursed and cried out upon her, and besought the
ghostly spirits and furies of parents to be avenged. When news hereof was brought into the Camp,
and that the King upon these strange tidings made haste towards *Rome*, to stay and suppress these
C broyls: *Brutus* having intelligence of his coming, turned another way because he would not meet
with him. And so at one instant in a manner, by contrary journies came *Brutus* to *Ardea*, and *Tar-* Tarquinius the King banished.
quinius to *Rome*. But the gates were shut against *Tarquinius*, and instead of entrance, warned he
was, and commanded into exile. The whole Camp received with joy *Brutus* the redeemer of their
City. From thence were also the Kings sons driven: two of them followed after their father and
departed into banishment unto *Cære*, a town of the Tuscans: as for *Sextus Tarquinius*, he retired
himself to *Gabes* as it were into his own Kingdom: where he was murdered in revenge of old
quarrels, upon malice and hatred of the people which he had brought upon himself in times past.
L. Tarquinius Superbus raigned 25 years. Thus continued the Kings Regiment at *Rome*, from the
D foundation of the City, unto the freedom and redemption thereof 244 years. Then in a solemn
assembly and election by the Centuries, held by the Provost of the City, according to the ordi- Consuls first created.
nance of *Servius Tullius* in his Commentaries, two Consuls were created: *L. Junius Brutus*, and
L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

The Second Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

E

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Second Book.

BRutus *took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to raign King at* Rome. *He compel-*
led his fellow Consull Tarquinius Collatinus, *a suspected man to take part with the* Tarquins, *by*
reason of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Consulship, and to depart the City. The goods of
the King and his sons he commanded to be seized upon, and rifled. A field of theirs he consecrated to
Mars, *which was named afterwards* Campus Martius, *or* Mars field. *He beheaded certain young Gen-*
F *tlemen of the Nobility, together with his own and his brothers sons, for conspiring to receive the King and*
his Complices again into the City. Unto the bondslave Vindicius, *that bewrayed the complot, he gave his*
freedom, of whom Vindicta *took the name. Having led an Army against the King who had assembled*
a power of Veientians *and* Tarquinians, *and made war, he died in battell together with* Arunx, *the son*
of Superbus: *and for his death the dames of* Rome *mourned one whole year.* P. Valerius *the Consul*
propounded and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitoll was dedicated, Porse-
na *King of the* Clusins, *warring in the quarrell of the* Tarquins, *and being come to the* Janiculum,
was by the valour of Cocles Horatius, *empeached that he passed not the* Tyber: *who alone, whiles others*
hewed down the Sublician bridge, withstood the Tuscans: *and when it was broken down, leapt armed as*
he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows. Another example of manhood is reported of Mutius,
G *who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill* Porsena, *and having slain his prin-*
cipall Secretary, whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and thrusting his hand into the fire of the
Altars, whereupon they had burned sacrifice, suffered it there to fry untill it was consumed: and said
withall, that there were behind him three hundred more besides, that had sworn the death of the King
himself. Who wondring at their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of ho-
stages to give over war: amongst whom, one virgin Cloelia, *beguiled her keepers, made an escape, and*
swam over Tyber *to her friends: and being rendred again, was by* Porsena *sent honorably home, and had*

her

her ſtatue or image on horſeback, ſet up for a memoriall. Ap. Claudius abandoned the Sabins, and fled to Rome, of whom the Tribe Claudia took the name, and was added to the reſt. The number of tribes was encreaſed to be one and twenty. Againſt Tarquinius Superbus, who with a power of Latines waged war, A. Poſthumius the Dictator obtained a proſperous battell at the lake Regillus. The Commons riſing, for being enthralled unto their Creditors, retired themſelves into the mount Sacer, and were by the policy and counſel of Menenius Agrippa, reclaimed from their ſedition and appeaſed. The ſame Agrippa being deceaſed was by reaſon of his poverty, buried at the Cities charge. There were created five Tribunes of the Commons. Corioli, a town of the Volſcians, was taken by the valour and induſtrious means of Cn. Martius, who thereupon was ſurnamed Coriolanus. T. Latinus, a mean Commoner, was warned in a dream to make relation to the Senate of certain religious ceremonies: and for neglecting the ſame, loſt his ſon, and fell himſelf to be lame of his limbs, and being brought in the Senate in a chair, after he had declared the ſame, returned ſound on his feet home again. Cn. Martius Coriolanus, after he was baniſhed, became Generall of the Volſcians, and with an Army of enemies approached the City of Rome: unto whom, ſi ſt Embaſſadors were of purpoſe ſent, and afterwards the Prieſts and whole Clergy perſwaded with him, not to make war againſt his native Country, but all in vain. Howbeit Veturia his mother, and Volumnia his wife entreated him and obtained, that he ſhould depart back again. The Law Agraria, concerning diviſion of lands among the poor Commons, was now firſt put up and propoſed. Sp. Caſſius an Alderman, after he had been Conſul, was condemned for aſpiring to be King, and ſuffered death therefore. Oppia a Veſtall Nun was for inceſt buried quick. Againſt the Veientians near enemies and ill neighbors, yet indeed troubleſome rather than noiſome and dangerous, the houſe alone of the Fabii, required to be employed in ſervice: and ſet out three hundred and ſix armed men to the field, who every one were by the enemies ſlain near the river Cremera, and left but one only at home alive of that name, under fourteen years of age. Ap. Claudius the Conſul having fought unfortunately againſt the Volſcians, and that, by means of the ſtubbornneſs and unrulineſs of his Army, cudgelled every tenth man of his ſouldiers. Over and beſides (this book) containeth the exploits againſt the Volſcians, Æquians, and Veientians, and the ſeditious diſcords between the Nobility and Commons.

The Second Book of T. Livius.

NOw will I deſcribe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of *Rome*, a free ſtate now from this time forward: their yearly Magiſtrates and Governours: the authority and rule of Laws, more powerfull and mighty than that of men. Which freedom of theirs, the laſt Kings pride made more acceptable and welcome. As for the other Kings before him, they raigned ſo, as that they might be counted all of them, and that worthily, builders of ſundry parts of the City one after another, according as they every one by himſelf added ſtill one new place or other, for the multitude by them encreaſed to inhabit. Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the very ſame *Brutus*, who deſerved ſo great honor and glory for expelling the proud King *Tarquin*, ſhould have done the ſame to the exceeding danger of the weal publike, if for deſire of unripe and untimely freedom, he had wreſted the royall dignity and government from any of the former Princes. For what would have come of it, if that communalty conſiſting of herdmen and fugitive ſtrangers, reſorting out of their own countries there to dwell, having under protection of a ſanctuary and privileged place gotten liberty, or at leaſtwiſe impunity; being now freed and paſt fear of a royall Majeſty, had begun to be troubled and diſquieted, with the ruffling ſtorms and ſeditions tempeſts of the Tribuns: and in a new and ſtrange City ſown debate, and entertained variance with the Nobility, before that the ſureſt pledges of wives and children, the deareſt affection of the very place and ſoil, which requireth long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certainly, the ſtate not yet come to full growth and maturity, had by diſcord faded and come to nought, which a peaceable and gracious government cheriſhed and foſtered, and by cheriſhing and nouriſhing brought to that paſs, that now being come to ripeneſs and perfection of ſtrength, it might be able to bring forth and bear the good and wholſom fruits of liberty.

The beginning of this freedom you muſt account in regard hereof, That the Conſulary regiment was annuall and from year to year, rather than that the royall power and juriſdiction that the Kings had, was any whit abated and diminiſhed. For the firſt Conſuls had the ſame abſolute authority, held all the former royalties, and retained ſtill the regall enſigns and ornaments of ſupreme dignity. This only provided that they ſhould not both have the rods born before them, for avoiding a twofold fear and dread of their Majeſty. *Brutus* with the good liking and conſent of his companion in office, had the preheminence and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone: who had not been aforetime a greater inſtrument, and more forward to procure and recover the liberty than he was afterward a ſure maintainer and protector of the ſame. And firſt above all other things, whileſt the people were yet greedy of this new freedom, for fear leſt they might any time after be won by entreaty or moved by gifts on the Kings part, he cauſed them to ſwear that they would never ſuffer any to be King at *Rome*. After this, becauſe the Senate might be of more power and greater reputation by the frequent company of that degree and order: he encreaſed their number (which had been impaired much by maſſacres, committed by the ſaid King) to the full complement of three hundred: by chuſing the chief and principall of the degree of Knights

Knights or horſemen. And hereof came, as they ſay, this cuſtome, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobility, and alſo thoſe that were newly choſen for the ſupply: naming theſe that were laſt enrolled, the new Senate. And a wonder it was to ſee, how much good this did to the concord of the City, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they went in hand with Religion and Church-matters: and for that there were certain publike ſacrifices that had been uſually executed by the Kings themſelves in their own perſons: leſt therefore they ſhould not find the miſs of Kings in any reſpect, nor long after them again, they create of purpoſe a King-Prieſt or ſacrificer: which ſacerdotall dignity they ordained to be under the Arch-Prelate, leſt that this new addition and title of honour, might prejudice their freedom any jot, whereunto they had then a ſpeciall regard above all other things. And I wot not well, but I think verily they went beyond all meaſure, and were over-preciſe in the maintenance and ſtrengthening thereof every way, even in the ſmalleſt triſles, and toies of no moment. For when as nothing elſe was offenſive unto them, the name forſooth of one of their Conſuls became ſuſpected and odious unto the City, without any other ſcandall whatſoever. And thus they muttered and ſaid, "That the *Tarquins* had raigned over-long, and too much already: that *Priſcus* firſt "began, and when after him ſucceeded King *Servius Tullius*, *Superbus Tarquinius* not having in that "time and ſpace between, forgot the Kingdom, as ſeeing another inveſted therein; by wicked "practice and violence claimed and recovered the ſame again, as the inheritance properly to his "houſe belonging. And now that *Superbus* is driven out and gone, the rule and government is de-"volved unto *Collatinus*, and there reſteth. Theſe *Tarquins* belike (ſay they) cannot skill how to "live as private men: giving out among, that the very name was dangerous to a free State, and in "one word, they could not endure it. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches at firſt were whiſpered abroad throughout all the City, by them that under-hand ſounded by little and little the hearts and diſpoſitions of men: and when theſe ſurmiſes & ſuſpitions were once buzzed into the Commons heads, and they thereby diſquieted, *Brutus* called them to a generall aſſembly. Where firſt and formoſt he reciteth the oath of the people, That they ſhould ſuffer none to be a King nor ought elſe in *Rome*, from whence might ariſe any danger to their liberty. "This oath is the thing (quoth he) that "with all diligence, & by all means poſſible is to be maintain'd, & nothing thereto appertaining "is to be deſpiſed and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to ſpeak, in reſpect of the per-"ſon, neither would I ſpeak at all, but that the love and affection to the Common-weal doth o-"verrule me. The people of *Rome* is not throughly perſwaded, that they have recovered their en-"tire and perfect liberty. For as yet the Kings bloud, yea, and the Kings name, not only remaineth "ſtill, but alſo beareth ſoveraign rule in the City: This is it that hurteth, this is it (I ſay) that hin-"dered their true freedom. Now (quoth he) *L. Tarquinius* willingly of your own accord rid them "of their fear. We remember well, we confeſs and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the "Kings, Finiſh therefore and perfect this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the Kings "name alſo. As for your goods and ſubſtance, your Citizens and Countrimen, if they will be ad-"viſed by me, ſhall not only yeeld unto you again, but if ought be ſhort and wanting, ſhall by my "conſent ſupply the ſame to the full right liberally. Depart I ſay, and friendly take your leave: deli-"ver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but vain and needleſs: "Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the ſtock and houſe of the *Tarquins*, the "Kings rule and government will likewiſe void and depart for ever. The Conſul at this ſo ſtrange and ſudden a motion firſt wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards as he addreſſed himſelf and began to make a ſpeech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers beſought the ſame at his hands. As for all the reſt, they prevailed full little with him. But after that *Sp. Lucretius*, a more grave and elder man than himſelf, of greateſt worth aforetime, and his father in Law beſides, took him in hand, and dealt with him ſundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perſwaſions and reaſons, that he would condeſcend unto that which the City in one general conſent required: then the Conſul fearing leſt hereafter being once out of his place and a private man again, he ſhould chance to be forced thereunto, with the loſs of his goods and ſome diſgrace perhaps beſides; reſigned up the office of the Conſulſhip, and removing all that he had away to *Lavinium*, quit the City and departed. Then *Brutus* by an act and decree of the Senate, propoſed unto the people, That all the race and linage of the *Tarquins* ſhould be exiled. And in a generall Seſſion of the Centuries, he created for to be his Colleague in government, *P. Valerius*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had driven out the Kings.

Brutus the Conſul perſwadeth *Tarquinius* to give over the Conſulſhip and depart.

No man doubted now that the *Tarquins* were about to take arms: yet that war hapned not ſo ſoon as men looked for: but ſee (a thing that no man feared) they had like by fraud and treaſon at home to have loſt and forgone their freedom again. There was of the flower of *Rome*, certain youths, & thoſe of no low degree nor baſe parentage deſcended, who in the Kings daies had lived like young Princes more looſely and at pleaſure, as companions and plaiſellows with the young *Tarquins*, the Kings ſons: who ſeeking to enjoy the ſame licentious life ſtill, in this equality of eſtate wherein all others then lived, made moan and complained one to another, That the liberty of others turned to their ſervitude. "The King, ſay they, is a man, at whoſe hands one might ob-"tain ſomewhat, as need required, were the cauſe right or were it wrong: where a man might find "favour and friendſhip, as who could both be diſpleaſed and angry, and alſo forgive and remit a

A conſpiracy of young Gentlemen of the Nobility.

"faute, and knew well how to make difference between a friend and a foe. As for laws, they are H
"things deaf and inexorable: more wholsome and commodious to the poor than to the rich and
"mighty, affording no release nor pardon, if one chance to trespass and transgress: And a tickliſh
"point it is and perilous for a man among so many errours whereto our frailty is subject, to bear
"himself only upon his innocent life. Being thus of their own accord already discontent, suddenly
unlooked for, there came Embassadors from the Kings, who without any mention at all of return,
demanded only their goods again. Upon their message being delivered and heard in the Senate-
house, this debate and question held them for certain daies in councill, fearing left that the goods
not restored might minister occasion of quarrell, and being rendred, yield maintenance and nou-
rishment of war. In the mean time the Embassadours dealt and treated with divers persons di- I
versly: in open shew, claiming only their goods, but secretly and under-hand, contriving how to
compass the Kingdom for their Masters. And under colour of procuring friends for the accom-
plishment of that which they pretended, and was in question, they sounded oftentimes the minds
of certain noble young Gentlemen, how they stood affected to their designments. Whose words
and reasons were of them gently entertained: and thereupon they delivered unto them letters
from the *Tarquins*, and withall conferred together, and practised the receiving of the Kings privi-
ly by night into the City. The execution of this plot was principally committed to certain of the
Vitellii and *Aquilii*, that were brethren. After of the *Vitellii* was married unto the Consul *Bru-*
tus, by whom he had two sons that were young men, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, whom their uncles by
the mothers side made partakers with them likewise of their counsell. Besides, there were divers K
young Gentlemen (whose names long time hath worn out quite) made acquainted therewith. In
this mean season, their opinion in the Senate-house prevailed, who thought it best that the goods
should be restored: and the Embassadours upon that occasion made stay in the City, for that they
had gotten time of the Consuls to provide carriage for to have away the Kings stuff, and other
movable goods. All that time spent they in consulting with the Conspirators, and so importu-
nately laboured them, untill they had procured their letters also unto the *Tarquinii*: for otherwise
(say they) how will they beleeve but that their Embassadours make wrong report of matters so
important. The giving of those letters in pledge of their truth and plain meaning, proved to be-
wray and reveal their purposed enterprise. For the day before the Embassadours were to take their
leave, and return to the *Tarquins*, they fortuned to sup with the *Vitelli*: and whileſt the conspira- L
tors there, were in sad and close talk together, conferring at large about this new devised practise,
and no man by but only themselves (as the manner is:) a certain bondslave chanced to overhear
them, one that before had an inckling whereabout they went, but waited the opportunity when
the letters should be given to the Embassadours, which being found upon them, might directly
prove the treason. This slave after he understood the letters were delivered, gave intelligence of
all unto the Consuls: who immediatly departed from their houses to take the Embassadours, and
the Conspirators in the manner, and without any stir or tumult light upon them unawares, and
dashed all. But of the letters they had a speciall care, that they should be forth-coming and not
The conspiracy detected. miscarry. And committing the traitors forthwith to prison, they made some pause and doubt a-
bout the Embassadors, what to do with them. For albeit they seemed to have deserved no less M
but to be used as enemies, and to have no favour at all, yet had they regard to the law of Nations.
Now concerning the Kings goods, which they thought meet before to be restored, the matter
came about wholly in question again before the Senators: who being overcome with ire and in-
dignation, denied flatly the rendring of them, yea, and forbad they should be confiscate and con-
verted to the common treasury: but they were given away among the Commons to make spoil
and havock thereof: to the end, that they having one touched or seised on the Kings goods as a
booty, might for ever after be past all hope of any peace or favour with them. The field of the *Tar-*
Campus Martius. *quins* lying between the City and *Tyber*, was consecrated unto *Mars*, and after called *Campus Mar-*
tii, *i.e.* *Mars* field. It hapned (as men say) that there was at that time standing corn there, now
ripe and ready for the harvest: which crop of ground, because they made some scruple of consci- N
ence otherwise to consume, therefore it was cut down, corn, straw, stubble and all, and a great
number of people sent thither at once to carry it away in baskets and skeps, and pour it down
the *Tyber*, running then but shallow, as it useth to do in the midst and heat of Summer. And so
the heaps of corn, together with the mud stuck still and rested in the ebbe places and foords of the
river: and by little and little encreased with one thing or other that came down the stream, untill
it became an Island. Afterwards, I suppose, there were dams and piles made thereunto, and by mans
hand it grew so high, and so firm a piece of ground, that it was able to bear even Temples and
stately Galleries that stood thereupon.

When the Kings goods were thus spoiled, rifled, and made away, the traitors were condemned
and put to death. Which suffering of theirs was the more notable, for that the father by his place O
& vertue of his office was bound and charged to see execution done upon his own own children:
and he who otherwise ought not to have been a spectator and looker on, even he (such was his
fortune) was forced of necessity to be the principall actor in this tragicall execution. Then stood
these most noble youths bound fast to a stake. But among all, the Consul his children, turned up-
on them the eyes of every man, from all the rest, as unknown persons and of no reputation:
all men pitied them, not so much for being punished, as for deserving by their fact to be
punished:

A punished: That they could find in their hearts and once let enter into their thought, to betray
into the hands of *Tarquinius*, sometimes a proud Prince, and then a cruell enemy, and banished
rebell, their native countrey, lately and in that very year set free from captivity: their naturall fa-
ther who set it free: the Consulship sprung first out of the family of the *Junii*: the Nobles, the
Commons, and in one word, all things whatsoever in *Rome* belonging either to God or man.
Then came the Consuls forth, took their places and set them down on the tribunall seat. The Li- The traitors executed.
ctors were sent to do their office, who first stripped them naked and scourged them with rods,
and then with an axe chopt off their heads. All which time, the father himself, his countenance *Brutus* putteth to death his own children.
and visage was a wonderfull spectacle to behold, considering how a fathers affection could hold
B out and abide the performance of this publike and exemplary punishment. When the offenders
had once suffered, to the end there might be shewed noble examples on both sides, for to debar
wickednesse, and stop the course of sin: the informer and revealer of treason, had for his reward
a peece of money out of the common treasury, obtained his freedom, and was enfranchised a Ci-
tizen of *Rome*. This was the first man, as they say, that was made free by the rod *Vindicta*: for that
the party his name was *Vinditius*, from whence, as some think, the word *Vindicta* was derived:
after whom, this was observed, That whosoever in that sort got their freedom, were supposed
withall endenized.

When tidings hereof came to *Tarquinius*, with the manner of proceeding in every circum-
stance, he not only grieved that so great hope of his was frustrate and come to nothing, but
C also was set on fire with hatred and indignation: and seeing the way shut up and stopped against
all deceitfull courses, he thought there was no dealing now but by meer force and open war.
Whereupon he went up and down, sollicited and made humble suit unto the Cities of *Etruria*, * *i.e.* The men of *Tarquinii*. The speech of *Tarquinius Superbus* to the Tuscans.
and besought the Veientians especially, and the * *Tarquinians*, that they would not suffer him,
being come of their own bloud, a banished man, forlorn, poor, and needy, dispossessed so lately
of so goodly a Realm and Kingdom, together with his children (forward young men) to perish
even before their eyes. "Alledging that others had been sent for and set out of forrain parts unto
"*Rome* for to be Kings: and he their Liege King, and such an one as advanced still the Roman Em-
"pire by martiall proweſs, was by the wicked conspiracy of his neareſt kinsfolk and friends de-
"posed from his imperiall dignity and expelled: and they now, because there was no one man
D "thought sufficient and worthy to raign, had parted between them the Kingdom, and given
"among the people his goods as a spoil; that there might not be any one who had not his finger,
"and whole hand in so foule a fact. Saying moreover, that his mind and intention was, to seek
"means to return into his own countrey, to recover his Crown, yea, and to persecute, and to
"be revenged of those unthankfull subjects: and therefore prayed them, to set to their helping
"hand, and yield him assistance: and not to sit down with so many old wrongs of their own part
"received, namely, their legions so often hewen in pieces, their lands and livings taken from them:
"but to go with him for revenge. These suggestions moved the Veientians, and every man for
himself muttered and gave out in threatning wise, that now at length, having a Roman Cap-
tain especially to be their Leader, they were to do away the foul dishonours sustained, and win
E again what by former war they had lost. As for the *Tarquinians*, they were soon incited in
regard of name and consanguinity, and thought it was a godly matter and an honour unto
them, to have of their own name and house to be Kings of *Rome*. Thus two armies of two Cities
banded with *Tarquin*, for to restore him to his Kingdom again, and to make sharp war upon
the Romans: who being entred the Territory of *Rome*, were met with by the Roman Consuls.
The footmen marched under the conduct of *Valerius*, marshalled in a battallion four square.
Brutus with the horse went before to espy and discover the coasts: In like sort the men of arms
of the enemies rode formost under the leading of *Aruns Tarquinius* the Kings son, and the King
himself in person followed with the Legions. *Aruns* espying by the Lictors, the Consul afar off,
and as he approached nearer, knowing *Brutus* more certainly by his face, all inflamed with ire:
F "This is the Gallant (quoth he) this is he, that hath driven and banished us out of our native
"Countrey. Lo, how bravely he setteth forward, all gorgeously to be seen and dight in our roy-
"all ensigns and ornaments. Now help ye gods that are revengers of wrongs done to Kings:
and therewithall set spurs to his horse, and ran amain with full carreer upon the Consul his own
person intending certainly to speed him. *Brutus* perceived likewise that he made directly toward
him: (Now was it a noble and worthy fight for the Captains themselves to begin the battell,)
Whereupon with resolute courage he encountreth him. And so fiercely they charged one another,
and so deadly were they bent, that neither of them had regard to save himself, so he might wound
and mischief his enemy, but were both with a counterpush that quite pierced their targets
run into the sides, and thrust through, and so having one anothers lance sticking in their bodies,
G fell from their horses ready to dye. Herewith began on both sides the other horsemen to fight,
and within a while the footmen also seconded them. And so equally were they matched, and the
battell so indifferently fought, that it was very doubtfull whether side had the better. For on both The Veientians defeated by the Romans.
parts the right wings got the upper hand, and down went the left. The Veientians, unto whom
it was no news to be overcome of Romans, were discomfited and put to flight. But their new e-
nemies the *Tarquinians*, not only held their own and stood to it, but also from their battell put
back, and forced the Romans to give ground, and gave them the repulse. After this conflict there

fell such a fear and terrour upon *Tarquinius*, and the Tuscans, that both Armies as well of the *Veientians* as the *Tarquinians*, gave over their enterprise with doing just nothing, and by night dislodged and departed every man to his own home. This battell was more notable by reason of certain miracles that men report: namely, that in the dead time of the night next following, when all were at rest, there was heard a mighty voice of *Sylvanus* (as men thought) out of the wood *Arsia* to utter these words, [*That there was slaine on the Tuscans part more by one, and that the Romans won the field.*] Thus verily and no otherwise departed they asunder: the Romans as winners, and the Tuscans as having the worse. For the next morrow, so soon as it was day, and that none of the enemies appeared in sight, *P. Valerius* the Consul gathered up the spoil together, and returned from thence with triumph to *Rome*, and performed the funerals of his brother Consul, in all sumptuous manner and solemn pomp, as possibly at that time he could devise. But, that which did him the greatest honour after his death, was the publike sorrow and heavinesse of the City, in this respect above all singular and memorable, for that the dames and Matrons of *Rome* mourned a whole year for him, as for their own father, in that he had been so sharp a revenger of violence done to the chastity of women.

After this, the Consul that survived, presently upon the great liking and favour that he was in (see how wavering and unconstant the minds are of the common people) was not only envied, but also suspected, yea, and charged with an odious and horrible crime. The voice went and bruited it was abroad, that he aspired to the Crown. And why? because, forsooth, he had not chosen unto him a new fellow Consul in the room of *Brutus*: and began to build aloft on the top of *Velia*, where (say they) in an high place and strongly scituate he may make a Castle impregnable. These things commonly spoken and credited too, vexed much, and mightily grieved the Consul in his very soule, as a great indignity offered unto him. Whereupon he assembled the people together, & causing the rods to be held downwards to the ground, went up into the pulpit to make an Oration unto them. That sight pleased the people passing well, taking it for a plain demonstration, that the marks and ensigns of rule and government submitted unto them, was a very acknowledging and confession that the people was of greater majesty and power than the Consul. Where after silence made, and commandment to hearken and give ear, "the Consul began highly to extoll the fortune and good hap of his Colleague deceased, who having with great honour set his Country free, ended his daies, fighting manfully in defence of the Weal-publike, even in the prime, height, and best time of his glory, ere that he became subject unto envy: but he himself outliving it, remained alive, exposed unto criminous slanders and spightfull malice of men, and of a deliverer and redeemer of his Countrey was now reputed no better than the *Aquilii* and *Vitellii*. And will you never indeed (quoth he) approve the vertuous and honest conversation of a man so well, but it shall be tainted with unjust suspition? What? would any man think, that I being so fierce and fell an enemy of the Kings, should ever fear to incur the jealousie of men, for seeking to be King? What if I dwelt on the top of *Tarpeie* cliff, even in the very Capitoll, should I beleeve and think it possible, that my countrymen, neighbours, and Citizens, would stand in fear of me? and will so small a matter as this turn the ballance of your opinion, and conceit of me? Is your affiance and confidence in me grounded so slightly, and standeth it upon so nice terms and tickliſh points, that you force more and make greater reckoning of my dwelling place than of the quality of my person. Well, *P. Valerius* his house shall be no hindrance or impeachment unto your liberty, O *Quirites*, ye shall not need to fear any harm from *Velia* for me. I will remove my house not only down into the plain, but even to the valley under the hill foot, that you may dwell above me, and overlook me (a suspected Citizen.) Let them a gods name build in *Velia*, who may be better trusted with the Cities freedom than *P. Valerius*. Then was immediatly the timber and all carried down beneath *Velia*, and where as now *Vicus Publicus* is, in the very bottom of the hill, was his house reedified.

P. Valerius the Consul, unto the people.

After this were laws enacted, which not only acquit the Consul and cleared him of all suspition of affecting to the Kingdom, but also contrariwise wrought such effect, that he became exceeding popular again, whereupon he was surnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*. And first and formost the Statute passed as touching the appeal unto the people, against the Rulers and Magistrates. *Item*, concerning the cursing and condemning of him both body and goods, that should intend or plot to usurp Princely dominion over them. These acts the Commons liked well of. Which when he had alone ordained, that all the thanks and praise might be his therefore, then assembled he a generall Session for the substituting of another Consul unto him, in the room of his Colleague departed. So, *Sp. Lucretius* was created Consul: who being an aged man and of great years feeble withall and not able to execute the office and function of a Consul, within few daies paid nature her debt and died. And in place of *Lucretius* was *M. Horatius Pulvillus* chosen. In some ancient writers I do not find that *Lucretius* was Consul. For immediatly after *Brutus* they make mention of *Horatius*. But I think verily because no act of his made his Consulship memorable thereupon he was forgotten and left out. Now as yet was not the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll dedicated. And when *Valerius* and *Horatius* the Consuls, cast lots whether of them twain should perform that duty, the charge fell unto *Horatius*, and *Publicola* went forth to the Veientian war. But the kinsfolk and friends of *Valerius* took it more grievously and impatiently than reason was, that the honor of the dedication of so famous a temple, was given unto *Horatius*.

Valerius surnamed *Publicola* of *Poplicola*.

Devising

Devising therefore by all means possible they could, to impeach it, and seeing they had assaied all in vain and nothing took effect: even at the very instant, whiles the Consul was holding a post of the Temple, and in his solemn prayers to the gods, behold they brought unto him heavy and woefull news, that his son was dead, and that he might not lawfully, whiles his household mourned and was polluted with a dead corps, consecrate the Temple. Whether it were that he gave no credit to the messenger, or rather was of heart so stout, neither is it for certain reported, nor easie for a man to divine. But for all these tidings, never a jot was he turned from his purpose, nor said ought else to the messenger, but willed that he should bid the corps to be had forth to buriall, and so holding the pillar or post still said out his prayer, and dedicated the Temple. These were the acts done both at home and abroad in the first year after the expulsion of the Kings.

Then were *P. Valerius* the second time, and *T. Lucretius* created Consuls. By this time were the *Tarquins* fled for succour to *Lartes Porsena* King of *Clusium*: "where, by many reasons and remonstrances, intermingled with prayer, one while they besought him not to suffer them, descended from the Tuscans, of the same bloud and name, to live needy and forlorn in perpetuall exile; otherwhile they advised and warned him not to put up without revenge this new fashion of expelling Kings, now comming up. Saying, that liberty in it self had sweetnes enough: and unless Kings would defend and maintain their Crowns with as great might and main, as Cities desired to enjoy freedom, there would be a general confusion, and all things turned upside down: neither would there be in States and Common-wealths any thing aloft and eminent above other endured: whereupon would issue a finall end of Kingly regiment, a thing with God and man of all other most excellent and beautiful. *Porsena* supposing it would be an honourable matter unto the Tuscans, both to have a King at *Rome*, and a King too of the Tuscans line, came with a cruell army against *Rome*. Never was the Senate at any time afore put in such fear: so mighty in those daies was the puissance of *Clusium*, and the name of *Porsena* so renowned. Moreover, they feared not their enemies only, but also their own subjects at home, lest peradventure the Communalty of *Rome* for fear of war should receive the King into the City, and accept of peace though it cost them their liberty. During which time the Commons were entertained of the Nobles with all kindnes, and many favours and courtesies they had at their hands. And above all things, order was taken for provision of grain and victuals. And for to purvey store of corn, some were sent to the *Volsci*, others to *Cumes*. Over and besides the licence of selling salt, because it was sold at an exceeding high price, was taken from private salters, and was undertaken by the City, with all the cost and charges thereto belonging by them defraied, and salt delivered out to the people at an easie reckoning. The Commons were also freed of portage, tollage, and tribute; and rich men that were able to bear the burthen were assessed at all paiments and contributions: the poor were thought to be charged enough with the bringing up of their children. This kind dealing and indulgency of the Nobles kept the City afterwards (notwithstanding their hard distresse of siege and famine) in such concord and unity, that the meanest as well as the highest abhorred and detested the name of KK. And never after was there any one private person, so popular, so devoted to the people by crafty means and indirect courses tending to their particular designs, as the whole Senate was at that time, by their good government of the Common-weal. Now when the enemies approached near at hand, every man made shift for himself, forsook the Country and came into the City. Which they fortified with strong guards round about: so that what with wals and bulwarks on the one side, and what with the *Tyber* on the other side, it seemed sure enough, and sufficiently defended. The wooden bridge had like to have given the enemy entrance, had not the valour of one man been, even *Horatius Coclet* (who that day by the good fortune of the Romans was a fortresse unto the City of *Rome*.) He as good hap was, appointed to ward and keep the bridge, seeing the Janicle by a sudden assault won, and that the enemies ran down so furiously from thence upon him, & contrariwise, the multitude of his own companies for fear, to forgo their weapons, break their arraies, and to be gone: took hold of every man, opposed himself against them a front: and calling God and man to witness, protested, shewed and declared unto them, that forsaking and abandoning thus their quarter, all their flying was but in vain: for if they left the bridge on their backs, to yield passage to the enemies, there would anon be more of them in *Palatium* and the Capitol than in the Janicle: and therefore he willed and commanded them, yea, and gave them direction to break down the bridge, by hewing, by firing, or by what means they possible could: assuring them for his own part, so much as the body of one only man was able to do, he would receive, and withstand the violence of the enemies. Then advanceth he himself unto the first entry or foot of the bridge, and all goodly to be seen, amongst those that would in no point fight, but shewed their backs, he so bent his sword and target in their very faces, resolute to encounter with them hand to hand, that even with his wonderfull hardines and incredible courage, he astonied and amazed his enemies. Howbeit, two there were that for very shame tarried still and stood to him, namely, *Sp. Largius* and *Tit. Herminius*, brave men both, as well for noble birth as worthy deeds. Assisted for a while with these gallants, sustained he the first storm of danger and most cumbersome push of the skirmish. But as they that were hewing down the bridge called upon them to come back, he constrained those two also to retire and save themselves, whiles some little part of the bridge was left behind free and uncut. Then casting all about in menacing manner his fiery and terrible eyes towards the Captains and

Porsena besiegeth *Rome*.

The rare fortitude of *Horatius Coclet*.

and principals of the Tuscans, one while he challenged them one by one to single fight: other-H whiles he rated them all in generall,calling them the hirelings and slaves of proud Kings and tyrants; who forgetting and making no reckoning of their own freedom,were come to oppugn and impeach the liberty of others. The enemies stood at a bay and in suspence a good while, looking about them one upon another who should first begin to fight. At last, very shame made the whole troup to stir and come forward and so setting up a loud cry, from all sides they let flie their javelins at him one man alone and their only enemy. All this while bare he off their shot which light upon his target, and there stuck, and nevertheless with full resolution kept the bridge still, walking his stations, and stalking like a giant. Then assaied they with all their force to beare the man down and to turn him over into the water: but by this time the crack of the bridge broken I under him,and the shout withall of the Romans, for joy that they had finished their work, staid with sudden fear their violent assault. Then praied *Cocles* in this wise: "O father *Tiberinus*(quoth "he) O sacred river, with devout heart I thee beseech, receive with thy gracious and mercifull "stream this harneis, these weapons,and this thy souldier. And so all armed as he was,he leapt into the *Tyber*: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and light upon him,yet he swam over and escaped safe to his fellows. A brave adventure for all posterity another day to talk of, rather than to beleeve. For this so great fortitude and resolution of his, the City was thankfull,and in token thereof his Image or Statue was set up in their common Hall, named *Comitium*, and as much ground given him in compass,as he was able with a plough to break up in one day. Amongst these publike favours and honours done unto him,the kind affections and good wils of private persons K also well appeared: for in that extream want and scarcity that then was, every man out of his house-store and provision spared from himself,and for to give him one thing or another defrauded his own belly. Thus *Porsena* with the repulse of this his first enterprise,changed his mind from assaulting to besieging of the City: and after he had placed a garrison in the *Janiculum*, he planted himself and encamped on the plain, even upon the banks of the *Tyber*. And sending for boats and craiers from all parts, both to stop the mouth and passage of *Tyber*, that no corn should come in and be conveyed to *Rome*: and also that the souldiers,as they saw occasion might cross the river, and fetch booties in divers and sundry places at their pleasure in short space he brought the whole countrey about *Rome* to such streights, that not only other things were brought in, but all their cattel also was fain to be driven out of the fields into the City, and no man durst put any creature L forth out of the gates. The Tuscans were permitted to be thus bold,not so much for fear as for a policy: for *Valerius* the Consul, waiting for some vantage and opportunity, suddenly to set upon many of them at once and at unawares, as they straggled abroad disorderly, making little regard to revenge small matters,kept himself to be revenged of them throughly,and to pay them home one time or other. To the end therefore he might draw forth these forragers, and toll them abroad, he gave his men in charge,and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they should put their cattel forth at the gate *Esquilina*, which was fartheſt from the enemies: supposing that they would have intelligence thereof, by reason that in this extremity of long siege and pinching hunger, some false knaves and disloyal rogues would flie unto them. And so fell it out indeed; For they had knowledge thereof by a fugitive slave. Whereupon they in far greater multitudes pass M over the river, in hope to make a general spoil and havock once for all. Then *Valerius* commanded *T. Herminius* with a sufficient company to lie close in ambush at two miles end, in the *Sabine* high way, and *Sp. Largius* with a power of lusty tall fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate *Collina*, untill the enemy were gone by and past: with direction, then to put himself between the river and them, and so to intercept them in their return. The other Consul *T. Lucretius* issued forth with certain bands of footmen at the gate *Nevia*: and *Valerius* himself in proper person set forth from mount *Cœlius* certain ensigns of his best and choice souldiers. These first were descried and discovered by the enemy. *Herminius* so soon as he heard some noise and stir, arose and ran at once out of the ambush, and whileſt the Tuscans turned to set upon *Lucretius*, he charged them lustily at their backs: so that on every hand from the gate *Collina* on the one side, N and from the gate *Nevia* on the other,the allarm was given. Thus the robbers were slain and cut in pieces in the midst of them: both for that they were overmatched in fight and also because all the waies were stopped up, that they could not escape by way of slight. And never after durst the Tuscans range about the countrey so audaciously. Howbeit, the siege continued nevertheless; with great scarcity of corn, and exceeding dearth within the City. And *Porsena* had good hope by sitting still, to force it in the end, and be master thereof. At what time one *C. Mutius* a noble young gentleman, who thought it a dishonour and foul shame, that the people of *Rome*, who all the while they were in bondage under Kings,were in no war nor by any enemies beleaguered, should now,being the same still in time of their freedom,be of these Tuscans besieged,whose armies they often had defeated: and supposing that by some hardy and adventurous piece of service O this reproachfull indignity was to be revenged, devised at first on his own head to enter into the enemies Camp: but fearing afterwards to go without commission from the Consul,and the knowledge of any other person, lest peradventure he might be taken by the watch of the Romans, and brought back for a traiterous runnagate, at such a time especially, when the hard estate of the City was enough to bring him into a deep suspition, and to be reputed for no better: presented himself before the Councill into the Senate house: "I am right willing, and I have a purpose

The valiant resolution of *C. Mutius*.

"my

A "my LL. (quoth he) to pass over the *Tyber*, yea, and if I can, to enter the Camp of the enemies, "not in quality of a robber, nor to be revenged for booties from us taken, with doing the semblable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to perform. The Senators gave their consent,and approved his designment. Then with a skein, hidden under his garment, he fetteth forward. Being thither come into the Camp, he presseth in the thickest throng to stand near the Kings Tribunal. It fortuned that then and there the souldiers were receiving their pay. And the Chancellor, or Kings principal Secretary sate together with the King in like array, much employed and busied in many matters, and the souldiers commonly had recourse unto him. *Mutius* fearing to enquire whether of them two were *Porsena* left by not knowing the King he should be-
B wray himself who he was,hapned(see how fortune in her rashneis directed his hand) to kill the Secretary instead of the King: then as he passed through the fearful multitude, making himself way with his bloudy blade there was a prelent outcry, and thereat the Kings guard came running in,laid hold of him, and brought him back before the King his royal Throne: and albeit he was now forlorn and without all succour amidst those threats of frowning fortune, yet as a man more feared still than fearing: "I am (quoth he) a Citizen of *Rome*, and *Caius Mutius* is my name. a *Mutius* his speech to King *Porsena*.
"professed enemy. I confess, and an enemy would I have slain; as ready and willing am I to dye "my self, as I was to kill another. For both to do, and to suffer valiantly is the part of a noble "Roman. And it is not I alone that carry this mind and resolution against thee, O King there is a "long train and crue behind of them that seek to win the same praise and honour: make thee
C "ready therefore, and arm thy self,if thou think good, against this danger, and reckon every hour "to be in hazard of thy life, and to have alwaies at the very Court gates thy enemies sword. "This kind of war do we youths of *Rome* denounce openly unto thee: no battel, no fight else "shalt thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all,one by one have to do, and with none o-"ther. Hereat the King incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in affrighted withall,commanded in menacing wise that he should be fried at a stake, unleis he would presently unfold in plain terms, what secret and dangerous practises he meant and threatned under this covert circuit of words and intricate circumstances. "Lo, (quoth he again) how little they set by "this carkass that aspire to great glory and aim at honour: and with that thrust his right hand in-
D to the hearth on fire that was made for the sacrifice,and when he endured the rosting thereof,as if he had been senseles, and felt no pain. the King well near astonished at this wonderfull and miraculous sight, start up and leapt from his royal seat and chair of estate,commanding the young man to be had from the altar. "Go thy waies (quoth he) in peace, thou that hast done thy own self *Porsena* his words to *Mutius*.
"more mischief than thou hast attempted against my person. I would say God blesse thee, and "worthy hadst thou been of honour for thy prowess, if it were in my service, and in the behalf "and defence of mine own Countrey: and now by the law of arms I discharge thee freely, and "give thee leave to depart without any hurt or abuse offered unto thee. Then *Mutius*, as it were *Mutius* to *Porsena*.
to requite again his curtesie and desert, "Forasmuch as(quoth he)thou settest so great store by va-"lour,and honourest vertue so highly; to the end it may be seen that thou shalt get at my hands "by curtesie that which by cruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee under-
E "stand,that there are three hundred of us noble youths,even the very flower and knighthood of "*Rome*, that have conspired and sworn thy death; and in this manner to assail thee. My lot it was "to be the first: the rest as it shall fall out, will be here shortly, and wait every man his turn and "time, untill they hit right upon thee. *Mutius*, surnamed afterwards *Scævola*, by reason of the *Mutius* surnamed *Scævola*.
maim of his right hand, was no sooner dismissed and gone,but there followed streight after him to *Rome*, Embassadors from *Porsena*; and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger past of the first assaile,(from which nothing preserved him but a small errour and oversight of the assailant) and also for the hazard to come, (for look how many conspirators remained behind to give the like attempt, so often stood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his own accord he offered the Romans conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article(but
F all in vain) of restoring the *Tarquins* into their Kingdom. This point the King urged instantly, rather because he could not well himself deny the *Tarquins* so much, than for that he was ignorant; that the Romans would never yield thereto. But another article he got granted, namely, the restitution of the Veientians lands again: and the Romans were driven of necessity to give him hostages; in case they would have the Kings garrison to quit the *Janiculum*. Upon these conditions Peace between *Porsena* and the Romans.
peace was concluded, and *Porsena* withdrew his forces from the *Janiculum*, dislodged and departed out of the territory of *Rome*. The Senators bestowed frankly upon *Mutius* as a testimonial of his valiantness a piece of ground lying beyond *Tyber*, which was afterwards called, *Mutia prata*, i. *Mutius* his meadows.

Upon this honourable regard and reward of vertue, women were likewise provoked and en-
G couraged to enterprize worthy acts in the service of the Common-weal. For a young damosel and Virgin, named *Cloelia*, one of those hostages aforesaid, whiles the Tuscans were encamped (as it fell out) not far from the banks of *Tyber*, deceiving her keepers and leading a company of other maidens after her even within the shot and darts of the enemies, took the river, swam ouer with them; brought them all to *Rome* safe, and delivered them to their parents, kinsfolk and friends. Which being reported to the King, he at the first stormed at it,and was all in a rage, and sent unto *Rome* certain Orators to demand again his hostage *Cloelia* by name: as for all the The commendable deed of *Cloelia*.

rest,

reſt, he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further conſideration he admired H
the enterpriſe, and plainly ſaid, it ſurpaſſed far all the adventures of the *Cockites* and the *Mutii*: ſo
as he pretended that if the maid were not rendred again, he would take the league as broken, and
being yielded, he would ſend her back to her friends, undefiled, and without any abuſe or violence
done unto her. On both parts was promiſe faithfully kept: For both the Romans reſtored the
pledge of peace according to covenant, and ſeen alſo it was, that vertue was not only ſecured faſe,
but alſo highly regarded and honoured with the *Tuſcan* King. For after he had commended and
praiſed the damoſel, he promiſed to give her part of the hoſtages, chuſe whom ſhe would. And when
they were all brought forth before her, ſhe made choiſe (they ſay) of thoſe young boies that were
under 14 years of age: which was not only moſt befitting her virginity, but alſo by the accord of I
the hoſtages themſelves beſt approved: namely, that that age eſpecially ſhould be delivered out of
the enemies hands, which was moſt ſubject to injury and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed
and confirmed, the Romans rewarded this rare valour in that ſex, with as new and ſtrange an ho-
nour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via ſacra*, there was erected her ſtatue, ⌊*A maiden
ſitting on horſeback.*

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongſt other ſolemn ceremonies, this one cuſtome re-
ceived from our anceſtors, far differing and diſagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure
of the Tuſcan King from before the City of *Rome*, and this it is: In the portſale of goods they uſe
to proclaime firſt aloud, *The ſale of King* Porſena *his goods*. This ceremoniall cuſtome muſt needs
either begin in time of war, and ſo was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or elſe aroſe from ſome K
more gratious and gentle occaſion at the firſt, then this title or outward form pretendeth, of ſel-
ling goods by way of hoſtility, and after the manner of enemies. But the likelieſt conjecture and
neareſt to the truth of all thoſe that are given out is this: that *Porſena* diſlodging from the *Janicle*,
gave freely unto the Romans, (the City at that time being after long ſiege diſtreſſed and in great
ſtreights) his rich Camp furniſhed with victual and proviſion, conveyed thither out of the plen-
tifull countries of *Hetruria* near adjoyning: which goods, for fear there ſhould have been ſome
havock and ſpoil made thereof in warlike wiſe, in caſe the people had been let looſe to the rifling
of the tents, were after ſold, and called *Porſena* his goods: which title ſignified rather their thank-
full acceptation of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt ſale of the
Kings goods, which were not ſo much as in the Romans power, nor at their diſpoſition. L

Thus *Porſena* having given over the Roman war, becauſe he would not ſeem to have brought
an hoſt of men into thoſe parts, and performed no exploit, ſent his ſon *Aruns* with part of his for-
ces to ſurprize and aſſault *Aricia*. At the firſt this ſudden and unexpected enterprize much troubled
Rizze. the Aricins, but afterward when the had gotten aid both from the Latine nations & alſo from *Cu-
mes*, they took ſuch heart again, that they durſt enter into the field & bid the enemy battel. In the
beginning of this conflict, the Tuſcans charged them ſo hotly, that at the very firſt encounter, they
brake the arraies of the Aricins. But the troups of the Cumans ſetting policy againſt force, went a
little aſide, made way and gave ſome ground, and when the enemies had outſtripped them & were
raſhly and diſorderly paſſed beyond them, they turned their enſigns, and ſet upon their backs: ſo
were the Tuſcans, being in the very train of their victory, beſet round about, and ſlain in the midſt M
between. Only a ſmall remnant of them after the loſs of their Captain, becauſe they had no other
place of refuge nearer, were fain to trudg to *Rome* without weapons and diſarmed, like ſuppliants
both in deed and ſhew. Where they were kindly entertained and beſtowed in ſeverall lodgings.
Some of them when they were cured of their wounds repaired home, reporting the hoſpitality &
courteous uſage they have found. Many remained ſtill at *Rome* for love of their hoſts and the City:
who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Thuſcus vicus*, the Tuſcan
ſtreet.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created Conſ. In that year, for a
ſmall end, there came Embaſſadours from *Porſena*, to treat about the reſtoring of the *Tarquins*
into their Realm: to whom this anſwer was returned: that the Senate would ſend Embaſſadors N
to the King himſelf: whereupon there were immediatly addreſſed unto him in Embaſſie the
moſt honourable perſonages of all the Nobility, who in the name of the people of *Rome* deli-
vered this ſpeech: That the chief of their Nobles were ſent, rather than any diſpatch given by
The Roman Embaſſadours to King *Porſena*. word of mouth unto his Embaſſadours at *Rome*; not for that they could not have ſhapen them
this ſhort anſwer, "They would no Kings have: But to this end, that for ever after there ſhould
"be no ſuit renewed of that matter, nor in ſo great mutuall benefits, and favours paſſed between
"them, ſome diſcontent ariſe on either ſide, whiles he might be thought to requeſt that
"which was repugnant and prejudiciall to the liberty of *Rome*, and the Romans again, unleſs
"they would be executors of their own wrongs, and ſeek their own miſchievance, to make
"denial unto him, whom by their good wils they would not ſeem to deny ought for any thing in O
"the world. But as to the ſubſtance in the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of
"*Rome* were not under the regiment of a King, but were a free ſtate: and fully ſetled in this pur-
"poſe. To ſet open their gates to the enemies, ſooner than to Kings: and were all generally of this
"mind and reſolution, That look when the freedom of that City had an end, then ſhould the
"City come to an end alſo. To conclude therefore they were to entreat him, that if he tendered
"the weal and ſafety of *Rome*, he would permit them to be free ſtill and at their own liberty.

The

A The King overcome with very modeſty, and much abaſhed in himſelf, anſwered thus again:
"Since you are ſo fully minded and ſtifly bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor dull
"your ears with harping ſtill upon this unpleaſant ſtring, and do no good: nor bear the *Tarquins*
"any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, which nothing at all is in my power to
"perform. Let them from henceforth ſeek ſome other place of exile, either for peace or war, as
"they ſhall think more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free cour e of
"amity, and alliance between me and you. To theſe good and kind words he joyned better and
more friendly deeds. For all the hoſtages that remained in his hand he ſent home: and the Veien-
tians lands which by the covenants indented at *Janiculum*, were taken away, he reſtored to the
B Romans again. Thus *Tarquin* ſeeing all hope of return cut off, removed unto *Tuſculum* to his ſon
in law *Mamilius Octavius*, there to live and ſpend the reſt of his daies in baniſhment. So there con-
tinued faithfull peace between the Romans and King *Porſena*.

Then were Conſ. *M. Valerius* and *P. Poſthumius*. In that year the Romans fought with the Sa-
bins fortunately, and the Conſuls triumphed. But afterwards the Sabins made greater prepara-
tion of war: to withſtand whom, as alſo for fear of ſome ſudden danger that might ariſe from
Tuſculum, from whence they ſuſpected war, although none was openly ſeen, were *P. Valerius* the
fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the ſecond time created Conſ. But among the Sabins there grew
ſome civill diſcord between that part that would have war, and the contrary that fought peace:
which gained the Romans ſome ſtrength even from thence. For *Appius Clauſus* (who after-
C wards at *Rome* was ſurnamed *Appius Claudius*) a perſwader himſelf of quietneſs and repoſe, being *Appius Claudius.*
overmatched and not able to make his part good with the adverſe faction that minded and ſtirred
troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from *Regillum* fled to *Rome*,
who were enfranchiſed Citizens, and poſſeſſed of thoſe lands that lye beyond the river * *Anio*. * At this day
And from thence came the name of the old trade *Appia*: after that other new Citizens were put *Teverone.*
unto them, thoſe I mean, that deſcended of that race, and out of the ſame territory. This *Appius* Tribe *Appia.*
was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after advanced to be one of the chief
men and heads of the City. The Conſ. went with a ſtrong power into the Sabins land, where after
they had firſt waſted the Country, and after in battell abated the ſtrength and puiſſance of the ene-
my; ſo, as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned
D to *Rome* in triumph.

The year following, when *Agrippa Menenius* and *P. Poſthumius* were Conſ. *P. Valerius* ended
his daies in great glory, reputed the only ſingular man in thoſe times, by all mens judgment, for
ſkill and knowledge as well in martiall feats, as in civill affairs: but ſo poor was his eſtate, that he The poverty
had not wherewith to defray his funerall expences, and was therefore at the Cities charge right of *P. Valerius*, 4. times Conſul.
honourably enterred. And the Dames of *Rome* mourned for him as they did for *Brutus*.

The ſame year two Colonies of the Latines, *Pometia* and *Cora*, revolted to the Auruncans. The
Romans firſt began to war upon the Auruncans. And after they had diſcomfited a great hoſt of them,
who met with the Conſuls as they entred the borders, and fiercely made head againſt them, then
all the Auruncan war was driven and tranſlated wholly to *Pometia*. The ſlaughter and execution
E was no leſs after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them
ſlain outright in the place than taken priſoners, thoſe alſo that were priſoners, they ſpared not, but
murdered every where as they went: neither ſtaid the furious rage of war therewith, but even
the very hoſtages whom they had received, to the number of 300, they put to the ſword. In this
year alſo was a triumph at *Rome*.

The Conſuls *Opiter Virginius*, and *Sp. Caſſius*, that followed the next year, aſſailed *Pometia*, firſt
by meer force to ſcale the wals, after with pavoiſes, mantelets, platforms, and other fabricks, raiſed
againſt it. Upon whom the Auruncans ſallied forth, rather of a cankred and malicious hatred than
for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furniſhed better
with fire-works than armed with ſword and ſpear, killed and burned all afore them: and having
F thus fired their fabricks aforeſaid, hurt and ſlain a great number of their enemies, one of the Con-
ſuls alſo (but his name precilely is not by any author ſet down) was ſore wounded, ſtrucken down
from his horſe, and well-near ſlain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to *Rome* thus unhap-
pily defeated, leaving the Conſul behind them amongſt many that were hurt, like to dye. Soon af-
ter, and no longer than whileſt their wounds might be healed, and a new ſupply of ſouldiers made,
they came againſt *Pometia*, in more furious manner than before, and alſo with a ſtronger power.
And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike inſtruments of aſſault, they were pro-
ceeded thus forward that the ſouldiers were ready to ſcale and get up the wall, then they within
yielded: and notwithſtanding the Town was thus ſurrendred up, yet there was no more mercy
ſhewed unto it, than if it had been forced by aſſault. The chief and principal Citizens ſhamefully
G loſt their heads, the reſt of the inhabitants were ſold at the ſpear in open market like ſlaves. The
Town ſackt and razed to the ground, yea, and money made of the lands belonging to it. The Con-
ſuls for that they had ſo wreaked their anger, and ſharply revenged themſelves, more than for any
great war they had finiſhed, obtained triumph.

The year following, were *Poſthumius Caninius* and *T. Largius* Conſuls. In this year, during the
games and plaies at *Rome*, certain yonkers of the Sabins, went about in a wanton jollity to carry
away and raviſh the Curtezans and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people ran

together

together, and made a riot, grew to words, and from words to brawls, insomuch, as they went to- H
gether by the ears, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which small occasion there was a rebellion like to ensue, Over and besides the fear of the Latines war, (for to encrease their troubles the more) news came, and it was certainly known, that by the soliciting and practise of *Octavius Mamilius*, there were already thirty nations banded together against the Romans. The City thus being perplexed for the event and expectation of these so great occurrents, there arose the first occasion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither in what year, nor in what Consuls time (for that it can hardly be beleeved, that they should be of the *Tarquins* faction, and yet that also is reported) nor yet who was first created Dictator, is it certainly known: Howbeit, in the most ancient writers I find that *T. Largius* was created the first Dictator, and *Cneus Cassius* Gene- I
Dictator first created at *Rome*. rall of the horsemen: and Consular men (*i. e.* such as had been Consuls afore) they were that elected him: for so the law provided that was enacted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this inducceth me the rather to beleeve, that *Largius* an ancient man, and one who had been Consul before, was appointed as a Controller and Master over the Consuls, and not *M. Valerius* the son of *Marcus*, and grandson of *Volesus*, who as yet had not attained to the Consuls dignity. For if these Consular men aforesaid had been minded to have chosen a Dictator out of that house above all other, surely they would have made choice rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble personage, of approved prowess and valour, and one besides that had been Consul. When the Dictator was once chosen at *Rome*, and the axes were seen born before him, the Commoners stood in great awe, and took better regard to be obedient at every beck and command. For neither could they make ac- K
count of any help (as they might under the Consuls, who were both in commission alike, and of equall authority, when they had recourse from the one to the other) nor yet appeal unto the people: no nor look for succour at all, but in their own double diligence and care of obedience. The Sabins likewise were afraid of the Dictator thus created at *Rome*: and so much the more, because they were verily perswaded he was made of purpose for them: and thereupon, they sent Embassadors to treat for peace, who beseeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon so small a fault, and being but a trick of youth, received this answer: That youth indeed might well be pardoned, but such old babes as they might not, who never rested to sow debate, and minister occasion of one war after another. Howbeit, they fare in consultation about a peace, and obtained it had been, if the Sabins could have found in their hearts and condescended to make good and repay the expences L
that the Romans had disbursed about the war: for that was the thing demanded at their hands. So, defiance was sent and war proclaimed. And yet for that year all was quiet, as it were in time of a secret truce, during the Consulship of *Servius Sulpitius*, and *M. Manlius Tullus*, in whose year there was nothing done worthy of remembrance.

* *Called Jubileo.* * *Palumbara, vel Monti Rotundo.* * *Pilastrina, Ortel. Thusculo.*

After them were *T. Ebutius*, and *C. Vetusius*. In their time * *Fidene* was besieged, * *Crustumeria* won, and *Preneste* revolted from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delaid, but brake forth. *A. Posthumius* the Dictator and *T. Ebutius* Generall of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horse, set forward and advanced as far as the Lake *Regillus*, in the Territory of *Tusculum* and there encountred the Army of the enemies in their march. And because they heard say that the *Tarquins* were M
in the host of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and cost more bloudshed a good deal, than others usually before: because the Generals and chief Commanders were there present, not only to give direction by their counsel and advice, but also in person themselves hazarded their own bodies, and fought bravely in the medley. And not one almost of the principall leaders escaped out of the skirmish, either of one side or of the other, safe and sound, save only the Roman Dictator.

The famous battell at the Lake *Regillus*.

For as *Posthumius* was encouraging his men, and setting them in array in the vanguard, *Tarquinius Superbus* (albeit he was now very aged and unweildy, and not able to bestir himself) set spurs to his horse, and ran full butt against him. But having caught a thrust from aside, was rescued by his men that came about him, and retired to a place of safety. And in the other wing, *Ebutius* Generall of N
the horsemen, set upon *Oct. Mamilius*: but he, the Captain I mean of the Tusculans, was well ware of him, and espied him coming, and ran his horse with full carreer likewise upon him, and so desperately they bear their Lances one against the other, that *Ebutius* was run quite through the arm, and *Mamilius* wounded in the breast, whom the Latines succoured and received into the middle ward. As for *Ebutius* not able any longer to bear his staff, with his arm sore hurt, withdrew himself out of the battel. The Leader of the Latines nothing dismaied for all his hurt maintained fight still: and seeing his souldiers somewhat distressed, he sendeth for the Regiment of the Roman exuls, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his son: who sticking more courragiously unto it, for anger that their goods were spoiled, and they driven out of their own country, renewed the combate afresh for awhile. And as the Romans from that quarter began to O
recule and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, espying young *Tarquin* vaunting himself gloriously in the fore-front of the exuls, inflamed also with a desire of domesticall glory of his house: that the same family which had the praise of expelling the Kings, might likewise win the honour of killing them, spurred his horse, and with deadly spear ran against *Tarquinius*, who giving way to his mortall enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But *Valerius* by this time was disbanded from his company, and rashly ridden into the battell of the exiles, and

A and there a common souldier hapned to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horse staid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and so the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt. *Posthumius* the Dictator, after he perceived so valiant a man faln, and the banished men advancing lustily forward with full trot, and his own souldiers distressed, and at point to turn their backs, gave expreis commandement unto his own band, which he had about him of chosen tall men for to guard his person, that as many of their fellows as they saw flie, they should take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus by reason of a counter-fear the Romans made head again and renewed the battell. Then began the Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with fresh bodies and courragious stomacks, charged upon
B the wearied exiles, and killed them on every side. Whereupon began another combate also between the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The Generall of the Latines seeing the battalion of the banished well near environed round by the Roman Dictator, speedily taketh with him into the forefront of the battell certain squadrons of those that were appointed in the rear-guard to succour and aid: whom *T. Hermonius*, a lieutenant, espied to come marching in good order, and knowing amongst them *Mamilius* by his gorgeous harness, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater violence than the Generall of the horsemen a little before, encountred the Colonell of his enemies so hotly, that both he ran *Mamilius* through his sides, and slue him outright, and also whilest he was disarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himself with a short javelin, and being brought back with victory into the Camp, and at first dressing yeelded to nature and died. Then
C rode the Dictator apace to the horsemen, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their hands. The horsemen soon obeyed, leapt from horseback, and set forward, as if they had flown, to the forefront, where they expoied their targets in defence of them that fought before the ensigns. Whereat presently the Infantry began again to take heart, seeing the principall men of arms, and noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and ready to take part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put back, and their whole battel began to shrink. The Gentlemen had their horses brought to them again, and they mounted on horseback to pursue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after. There the Dictator omitting no help of God and man, vowed, as men say, a Temple to *Castor*, and openly promised and proposed rewards
D to that souldier that made either first or second entry into the enemies Camp. Whereupon they bestirred themselves so couragiously, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquished their enemies, and also were possessed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake *Regillus*. The Dictator and the Generall of horsemen returned into the City with triumph. For three years after, there was neither assured peace between them, nor yet professed war.

Temple of *Saturn* dedicated. *Saturnalia* instituted.

Consuls were *Q. Clælius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minutius*. Whiles these two were Consuls, the Temple to *Saturn* was dedicated, and the feast called *Saturnalia* instituted. After them succeeded *A. Posthumius*, and *T. Virginius*. And in this year and not before, I find in some authors, that the said battell was stricken near the Lake *Regillus*, and that *A. Posthumius* suspecting the fidelity of his brother Consul, gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The
E account of times doth so vary and is so intricate and confused, whiles writers diversly set down the chief Magistrates, that in so great antiquity, not of acts only, but also of authors, a man cannot orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Consuls, and what was done in every year.

Tarquinius Superbus dieth.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Consuls. This year was famous for the news of *Tarquin* his death. He died at *Cumes*, to which place after the defeature of the Latines power, he went to *Aristodemus* the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were well lightned the Commons also began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above measure too excessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the communalty, whom untill that day they had favoured and pleaured to their full power. In the same year the
F Colony *Signia*, which King *Tarquinius* had erected, was now stored again the second time, and the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at *Rome* were now made up Wards 21. * 15 of *May*.
21. The temple of *Mercury* was dedicated in the * Ides of *May*. With the Nation of the Volscians in the time of the Latine war neither was there peace nor war: for both the Volscians had levied a power for aid to send unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictator had not made good speed: and also the Roman Dictator hastned the more for fear he should in one battell have to deal with Latines and Volscians both at once. Upon this quarrell, the Consuls led forth their Legions into the Volscians Country. The Volscians fearing no revenge for their designment (that was intended only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this sudden and unlooked for occurrent. Nor minding therefore to make resistance, and forgetfull of warlike prowess, they delivered
G 300 of their Noblemens children out of *Cora* and *Pometia* for hostages. Whereupon the Roman Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volscians being somewhat eased and delivered of their fear, came again to their old biace & returned to their wonted nature, and secretly under-hand made preparation anew for war: joyning with them as confederates in this quarrel the Hernikes. They send also their Embassadors all about to move and solicite *Latium*. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake *Regillus*, took such a spleen and hatred against him whosoever, that should once put into their heads and perswade them to take *Compagna de Roma.*

arms,

arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadours, but offer them abuse. They apprehended H therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to *Rome*, and delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hernicks were out in arms, ready to war upon the Romans, Which being reported unto the Senators, they were so well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth pleasent & glad were the Latins then, for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They send moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitoll, for a present to *Jupiter*. With these Embassadours and the present, those prisoners which before were I set free, came in greater number. Who repaired straight waies to every man his house, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like courtesie and mutuall hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publikely and privately, united more neerely to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at discord among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring wise, how that abroad they adventured themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbours they were held prisoners and K oppressed: saying, that the freedom of the Commons was more safe in time of war, than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens, This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of it self still kindled more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person chanced to break prison, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparrell was all to tattered, foule, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so lean withall, as if he had been over-pined and starved, his long side beard and hair of his head so overgrown, that they made his visage and countenance wild and gastly. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the L field: and the common people, as pittying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast and fore-part of his body in divers places he had received that might testifie his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assembly to hear a solemn Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whiles he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continuall forraging, and waiting of the Territory, not only lost the revenews and encrease of his lands, but also his Mannor-house was burnt, all his goods ransacked and spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he ill might, he was driven to take up money and run in debt; which growing more and more by paiment of in- M terest, first he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all, by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: untill at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption. Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into to bondage and thraldom, but also imprisoned, and whipped, and tormented in most cruell and butcherlike manner. With that he shewed before them all, his back lately scourged, with the fresh wales of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the uprore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort, that as well they that were bound, as they that were loose, came forth from all parts into the open streets, calling the *Quirites* and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to take part wilingly in this seditious rout, and N every where in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their no small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the Consuls *P. Servilius*, and *App. Claudius* made the better speed, and come upon them to appease the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose comming the multitude turned unto them, shewing their irons, and all their other shamefull misusage and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed, some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatning wise, rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together, and they the while stood about the *Curia*, as if they would be judges and moderators of their publike counsell. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to re- O pair to the Consuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the Councill-house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with delaies, surmising, that the Senators which were away, absented themselves not by chance, nor for fear, but only to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Consuls themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made

A dangerous sedition in *Rome*.

A made but a scorn and game at their miseries. This broil so increased, that hardly could the reverence and Majesty of the Consuls restrain the peoples rage. But the Senators standing in doubtfull tearms, whether to tarry behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they resolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at last a full and sufficient house gathered, neither the Lords there assembled, no nor yet the Consuls, could well agree amongst themselves what to do in this case. *Appius* a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authority and commandment; saying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on, the rest would be quiet. But *Servilius* more inclined to mild and gentle remedies, thought it a more safe and easy course to, rather to bend than to break their angry and fell stomacks. But amidst

Divers opinions in the Senate house.

B these troubles there happed a greater and more fearful occurrence: For certain *Latins* on horseback rode in post, and brought news in hasty and tumultuous manner, that the Volscians were coming with a mighty and cruel army against the City to assault the same. Which news being heard (I see how discord had of one City made twain) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The comminalty lept for joy, and said the gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take prest-mony, or to enter their names in the Mutter-masters book, saying that they had rather dye at once with all, than perish alone and none but they: "Let the Nobles (quoth they) serve as souldiers; "let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the pro- "fits, the prizes and reward thereof. But contrary-wise the Senate pensive and surcharged with

C this twofold fear, as well from citizen as enemy, besought the Consul *Servilius* (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the safety of the Common-weal, be'et as it were round with so fearful perils. Then the Consul dismissed the Senate, and came forth into the assembly of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the commons: "But whiles they were (quoth he) busy in consultation for the greatest part "(I confess) of the City, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the mean while, "that of necessity they must see to the whole body of the Common-wealth, whereof they stand "in exceeding fear. Seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not "possibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there should be any respite and leasure "granted) were it either for the commons credit and honesty, not to fight for their Country,

D "unless they had their pay before hand: nor well beseeming the Nobles and for their reputa- "tion, to look unto and take order haftily, to redress the miseries and calamities of their citizens "upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he confirmed with an edict, by vertue whereof, he gave streight commandment: *Imprimis*, that no man should keep bound or in prison, any citizen of *Rome*, but that he might be enrolled before the Consuls, *Item*, that no person should hold in possession, or sell the goods of any souldier, so long as he abode in the camp, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not only the enthralled debtors there present, were immediately by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them,

E and ran into the market place for to take a military oath of alleagean:e, to be true souldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of these: neither was there any that more manfully behaved and quit themselves or took more pains in the Volscian war. Then the Consul led forth his power against the enemies, and within a little of them incamped himself. The night following, the Volscians presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romans, assailed the tents, if haply in the night season any of them might have been wrought, to abandon the camp, and come to them, or to practise any treason. But the Sentinels descried them, and upon allarm given, the whole army arose, and every man made hast to his weapons. Thus came that enterprise of the Volscians to nothing. The rest of the night both parts rested, and were quiet. On the morrow by break of day, the Volscians having filled up the trench, assailed the bulwarks and rampiers.

F And by that time they had on every side plucked up the fences, pallisadoes, and other fortifications, the Consul, who for all he was called unto instantly on every hand, but of the debtors aforesaid especially above the rest, to give the signal, and to sound the battel, made some stay on purpose to try the courage of his men: and seeing well now their forwardness and their stomacks, at length gave them a token to rush forth, and so letteth them loose, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very first onset the enemies were presently discomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chase, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horsemen likewise pursued them even to their pavillions, who still feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very camp also, environed about with the legions, and abandoned of the Volscians themselves for fear, were forced

G and rifled. The next day following, the legions marched to *Suessa Pometia*, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few dayes the Town was won, and put to the sack, and the spoil and pillage given away: whereby the needy souldiers were somewhat refreshed. The Consul in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to *Rome*. In his way homeward the Ambassadors of the *Ecetrian Volscians* distrusting their own State, upon the losse of *Pometia*. came unto him. To whom after consultation had with the Senate, and a decree passed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabins also put the

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather then a war. For word H was brought in the night season that an army of the Sabins were come in a rode, as far as the river *Anio* robbing, spoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was sent thither the whole power of horses under the conduct of *A. Posthumius*, who in the Latin war had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul *Servilius* with a chosen regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad a forraging in scattering wise, were by the horsemen surprized and inclosed. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabins legion, they were not able to resist: for being tired out, partly with their long journy, and partly with plundring all night long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabin war in one night was heard of and end- I ed. The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope, that they had peace on every side, behold the *Auruncan* Embassadors came into the Senate, proclaming war, unless they would forgo the Volscian lands, and restore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the Auruncans abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in sight not far from *Aricia*, raised up the Romans in so great a broil and hurliburly, that the Senators could neither be consulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves. So to *Aricia* directly in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battel with the Auruncans. And in one day that war had also an end. K

Thus when the Roman souldiers had gotten victory within so few days in so many places, and had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promise of the Consul, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud stomack, and arrogant spirit of his own by nature, and also to discredit and disanul the word of his fellow Consul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a souldier, whose case it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Consul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at his hands they claimed a promise: every one upbraided and reproached him with their service in war, with their scars there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the L Senate, and as a Consul, succour and protect his Citizens; or like a General, maintain his souldiers. These matters no doubt, moved the Consul: but so stood the case that he could neither will nor chuse, but dissemble, deal double, and temporize with them: so sully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus by bearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and base minded Consul, seeking to please all parties, and the Commons for as crafty and false dissembler: insomuch as within a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Consuls hapned on a time to strive, whether of them twain should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from M themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the peoples election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals, he should erect and institute a Colledge or fellowship of Merchants, and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the solemn feasts or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Lectorius*, a principal Centurion of the vanguard: which as it easily appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling; as to disgrace and deface the Consuls. Hereat one of the Consuls, yea, and the *Patricii* stormed and fumed exceedingly against the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course then they purposed at the beginning: for despairing of N the Consuls and Senats help, when they saw a debtor sued and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Consuls sentence and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour. And decree or judge what he would, no man would obey. And so violently they went to work, that in presence of the Consul, the creditors were singled out, evil entreated, and misused of the Commons, being many together. So the whole fear and hazzard of the main chance, even of liberty it selfe, was now altogether translated from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of these troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabin war, and when it was determined, there should be a muster of souldiers, no man would answer to his name and be enrolled: All this while *Appius* raged and took on, "inveying bitterly against the nicety and popu- *Appius his invective against his fellow Consul.* O "larity of his brother Consul, who with his keeping silence for displeasing the people, by his soft "carriage of himself, had betrayed the Weal-publick, and over and besides that, he had not minis- "tred justice for the loane of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought "the matter so to pass that he could take no musters by vertue of the decree of the *Senate*. How- "beit (saith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forsaken and forlorne, nor yet the Consular "authority utterly cast down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were "no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. When as the multitude

A multitude therefore stood thus malapertly, as their daily manner was, about the bar, he commanded one principal Captain of sedition to be attached and had away: and as he was haled to prison by the Sergeants and Lictors, he appealed. Neither would the Consul have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obstinate stiffness with much ado been overswayed more through the discret advise & authority of the chief nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noise & menaces of the multitude: so resolute was he, and his heart so couragious, to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus so resolute was he, and his heart so couragious, to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus grew the mischief more & more daily, testified not with open mouth & broad speeches only, but B ces. At length these Coss, so odious unto the Commons, went out of their office, to wit, *Appius*, a also (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by conventicles, secret meetings, and conferen- man wonderous well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons.

After whom *A. Virginius*, and *T. Vetusius* entred their Consulship. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of Consuls they should have, began to assemble together by night, some in *Esquilie*, others in the *Aventine*: to the end, they might not be unprovided and to seek upon a sudden, what to do in the common place, nor manage their business hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Consuls supposing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill consequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not orderly ask their advise what was to be done: they took so on, and kept such outcry and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and fuming, that the Consuls should lay upon the Senate the burden and heavy C load of that, which properly they by vertue of their authority and office should execute and perform themselves: and surely, if there were any Magistrates in the City (say they) there would not be thus suffered in *Rome* any other counsel but publick: whereas now the State is divided into a thousand Courts and conventicles: whiles some have their meetings and assemblies in *Esquilie*, others in *Aventine*: Assuredly one only man indeed (for that is more than a Consul) such a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would soon dispatch, and in one minute of an hour scatter these their unlawful assemblies. The Consuls upon this rebuke and check, replyed again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are resolved to do nothing slackly and coldly, but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon D moreover, that the Commons with idleness and ease were grown over-malapert and too licentious. And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunal & took their places, and summoned by name all the * younger sort to appear: and none making answer to his name, the * From 17 years of age to 47. multitude standing about as it had been to hear some publick Oration, said plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get so much as one souldier, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publickly before was made, and restore to every man again his liberty, before they caused them to take weapon in hand: to the end, they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Masters. The Consuls saw well what they had in commission from the Senate & that of all those who within the Councel house walls spake so stoutly & gave out so great words, there E was not one present to take part of this odious malice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worst, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advise of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to the Consuls seats, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had sufficiently weighed and tried both wayes, thus at length began they and said. A great sedition and commotion is toward, *A sedition between the Consuls and the people.* my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and say another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great sedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our remissness and lack of courage, assist us and sit with us while we take F the musters: and since you will needs have it so, we will execute it according to their minds, that are most earnest and severest. Then come they back again unto the Tribunal, and commanded on set purpose, one of them that were there in sight to be cited and called by name. But he stood still and held his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he should have some harm or violence done unto him. The Consul then sent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulsed off, then those Nobles which sate there on the bench to assist the Consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intollerable, and so ran down in hast from the Tribunal seat, for to aid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Lictor alone, and only stayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the Patritians. So that the Coss, were fain to step between, and then the fray was appeased. In which, there being G no stones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, brawling and chasing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate house called in a great hurry: and with more confusion sat they there in Councel: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and misused, required that commissioners should sit upon this riot and make due inquisition: and the stoutest of them gave their determination as much by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tempest was overblown and their heat allayed, and that the Coss. hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, saying there was a little discretion and gravity in

their Court and Councel-house, as in the common Hall, they began in the end to consult orderly H
and three opinions there were amongst them. *P. Virginius* would not have it a common and gene-
ral case (to wit, that all debtors should be released from their creditors) but his advise was, that
they should only be considered, who relying upon *P. Servilius* the Consul his word and faithful
promise, had served in the wars of the Volscians, Auruncans and Sabins. *T. Largius*, he supposed
and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends only for good deserts, and to respect
them alone that had done well, and to recompence good service: but for as much as the whole
commonalty was deepily engaged and plunged in debt, unless they were all provided for, and good
order taken for them every one, there would be no quietness nor end of troubles: yea, and (that
which more is) in case they be not all alike regarded, but some debtors in better condition than I
others, the discord would rather be more kindled than quenched. *Appius Claudius* a man both of
natural disposition fierce and cruel, and also by occasion made more outragious, netled with the
Commons hatred against him on the one side, and tickled with the praise and commendations of
the Nobles on the other side, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skie, spake to this
effect: "These so great stirs and mutinous hurliburlies, my Masters (quoth he) is not long of the
The Oration of *Appius Claudius* in the Senate. "misery and calamity, but only of too much liberty of the Commons: who rather upon fatness
"are grown wanton and unruly, than for any want unpatient and discontent: and all this mischief
"no doubt is sprung of this, that they have liberty to appeal. For so long as it is in their power to
"flie for help unto those that have erred as well as they, well may the Consul threaten and give
"out menacing words: as for any rule else or command they shall have none among them. Come K
"on therefore, let us create a Dictator from whom they cannot make their appeal. Then shall
"this furious rage, which now fetteth all on a light fire, be soon husht and quite extinguished. Let
"me see then, who dare beat a Lictor, when he shall well know, that he alone whose honor
"and Majesty he shall offend and abuse, hath power to scourge him and take away his life. Many
men thought this sentence of *Appius* to be very hard and cruel; yea, and dangerous withal, in re-
gard of the late precedent of *Virginius* and *Vetusius*. That other likewise of *Largius* was thought
inconvenient, in taking away all keeping of credit with the creditors. The opinion and advise of
Virginius was supposed as well in one respect as in another most indifferent and mean between
both. But by reason of the faction and regard of private benefit, which always hath done hurt
and ever will, to publick Counsel, *Appius* prevailed, and he missed very little but he himself had L
been made Dictator. Which if it had come to pass, it would surely have estranged and alienated
quite the hearts of the Commons, in that most busy and dangerous time: when it happened that
the Volscians, Æquians, and Sabins, were all up at once in arms. But the Consuls and elder Se-
nators, had great care and consideration to chuse such a one, as might by mildness of his own na-
ture allay and qualify the exceeding rigour and sternness incident to Soveraign and absolute au-
thority. They elect therefore to be Dictator, *Marcus Valerius* the son of *Volesus*. The Commons
albeit they saw well enough this Dictator created for to curbe them, yet having got by his bro-
thers law, the benefit of Appeal, they feared no severe and insolent proceeding from that house
and name. The Edict besides, that the Dictator set forth, which was welneer all one with that
other of the Consul *Servilius*, much confirmed and setled their minds. For supposing now, they M
had more hold both of the man, and also of his authority, and that they might with more confi-
dence rely themselves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, and entred their names
into the muster book: so there were enrolled full ten legions. The like army for number was
never levied afore. Of which legions, the Consuls had the conduct of three a piece, and the Di-
ctator commanded the other four: and high time, it was: for the war might not be deferred any
longer. The Æquians had already invaded the territory of the Latins, and their Embassadors
were petitioners to the Senate, either to send succour, or to give them leave to put on armor
themselves for the defence of their confines, and frontiers. It was thought the safer and surer
way, that the Latins without arming themselves should be defended, than to permit them again
to take weapon in hand. So the Consul *Vetusius* was sent thither, and he stayed them from fur- N
ther foraging and wasting. For the Æquians were departed out of the plains, and trusting rather
in the vantage of the ground, than in their weapons, stood upon their guard, kept themselves safe
from danger, upon the high tops of the Hills and Mountains.

The other Consul who was gone against the Volscians, because he would not also lose any
time, drew the enemy forth (by wasting the country especially) to encamp himself neerer, and so
at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the mids between both camps: where each ar-
my stood before their rampiers, embattelled, and ranged in array, with banners displayed ready to
fight. The Volscians were somewhat more in number, whereupon they began battail disorderedly
and as if they set light by the enemy. But the Roman Consul neither advanced forward, nor
suffered his men once to shout and answer again, but charged them to stand still with their jave- O
lins fast in the ground, until the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to
lay about them lustily with their swords, all that ever they could. The Volscians out of breath
with running and shouting, charged the Romans, who seemed for fear to stand astonied: but after
they once perceived that they were hotly reencountred by them again, and saw their swords glit-
tering in their eyes, they were troubled therewith, as if they had been entrapped and fallen into
some trains layed for them, and so turned their backs. And by reason they came running before
to

A to battail, their strength would not hold out now to run clear away: The Romans contrary-
wise, because against the beginning of the fight they had stood quiet, were fresh of body, and soon
overtook them thus overtoiled, won their camp by force, and after they had driven the enemies
out from thence, chased them into * *Velitre*, and entred the Town pelmell one with another in a * Velitræ
medley, the Victor together with them that were vanquished. More bloudshed there was by exe-
cution of them one with another, of all ages and sexes, as they came in their way, than in the very
battail. A very few, even such as without weapon yeelded themselves, were spared and pardoned.

Whiles these things were a doing amongst the Volscians, the Dictator discomfited and put to
flight the Sabins, with whom he had much cruel war: yea, and forced them to abandon and
B quit their camp. For having sent his horsemen into the main battail of the enemies, which they
had but slightly strengthened within, and bestowed the ranks there very thin, and all to stretch
out the wings on both sides more at large, he brake their arraies: and when they were once dis-
ordered, the footmen came in upon them: and in the same brunt were they Masters of their
camp, and so the war ended. There was not in those dayes a braver battail fought and more re-
nowned, setting aside that only at the lake *Regillus*. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the
City. Over and above the accustomed honors, both he and his posterity after him, were allowed
a certain place in the great Race or Theater, called *Circus*, for to behold at ease the solemn games,
and there was set the Ivory chair of estate, called *Sella curulis*. The Volscians thus van-
quished, lost the territory about *Velitre*, and new inhabitants were sent thither from the City to
C people and to till the grounds, so that it became a Colony.

Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the Æquians, but in truth, full against the
Consul his will, for that they were to climb up a steep Hill (to their disadvantage) for to meet
with the enemy. But the Souldiers blaming him for trifling out, and making delayes, to the end
that the Dictator might be out of Office before they made return to the City, and so his
word and promise, like the Consuls before him, should come to nothing; drave him per-
force to lead up his army, rashly and at adventure against the Hills. This being an enterprise ill
ordered, and an error escaped, fell out notwithstanding very well through the cowardise of the
enemy: who before they were come within shot and the darts cast, amazed at the venturous-
ness of the Romans, forsook their holds which they had in most defensible places, and leapt down
D into the valleys over against them. There was booty & pillage good enough, and a bloudless victory.

Having sped thus fortunately abroad in three several wars, the Senators and Commons were
not careless of home-affairs, what would be the issue thereof. The Bankers and Usurers, what
with favor, and what with subtil and cautelous policy, had devised aforehand and wrought such
means, as might frustrate and disappoint not only the Commons, but also the Dictator, and put
them by their expectation. For *Valerius*, after the return of *Vetusius* the Consul, deale first and The speech of *Valerius* the Dictator in the Senate.
above all other matters and causes at the Councel table, in the behalf of the people that had
atchieved such victories, and propounded to know their minds, What should be done with those
endebted, endangered, and imprisoned persons. "Which motion of his being disliked and re-
"jected: I see well (quoth he) that I cannot please you, so long as I perswade to concord and
E "unity: wish ye will (trust me truly) e're it be long, that the commonalty of *Rome* had more
"Patrons and Advocates like my self. As for me, I will neither bear my citizens any longer in
"hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vain, to effect nothing. Civil discord at home, and
"forrain war abroad, caused the State to have need of this office. Now, when peace is gotten
"without, behold it is crossed and hindered within: yet had I rather be present at the fight of a
"mutiny and insurrection when I am a private person, than whiles I am a Dictator. Thus went he
out of the Councel-house, and yeelded up his Dictatorship withal. The Commons saw plainly
what the matter was, and how upon a discontentment and grief that he took in their behalf, for
very pitty and compassion of them, he gave over the place: and therefore, as if he had fully dis-
charged himself of his faithful word to them given, (for that there was no default in him, but it
F had been performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his house with hearty affection,
praising and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to fear,
lest if the army were broken up and discharged, there would be some secret conventicles, and new
conspiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the musters were taken by the Dictator: yet because the
souldiers had sworn allegeance to the Consuls, supposing they were still bound to warfare by
vertue of that oath, and pretending a colour that the Æquians renued war, they commanded the
legions to be led forth of the City.

This hastened the sedition the sooner and set it forward. At first, as men said, they complotted
and laid their heads together about murdering and making away the Consuls, to the end they
might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better schooled and advised, that
G no mans conscience can be cleared of scruple, and discharged of an oath once taken, by committing
a sinful act and working mischief, they withdrew themselves out of the way by the perswasion of
one *Sicinius*, and without *conge* of the Consuls, departed as far as Mount *Sacer*, on the farther The first re-
volt of the commons of *Rome* into mount *Sacer*.
side of the River *Anio*, three miles from the City. This is the more common report, and goeth
more current, than that whereof *Piso* is the Author (namely, that the commons retired them-
selves to *Aventine*.) There, without any head or Captain, they encamped and fortified them-
selves within a trench and rampier, and kept quiet for certain dayes, neither taking nor doing
harm

harm; as having caried with them such things only as were necessary for the sustenance of their life. Great fear there was in the City, and in this mutual and reciprocal fear, all men were perplexed and to seek what to do. The Commons forlorn of their fellow Commoners doubted the violence of the Senators: the Senators again stood in fear and jealousie of the Commons that remained still behind; and were in suspense whether it were better they abode still among them, or followed after their fellows. For how long trow ye, will a multitude once disbanded; rest in quiet? Again, in case any forrain war should arise in the mean time, what might ensue thereupon in the end? In conclusion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of citizens: and therefore the commons one way or other, either by reasonable conditions or unreasonable, were to be reconciled again and reduced into the City, there was no remedy. So it was thought good and agreed upon, that one *Menenius Agrippa* (a fair spoken and eloquent man, gracious withal and well-beloved among the commons, for that he was from them descended) should be sent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the camp, after that old and harsh kind of eloquence in those dayes, spake as men saith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: "Upon a time (quoth he) when as in mans body, all the parts thereof agreed not, as now "they do in one, but each member had a several intent and meaning; yea, and a speech by it self: "so it befel, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much and repined that by their careful- "nes, labor, and ministery, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to serve it: and the belly it self "lying still in the mids of them, did nothing else but enjoy the delightsome pleasures brought un- "to her. Whereupon they mutined and conspired altogether in this wise, That neither the hands "should reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, nor yet the "teeth grind and chew the same. In this mood and fit, whiles they were minded to famish the "poor belly, behold the other limbs, yea, and the whole body besides, pined, wasted, & fell into an "extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did no small service, but "led the other parts, as it received food it self: seeing that by working and concocting the meat "throughly, it digesteth and distributeth by the veins into all parts, that fresh and perfect blood "whereby we live, we like, and have our full strength. Comparing herewith, and making his appli- cation, to wit, how like this intestine and inward sedition of the body, was to the fell stomack of the commons, which they had taken and born against the Senators, he turned quite the peoples hearts. Then began some treaty of unity and concord: and among other articles it was conditioned and granted, [that the Commonalty should have certain sacred and inviolable Magistrates of their own among themselves, such as might have power to assist the Commons against the Consuls: *Item*, that it might not be lawful for any Senator to bear that office. So there were created two Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Licinius* and *L. Albinus*. And these elected three other fellow officers unto them. Of whom *Sicinius*, the Author of the sedition or insurrection was one, who were the other twain is not for certain known. Some say there were but two Tribunes created and no more in the mount *Sacer*, and that the sacred law was there made concerning their immunity.

Agr. Menenius his Oration to the Commons.

Tribuns of the common people first created.

During this insurrection and revolt of the commons, *Sp. Cassius* and *Postumius Cominius* entered their Consulships. In whose time a league was made with the people of *Latium*. For the establishing whereof, one of the Consuls stayed behind at *Rome*: the other was sent unto the Volscian war, who discomfited and put to flight the Volscians of *Antium*, chasing and driving them into the Town *Longula*, which he won. And immediatly he took *Mucamites* a Town of the Volscians, and after that with great force assaulted *Corioli*.

There was in camp then among the flowre of gallant youths, one *Caius Martius*, a Noble yong Gentleman, right politick of advise, active besides, and tall of his hands, who afterwards was surnamed *Coriolanus*. Whiles the Roman army lay at siege before *Corioli*, and were amused wholly upon the Towns-men within, whom they kept fast shut up, and feared no present danger at all from any forrain war without: behold, all on a suddain, the Volscian legions that came from *Antium*, assailed them: at which very instant the enemy also sallied out of the Town. Which *Martius* seeing, who by good hap quartered and warded there, with a lusty band of elect men, not only represted and stopped the violence of those that issued and brake upon him, but also whiles the gate stood open, fiercely rushed in himself: and having made a foul slaughter of people thereby, at his first entrance into the City, and caught up fire at a venture, flung it upon the houses that stood upon and about the walls. Whereupon arose a great outcry of the folk within the Town, together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, as commonly is seen in such a fright. Which at the very first, both hardened the Romans, and also troubled the Volscians: and no marvel, seeing the City taken before their face, for which they were come to rescue. Thus were the Volscians of *Antium* defeated, and the Town *Corioli* won. And *Martius* through his praise, so much obscured and stopped the light of the Consul his fame, that had it not been ingraven in brasse for a remembrance and monument, That there was a league with the Latines, and the same made by *Sp. Cassius* alone (for that his companion was absent) there had been no record at all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever *Sp. Cominius* warred with the Volscians.

Corioli forced.

The same year died *Menenius Agrippa*, a man all his life time before beloved indifferently of the Senators and the Commons: but after the insurrection, much more dear unto the Commons than before. This truce-maker, this mediator for civil attonement. this Embassador and Messenger from the Senators to the Commons, this reconciler and reducer of the Commons home

The death of Menenius Agrippa, and his poverty.

home again into the City, had not at his death sufficient to defray the charges of his funerals: the Commons therefore made a purse and a contribution of a * Sextant by the poll, and were at the cost to inter and bury him worshipfully.

* The first part of As, half a farthing or cue with us.

After this were made Consuls, *T. Geganius* and *P. Minutius*. In which year when all was quiet abroad for any war, and the diffention at home healed up clean, and skinned: another calamity far more grievous entred the City. First, a dearth of corn, and all manner of victuals, by reason that the grounds upon the departure of the Commons were neglected and untilled. Hereupon insued famine, even such as usually is incident to men besieged. And verily the household of bondiervants, yea, and the commons too, had utterly perished for hunger, if the Consuls had not in time made the better provision: by sending purveiours all abroad to buy up corn, not only into *Hetruria*, by coasting along the river on the right hand from *Hostia*, and on the left hand by Sea, (passing through the Volscians Country) even as far as *Cumes*: but also into *Sicily*, there to lay for grain. Such was the hatred of the borderers, that *Rome* was enforced to have need of succor and relief from afar. Now when they had bought certain corn at *Cumes*, it was no sooner embarked, but the ships were stayed and arrested there, by *Aristodemus* the tyrant, for the goods of the *Tarquins*, whose heir in remainder he was. In the Volscian Country and *Pomptinum*, they could buy none for mony. There, the very Purveiors themselves were in danger of violence, by the men of the Country. Out of *Tuscane* there came corn up the *Tyber*, wherewith the Commons were sustained and refreshed. And considering the freights they were in for want of victuals, they had been sore distressed and vexed with wars besides, and that in a very ill time, and unseasonable for them: but that the Volscians, who now were in readiness, and upon the point to make war, had a pestilence that raigned hot among them. Which heavy crosse and affliction, the enemies were so discouraged with, that when the plague began to stay, even then they continued still afraid.

Coriolanus enveyeth against the Tribuns.

The Romans both at *Velitre* augmented the number of the inhabitants and also at *Norba*, sending a new Colony into the Mountains, to be a Fortress and strength for all the territory of *Pomptinum*. Moreover, when *M. Minutius* & *A. Sempronius* were Consuls, great store of corn was brought out of *Sicily*: and it was debated in the Senat-house, at what price the Commons should be served therewith. Many thought the time was now come to wring the Commons, and keep them under, and to recover again those royalties, which by their departure were forcibly wrested and dismembred from the nobility. But above all others *Martius Coriolanus*, an utter and capital enemy to the Tribuns power and authority, "If they will (quoth he) have their corn and victuals at the old price, let them restore unto the Senators their ancient right and prehemi- "nence. Why see I (as one brought under the yoke of servitude, and put as it were unto my "ransome, by Robbers and Theeves) these Magistrates of the Commons? why see I *Sicinius* so "mighty? Shall I endure these indignities longer than I needs must (I that could not bear *Tar- "quinius* to be King, shall I brook and suffer *Sicinius*? Let him depart aside now, and take his "Commons with him: the way is open to Mount *Sacer* and other Hills: Let them carry away "with them the corn out of our possessions and Lordships, as they did three years ago: let "them enjoy, take for their use, and spend the store, which they in their foolery and fury have "provided. I dare be bold to say, that when they are by this calamity once tamed, they will "rather till and husband the ground themselves, than with weapon in hand, and by way of in- "surrection, forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot so soon say, whether it had been as meet, as I suppose it was possible and easy to effect, that the Senators by offering more gentle conditions in the prices of corn and victuals, might have eased themselves of the Tribuns authority over them, and also have been disburdened of those impositions which will they, nill they, were laid upon them. Well, this seemed to the Senate a sharp censure and severe sentence of *Coriolanus*, and for very anger also it had like to have caused the Commons to rise up in arms. For they muttered and gave it out in these tearms, "That now they were laid at and "assailed with famine like enemies, defrauded and bereft of their meat and pittance: that the "outlandish corn, the only sustenance and food which fortune had ministred unto them beyond "all hope, was snatched and plucked from their mouths, unless the Tribuns be delivered and "yeelded Prisoners hand and foot bound to *C. Martius*, unless he might have his penny worths "of the back and shoulders of the Commons of *Rome*. For he was now start up and become "their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to servitude. As he went out of the Councel house, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribuns, as good luck was, served him with process in time, to appear at a day, and come to his answer. Herewith, their furious anger was suppressed. For now every man saw, that he was himself to be the judge and Lord of his enemies life and death. *Martius* at the first scorned the Tribuns thundering threats, and gave the hearing, as though he made small reckoning thereof, saying: That their authority had power granted by limitation, only to aid, and not to punish: that the Tribuns were Tribuns to the Commons, and not to the Senators. But so spightfully were the Commons bent, and all so set upon mischief, that there was no other remedy, but one man must pay for it to save & excuse the rest of the Nobles. Howbeit the Senators did what they could to withstand them: by opposing hatred and displeasure again and making all means, what either privately they were able of themselves, or jointly by their whole Order and degree, to procure. And first, this course they assayed

The murmuring of the commons against *Coriolanus*.

assayed to stop and overthrow the suit commenced; namely, by setting their followers and re-
tainers in sundry places to deal with the Commons severally one by one, & what they could to af-
fright them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into
the *Forum* or common place. A man that had seen them would have said they had been the par-
ties themselves in trouble and accused, ready to hold up their hand at the bar: such praying, such
a beseeching they made of the Commons, in the behalf of this one citizen, this only Senator;
that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguilty, yet they
would give him unto them as an offender and faulty person. In conclusion, when his day came,
he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angry mood against him. And
being condemned in his absence, for contumacy, departed into banishment to the Volscians, I
menacing his own country as he went, and carrying even then with him the revenging stomack
of an enemy.

The Volscians at his coming received him courteously, and friendly intreated him every day
more than other, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his country-men, by many
complaints he made of them, and threats withal that he oftentimes gave out against them in their
hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of *Accius Tullius*, who at that time was
a mighty great man among the Volscians, and one that ever bare mortal malice unto the Ro-
mans. And whiles the one of them was provoked with an old cankred grudge, and the other set
on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrel and occasion of anger, they both laid their heads to-
gether and complotted to make war upon the Romans. This only thing stood in their way to K
cross their designs: They thought verily their Commons would hardly or scarcely at all be
brought, to rise and take arms again, which they had so often unhappily attempted: And besides,
their courages were well cooled, and their stomacks abated by the loss of their youth in many and
sundry wars often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortality. They were
therefore to go cunningly to work; that for as much as the old hatred against the Romans was
grown out and worn away, their hearts upon some new anger might be chafed and galled again.
There were by chance at that time in *Rome*, the great Games and Playes in hand, to be set out
anew the second time, the occasion whereof was this. A certain householder one morning be-
times before the shews and games began, had beaten with rods a poor slave of his under the fork
which he carried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the *Circus* or *Thea-* L
tre: and with that began the playes, as if there had been no matter therein of scruple or Religi-
on. But not long after, one *T. Latinius* a mean Commoner had a dream or vision: In which he
thought that *Jupiter* complained and said, that the Dancer before the playes pleased him never a
whit: and unless those games were newly exhibited again and that very stately and sumptuously,
some great danger should befall the City: willing him withal, to make relation hereof unto the
Consuls. The man albeit in truth he was not without some sense and feeling of Religion and the
fear of God: yet made he no such great scrupie at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the
Majesty and countenance of the Magistrates surmounted and dashed it clean: for fear left haply
he should become a talking stock in mens mouths, and be mocked for his labour. But this delay
and sleeping of the matter, he bought full dear. For within few dayes his son happed to dye, M
And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and suddain mis-
fortune, whiles he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision ap-
peared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him whether he had not yet sufficiently paid
for this disobedience and contempt of God? threatning moreover, that in case he made no
greater hast to certify the Consuls thereof, there was a greater judgment and plague toward, and
that very neer. Now was the thing more evident than before, and past all peradventure. How-
beit he neglected and drave it off still, until he was himself overtaken with a grievous disease, and
brought to great weakness in all his joints. Then verily the wrath of the Gods taught him to be
wiser. And being overwearied with harms past and in fear of more presently to ensue, he con-
ferred with his kinsfolk and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them N
what he had seen and heard; namely, how *Jupiter* had so often appeared unto him in his sleep,
and that the fearful displeasure and threatnings of the heavenly Gods were shewed plainly by
sundry mischances fallen upon him: by the full consent of all them that were about him, he was
brought in a litter to the Consuls, into the *Forum* or common place, from whence by the Con-
suls commandment he was carried into the Counsel house. Where, when he had made report
unto the Senators of the self-same things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all,
see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame creeple of all his
limbs, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) sound
upon his feet. Hereupon the Senate decreed, That the Games should be set out as magnificently
as could be devised. O

To these solemnities resorted, by the motion and persuasion of *Accius Tullius*, a great num-
ber of Volscians. But before they were begun, *Tullius* according to the complot between him
and *Martius* at home, made a step or errand unto the Consuls at *Rome*, saying that he would
willingly commune and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When
the room was clear, and every man gone, he began in this wise: "Loth I am (quoth he) if other-
wise I could chuse, to speak ought but well of my country-men and fellow citizens. Yet come I
"not

Accius Tullius to the Roman Consuls.

A "not to complain of any action of theirs already passed, but to give a caveat, and provide that
"nothing be practised hereafter. The nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is
"too too unconstant and unstayed, more I know than I would they were, a great deal: that have
"we found and felt to our great cost and manifold damage, we I say, who verily at this day by your
"long sufferance, and not by good desert of ours, do stand in good terms and peace of safety.
"There is now here a great multitude of Volscians, the Playes and Games ready to be represented
"and celebrate. Your City will be wholly amused in the beholding thereof: I remember upon
"the like occasion, what was lomtimes enterprised and wrought in this City by the youth of the
"Sabins; and my heart doth tremble and quake for fear, lest some inconsiderate, rash and fooliſh
B "part be played by ours: thus much, O ye Consuls, I thought good in our behalf and yours both,
"to give you notice of before hand. As for me, I am minded presently to go from hence home,
"lest I being here seen, might be thought in some word or deed accessary unto them, and so cul-
"pable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Consuls had declared in the Senate this
thing so doubtful, and yet proceeding from the mouth of so sure and certain an Author: behold,
the credit of the man (as commonly it is seen) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused
them to be wery and circumspect, yea, although there was no such need or cause at all. Where-
upon the Senate made an Act, that the Volscians should be jogging out of the City. And divers
cryers or Bedles were sent out sundry wayes, to command them to avoid and be packing before
night. At the first, the Volscians were only much affrighted, and ran every man to and fro into
C his Inne to fetch away his things. But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to think
more and more of it, and to grow melancholy: thinking it a great indignity, that like polluted and
profaned persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holydayes, discarded (as a
man would say) and excommunicate out of the company both of God and man. Thus as they
went along all on a row, as it were in one continued and joynt train, *Tullius* (who was gone afore
as far as the *Ferentine* head) received the formost and chief of them, as every one came, and en-
tertained them with complaints and words of indignation, and drew both them who willingly
gave ear to his words so fitly framed and tending to stir more coles, and also by their means the
rest of the multitude into a plain field, lying hard under the high way side. Unto whom, assembled
together as it were to hear a sermon, he thus began to speak: "Admit (quoth he) you could for-
D "get the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of *Rome*, the losses and overthrows of
"the Volscian Nation; yea, and all the other quarrels whatsoever; how can ye put up this dayes
"spightful reproach and dishonor received at their hands? who to our great disgrace and shame,
"have begun their solemn Games? Perceived you not how they have triumphed over you to day?
"how as ye departed, ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so
"many neighbour nations adjoyning? how your wives and children were brought as it were in a
"shew, to make them sport and to laugh at? what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard
"the voyce of the Bedle? what thought they that beheld you as you dislodged? what imagined
"they that happened to meet this ignominious troup as they marched? Even this & no other, that
"there was some wicked sin among us, not to be named, whereby we should as malefactors, have
E "stayned and polluted their games if we had been present at the sight of them, & have committed
"some haynous act, that would require by some satisfaction of sacrifice to be purged? and for that
"cause were driven from having any conversation, fellowship, and society of good and godly men?
"Over and besides, how can you chose but think of this, That we enjoy our lives still, only be-
"cause we hastned our remove, (if this may be called a remove, and not rather a plain taking of a
"flight and running away.) And yet you reckon this no enemy City, where, if ye had stayed but
"one day longer, you had dyed for it every one. Defiance is given already, and war denounced a-
"gainst you; but if ye be men indeed of courage, to their great cost and mischief that have de-
"nounced it. Thus being of themselves kindled enough with indignation, and by these words en-
flamed and set on fire, they went every man his way from thence home: and so effectually sollicited
F each one the people where he dwelt, that in fine the whole nation of the Volscians revolted and
rebelled. To manage this war, were chosen General commanders by one consent of all the Cities,
Accius Tullius and *Cn. Martius* the banished Roman: in whom of the twain they reposed greater
hope and this their hope failed them not. So as it soon appeared that the puissance of the state of
Rome, consisted more in the dexterity of good Captains, than in strong armies of souldiers. For
first he went to * *Circeios*, from whence he expelled the Roman Coloners, and delivered the City * Monte Cir-
cello.
cleer and free unto the Volscians. Then by cross wayes he passed into the Latin street, called *Via*
Latina: and regained from the Romans, these their Towns newly gotten afore, *Satricum*, *Longu-*
la, *Pollustia* and *Corioli*. After this he wan *Lanuvium* again, and so forward he forced * *Corbio*, * Civita inde-
vina vique.
Vitelia, *Trebia*, *Labicos* and *Pedum*. And last of all from *Pedum*, he marched on toward the City
G of *Rome*, and at *Cluilia Fossa*, five miles off, he encamped and forraged the territory about, sen-
ding with the forragers certain guides, to keep them from spoyling and doing harm in the
Noblemens Lands: were it that he were more spightful to the Commons, or that thereby some
discord might arise, between the Commonalty and the Senators: which doubtless had soon *Coriolanus be-*
fiegeth Rome.
grown so mightily had the Tribuns already by their complaints and accusations, provoked
the Commons forward. (who of themselves were shrewd enough), against the heads and Magi-
strates of the City, but, that the fear of forrain dangers, the greatest bond of civil concord
that

Accius Tullius to his Coun-try-men.

that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never so jealous, suspected, H and hateful afore one to the other. Herein only was all their difference, that the Senate and Consuls, reposed hope in nothing else save only in war: the Commons on the other side were desirous of any thing whatsoever, but war.

Now were *S. Nautius*, and *Sex. Furius* Consuls: who as they were surveying and mustering the legions, and disposing of a good *Corpus de guard* upon the walls, and other places wherein they thought it expedient to keep a standing watch and ward: behold a mighty number called and cryed hard for peace, and with their seditious clamors, put them in exceeding fear: yea, and afterwards for. ed them to assemble the Senate-house together, and to propose concerning the sending of certain Embassadors to *Cn. Martius*. The Lords of the Senate seeing evidently the commons I hearts to fail them, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Oratours sent unto *Martius* to treat for peace. At whose hands they received this heavy and stout answer: The answer of Coriolanus to the Roman Orators.

"If so be the Volscians had their Lands restored to them again, then there might be some parle "and treaty of peace: but if they will needs at their pleasure still enjoy that booty which by war "they have gotten, then would he in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his "country-men, as also of the friendship and courtesy shewed him by strangers that had given him "entertainment, do his best to make it known unto the World, that his courage and stomack is "incensed, and not abated and quailed by his banishment. Then were the same Embassadors sent again the second time, but they might not be admitted once to set foot within the camp. It is reported moreover that the very Priests in their *Pontificalibus*, in their rich vestiments and goodly K ornaments, went with supplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than the Embassadors had done before them. Then the dames of the City came flocking all about *Veturia* the Mother, and *Volumnia* the wife of *Coriolanus*. Whether this proceeded from any publick Counsel and was done in Policy, or came only of womens fear, I find but little in any records. But howsoever it came about, this one thing is certain, they perswaded so effectually with them, that both *Veturia* an aged woman, and also *Volumnia* with her two little sons that she had by *Martius*, went toward the enemies camp, to see if women by their prayers and tears, might save the City, which men with spear and shield could not defend. When they were come into the camp, and word brought to *Coriolanus*, that there was an exceeding great train of women thither arrived: at the first, he, as one that had relented, neither for that publick Majesty in the Embassa- L dors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, and saw with his eyes in the clergy, stood much more stifly bent against the tears of silly women. But afterwards one of his familiar friends, who had seen and known *Veturia* there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly above the rest, as she stood betwixt her daughter in law and her little Nephews: "If mine eyes "be matches (quoth he) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Where- "at, *Coriolanus*, fuming like a man well near beside himself, arose from his seat, and ran to meet "his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in stead of prayers into a fit of choler: "Let me know (quoth she) before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy "or to a son, whether I be in thy camp as a captive prisoner, or as a natural mother. And have I "lived indeed so long, and rubbed on still in this miserable old age of mine for this, to see thee first M "a banished man, and after that to become an enemy? Couldst thou find in thine heart to waste "and spoil that country which bred thee, which fostered thee, and brought thee up? And be "it that thou hither marched with a cruel intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and "fell wrath slake, when thou didst set foot within the borders and marches thereof? And being "come within the sight of *Rome*, arose not this in thy mind and thought, Within those walls "yonder is my house, there are my house-gods, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then, "belike if I had never been a mother, and born a child, *Rome* had not been assaulted. And if I had "no son at all, I might have died well enough in my native countrey, whiles it remained free. But "as for me, neither can I suffer ought, more for thy dishonesty and shame; nor more to mine "own calamity and misery than this: and most wretched caitife though I be, yet long time so I N "cannot continue. But for these here, look thou well to it, I advise thee, and have pitty of them, "who if thou go on as thou beginnest, are like to feel untimely death, or endure long captivity. Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: whereat the women fell a weeping on all sides. bewailing their own case and the state of their countrey. So as at length the man was overcome. And after he had taken them in his arms likewise, he let them go: and himself dislodged and removed his camp backward from the City. When he had withdrawn the legions out of the territory of *Rome*, he gat himself, men said, such hatred and displeasure for this action, that it cost him his life: and murdered he was, some report one way, some another. But I find in *Fabius* a most ancient writer, that he lived until he was an old man: who reporteth this of him: That oftentimes in his latter dayes he used to utter this speech, *A heavy case and most* O *wretched for an aged man to live banisht*. The men of *Rome* envied not those women their due deserved praises. So free was the world in those dayes, from depraving and detracting the glory of others. For in memorial hereof to all posterity, there was a Temple built and dedicated to *Fortuna Muliebris*, i. Womens fortune. The speech of *Veturia* unto her son *Martius Coriolanus*.

After all this, the Volscians joyned the Æquians unto them, and returned into the territory of *Rome*. But the Æquians would no longer abide *Aceius* to be their Commander. And upon this

A this strife between the Volscians and Æquians, whether of them should appoint a General over the army raised joyntly of them both, first they grew to a mutiny, and afterwards to a cruel battel. Such was the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civil discord and contention, no less mortal than obstinate, overthrown and brought to naught. Consuls then, were *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*. To *Sicinius* were allotted the Volscians, and to *Aquilius* the Herniks (who also were out and up in arms) for their several Province. That year were the Herniks vanquished, but with the Volscians they fought so, as they departed on even hand, giving and taking the like.

After them were *Sp. Cassius*, and *Proculus Virginius* made Consuls. Then was there a league B concluded with the Herniks, and two third parts of their Lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moity, *Cassius* the Consul was minded to distribute among the Latins, the other among the Commoners. To this donation he laid too also a good portion of ground, which being Commons by right, he found much fault, that it was in the tenure and possession of private persons. This act of his made diverse of the Senators, namely, such as were great landed men and interessed therein, to startle for fear of hazarding their estate. Over and besides, the Senators all in general were in great perplexity, lest that the Consul by this largess, should rise by popular favour to such greatness, as might prejudice their free hold, yea and endanger the very main chance of publick liberty. And this was the first time that the law *Agraria* was published: and so forward unto this present hour, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great stirs and C troubles of the State. The other Consul withstood this largess, with the general consent of the Senators, and without contradiction of some Commoners: who at the very first began to mislike, and utterly abhor, that the donation was so common, and from the natural citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might oftentimes hear even the Consul himself *Virginius*, openly in his solemn Orations before the people, to deliver by way of prophesie, and as it were to prognosticate; "*That this was a pestilent largess of his brother Consul, and that those* "*grounds would in the end enthral the takers thereof, and that it was the very high way to set up a* "*Kingdom again. For to what other intent (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the La-* "*tins associate in the same? To what purpose either, was a third part of the Lands won by conquest,* "*given again to the Herniks professed enemies but a while before, but that these nations might have* "*given again to the Herniks professed enemies but a while before, but that these nations might have* D "*given again to the Herniks professed enemies but a while before, but that these nations might have* "Cassius *to be such another Captain of theirs, as* Coriolanus *was*. And thus by disswading and crossing the law *Agraria*, he became now to be popular and gracious with the people. Then both Consuls strived much, who might please and gratify the Commons most. *Virginius*, by giving out that he would maintain and suffer the Lands to be divided, so they were assigned to none but to the citizens of *Rome*: *Cassius* again, who in the largess of the Lands, seemed to Court and insinuate himself with the allies and thereby was of the citizens less regarded and reputed. to the end, that by some other benefit he might regain the hearts of his country men. was of opinion, and made a motive, that the money which was received for the Sicilian corn, should be repayed unto the people. But the Commons refused and abhorred that, as a very bribe and ready bait for a Scepter and Crown. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deep rooted suspition and jealousy E of his aspiring to a Kingdom, loathed in the conceits of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich enough. And for certain it is recorded, that so soon as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his own father did the execution: and that upon examination privately had at home within his house, he finding him faulty, whipped him first, and so killed him, and consecrated the goods and chattels of his son, as a *Deodand* to *Ceres*, whereof a Statue or Image was made, with this Inscription or Title, *Given out of the house of Cassius*. I find in some records (which soundeth nearer to the truth) that he was by the * Questors of *Cæso Fabius*, and *L. Valerius*, endited of treason, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people condemned, and his house by order from the whole City, rased and pulled down. And at this day, it is the voyd yard that lieth before the Temple of *Tellus*. But howsoever he had his tryal and F judgement, privately or openly condemned he was when *Ser. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls. Long continued not the peoples anger and spight against *Cassius*. So sweet was the law *Agraria* in it self, that when the Author and Upholder thereof was out of the World, they longed to have it on foot again. Which desire of theirs was the rather set on fire, through the pinching niggardise of the Senators, who having that year subdued the Volscians and Æquians, kept the souldiers fasting. and defrauded them of the spoil. For what prizes soever were gotten from the enemies, the Consul *Fabius* sold and brought into the Exchequer or Chamber of the City. Yet obtained the Senators so much, and held their own so, as *Cæso Fabius* was created Consul with *L. Æmilius*. This made the Commons more malicious and bent to mischief. And in action at G home caused war abroad. Forrain war restrain'd civil discord for a while. Both Senators and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of *Æmilius*, fought fortunately with the rebellious Volscians and Æquians, and discated them. How beit more enemies perished in the chase, than were slain in the battel: so hotly the horsemen pursued them when they were once discomfited and gave not over. The same year was the Temple of *Castor* consecrated in the * Ides of *Quintilis*. It had been vowed afore time in the Latins war by *Posthumius* the Dictator. His son was created *Duumvir*, for that purpose, and dedicated it.

Now was the name of *Fabius* already odious to the Commonalty, for the last Consuls sake:

This

Sp. Cassius put to death for seeking to be King.

* Treasurers of the City.

The law *Agraria* first published, concerning the division of waste lands among the Commons.

Virginius against the law *Agraria*.

Temple of Castor dedicated. 15. of July.

Duumvirs for dedication of a Temple.

This year also the Commons hearts were set upon the law *Agraria*, and longed afresh after the H
sweetness thereof. The Tribuns of the Commonalty graced and credited their popular authori-
ty, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the Senators supposing
verily that the multitude was furious and outragious enough, and too much of themselves, with-
out any hire and reward, stood in great dread and horror of these largesses, as the very allurements
and provocations, of rash and heady attempts: & the stoutest champions of their side to withstand
the law, were the Consuls. That part therefore and State of the City had the better hand, not
only this present year, but for the next ensuing. For they chose *M. Fabius Caso* his brother, for
the one Consul, and *L. Verius* for the other, a man of the twain more odious in the eyes of the
Commons, in regard of his late accusation of *Sp. Cassius*. In which year also there was strife and I
much adoe with the Tribuns. But both law and law-makers with their glorious bragging and
vaunting of their goodly donative, which they could not effect, proved vain and came to no-
thing. Upon this, the name of *Fabij*, who after three Consulships together one after another, by
them born continually without intermission, were inured and tried in the broils and contentions
of Tribuns, was in great request and reputation: and in their house and family remained still for
a good while after, that dignity, as an honor well and worthily bestowed upon them. Then be-
gan the Veientian war, and the Volscians likewise rebelled. But for any wars abroad whatsoever,
they had strength enough and to spare, if by jars at home among their own selves they had not
abused the same.

Besides this disquietness and affliction of all mens minds, occasioned by these dissensions, there K
hapned (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and strange tokens from Heaven, daily in a man-
ner threatning both in City and Country the heavy hand of God. And when as the soothsayers
and wizards were sent out unto, to search forth the cause of Gods wrath and indignation both in
publick and private, as well by inspection of the inwards of sacrificed beasts, as by aspect of birds
and fouls, they could assign it to nothing else but this, that there was some errour committed in
their sacrifices and divine liturgie. Those fearful and prodigious signs proceeded still so far, that
one *Oppia* a vestal Nun, convicted and condemned of incest, suffered death.

After this, followed *Q. Fabius* and *C. Tullius* Consuls. In which year the discord at home was
nothing less and the war abroad far greater. For the Æquians rose up in arms: the Veientians L
also entred the confines, and made much spoil. And whiles they were more and more careful
about these wars what order to take, *Caso Fabius* and *Sp. Furius*, were made Consuls. By this
time the Æquians assaulted *Artonam* a City in *Latium*. And the Veientians having sped themselves
with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would give an assault upon the very City of
Rome. These fearful news, which ought to have abated and taken down the stomacks of the
Commons, made them much more fierce and fell, and they returned of themselves unto their old
biass of refusing warfare: but *Sp. Licinius* their Tribune, thinking now the time was come to en-
force upon the Senators the law *Agraria*, upon this exigent and extream point of necessity, had
taken upon him to stop the levying and setting out of an army. But he drew upon his own head
the whole hatred and displeasure of the Tribuns themselves and their authority. For the Consuls
opposed themselves against him no more bitterly than his own companions in office: by whose M
assistance the Consuls went through with the Muster. And for two wars at once, there were en-
rolled two armies. The one under the leading of *Fabius*, against the Æquians, the other, against
the Veientians commanded by *Furius*. Against whom there was nothing done worthy of remem-
brance. As for *Fabius*, he had somewhat more to do with his own men than with his enemies.
That man himself alone was he, that being Consul upheld the Common-weal, which his army
The disobedi- ence of sol- diers to their Captain, for hatred of their Consul, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above
many other warlike feats and parts of a right worthy General, whereof he shewed singular proof,
both in preparation, and also in manging of the war) had so marshalled and ranged his battail,
that with sending out the horsemen only, he disordered and brake the ranks of his enemies host:
behold, the footmen would not follow on after that disaray: neither, when the exhortation of N
their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their own shame at least-wise, and the pu-
blick dishonor for the present; no, nor yet the imminent danger like to ensue (in case the enemy
had taken heart again and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more
speed. Neither could he possibly make them (if to do nothing else) so much as to march still in
battail aray: but full against his commandment they retire with their ensigns: and as men sory in
their hearts and ill apaid, (he that had seen them would have said they had lost the field) cursing
their General one while, and the valiant service of the horsemen another while, they return to
their Tents. Neither wist the General what way to remedy this so pestilent an example and dan-
gerous precedent. Thus we may see, that brave men of singular and excellent wits, have been
more to seek and fail in their skill, how to govern a subject than to vanquish an enemy. The O
Consul returneth to *Rome*, having purchased more hatred of his froward and stubborn souldiers,
than won honor by his martial prowess. Nevertheless, the Senators prevailed so much that the
Consulship kept residence still in the name of the *Fabij*. So, they created *M. Fabius* Consul, and
joyn with him *Cn. Manlius* for his collegue.

This year likewise, had one patrone and maintainer of the law *Agraria*, to wit, *Tiberius Pon-
tificius* a Tribune. He taking the same course, and following the steps of *Sp. Licinius*, hindered
the

A the musters for a while. And when the Senators were herewith disquieted again, then *Ap.*
Claudius arose up and said, "That the year before, the Tribunes power was overmatched, and the
"neck of it broken in proof, only for that present, but in example for ever hereafter: for as much
"as it was well seen then by experience, that of it self even among their own selves is fell a pieces:
"and never will there want at any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get
"the start and victory of his fellow, yea, and the favour also of the better part for to purchase the
"good of the weal-publike. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needfull,
"ready to assist the Consuls: and if there were but one, even that one were sufficient to stand
"against all the rest. So that the Consuls and LL. of the Councill would but do their endeavour, to
B "win unto the State and Senate, some certain of the Tribunes, if they might not compass all.
The Senators being thus schooled and taught their lessons by *Appius*, both all in general would
courteously fauns and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and also in particular as many of them as
had been Consuls, according to that interest that each man had in any one of them privately,
partly by favour and friendship, and partly by countenance and authority, prevailed so with them,
that they were willing and well content to employ the Tribunes authority to the good and sale-
ty of the Common-weale. So by the help of foure Tribunes, against one that hindred the good
of all, the Consuls took muster of the souldiers. Then set they forward on their voyage to war
with the Veientians: unto whom from all parts of *Hetruria* they came to aid and succour;
not so much for any love that they bare to the Veientians, as in hope that the puissance of *Rome*
C through intestine and civill dissention would decay and come to nought. For in all the Diets
and Assemblies of the States of *Hetruria*, the Princes and Peers gave it out and said, That the
power and greatness of the Romans was everlasting, if through mutuall discord they warred not
so among themselves: which hath been found the only bane of wealthy and flourishing Cities,
where y mighty Empires became mortall and subject to a finall end. "Which mischief (say
"they) this long time hath been prevented and delayed, partly through the sage advise and pru-
"dent government of the Senate, partly by the patience and long sufferance of the Commons:
"but now they are come to a great extremity. Divided they are, and of one City become twain:
"each part have their severall Magistrates and laws by themselves. At the first, however they
"were wont to be at odds, and to fall out at the mustering of souldiers, yet in war they would
D "hold together, and obey their Captains. Howsoever they fared at home in the City, were the
"State never so far out of order, yet so long as martiall discipline was on foot and took place, they
"might be reclaimed, and all troubles staied. But now, the former use and custome of disobeying
"Magistrates within the City, is taken up by the Roman souldiers in the very Camp. For no
"longer since than the last war of all, in the time of battell and conflict, their whole Army agreed
"of their own accord not forced by any extremity that they were put unto, for to give the Vei-
"entians as much as in them lay, even after they had lost the field, the entire victory and honour
"of the day. For they abandoned their ensigns, left their General alone in the skirmish, and
"against his will, retired themselves into the Camp. And surely, if they hold on still this course,
"*Rome* may be won by means of her own souldiers: there needs no more to do, but to proclaime
E "and make a shew of war: For even the very destinies and gods themselves would performe all
"the rest. Upon these hopes and deep perswasions, the Tuscans, who afore were wont other-
whiles to have the better, and sometimes to take the worse in their wars, put themselves in arms.
The Roman Consuls likewise were in fear of nothing else so much, as of their own power,
their own force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foul and shame-
full example, and that lewd part plaid in the last war: lest peradventure they should put it upon
this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battels at once. And therefore in so doubtfull
and perillous a case, they held off fight, and kept themselves within their Camp, if haply time and
space would asswage their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclaime them to
good and reasonable order. The enemies hereat, as well Veientians as the other Tuscans, made
F the greater haste, and were more sharp set, and provoked them to the field: first by riding up and
down before their Camp, hard at the gates thereof, braving and challenging them forth, at the
last, seeing they could not prevail, they fell to rating and railing one while upon the Consuls them-
selves, another while upon the whole Army, in these and such like terms: "A gay matter indeed,
"and a proper device to salve their cowardise, and under a colour of civill dissention to cloak their
"fearfulness: and the Consuls forsooth mistrust more the faithfulness and loyalty of their souldi-
"ers in service, than they doubted their valour and sufficiency of service. Mary, here is indeed a
"new kind of murinv. What? Armed men to hold their peace, and sit still? Hitting them in their
"teeth besides, with their new start-up rising and late sprung base beginning, letting fly against them
"lies and truths, one with another, and spared not. For all this foule stir they kept, flouting and
G reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Consuls themselves were not
one jot troubled. But the foolish and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for shame of
these reproachfull terms, was much distempered: and one whiles wholly gave over to regard and
thinke upon home troubles and dissentions, and had rather than their lives be revenged of their e-
nemies: Anon again, they would not in any case gratifie the Nobles and Consuls, nor wish them
good success. Thus the hatred both against the enemies without, and the Consuls within strove
together in their hearts: untill at length forrain occasions got the mastry over them: so proudly,

The politike practise of *Ap. pius Claudius* to abate the Tribunes au- thority.

The speeches of the Tuscan Peirces in their Councils.

so insolently the enemy scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thick by troups H to the Generals pavilion, calling upon them for to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and signall of battell. The Consuls laid their heads together, and as taking good advisement, conferred on the matter a good while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to be kept back and dissembled, and thereby augmented: to the end, that by holding off, by opposing themselves, and making some stay, they might set the souldiers on, and being once set on it, they might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them: That they made too much haste: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battell: they must hold themselves contented, and keep within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man be so hardy as to fight: and whosoever attempted it, without their warrant and commission, they I would proceed against him with all rigour, as a professed enemy. Thus were they dismissed. And the lets willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and set upon a battell. The enemies besides, when they had intelligence, that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and had taken order to the contrary, were inkindled and inflamed so much the more. For now they supposed they might brave it, and insult upon them safely without danger. For why? The Consuls durst not trust the souldiers with weapon in hand: "now were their mutinies come to the "height, and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Roman Empire and Domi- "nion was at an end. Presuming confidently upon this ground, they run together unto the gates, "redoubling a thousand villanous and opprobrious terms, and much ado they had to forbear af- "faulting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer, & endure this con- K "tumely and indignity, but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not leisurely as before, make they requests, and by mediation of their chief centurions, but all at once on every side plied them with outcries and clamors. Now was the matter come to ripeness, yet slow were the Coss, still and hold off. Then *Fabius* seeing the tumult increased & that for fear of a mutiny his brother Consul had yielded already, caused silence to be made by sound of trumpet, and thus The speech of *Fabius* to his brother Consul. he spake: "I know full well O *Manlius*, that these fellows are able to win the victory: but that "they will so do I know not, and they themselves have caused me to doubt. I have therefore set "down my rest, and fully resolved not to give the signal of battell, unless they swear to return out- "of the field with victory. Once did the souldiers in battell deceive a Cos. of *Rome*: but the gods "in heaven shall they never deceive. Then *M. Flavolenus* a Centurion, one of the formost that cal- L "led for battell so instantly, "Return will I (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, victor out of the field: and if "I fail, then I beseech father *Jupiter*, *Mars* Gradivus and other gods to make me a fearfull example "and shew their wrathfull displeasure upon me. The same oath after him took the whole army, e- "very man against himself. Thus when they had sworn the trumpet sounded. Then buckle they themselves toward battell, full of anger, full of hope. Now they bid the Tuscans revile and rail their fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them man to man their enemies, those that were so lively and lusty with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that day, as well the Commens as the Nobles. But the name of the *Fabii*, the *Fabii* I say, passed all the rest and won the spurs. Who in this piece of service purposed to gain again the hearts of the Commons, which in many civill contentions were set against them. And so they embattelled themselves. The M enemies likewise both the Veientians and also the Tuscan legions were nothing behind, as making almost sure reckoning that they should be fought withall no more than the Æquians had been. Nay they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that, considering they were so male content, and the occasion so doubtfull they would play a more shamefull part, and shew their leaders a beastly cast. But it fell out far otherwise. For never in any other war afore, gave the Romans a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with spitefull taunts and reproaches nettled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delaies whet them on. Scarce had the Tuscans any time to put themselves in battell array, but at the very first encounter and shock, casting their javelins carelesly from them (I know not how) rather than levelling and charging them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand-strokes, and to deal with N their swords, which is the cruellest fight of all other. The *Fabii* among the formost in the fore-front fought valiantly, shewing their countrimen a brave fight, and a noble example to follow. Where *Q. Fabius* who had been Consul the third year before, the leader and forwardest of them all, whiles he advanced himself and rushed amongst the thickest of the Veientians, and scuffled with many of them together, was not aware of his deadly enemy so near: but behold a certain Tuscan, a mighty man of strength and skilfull at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his sword. Which was not so soon drawn to th of his body, but *Fabius* fell down headlong upon his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romans retired. With that *M. Fabius* the Consul stepped over his body as it lay along, and holding forth his target between: "Why, souldiers (quoth he) is the oath ye took to run away and retire thus in- O "to the Camp? And are ye more affraid indeed, of these most dastardly enemies, than of *Ju-* "*piter* and *Mors*, by whom ye sware? But I, who was not sworn at all, will either make return "with victory, or else O *Q. Fabius*, fighting here by thee. I will live and die by thy side. To whom, *Caso Fabius*, who the year afore was Consul, replied again: "Think you brother, with "these words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must do it, by whom "they have sworn. And let us like noble Knights, and for the honour of the *Fabian* house, "stir

A "stir up and animate our souldiers by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two *Fabii* with lance in rest into the forefront, and drew the whole battel with them. The fight of one side being thus renewed, *Cn. Manlius* the Consul in the other wing bestirred himself, and did for his part as valiantly: Where hapned almost the like fortune. For as in the one wing the souldiers followed *Q. Fabius*, so in this they cheerfully went with the Consul himself *Manlius*, chasing the enemies afore him as discomfited. And when he was sore wounded, and thereupon gone out of the battel, his men supposing him to be slain, drew back, and had indeed lost ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Consul with certain Cornets of horsemen, galloped amain into that quarter, and cried aloud that his fellow Consul was living: and that him- B self who had defeated the other point, was ready with victory to assist them, and so upheld the middle of the Army, that now began to shrink. *Manlius* also, to encourage his men, shewed himself in open sight. Thus the knowledge and presence of the two Consuls made the souldiers take heart afresh. Herewithall besides, were the enemies battalions the thinner and weaker, because they trusting upon their exceeding number, had drawn out those that were to serve for succour and supply, and sent them away to assaile the Camp. In the surprising whereof, finding no great ado and small resistance, whiles they had more mind to rifle for pillage, than to fight for the victory, they lost time. In the mean space the Roman *Triarii*, who were not able to hold out the first assault and entrance, having dispatched to the Consuls certain messengers, to give knowledge in what terms they stood, cast themselves round in a ring, and retired them- C selves to the *Prætorium* or Generals lodging, and of themselves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewise *Manlius* the Consul being ridden back to the Camp, at every gate set certain souldiers in guard: and so enclosed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tuscans being in this desperate case, fared more like mad men than hardy souldiers. For when as they ran here and there every way, according as they had any hope to find issue and to escape, and had made sundry offers and attempts in vain: behold one troup of tall fellows in a body, made no more ado, but knowing the Consul, who by reason of brave and goodly armour was a fair mark, charged upon his own person. The first volley of their shot was received by those that stood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Consul himself *Manlius* the Consul slain. was wounded to death, and fell down in the place, and all the rest were discomfited. Whereupon D the Tuscans took more heart unto them, but the Romans were so distressed, that they ran all about the Camp in great fear. And in extream jeopardy had they been, but that the Lieutenants caught up the Consul his body, and made passage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they rushed forth, and dismarched disorderly, untill they light upon the other Consul presently after his victory: where they either fell again upon the edge of the sword, or were scattered and put to flight. This brave Victory thus atchieved, was heavy yet and sorrowful for the death of two so noble personages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a Triumph, the Consul returned this answer: "That willingly he could allow thereof in regard of the passing good service *Fabius* refuseth triumph. "performed in that war, in case an Army might triumph without a General. But as for himself, "seeing that his house grieved and mourned for the death of his brother *Q. Fabius*, and that the E "Common-wealth was half fatherless as it were, for the loss of a Consul, he would not ac- "cept the Lawrel so deformed and foully blemished, both with publike and private sorrow. This Triumph thus by him refused, was more honourable than all the Triumphs in the world. By which we may see that glory despised in due time returneth otherwhiles in greater measure. Then solemnized he with great honour the obsequies one after another, first of his fellow Consul, and then of his own brother. And he himself made the funeral Orations for them both. But so as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himself away with the greater part. And not unmindful of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Consulship, namely, to win again the hearts and love of the Commons, he divided the cure of his hurt and wounded souldiers among the Senators. With most of them the *Fabii* were charged, and of F none were they better tended and looked unto, than of them. Whereupon the *Fabii* now waxed popular, and that, for no other policy and intent, but only to do the Common-wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the Commons, as wel as of the Nobles, *Caso Fabius* was created Consul, with *T. Virginius*; Whose principal care above all was this, even before war, before musters, before all things else, that seeing now in some measure there was good hope of concord begun already, the hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles, and that, with all speed possible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribune of the Commons should prefer the law *Agraria*, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles should prevent all, and go in hand first themselves to perform their part, and shew their bounty: namely, in parting the lands gotten by conquest, and freely bestowing the G same as equally as might be, among the Commons. For it was meet and requisite that they should be possessed thereof, whose sweat of brows, nay, whose bloud had paid for the purchase. But the Senators could not hear of that ear, but misliked of the motion: yea, and some of them complained and said, that the lively spirit, and couragious disposition of *Caso*, which sometimes he had, was now by reason of excessive glory, grown to be toyish and full of vanities. And there an end of civill factions for a time.

But the Latines were much troubled with the incursions and inrodes of the Æquians. Thither

was *Cæso* with an Army ſent, who invaded and overran the very country of the Æquians, forra- H
ging and ſpoiling as he went. The Æquians thereupon retired, & put themſelves into their towns,
and kept cloſe within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their ene-
mies the Veientians hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the raſhneſs of the o-
ther Conſul: and had not *Cæſo Fabius* come to the reſcue in good time, the whole Army had been
utterly loſt. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the Veientians: but their dea-
ling was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad,
they would leave the field & take to their Cities: when they perceived the Legions were removed
and gone they would make excurſions and waſte the country. Thus plaid they mock-holiday, and
dallied with them, ſhifting off war with quietneſs, and quietneſs again with war, by turns. So as I
the Romans could neither all wholly reſt careleſs and ſecure for them, nor yet go through-ſtitch,
& make an end once for all with them. Beſides, other wars were either preſently at hand, to wit,
from the Æquians and the Volſcians, who could no longer ſit ſtill, than untill their freſh grief,
and pain of the laſt defeature was over-paſt: or elſe the Sabins, never other but enemies, yea, and
all *Hetruria*, were like all ſhortly to riſe and take arms. But the Veientian a continual enemy, ra-
ther than dangerous, provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts, oftner than with any great
peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be
employed in the mean while otherwhere. Then came the whole houſe and kindred of the *Fabii*
Cæſo Fabius the Conſul, to the Lords of the Senate. unto the Senat, in the name of them all ſpake the Conſul in this wiſe: "My Lords of the Senat, K
"the Veientian war had need rather of a reſident garriſon, as ye know well enough, to keep the
"frontires, than great forces for expedition. As for you, ſee ye to other wars. Let the *Fabii* alone
"to deal as private enemies with the Veientians. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State
"of *Rome* ſhall receive no diſhonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and reſolved at
"our own proper coſt and charges, to maintain and mannage that war, as appropriate and pecu-
The linage of the *Fabii* offer to maintain war with the Veientians in their own perſons, and at their proper charges. "liar to our name and family: the City ſhall be charged neither with men nor money there.
Great thanks were given them for this their forwardneſs. The Conſul being come out of the Se-
nat houſe, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who ſtood at the porch of
the Counſil Court, expecting the Senats decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well
appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Conſuls door, they departed from thence
home to their own houſes. The bruit hereof ſpread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up L
to the skie, ſaying. "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The
"Veientian war now is become (ſay they) a privat charge, and requireth the power and force on-
"ly that privat perſons could make. O that there were two ſuch families more in *Rome* of that
"ſtomack and valour: that one of them might take the Volſcians in hand, and another the Æqui-
"ans. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might ſoon be ſubdued, and the people of *Rome*
"ſit ſtill the while and reſt in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themſelves, mounted on
horſeback, and repaired to the *Rendezvous* aforeſaid, as they were commanded. Then came the
Conſul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and ſtanding in his porch, beheld his whole bloud and
linage armed and marſhalled in order, and being received in the midſt of them, cauſed the guidons
and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either leſs in num- M
ber, or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms
they were and ſix, all nobly deſcended, of one ſtock, of one race and name all. And of all
them there was not one that a ſage and prudent Senate would have refuſed at any time as un-
ſufficient, to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furniſhed with the force and ſtrength
that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatning and menacing the ruin
and deſtruction of the Veientians. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one
private company by themſelves of kinſfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, caſting in their minds
no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding meaſure and ſurpaſſing: ano-
ther of the common people, moved with a careſull regard, and aſtonied again in a favourable
applauſe and admiration of their enterpriſe, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant N
Knights. March on a Gods name in happy hour; God grant lucky ſpeed, anſwerable to your
magnanimous attempts and deſignments: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Con-
ſulſhips, triumphs, all rewards and honourable dignities whatſoever. And all the way as they paſ-
ſed along the Capitol, the Caſtle, and other Temples, they beſought the gods, as many as were pre-
ſented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchſafe that ſquadron
to be attended upon with good ſucceſs and fortunate felicity, and ſoon to return home again
in ſafety to their native country and loving parents. But, alas the while, in vain were all theſe
prayers made. Then ſet they forward on their journey, leaving *Janus* Church on their right hand,
taking the ungracious and unlucky way, from the gate *Carmentalis*, untill at length they came to
* At this day *Foſſa* or *Varca*. the river * *Cremera*. That was thought a convenient place to fortifie in, and there to plant a garri- O
ſon. After this were *L. Æmylius* and *C. Servilius* made Conſuls. And ſo long as they adventu-
red no farther than forraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend
their hold and fort; but all their frontier parts and marches where the Tuſcan Territory adjoyneth
to the Roman they ſo ſcoured and traverſed, between the one confine and the other, that they
kept all their own in ſafety, and mightily endamaged the enemies. Then ſurceaſed they a while,
but it was not long, from waſting and ſpoiling. By which time both the Veientians had gathered

A a power out of *Hetruria*, and aſſaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and alſo the Roman Legions, under
the conduct of the Conſul *L. Æmilius*, encountred the Tuſcans in open field. And yet the Veienti-
ans had hardly time enough to put themſelves in order of battel: ſo ſuddenly at the very firſt skir-
miſh, whiles the files were entring into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the ſuc-
cours and ſupplies a placing and diſpoſing in the rereward, a Cornet of Roman horſe charged
them ſo hotly on the flank, that they had not room and ſpace, either to begin fight, or to keep their
ſtanding ſure. Thus were they diſcomfited, and chaſed back as far as *Saxa rubra*, *i.e.* Red rocks (for
there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained
(ſee their inbred inconſtancy ſo naturally engraffed) they were weary of it, and repented thereof,
B before the Roman garriſon could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And ſo the *Fabii* once again skir-
miſhed with the Veientian Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they in-
rodes only, and ſudden violent incurſions into the Territories but ſundry times they encountred
with banners diſplaied, and joined battell in plain field. And that one houſe and kindred of the
Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that moſt mighty and rich City (in thoſe
daies) of all the Tuſcans. This took the Veientians at the firſt for a foul diſgrace and indignity.
But afterwards they deviſed to lay trains, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, and entrap their fierce and har-
dy enemy: and well apaid they were and rejoyced, that the *Fabii* upon the good ſucceſs that ſtill
followed them, were become more bold and venturous. And therefore divers times when the
Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive cattel in their way, but yet ſo, as they might
C ſeem to light upon them by chance. The ruſtical peaſants made ſhew as if they fled out of the
Country, and leſt the fields waſt: yea, and the companies of ſouldiers ſent out to reſtrain and ſtay
their ſpoiling, made ſhew of running away, pretending oftner they were afraid than they had
cauſe indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time ſet ſo light by their enemies, and thought ſo well
of themſelves, that they beleeved verily their power was invincible, and might not be withſtood
in any ground, or at any time whatſoever. This conceit and hope of theirs ſet them ſo aflоat, and
made them ſo bold, that eſpying upon a time cattel far from *Cremera*, (for there was a large plain
between) although here and there they might deſcry armed ſouldiers of their enemies, yet from
their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horſe neck. And when unadviſedly without fore-
ſight they were paſt the ambuſh, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to
D paſs, and were ſtragling here and there diſorderly, driving the cattel away, which gadded in and
out, as their manner is when they be ſcared and affrighted, then ſuddenly ſtart the enemies all at
once out of the ambuſhment: ſo as both before and behind, and on every ſide they were beſet and
environed with enemies. At the firſt the very houting and outcry they made round about terrified
them: afterwards flew their ſhot from all ſides. And as the Tuſcans gathered themſelves together,
the *Fabii* were ſoon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies, ſtanding armed thick and cloſe
one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in ſo much leſs room were
they enforced alſo to caſt themſelves into a ring. Which, conſidering their arraies were thruſt ſo
thick together in ſo ſtraight a compaſs, made their ſmall number appear the leſs, and the multi-
tude of the Tuſcans to carry a greater ſhew. Then forbearing to fight as they firſt intended,
E on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Thereto they en-
deavour with might and main, body and armour; and with a pointed battel wedgewiſe pier-
ced through and made themſelves paſſage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, ri-
ſing up with an eaſie aſcent. From whence at firſt they made reſiſtance only and kept their ground:
but ſoon after, when by reaſon of the vantage of the hill, they had ſome time to breath them-
ſelves, and to take heart again after ſo great a fright, they forced the enemies alſo to give back that
were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were, yet by the benefit of the ground
they had gotten the better if the Veientians had not fet a compaſs about the hill ſide, and gained
the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And ſo
were the *Fabii* ſlain every man, and not one of them eſcaped, yea, and their fort overthrown The *Fabii* all ſlain.
F and raſed. Three hundred and ſix there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the
name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encreaſe, as out
of a ſtock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greateſt prop and pillar that
the people of *Rome* ſhould have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and
abroad.

But ere this heavy loſs and overthrow hapned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Conſuls. *Menenius* was ſent forthwith againſt the Tuſcans, puffed now up with pride for this their vi-
ctory: with whom then alſo he fought unfortunately and ſped but ill. For the enemies ſurpriſed
and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had ſurely been beſieged, (conſidering that beſides war they
were greatly diſtreſſed for want of victuals, for the Tuſcans were paſſed over the *Tyber*) but that
G *Horatius* the Conſul was called home from the Volſcians. And ſo near approached the enemies
in this war and preſſed to the very walls, that firſt there was a skirmiſh on even hand at the Tem-
ple of * *Spes*: and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very ſmall * Hope.
odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wonted courage prepare the
ſouldiers to better ſervice in the battels enſuing.

Now were *A. Virginius* and *Sp. Servilius* created Conſuls. The Veientians after this late de-
feat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and waſted ſtill. And from the *Janiculum* as

from a fortreſs and place of ſafe retreat, they would make excurſions out into the Territory of Rome all about, and neither cattel nor country people could any where be in ſafety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themſelves in the ſame wile that they had caught the *Fabii* with. For as they followed after certain cattel, which were driven forth here and there of purpoſe to draw and train them abroad, they were plunged themſelves headlong into an Ambuſcado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their ſlaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occaſion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having croſſed the *Tyber* in the night ſeaſon, they gave the attempt to make an aſſault upon the Camp of the Conſul *Servilius*. But being diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain, the reſt retired themſelves from thence, and with much ado recovered the *Janicle*. Straight after this, the Conſul alſo paſſed over *Tyber*, and encampeth himſelf ſtrongly under the *Janiculum*. The morrow morning by Sun riſing, ſo venturous he was by reaſon of his fortunate fight the day before, and more for the ſcarcity of corn and victuals, which drave him to take he cared not how raſh and dangerous courſes, ſo they tended to more quick and ſpeedy expedition) full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the ſteep hill of the *Janicle*, and charged the enemies hold: but being ſet back himſelf from thence more ſhamefully than he had the day before repelled the enemies; yet by occaſion that his fellow Conſul came in the while to reſcue, he and his Army both were ſaved: and the Tuſcans incloſed between both hoſts, were forced to turn their backs, both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers ſon. Thus by a raſh enterpriſe (which as good luck was) ſped well, the Veientian war came to an end. The City then, as it enjoyed peace, ſo it came again to be better ſtored of corn and victual: both for that there was ſome grain brought out of *Campania*, and alſo becauſe the old ſtore that was hoorded up came abroad, by reaſon that no man now ſtood in fear of dearth to enſue.

Afterwards upon plenty and eaſe they began to be buſie again, and their heads to work, ſeeking to broach old troubles at home, ſince they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to ſollicite and infect the Commons, with their venome and poyſon, the Law *Agraria*: inciting them againſt the Nobles that gainſaid it: not in general terms only, but alſo by touching particular perſons. For *Q. Conſidius* and *T. Genutius*, who were for the Law *Agraria*, framed an inditement, and ſued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loſs of the fort and garriſon at *Cremera*: for that, he being Conſul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he ſoon ſtopped the courſe, both becauſe the Nobles laboured and took his part, no leſs than they had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and alſo the affection and favour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worn out, and clean forgot. The Tribunes uſed moderation therefore in the penalty, for having commenced a capital action againſt him, and convicted him thereof, they ſet a fine on his head of * 2000 Aſſes. Howbeit this coſt him his life: for he grew, men ſay, into ſuch a melancholick fit for ſhame of this diſgrace, that he ſell thereupon from grief of heart unto a pining ſickneſs which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accuſed and brought into trouble, to wit, *Sp. Servilius*, ſo ſoon as he was out of his Conſulſhip, at what time as *C. Nautius*, and *P. Valerius* were Conſuls. In the beginning of whoſe year the Tribunes *L. Caditius* and *T. Statius*, called him ſtraightwaies to his anſwer. Who ſuſtained the violence of the Tribunes, not as *Menenius* did, by his own intreaty and the praiers of the Nobles, but bare himſelf confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grace wherein he ſtood. Blamed he was likewiſe, and charged for the battel with the Tuſcans at *Janiculum*. But being a man of an hot ſpirit and ſtout courage, as he carried himſelf before in the publike danger, ſo now in his own private peril, by reſuting in a bold and ſtout ſpeech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but alſo the Commonalty, and caſting in their teeth and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whoſe fathers means the Commons being in times paſt reſtored, had obtained firſt thoſe very Magiſtrates and Laws, whereby at this day they exerciſe ſuch rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldneſs avoided the preſent jeopardy he ſtood in. The teſtimony of his Colleague *Virginius* ſtood him in great ſtead, who produced forth as a witneſs, made him partner with himſelf in all his worthy acts. But that proceſs of judgment which paſſed againſt *Menenius* (ſo altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and ſtruck it dead ſure.

T. Menenius accuſed and arraigned.

* 6. lib. 5. fin. ſterl.

Sp. Servilius arraigned.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the Veientians war began abroad; to whom the Sabins alſo had joyned their power. Whereupon the Conſul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the Latines and Hernicks, was ſent out with an Army to *Veii*: and incontinently he ſet upon the tents of the Sabins, as they lay encamped under the wals of their confederates, and put ſuch a terrour amongſt them, that while they ran forth ſcattering by bands and companies, ſome at one gate ſome at another, to repell the violent aſſault of the enemies, it hapned that the gate which he firſt advanced his enſigns againſt, was won. And within the trench ſmall fight there was, but more man-ſlaughter. The tumult and noiſe hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City. And the Veientians in great fear ran haſtily to their weapons, as if *Veii* had been ſurpriſed. Some make ſpeed to ſuccour the Sabins: others do what they can to aſſail the Romans, who were wholly buſied about the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to ſome trouble, diſordered, and withdrawn from their purpoſe: but afterwards they themſelves advanced their banners, and made head againſt the one ſide and the other. The horſemen withall, ſent in by the Conſul, brake

A brake the Tuſcans array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were defeated, two moſt puiſſant nations, and neareſt neighbours to the Romans vanquiſhed.

Sabins and Veientians vanquiſhed.

Whiles theſe exploits were performed about *Veii*, the Volſcians and Æquians had encamped themſelves in the Country of *Latium*, and harried the marches thereof. Whom the Latines of themſelves, with the help only of the Hernikes, and without any Leader or aid at all from the Romans, forced to abandon their tents: and beſides the recovery of their own goods again, atchieved a great and rich booty. Notwithſtanding all this, the Conſul *Nautius* was ſent from *Rome* againſt the Volſcians. They were not well pleaſed, I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies ſhould wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of

B the Romans. He ſpared not to work all the miſchief he could, all abuſe and ſpight poſſible againſt the Volſcians: yet could not they be brought to fight a ſet field. Then ſucceeded *L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius*, Conſuls. To *Manlius* fell the charge of the Veientian Province, Howbeit, war, there was none at all. But at their own ſute, a truce was granted unto them of forty years. And they were enjoyned to find corn and ſouldiers pay. Peace was not ſo ſoon procured abroad, but preſently enſued diſcord at home. For at the inſtigation of the Tribunes, by occaſion of the Law *Agraria*, the Commons were ſet a madding. But the Conſuls ſkared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the peril wherein *Servilius* ſtood, reſiſted all they could. And when the Conſuls were ounce out of their Offi.e, *Genutius* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arreſted them: and *L. Æmilius* with *Opiter Virginius* enter their Conſulſhip. In ſome Annals or yearly re-

L. Furius, and *C. Manlius* indited.

C cords I find *Vopiſcus Julius* Conſul inſtead of *Virginius*. But in this year, whoſoever then were Conſuls, "*Furius* and *Manlius* being indited before the people, went about arraied in vile apparell and "mourniful weed to the younger ſort of Senators, as well as the Commons perſwading, adviſing, "and warning them to forbear and refuſe all dignities and offices of ſtate, yea, and all charge of "Common-weal. And as for the Conſuls rods born afore them, their purfled robes with purple, "and chair of ſtate, they ſhould eſteem no otherwiſe of them than of the pageants carried in a "funeral pomp. And that with theſe gorgeous ornaments and enſigns they were but deſtined to "death: much like to beaſts adorned with ſacred white ribbands and labels, appointed to ſacri-"fice. But if the ſweetneſs of a Conſulſhip were ſuch, let them conſider now withall, and perſwade

Their Remonſtrances to the puny Nobles.

D "themſelves, that it is become private and overſwaied with the power of the Tribunes: and that "the Conſul, as if he were the Tribunes ſer jeant, muſt do all at his beck and command. For if he "quetched never ſo little, if he ſeemed to regard the Senators, or make account of any thing "elſe in the whole State but of the Commonalty, let him ſet before his eyes the exile of *Cn. Mar-*"*tius*, the judgement and death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incenſed with theſe ſpeeches, from thenceforth began to conſult and confer together, not openly and in publike council, but privatly, and apart from the privity of many. And when they were reſolved once upon this point, that thoſe accuſed parties now in trouble ſhould be enlarged one way or other, by hook or crook: then the cruelleſt advice, and hardeſt courſe that could be delivered beſt pleaſed them: and for to put in execution the moſt audacious deſignments whatſoever, there wanted not one or other to give counſel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons give attendance devoutly in the

E *Forum*, in great expectations of the ſequel and iſſue, they began at firſt to marvel much, that the Tribun *Genutius* came not down in place: and ſuſpecting ſomewhat becauſe of his long tarrying & delay, they imagined that he durſt not for the great men and chief Magiſtrates of the City: and ſo they complained that the common cauſe was forlorn and betraied. At the laſt, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his houſe, brought word that he was found at home ſtark dead. Which news being once noiſed through the aſſembly, mark how an Army is diſperſed and ſcattered when their General is ſlain, even ſo in all the world the Commons ſlipt aſide every one, ſome one way ſome another. But above all others, the Tribunes were in bodily fear, being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their ſacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not diſſemble this their joy, nor uſe it with moderation, but ſhewed it exceſſively: and

Genutius a Tribune of the Common people, murdered in his houſe by the practice of the Patritians.

F ſo little repented any one of them of the fact committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not ſeem culpable in the action; but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by foul means were to be tamed & their wings clipped in a miſchief. Upon this their victory, ſo ſhameful a precedent in times to come there went out an edict for the publiſhing of a muſter: and whiles the Tribunes were in this feare dannted, the Conſuls without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes ſilence and ſitting ſtill then at the Conſuls rule and imperious government: ſaying, "Farewell freedom "now, farewel liberties and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is "both dead and buried together with *Genutius*. Now they were to go in hand and bethink them-"ſelves of ſome other courſe, how they might withſtand the Senators proceedings: and ſeeing

G "they were deſtitute of all other help to rely themſelves upon, the only way was for the Com-"mons to truſt to themſelves, & ſtand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave attendance upon the Conſuls 24 *Lictores* or *Vergers*, Commoners all and no better, none more con-"temptible and baſe minded if they met with thoſe that would ſet them at naught: they might "thank themſelves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that ſuch things were "ſo dread and terrible. Thus having animated & provoked one another with theſe ſpeeches: there was a Sergeant ſent from the Conſuls to one *Velerio Publilius* a Commoner, who becauſe he had been

Volero Publilius refuseth to be preſt a ſouldier.

been a Leader in the field of certain bands, pleaded his immunity for being a common ſouldier a- H gain. *Volero* calleth for help to the Tribunes: but there being no man to reſcue him, the Conſuls commanded the man to be ſtript out of his cloaths, and the rods to be made ready for to ſcourge him. Then quoth *Volero*, "I appeal unto the people, ſeeing the Tribunes had rather have a Citi- "zen and freeman of *Rome* beaten with rods in their preſence, than be murdered themſelves by "you in their beds. But the more fiercely he cried on ſtill, the more cruelly fell the Lictor to cut and ſlice his apparell for to uncaſe him. Then *Volero* being himſelf the ſtronger man, and aſ- ſiſted withall by ſome whom he called unto him, thruſt the Sergeant from him: and where he perceived the maineſt out-cry and loudeſt noiſe of his adherents, that fumed and chafed in his behalf, thither retired he, to ſhroud himſelf among the thickeſt, crying: "I appeal and beſeech the I "Commons of their protection and ſuccour. Help Citizens, help fellow-ſouldiers. Never ſtay "and wait for the Tribunes, untill they come, who have themſelves need of your aſſiſtance. Here- at folk were raiſed and gathered together, and addreſſed themſelves as to a Battel. A foul piece of work was toward, full of exceeding danger, and like it was, that no man would have had regard either of common law or private honeſty. When the Conſuls in this ſo great a broil and ſtorm of outrage came in, to prevent further miſchief, they knew ſoon by experience how ſlenderly guarded againſt danger, the Majeſty of Rulers is, where force is wanting. For their Lictors were beaten, miſuſed, and ill intreated, their rods broken all a peeces, themſelves driven out of the Common place, and forced to take the Senat houſe, doubting how far forth *Volero* would pro- ceed in the train of his victory. But when the riot was well appeaſed, they aſſembled the Sena- K tors together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons, and the audacious preſumption of *Volero*. After many opinions and ſharp cenſures delivered among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to ſet the anger of the Nobles againſt the head-ſtrong raſhneſs of the Commons. And the Commons ſo highly favoured and embraced *Volero*, that in their next election they made him their Tribune for that year, wherein *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius* were Conſuls. Who contrary to all mens expe- ctation, that thought verily he would have exerciſed his Tribuneſhip in moleſting and vexing the Conſuls of the former year, preferred the publike cauſe before his own private grievance, and gave not the Conſuls ſo much as one foul word. Only he preferred a Law unto the people, That the Magiſtrates of the Commonalty might be created in a ward-Leet, or Aſſembly of the Tribes L and Wards. Thus under a title, which at the firſt ſight ſeemed nothing hainous, paſſed a matter of no ſmall conſequence, but ſuch as abridged the Nobles of all power and authority, to create Tribunes whom they would, by the ſuffrages and voices of their vaſſals and favourites. But when the Senators reſiſted with all their might, the going forward of this Act moſt pleaſing and plauſible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that by the authority either of Conſuls or of Senators could be brought to joyn in his way by their negative voice, which was indeed the only means to croſs it: the buſineſs, notwithſtanding in it ſelfe ſo weighty to wield, and ſo hard to be compaſſed, held out with much debating the year through. The Commons then made *Volero* Tribune again. The Senators on the other ſide, ſup- poſing the matter would now come to a final triall once for all, created for their Conſul *Ap. Clau-* M *dius*, the ſon of *Appius*: who even for the old contentions maintained by his father, who was both hated of the Commons, and alſo hated them again: and he had for his companion in govern- ment *T. Quintius*. At the very beginning no matter was treated of before that Law. But as *Vole- ro* was the firſt deviſer and broacher of it, ſo his fellow *Lectorius* was the more earneſt and hot maintainer thereof, as he came more freſh unto it. The ſtouter he was beſides, by reaſon of his great military glory, for that in thoſe daies there was not a taller man of hands, nor more active than he. Now, when as *Volero* went ſtraight to the ſubſtance of the Law in hand, without any cir- cumſtance of words, and forbare to inveigh againſt the Conſuls perſon, *Lectorius* began his ſpeech with challenging *Appius* and his houſe, as moſt proud, and cruelly affected to the Commonalty of *Rome*: avouching earneſtly, "That the Nobles had made, not a Conſul, but a butcherly tor- N "mentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough-hewn ſouldier, and not uſed "to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to expreſs his mind as freely as he would: and "ſo his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth he) O *Quirites*, I cannot ſo readily deliver that "in my ſpeech, as I can make that good indeed which I have ſpoken: Be you here to morrow, and "in this very place I will either get this Law enacted, or I will lie in the duſt and die for it before "you all. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or hall firſt. The Conſuls and Nobility abode ſtill in the aſſembly of the people, for to hinder the paſſing of the Law. Then commanded *Lectorius* all the reſt to avoid and depart, but thoſe only that were to give their voices. The young Gentlemen of the Nobility ſtood ſtill, and gave no place to the Tribunes Of- ficer. Then willed *Lectorius* ſome of them to be attached. But the Conſul *Appius* replied again, O "That a Tribune had authority over none but Commoners: foraſmuch as he was a Magiſtrate, "not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himſelf, of his abſolute power (Conſul "though he was) obſerving the cuſtome of his anceſtors, command any man to avoid: for that the "uſuall form of words ran thus, *May it pleaſe you my Maſters, O Quirites if you think good, to depart*. Soon was he able, thus laying the Law unto him, by way of ſcorn and contempt, to outface *Lectorius*, and put him down. Whereupon the Tribune chafed, and ſet into an hear, ſendeth an Officer

A Law propoſed that Magiſtrates of the Commons ſhould be choſen in a Tribe-Leet, or ward-Aſſembly, called, *Tributa comitia*.

Lectorius ſecondeth the preferring of *Publius* his Law.

A Officer to the Conſul: the Conſul likewiſe, a Lictor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he was but a private perſon without command, without Magiſtracy. And doubtleſs the Tribune had been hardly uſed, but that both the aſſembly roſe up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune a- gainſt the Conſul: and alſo there was a concourſe of the multitude, raiſed out of all parts of the City into the Common Hall. *Appius* notwithſtanding ſtood ſtiffely to it ſtill, and abide the brunt of this tempeſtuous ſtorm: neither had this broile ſtaid without ſome bloudſhed, in caſe *Quin- tius* the other Conſul, had not ſet ſome of the Aldermen that had been Conſuls, to get his bro- ther Conſul by force (if otherwiſe it might not be) out of the Hall, whiles himſelf was in hand, "one while with the Commons, to appeaſe their fury, by way of intreaty and with fair words, B "otherwhiles beſought the Tribunes to break up the aſſembly, perſwading with them to take "more leiſure in this their heat and anger: for that time and ſpace would abridge nothing of their "power, but would joyn counſel and advice thereto: concluding withal, that both Nobles ſhould "be ruled by the people, and the Conſul ordered by the Nobles. Hardly and with much ado were the Commons quieted by *Quintius*, but far more trouble had the Nobles to ſtill the other Conſul. At the length, when the aſſembly of the people was diſmiſſed, the Conſuls called the Senat toge- ther, Where after much variety of opinions, proceeding from fear and anger according as the one or the other ſwaied among them: look how much longer time they had to reclaime their mind from violent courſes, and ſagely with deliberation to conſider of the matter: ſo much the more their hearts went againſt all contention, and farther ſtrife: inſomuch, as they yeelded *Quintius* C hearty thanks, that by his travel between parties, the diſcord was well allaied. And to *Appius* they were petitioners, "That he would be contend, that the majeſty of the Conſull might be no grea- "ter than would ſtand with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For whiles the Tribunes for "their part would needs have all, and the Conſul on the other ſide draw all to them: between this "this plucking and haling there was no ſtrength left in the midſt: and to conclude, the Common- "weal was rent, torn, and diſmembred between the rulers thereof: who ſtrove rather for the mana- "ging and rule, than for the ſafety and preſervation of the State. Againſt whom *Appius* replied "with a ſolemn proteſtation before God and man, and ſaid, "That the weal publike was aban- "doned, forlorn, and betraied by nothing elſe but fooliſh fear: that the Senat wanted not a Con- "ſul, but the Conſul wanted Senators: who now yeelded to harder conditions than they had be- D "fore time in mount *Sacer*. How beit overweighed at length by the general conſent and accord of the Nobles, he was content: and ſo the law paſſed quietly, was by royall conſent authoriſed. Then and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voices. *Piſo* writeth, that there were three more made to the other, as if there had been but twain before: and he nameth alſo the Tribunes, to wit *C. Sicinius, L. Numitorius, M. Duellius, Sp. Icilius & L. Me- cilius*. Then had the Volſcians and Æquians, between the civil ſedition of the Romans, & the be- ginning of war, harried & waſted the country: that in caſe the Commons had made an inſurrecti- on, they might have retired to them as to a ſure place of receit & refuge. But when all was huſht & matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their camp backward.

The forefaid law enacted.

Appius Claudius was ſent againſt the Volſcians: and to *Quintius* fell the Province of the Æ- E quians. The ſame rigorous ſeverity continued *Appius* ſtill in warfare, that he uſed at home in the City: but ſo much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Com- mons he hated, more than his father had done afore, ſeeing he was overſwaied, and had taken the foil at their hands: and being the only Conſul, oppoſed againſt the Tribunes power, yet maugre his head, the law paſſed clear away, which the former Conſuls his predeceſſors, with leſs ado, nor with ſo great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hindred and ſtaid. This his anger and indignation gave an edge to that fell ſtomack of his by kind, for to plague and puniſh his ſoul- diers with imperious and lordly command. But ſo ſet they were to ſpurn again and diſobey, that by no forcible means they could be tamed, doing all things that they did lazily, ſlowly, frowardly, and ſtubbornly. Neither baſhed they for ſhame, nor ſtood in awe for fear. If his will was they F ſhould march on apace, they would on ſet purpoſe go fair and ſoftly: If he encouraged them in proper perſon to intend their buſineſs, they would all of them ſlack their former ſervice, whereun- to they were entred of themſelves: whiles he was in place, they would hang down their heads and look on the ground as he paſſed by they would ſecretly curſe him in their hearts. So as that invincible ſtomack of his againſt all hatred of the Commons, wou'd now and then grieve here- at. And wen he ſaw that all the ſhrewdneſs and rigour that he uſed was in vain, and that now he could do no good with his ſouldiers, he fell to checking the Captains and Centurions, ſaying, They had ſpoiled and marred the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons: and other- whiles in taunting-wiſe nicknaming them *Volerones*. All theſe doings were the Volſcians aware of, and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* ſhould find the Roman G Army as froward and diſobedient, as they had been againſt *Fabius*. And to ſay troth they were more crooked and unruly with *Appius* than with *Fabius* a great deal. For they were not only un- willing to have the victory as *Fabius* his Army was, but alſo deſirous to loſe the victory and be overcome. Being brought forth and ſet in battel array, they ſhamefully took their heels and fled into their tents: and never made head and reſiſtance, before they ſaw the Volſcians with banners diſplaied, advancing againſt the munitions of their Camp, and a foul ſlaughter commit- ted upon the tail of their rereward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for very neceſſity, that

The mutiny and diſobedience of the ſouldiers to *Appius Claudius* their General.

that the enemy thus far forth Victor, might be kept from the Wall and Trench: and yet so, as it H
was very apparant, that the souldiers passed for nothing else, but only to save the Camp for being won: for some of them rejoyced at their own loss and defeature, Whereat, the stout stomack of *Appius* was nothing daunted nor his heart broken: but he minded to deal cruelly with them, and thereupon summoned a general assembly. Then the Lieutenants, Marshals, and Colonels, came running unto him advertising him in no case to try masteries, and to inforce his authority. The very ground and strength whereof resteth wholly in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover, that the souldiers commonly gave out, that they would not go to the assembly: but rather they might be heard every where, calling upon them aloud, to dislodge and remove out of the territory of the Volscians: moreover, that the enemy now Master of the field, was but a while sincead- I
vanced to the gates and rampier, and well near possessed of them: whereby, they were not only to suspect, but might evidently see before their eyes some great matter toward of dangerous consequence. Whereupon at last he was over-ruled, and (forasmuch as his souldiers thereby should gain nothing but delay of their punishment) remitted the assembly for that time: and after proclamation made to set forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning very early, he caused the trumpet to sound the remove, and to march away. The Army being gone out of the Camp, and ready to be set in order of a march at length, the Volscians who were gotten up by the same sound of the trumpet, plaid upon the tail of the rereward: the noise whereof passed from thence to the vanguard, & so disordered the ensigns, so troubled the ranks by reason of that fright, that neither could the direction and commandment of the Captains be heard, nor the Army be K
brought into battel array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away: and disorderly in great numbers, they fled back over the dead carcasses and armors that lay on heaps, and so escaped; and never stay they their flight, untill the enemy gave over the chase. At the last, the Consul having called his souldiers together that were run away so scattering, (for with all the speed that he made after to call them back, he could not reclaim them) encamped without his enemies ground in a place of security. Then he called them all together to an assembly, and inveighed bitterly, and not without just cause, against the whole Army, as having betraied the discipline of war, and forsaken their colours: asking every one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had done with their weapons? And as many souldiers as were unarmed, as many ensign-bearers as had
Florus saith, they had the Bastinado. *vide Carol. Sig. de pœna.* not their ensigns, the Centurions also, and those that received double allowance, and forsook their L
bands and companies, he caused to be scourged with rods, & to lose their heads. The whole number besides, were by lot tithed, and every tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwise, in the expedition against the Æquians, the Consul and his souldiers, strove to exceed one another in curtesie and kindnesses. *Quintus* was by nature mild and chearful, and the cruelty of his brother
Quintus beloved of his souldiers. Consul, that never sped well, made him take more joy in that his gentle disposition. Whiles the General and his Army conforted thus together, the Æquians durst not confront them, but suffered their enemies to range all abroad and forrage the country: so as in no former wars got they greater bootie from thence: and all was bestowed among the souldiers. Over and besides these gratuities, they had their due praises and solemn commendations, wherein souldiers take no less delight than in rewards and gifts. So that Army returned home better affected to their General, M
and also to the Nobles for their Generals sake: reporting that the Senate had given to them a loving father, but to the other Army a lordly master. This year thus spent with variable fortune abroad in war: with grievous discord as well at home as abroad, was above all most memorable and famous for the Tribe-Leet. A matter of more note, in respect of their victory that entred into the action, than of consequence, in regard of commodity that grew thereof. For the very Leet it self lost more credit by excluding the Nobles out of that assembly, than either the Commons got strength, or the Nobles did forgo thereby. But more troublesome was the year following, whiles *L. Valerius* & *T. Æmylius* were Consuls, both for the variance of the three States about the law *Agraria*, and also for the arraignment of *Appius Claudius*, Whom, being a most bitter adversary of that law, and a great maintainer and upholder of those that possessed and held the common N
lands, as if he had been ever a third Consul, *M. Duellius* and *C. Sextius* arrested and endited, Never before that day came to the bar, a person to be tried before the people, so odious unto the Com-
Appius Claudius araigned at the bar. mons: charged with so many wrongs done of his own so many of his fathers afore him, in regard whereof they were highly displeased and offended with him. The Nobles likewise had not lightly laboured so earnestly, nor strained themselves so much for any one as for him. Who being the patron and protector of the Senat the maintainer and upholder of their port and dignity, a man ever opposed against all the troublesome broils of Tribunes & Commons, was now delivered as a prey to the Commons in their anger, and only for that he had overshot, and passed himself in heat of contention. But of all the Senators that ever were, *Appius Claudius* of himself alone was he, that cared not a rush, either for Tribune or Commoner, nor yet for his own arraignment. No menacing threats of the Commons no earnest prayers of the Senators could once make him, I say, not to change his apparel and in humble manner to seek and crouch unto men for to be good unto him: no nor so much, as when he came to answer for himself before the people, one whit to moderate and let fall (as it were) that rough and sharp kind of speech that he was wont ordinarily to use. He kept the same sowre countenance still, the very same frowardness and crabbedness of visage, the same spirit of boldness in his apology and defence. Insomuch, as many of the Com-

A Commons were no less afraid of *Appius* standing prisoner, there arraigned at the bar, than they had been of him, sitting as Consul in his ivory chair of estate. In pleading of his cause, he spake briefly and at once to the point, with the same accustatory spirit that he had ever used in all his pleas and actions. With his boldness and resolute constancy, he so amazed both Tribunes and Commons, that they themselves deferred the day of giving sentence, and suffered afterward the suit to hang and depend still undetermined. But not long after, even before the Law day appointed was come, he sickned and died. Whose funeral praises when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, *Ap. Claudius dieth.*
the Commons would not suffer, that the death of so worthy a man, should be defrauded of the due honour and solemn obsequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commen-
B dation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accusation while he was alive: and with a goodly train attended his corps to the grave.

The same year *Valerius* the Consul made a voiage with an army against the Æquians, and seeing he could not train the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to assail the Camp: but there fell such a terrible storm and tempest from heaven, with hail and thunder-claps that he was disappointed of his enterprise. And that which made it more strange and wonderfull, he had no sooner sounded the retreat, but the weather proved so fair and calm again that he made some scruple and matter of conscience, to give a second assault unto the trench, as if it had been defended by the speciall power and providence of God. So, all the heat of war turned to the wasting only of
C the Countrey. The other Consul *Æmilius* warred with the Sabins. And even there also, because the enemies kept within their walled towns, the Territories were spoiled. But afterwards, the Sabines railed with the firing, not only of their villages and hamlets, but also of the good towns and burroughs, whereof in those parts there were many, and those well peopled, encountred the forragers: and after a doubtfull skirmish, they departed asunder, and the morrow after raised their Camp, and retired themselves back into a place of more security, which the Consul taking for a sufficient argument and proof, that the enemies were defeated, left them so, and dislodged likewise, without any end of the war.

During these wars, and whiles discord continued in the City at home, were *T. Numitius Priscus* and *A. Virginius* created Consuls. Now seemed it that the Commons would no longer abide the deferring of the Law *Agraria*. And as they were about to put it to a venture and to try the ut-
D most by extremity, they took knowledge partly by the smoke and flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagers, that the Volscians were near at hand. Which occurrent represled and kept down the sedition which was now come to ripeness, and ready to break forth. For the Consuls forced by the Senate immediatly to the war, by taking the serviceable youth with them out of the City, reduced the rest of the Commons to more quietness. And the enemies verily made no further attempt, but after they had given a false allarm, and set the Romans in a foolish fear, dismarched away as speedily as they could. Then *Numitius* went to *Antium* against the Volscians, and *Virginius* against the Æquians: where having well-near received a great loss and defeat by a train laid for him: such was the prowess and manhood of the souldiers, that they recovered all again, which by the negligence of the Consul had like to be lost. But better was
E the conduct and government of the Army against the Volscians. For there, at the first skirmish the enemies were disarrained, put to flight, and chased as far as to *Antium*, a City (for that time) of right great puissance and importance. The Consul durst not assault it, but wan from the Antiates *Cenon*, another town, but nothing so wealthy. Whiles the Æquians and Volscians thus amused the Roman Armies and kept them occupied, the Sabins were come robbing and spoiling to the gates of the City of *Rome*. But within few daies after, they themselves received more damage than they brought, by occasion that both Consuls with two armies were entred in great anger into their Confines. In the end of the year some peace there was, but disquieted, as at all times before, with the variance between the Nobles and Commons. The Commons in a peevish and angry fit would not be at the Election of the Consuls. So, by the Senators only and their followers,
F there were elected Consuls, *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius*. The like year to the former these Consuls had, seditious and troublesome in the beginning: but afterwards upon forrain war, quiet and still. For the Sabins with a running Camp having passed over the plains of *Cerfuminum*, and put all to fire and sword about the river *Anio*, were chased back, well near from the gate *Collina* and the walls: howbeit they drave away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattell. Whom the Consul *Servilius* followed hard with a power ready to bid battell, but could not overtake their main army in any even ground meet to pitch a field in. Howbeit he forraged and wasted the Country all about, so as he left no corner clear that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchase of many rich prizes of all sorts.

Likewise among the Volscians they sped well and had lucky hand by the good demeanour both
G of captain and souldier. First, they joyned battell upon a plain, and fought with very great slaugh- *The stratagem of the Consul Quintius.*
ter, and exceeding much bloudshed on both sides. And the Romans (who for their small number were more apt to feel the loss) had lost ground and dismarched, if that the Consul by making a lie for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouraged them and renewed the battell afresh. And so by giving a new charge, whiles they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Consul fearing again, by pressing too hard upon the Army, to enforce them to turn and make head, sounded the retreat. Few daies passed between

between, wherein they rested quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. H
In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Æquians repaired to the Camp, thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. *Quintius* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden allarm arose, and given commandment that the souldiers should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Hernicks to guard the gates, and caused certain cornettiers and trumpetters on horseback to wind and sound before the trench and counterscarpe, and so to hold the enemy in suspence and expectation untill day-light. The rest of the night all was so quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough and good opportunity to take their repose and sleep. This I
shew of footmen in their harnesse, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing besides, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the sound also of their trumpets and horns that made them to set up their ears, and to stamp and fume outragiously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and fresh, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattelled themselves, and at the first shock discomfited the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched withall. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certain hils, whereunto they might retire behind the *Principia*, and not break their ranks, and so save themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, K
made a stand. The footmen hardly would be staied, calling and crying to the Consul to follow upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the ensigns. Whiles the Consul held off, in a mammering what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his souldiers, so he little trusted the ground; they all at once set up a shout, that they would set forward, come what would: and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins fast in the ground, that they might more nimbly get up the steep place, they took their full carreer, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other shot which they had let flie, and made no spare, took up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they bestowed them, that they annoyed them L
sore, and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near over-charged, had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their rashness, and then for their cowardise, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First, they stood to it stoutly, and kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh shout and outcry. And taking their carreer again the second time, they strain all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back. Whiles they ran on heaps in disaray, both they that fled, and they that followed, hapned both at once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as M
many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to *Antium*. And to *Antium* likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few daies siege, was surrendred upon no fresh and new force of assault, but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and lois of the Camp their heart were done, and utterly failed.

The Third Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. N

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the third Book.

Seditions about the Laws Agraria. *The Capitoll taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were slain, and it recovered. A survey and Cesiment was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman Citizens* 124214, *besides orphan children. and such as had no children at all, as well men as women. In the other following there were* 132419. *Upon a great overthrow received in the war against* O
the Æquians, L. Quintius Cincinnatus *was made Dictator: and being in the countrey at his farme huse about his husbandry, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to ten, thirty six years after their first institution. The laws of* Athens *were fet from thence by Embassadours, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof, there were ten personages elected in the room of Consuls, which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and this hapned in the three hundred and second year*

A *year after the foundation of* Rome. *And as the Government of the state was translated from Kings to Consuls: so was it now from the Consuls to the Decemvirs. They having proposed ten tables of Laws, and born themselves modestly in that high diguity, were therefore by the consent of the people, permitted to remain still in office the second year. But after they had committed many insolent parts, they would not give over their room of Magistracy, but held it still the third year: until such time as their obstinate and intollerable rule came to an end, occasioned by the filthy lust of* Appius Claudius: *who being inamoured upon a Virgin, suborned one to make claim unto her as his bondslave: whereupon her father* Virginius *was driven of necessity to catch up a knife from a butchers stall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other means to save her from the hands of him that purposed to abuse her body unlawfully. The Commons* B *upon this foul example of filthy leachery, made an insurrection, and took the mount* Aventine *for their hold, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their place, and give over their government. Of whom,* Appius *and one of his Collegues (which two had principally deserved punishment) were committed to prison, and there kept, the rest were driven into banishment. This book containeth besides the victorious wars against the Sabins, Volscians, and Æquians. And the unhoneste arbitrement or award of the people of* Rome, *who being chosen Arbitrators between the Ardeats and the Aricins, awarded to themselves the Land whereabout the strife and controversy was.*

The third Book of T. Livius.

C After the winning of *Antium*, T. *Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius* were created Consuls. This was that *Fabius* that only remained alive of all the name that perished at *Cremera*. Now had *Æmilius* in his former Consulship perswaded to distribute certain Lands among the Commons. And therefore in this second likewise, both the favorers of the law *Agraria* were in good hope of the foresaid law: and also the Tribuns supposing verily that now by the help of a Consul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterprised against the pleasure of the Consuls; took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Consul still continued in the same mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding themselves grieved, and complaining that the chief and head Magistrat of the City busied
D himself, with the Tribuns suits, and was by large giving away of other mens possessions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heavy load of this action from the Tribuns upon the Consul his head. And a cruel broil was toward, had not *Fabius*, by a device and policy to neither party offensive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the year afore, under the conduct of *T. Quintius*: "There might (said he) a colony be brought to *Antium*, a City neer adjoyning, very commodious, and seated by the Sea side: so should the Commons without any "grudging or complaints of the possessors or Land-lords, be seized of Land, and the City rest in "quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three especial officers or Triumvirs for the division of the said lands, to wit, *T. Quintius*, *Aul. Virginius*, and
E *P. Furius*. Then proclamation was made, That whosoever would hold any of the Land, should give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, soon caused lothing: for there were so few that presented themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were fain to adjoyn unto them certain Volscians. The rest of the multitude had rather (as it seemed) to keep a calling for Land at *Rome*, than be possessed of Land elsewhere. The Æquians craved peace of *Q. Fabius*, who was come against them with an army: and they themselves by making a sodain inrode into the territories of *Latium*, cancelled the same and made it void. But the year next following, *Q. Servilius* (for he was Consul with *Sp. Posthumius*) being sent against the Æquians, kept a standing camp in the Country about *Latium*. But by the reason of a contagious disease or a
F plague, that raigned in his army, they were of necessity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was deferred unto the third year, when as *Q. Fabius* and *T. Quintius* were Consuls. And for as much as *Q. Fabius*, had upon his victory before granted peace to the Æquians, he had an extraordinary commission directed unto him for the rule of that Province. Who being thither gone with full assured hope, that the very fame of him, and noise of his army, would quiet the Æquians, sent Embassadors to the Councel of that Nation, with this message: "*Q. Fabius* the Consul, saith, "that as he caried before peace from the Æquians unto *Rome*, so he bringeth now war to the Æ"quians from *Rome*; having now his sword in the very same hand, which he gave unto them be"fore in friendly manner unarmed. Whose treachery it is and perjury, that is the cause of this, the "Gods can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he for his
G "part, howsoever the case standeth, desireth that the Æquians would yet bethink themselves of their "own accord and repent, rather than stand to the extremity and abide those calamities and misa"ries that follow wars. If they would come in therefore and be sory for that they have done, their "submission shou'd be received, and they taken into the safe protection of his clemency, whereof "already they had experience. But in case they persist still in their disloyalty, and take pleasure in "being forsworn; be they well assured, that they should have the ire and wrath of the Gods more "than their enemies to fight against them. These words so little or nothing at all moved any men there, that the very Embassadors had like to have been very hardly used and evil entreated, yea,

and an army withal was sent forth as far as *Algidum* against the Romans. When these tidings H
were brought to *Rome*, the indignity of the thing and the shameful manner thereof, rather than
any fearful peril otherwise, raised the other Consul out of the City. So two Consular or royal ar-
mies approached the enemy in order of battail, ready to try it out presently by the dint of sword.
But the day being (as it fell out) welneer spent, there cried one aloud from out of the place where
the enemy kept ward: "This is to make a shew of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed:
"ye set your battailions in array against night forsooth, that now draweth hard on: we had need
"of more daylight I wis, for the business in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore
"at Sun rising, see you come again into the field, ye shall have fighting fear not, your hands full.
The souldiers nettled and galled at these words, retired back into the camp until the next day, I
thinking the night was long, that kept them from battail: and so for that time they refreshed their
bodies with food and sleep. On the morrow so soon as it was day, the Roman host being stirring
somewhat more early, stood ready arranged in array: and at length the Æquians likewise shewed
themselves in field. A sharp fight there was on both sides, by reason that both the Roman soul-
diers fought in anger and deadly hatred, and also the Æquians upon prickt conscience, that bare
them witness how they embarked themselves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be
trusted again, were forced to hazard all upon a cast, and venture the utmost. Yet were not the Æ-
quians able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were discomfited and put to
flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unruly multitude for all this, were ne-
ver the more inclined to peace, but reproved and blamed their Captains, "That they put the tryal K
"of the issue to a set field, in which kind of fight the Romans had singular skill, and surpassed
"them. As for the Æquians, they were better at robbing, spoiling, and foraging, in making in-
"cursions and inrodes: and a better and safer kinde of service it was, here and there in sundry
"places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all into one gross army, and to pitch a field.
Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with such a tumult invaded
the confines of *Rome*, that the very terror thereof reached unto the City. This stir, especially co-
ming so sodainly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who would ever have
doubted and suspected, that their enemies so lately vanquished, and in manner besieged within
their own camp, could possibly think upon entring into the lands of others, and to drive booties.
Besides, the rustical peasants came in at the gates, crying, and saying, That they were not petty com- L
panies, and small handfuls of theeves and robbers, but (such was their foolish fear, augmenting and
making every thing greater) whole armies & legions of enemies were at hand, and marched apace
with banners displayed full against the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report
unto others. & as they heard news from they knew not whom, so they set them abroad they cared
not how, but ever in the carriage they added somwhat of their own, and coyned lies good store.
Here was running, there was crying al'arm & generally such a confusion every where, as if the City
had been quite lost. By good hap *Quintius* the Consul was returned from *Algidum* to *Rome*. That
remedy cured all and staied the fear. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked the people for
fearing those enemies whom heretofore they had vanquished, and placed good guards over the
gates. Then he assembled the Senate, and by the authority and assent of the Nobles, proclaimed M
Justitium, or a general cessation or vacation in all courts of law: and went himself forth in person
with a power to defend the marches, leaving *Quintus Servilius* Provost of the City: but the enemy
he found not in the territory all about. The other Consul performed his affairs passing well: who
having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, set upon them laden with prey,
and (by that means marching more heavily in disorder) made it a dear booty unto them, even as-
much as their lives were worth. For few of them escaped the Ambush, and all the pillage was re-
covered. So the return of *Quintius* into the City made an end of the publick Lawstead, or above-
said vacation which lasted but four dayes. Then was a Cense or Assesment set of mens goods, and
a muster or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a solemn purging of the people,
called *Lustrum*, celebrate by *Quintius*. And there were numbred of Citizens 124214 polles, over N
and above men and women that lived single, or had no children, and al orphans besides. And among
the Æquians afterward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they betook them to their
strong Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be consumed with fire, and spoiled. Thus
the Consul, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wa-
sting and spoiling as he went, returned home to *Rome* with great honor and a huge booty. Then
were Coss. *Aulus Posthumius Albus*, and *Sp. Furius*. Some have written them *Fusii*, who indeed
are rightly named *Furii*. Which I note, lest any man should think they were sundry men, whereas
the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the Coss. would war with
the Æquians: and therefore the Æquians sought for aide of the Ecetrane Volscians. Which
being gladly granted and sent with speed, (such a perpetual hatred bare these Cities alwayes O
against the Romans) there was great preparation for war in most forcible manner. The Her-
niks having an inckling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the E-
cetrans were revolted and banded with the Æquians. The Colony *Antium* likewise was had
in jealousy, for that when the Town was lost, many people fled from thence to the Æquians,
who all the time of the Æquian war, served in the field, and proved the most hardy souldiers
and fiercest of all others. And now when the Æquians were driven into their Towns, that
multitude

A multitude being slipt away and retired to *Antium*, withdrew from the Romans the allegeance of
the Coloners and inhabitants there, who were already of their own inclination unsound and
not to be trusted. But before the matter was come to ripeness, and they entred into any action,
the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended only, and were upon the point to revolt,
gave the Coss. in charge to send for the chief men and head persons of that colony to *Rome*, and
to enquire and learn of them in what terms *Antium* stood: who being come willingly enough,
without any great intreaty, and convented by the Consuls before the Senate, made answer to
their interrogatories in such manner, that they were sent away more suspected, than at their first
coming: whereupon they resolved fully of war. *Spurius Furius* one of the Coss. to whom that
B province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the Æquians, found the enemy spoiling and
wasting in the territory of the Hernicks: and being ignorant what number they were (for that
in no one place they were all discovered together) he rashly joyned battell, and hazarded his
power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was dri-
ven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not past all danger and insecurity there: for
both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was so streighty beset, and so hotly
assaulted, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to *Rome*. The Herniks
sent word both of the infortunate fight, and also how the Consul and his army were besieged.
With which news they so terrified the LL. of the Council, that they granted *Posthumius* the
other Consul the solemn commission, *To see to the State, that it sustained no danger and damage.*
C The form of which order and decree, hath been always accounted to signify some great extre-
mity of the Common-wealth. And thought best it was, that the Consul himself in proper per-
son, should abide at home to enrol in the muster book, all those that were able to bear armes:
that *T. Quintius* should be sent as Pro-consul or Vice-consul, with a power of confederate Al-
lies to raise the siege and rescue the camp: and for the furnishing of this army, the Latines, the
Hernicks, and Colony *Antium*, were commanded to send unto *Quintius*, Subitary souldiers
(for so they termed at that time, the aids and supplies taken up in haste and on a sudden.) Many
attempts were made, much skirmishing, and sundry assaults for certain dayes on each side were
enterprised. For the enemies being more in number, assayed in divers places and sundry wayes
to cut off and diminish the power of the Romans, as not sufficient and able to make head at all
D turns. For at one time they both made an assault upon the camp, and withal sent out certain
of their forces to wast the territory of *Rome*, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City,
if they could espie any good opportunity to offer it self. *L. Valerius* was left behind to defend
the City, and *Posthumius* the Consul was sent out to restrain and withstand the wasting of the
marches. No point of care or travail on any hand was slaked, watch and ward both night and
day was set in the City, a good *Corps de guard* appointed afore the Gates, and souldiers be-
stowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in so great an hurlyburly) for certain
dayes it was no Term, or interdiction of Law was observed. In this mean while, *Furius* the
Coss. who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at un-
awares sallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and whereas he might
E have chased them, he made some stay of that, for fear left on some other side, they would have
given assault upon the camp. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who also was the Consul his Bro-
ther) engaged himself too far, and upon a hot desire of pursuit and following the chase, nei-
ther saw he his fellows as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the
back. Thus being shut out from all the rescue, after many essayes made (but all in vain) to make
way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was slain. The Consul likewise hearing
that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight; but as he ran
more rashly than warily into the midst of the skirmish, he was sore wounded, and being hard-
ly and with much ado saved by those that were about him, he both disquieted and daunted
F the hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, lusty, and couragious.
Who were so animated and set on fire, both with the hurt of the Consul, and also with the
death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no force was able
to stay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were besieged
afresh being now both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that
their main State thus lying a bleeding, had utterly perisht, but that *T. Quintius* with a sup-
ply of strangers; namely, a power of Latines and Hernikes, came to the rescue in time: who
charging the Æquians behind, whiles they were wholly bused in assailing the camp, shewing
them within the Lieutenants head in a great bravery and pride, at the same instant caused a sally
out of the camp, by a signal that he gave them a far off, and so inclosed round about a great num-
G ber of the enemies. Small was the slaughter, but great was the flight and scattering of the Æqui-
ans in the territory of *Rome:* upon whom (straggling here and there and driving their booties afore
them) *Posthumius*, who in divers convenient places had bestowed certain companies and bands
of souldiers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in disaray, they lighted upon *Quin-
tius* as he with the hurt Consul returned with Victory. Then the Consuls army bravely did
their endeavour, and had a goodly day of them; and was revenged both for their Consuls
wound, and also for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrons with him. Many los-
ses and overthrows were given and taken on each side for certain dayes. But in so ancient

a matter as this was, hard it is for a man upon his credit, to set down precisely the certain number, either how many fought, or how many were slain. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* boldly reckoneth the exact numbers, namely, that there died of the Romans in the Hernicks Country 5300, and of the Æquian robbers, who went up and down spoiling and pilling in the territory of *Rome*, were killed by *A. Posthumius* the Cos. 2400. The rest of the multitude, which laden with spoil fell into the hands of *Quintius*, were not so quit, nor escaped with the loss of so few mens lives: for of them the sword devoured 4000, and to account the number exactly, 200 (quoth he) and 30 just. Then returned they on all hands to *Rome*, and the foresaid vacation or law-steed ended. The skie was seen much on a light fire, and other strange wonders either appeared indeed, or pretented to the fearful people vain apparitions, and fantastical illusions. However it was, for to avert the dangers by these prodigious and terrible tokens presaged, there were proclaimed festival holy dayes for three dayes together. During which time all the Churches were replenished with men and women, making supplications and prayers for the favor and mercy of the Gods. The bands and squadrons of the Latins and Hernicks, after great thanks given them by the Senate for their good service in this war, were discharged and sent home. But the Antiate souldiers, 1000 in number, who after the battell was fought came tardy, and too late for to succour, were dismissed in manner with ignominy and shame.

Then was the great Leet or assembly held, for the election of Magistrates: wherein *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius* were created Consuls: and on the * Calends of *Sextilis* (for on that day) began the year then, they entred their Consulship. A grievous and heavy time it was, and as it fortuned, a year of plague and great mortality, both in the City and Country, as well among brute beasts as men. And the receiving of the Country peasants with their cattel into the City, for fear of robbing and spoiling, encreased the contagiousness of the sickness so much the more. For, that confused medly of all sorts of beasts, both annoyed and empoisoned the citizens with the uncouth and unusual stink, and also stifled with sultry heat and overmuch watching the rustical people, lying pestered together, and thrust up into close rooms and straight lodgings. The mutual recourse one to help and Minister unto another, and the very catching of the disease, set it all abroad. Thus whiles they had much ado to endure these present calamities, behold, to mend the matter, all of a suddain, the Hernick Embassadors bring word, that the Æquians and Volscians having levied a power joyntly together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mighty army wasted and destroyed their territory. Now, besides that the small assembly in the Senate-house, was to these their allyes an evident token that the City was sore visited with the pestilence, they received also an heavy answer from them, namely; That the Herniks themselves together with the help of the Latins, should defend their own: as for the City of *Rome*, it was with the heavy hand and visitation of the Gods, dispeopled by the plague: but in case the sickness decreased in some measure and took up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederats, as they did the year before, and as they had done at all times besides. Thus departed these allies, and for their ill news they brought thither, they caried with them home again a worse answer and message, to wit, That they should by themselves sustain that war alone which hardly they were able to support, if they had the power of the Romans to assist them. Long stayed not the enemy in the Hernicks countrey, but went forward from thence into the territory of *Rome*, desolate already (God wot) without the injury of war, and little need there was of calamity that wayes: where meeting with no man at all, no not so much as any one unarmed, and passing over all the Country, disfurnished not only of Garrisons to resist, but also of people for husbandry and tillage, at length they came to the third stone, *i.* within three miles of *Rome*, to the broad port high way, called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabes*. The Roman Cos *Ebutius*, was now departed this life, and his brother Cos. *Servilius*, lay lingring on at the point of death, in small hope of recovery. Most of the peers and principal ancients were infected, and sick in bed, so was the greater part of the Nobles, and welneer all the serviceable men of war: so as they were not able to set forth an expedition or voyage abroad, as meet was in so great a tumult, no nor scarce to keep any ordinary set guard at home for the defence of the City. The Senators, such as age and sickness would permit, took the charge in proper persons of watch and ward. The Ædiles of the Commons went the round, and had the charge to see all well & in good order: so that upon them now rested the government of the state, & the Majesty of the Consuls Regiment. Thus when all was forlorn, no head to direct, no strength of man to execute; the Tutelar Gods, Protectors of the City, and the good fortune alone that ever waited upon her, preserved the main chance. This made the Volscians and Æquians to carry with them a mind and intent, rather to deal by way of robbings and spoilings, than in any hostile manner like professed warriors: for so small hope had they, or none at all, of winning the City; so little heart so much as to approach the walls, that even the very roofs of houses, which they descried a far off, and the sight of the tombs and graves so neer at hand, turned their minds clean, and daunted their courages. So as over all the camp they began to mutter with themselves. What they meant to spend time idly, and sit still without spreading, in a waste and desart Countrey; within the mortality and putrified air and corruption, both of people and cattel; when as they might as well invade those parts that stood clear and sound, and namely the rich, plentiful, and fat fields of * *Tusculum*: and therewith suddainly at once they plucked up their ensigns, and by cross wayes passed through the * Lavican countries, even to the mountains of *Tusculum*: and thither turned they

* The first day of August

* *Frascate.*
* *Val montone*

A they the whole force and tempest of the war. In the mean season the Herniks and Latins moved not with pity and compassion only, but also for very shame, in case they had neither withstood their common enemies, marching to *Rome* with a cruel army, nor relieved their besieged friends; joyned their powers together, and set forward to *Rome*: where not finding the enemies, and following the bruit that went of them, and tracing their fresh tracks and tooting, they encountred them as they came down from the hilly Country of *Tusculum* into the vale of *Alba*: Where they made no saving bargain of it, but fought to their loss, so as their fidelity unto their allyes, had but bad success for that present. And in *Rome* there was no less mortality of citizens by the sickness, than there were Massacres abroad of their allyes by the edge of the sword. For the other Consul,
B who alone survived hitherto, now died. There left this life also, other noble personages, *M. Valerius, Titus Virginius*, Augurs: and *Ser. Sulpitius* the *Curio Maximus*. But among the base and common sort, the violence of the disease raged and spread, I know not how far. The Senate now destitute of all help and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their beads, and prayers unto the Gods. And commandment was given to all men with their wives and children, to go in procession, to pour out their supplications, and crave mercy at Gods hands. Thus being by publick authority called forth to perform that which every man was forced unto by his own proper calamities, they filled all the Temples and Chappels. The Dames and ancient Matrons, lying groveling and sweeping the Church floors and pavement with their hair and tresses, hanging loole down, humbly besought pardon of the Gods, and an end once of the pestilence. Whereupon,
C were it that they had obtained the mercy of God, or that the more dangerous and contagious season of the year, was now well overpast: their bodies by little and little, having escaped the danger of disease, began to recover and wax more healthy.

Then set they their minds about the care of the Common-weal, and after certain inter-reigns determined or ended, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, the third day of his Interreign or Regency for the time, createth Consuls *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Vetusius Geminus*, or *Vetusius*, whether ye will: who three dayes before the Ides of *Sextilis*, began their Consulship. By which time the City was grown so strong again, that it was able not only to maintain a defensive war, but also to * 11 of *August.*
enter the field and assail others. When the Herniks therefore gave them advertisements that the enemies were passed over into their borders: they made no delay, but readily and willingly pro-
D mised their aid, and levied two Consular armies. *Veturius* was sent against the Volscians, to begin with them, and to war within their own Country. *Tricipitinus* was opposed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keep them from invasion and wasting, and went no further forward than to the Herniks. *Veturius* at his first encounter and confronting of his enemies, discomfited and put them to flight. But *Tricipitinus* whiles he lay still encamped in the marches of the Herniks, missed of the army of the Robbers: which was conducted over the Mountains of *Preneste*, from whence they came down into the Champain, and spoiled the territories of *Preneste* and *Gabes*: and from thence they fetched a compass about unto the Mountains of *Tusculum*. The City of *Rome* likewise was put in great fear, rather upon the sodain occurrent of this alarm, than
E for any want of power to resist their violence. *Quintus Fabius* at that time was Provost or President of the City, who put the youth in armor, disposed guards in places convenient, and made all safe and in good security. The enemies therefore who had raised a booty out of the parts adjoyning, durst approach no neerer, but cast about with their army and retired: and the further they went from their enemies City, so much the more careless they were, until they light upon the Cos. *Lucretius*, who by his espials and scouts, was afore that time acquainted what wayes they would take, and was ready also to try battail. So with resolute and prepared hearts, they set upon them, that with the sodain fear were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they discomfited and put to flight a mighty multitude of them, and drave them within the hollow vallyes, where because they had no ready way to get out, they kept them inclosed on every side in such sort, that the whole name and nation welneer of the Volscians, there utterly perF ished. In some Chronicles I find that there were 13470 slain in the fight and chase, and 1250 taken Prisoners alive, and 27 ensigns or banners brought away. It may well be that the number perhaps doth somewhat exceed the truth, yet a great slaughter certainly there was. The Consul having atchieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same standing camp again. Then pitched both Consuls together, and the Volscians joyntly with the Æquians, rallied their Forces thus decayed and weakened, into one place, and made one entire army. This was the third field fought, in that one year, and by the same good Fortune the Romans wan the victory: and having vanquished the enemies, they were Masters also of the camp. Thus the City of *Rome* recovered her self, and returned to her ancient good estate. But this happy success in war, immediatly stirred up civil troubles at home. *C. Terentillus Arsa*, for that year a Tri-
G bun of the Commons, supposing in the absence of the Consuls, good opportunity was offered to set on foot the Tribuns actions, and their proceedings: for certain dayes together gave not over before the Commons, to accuse the great pride and insolency of the Nobles: but especially he inveighed against the Consuls Regiment, as being too absolute, and in a free state intollerable. *C. Terentillus* inveigheth against the regiment of the Consuls.
"For in name only (quoth he) less odious and hateful it is than that of the K.K. but in fact in
"very dead, more grievous and cruel. For why? Instead of one Lord. the City hath received
"twain, and those having authority beyond all measure, unlimited and infinit: who being them-

"selves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all streight and dreadful Laws; yea, H
"and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But left this their licentiousnets should
"continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publish a Law, by vertue whereof there should
"be five men created, who should set down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority
"of the Consuls: and look what authority and commission the people granted out over them, the
"same should the Consul exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and use their own
"will and licentious lust in stead of Law. This act being once published, and the Nobles fearing,
left whiles the Consuls were away, they should be taken down and yoked. *Quin. Fabius* Presi-
dent of the City, assembled the Senate, who so bitterly and sharply inveighed against the Law and
the Law-giver himself, that if both the Consuls themselves had stood about the Tribun of purpose I
to contradict and cross his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for
them, to have thundred out. "For he laid sore unto his charge, that he had lyen in wait, and now
The Oration of Q. Fabius against the Tribun of the Commons, "having spied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to assail the C. W. and the State.
"And in case the Gods in their wrathful displeasure had sent among them such a Tribun as he the
"year before, together with war and pestilence, there had been no remedy then, but he must have
"had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Consuls both were dead, and
"the City lay bed-rid as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made laws
"then indeed, to the utter abolishing of the Consuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and
"been a ring-leader to Volscians and Æquians both, for to have assaulted the City. For what
"might not he have lawfully done by vertue of his place? If the Consuls had either proudly or K
"cruelly proceeded against any one Citizen, he might have entred an Action against them, and
"convented them forthooth before those very Judges, of whom peradventure some one had been
"by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the course and end of it. And he that thus
"did, should not cause the Consuls authority and rule, but the Tribuns power to become odious
"and intollerable: which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began
"now afresh to come unto the old biace, and to be troublesome again. Neither intreated he him
"not to go on still as he had begun. But ye my Masters (quoth *Fabius*) that are the rest of the
"Tribuns, we would request you to consider well this one point especially: That this power you
"have, was brought in for the succour and relief of every particular person, and not to the general
"prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribuns of the Commons, not enemies L
"of the Nobles. A heavy and lamentable case it is to us, odious and hateful unto you, and will
"breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C. W. now forlorn, should thus be invaded
"and assailed. Ye shall lose nothing of your own right, I assure you, nay, you shall avoid much
"mislike and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribun, to put off
"this matter and defer it wholly until the Consuls coming. Why, the very Æquians and Volsci-
"themselves the last year, when both our Consuls were dead of the plague, presled not hardly up-
"on us, to prosecute any proud and cruel war against us. So the Tribuns communed and persua-
ded with *Terentillus*: and this his commenced suit or action being adjourned in outward shew,
but in very truth let fall quite and disanulled, the Consuls forthwith were sent for home. *Lucre-
tius* returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. Who at M
his very first coming wan himself more glory, by laying abroad in *Mars* field all the prizes, that
every man for three dayes space might know his own and have it away. All the rest, that had no
owners to come forth and make claim, was sold in port-sale. By all mens consent, the Consul
was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off, by reason that the Tribun had
not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Consul thought meet should be first re-
garded. The matter was debated and treated for certain dayes, both in the Senate and also before
the people. At last the Tribun yeelded to the Majesty of the Consul, and gave it over. Then was
due honor rendred both to the General and also to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the
Volscians and Æquians: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other
Consul granted it was that he should in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the City, but N
without his souldiers. The year next ensuing, the Law *Terentilla* was by the whole Colledge or
Prodigious sights. fellowship of the Tribuns revived and propounded again: which put the new Consuls *P. Volum-
nius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* to some trouble. And in the same year the skie seemed to be on a light fire,
and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto,
was now for truth believed, to wit, That a Cow did speak. Among other strange wonders it
rained flesh: during which showre, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to
have snatcht it and carried it away as it was in falling. But that which fell down and escaped their
tallons, lay scattered here and there for certain dayes in such sort, as the sent changed not at all,
nor the flesh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the books (of *Sibylla*) were perused by the Du-
umvirs deputed over matters of Religion: who fore-told of some dangers to ensue by a Company O
of strangers, and gave warning to look left haply some assault should be made upon the highest
places of the City, and thereof a slaughter and massacre ensue. Amongst the rest, warning was given
to abstain from civil discord and mutinies: which the Tribuns found fault with, as a devised
matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like presently to grow.
But behold (that the revolution and course of troubles might run about every year to the same
point,) The Herniks bring news that the Volscians had Æquians for all their wings were well clip-
ped,

A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began togather and levy new armies: *Item*, That in *Anti-
um* lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and all depended upon it: That the An-
tiat coloners held their councels and had their meetings in open show, at *Ecetra*, but *Antium*
was the principal seat of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatsoever.
As soon as these news were reported in the Senate, order was given to muster souldiers: and that
the Consuls should part between them the administration and managing of his war, so as the one
should have the charge against the Volscians, and the other against the Æquians. But the Tri-
buns rung it out openly in the common Hall before the people, "That this was but a made mat-
ter of the Volscian war, and a tale devised by the Herniks, who were suborned and framed to The Tribuns oppose themselves against the Nobility.
B "play their parts in the Pageant, and to serve the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the
"freedome of the people of *Rome* was not oppressed or endangered by plain prowess & vertue,
"but finely shifted off and dallied cunningly withal, by sly e and crafty inventions. And for as much
"as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volscians and Æquians after so great
"slaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of
"themselves to wage war, there were, forsooth, new enemies sought out: A faithful Colony near
"adjoyning, was now slandred and defamed: war war pretended for a shew against the guiltless
"and innocent Antiats, but in truth, intended with the very Commons of *Rome*, whom they
"meant to drive out of the City in all haste headlong, surcharged with heavy armor, and so (by
"turning out their poor fellow-citizens into banishment, and sending them away, God knows
C "whither) to be avenged at length of the Tribuns. And thus the Law (say the Tribuns, for they
"must think their drift is to this end and to none other) should be troden under foot, unless
"whiles all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whiles they remain at home in their houses,
"whiles they be in their gowns, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not dis-
"possessed of the City, and take the yoke of servitude upon their necks: assuring them that if
"their hearts only served, they should want for no help: and that all the Tribuns agreed and were
"of one mind, that there was no cause of fear abroad, no forrain war to trouble them: last of all,
"that the very providence of the Gods the year before assured them, that their liberty might with
"safety be defended. These and such like Remonstrances gave the Tribuns out. On the other
part, the Consuls causing their chairs of estate to be set, even in their sight and presence, began to
D muster. Thither ran the Tribuns down in all haste, and drew the whole assembly of people with
them. And, to make as it were a proof and tryal, some few by name were called, and straight-
ways began a stir. For whomsoever the Sergeant by the Consul his commandment arrested, the
Tribuns charged again that he should be let go. And neither side contained within the limits and
compass of their commission and rightful authority: but presumed of their might and strong
hand, to attain unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribuns had demeaned themselves in
forbidding the muster, semblably the Senators bestirred themselves to stop the law for going for-
ward: which was propounded every Court day, and when the people might assemble. And ever-
more the brawl began, when the Tribuns commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the
Patritii would not endure thus to be set out and excluded. Few or none of the ancients would
E be present at these troublesome stirs, being such as were not to be managed and ordered by sage
Councel, but wholly left to the rashness and boldness of young and green heads. The Consuls also
were much absent, and forbare to be in place, for fear lest in such a confused hurliburly their Ma-
jesty and dignity, might have been subject to some shameful contumely and disgrace. But there
was among them one *Caso Quintius*, a lusty young Gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his
noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and strength of his body. Besides these good
parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had won himself many ornaments by sundry exploits
atchieved in wars: He had withal an eloquent speech and a good grace at the bar, so as, in one
word, throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in tounge, or
taller of his hands. This *Caso* standing in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the
F rest, as one that in his speech and strength, carried afore him the countenance and authority of all
Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the brunts of Tribuns, and storms of the
common people. Many a time were the Tribuns driven out of common Hall, the Commonalty *Caso Quintius* a bitter adversary of the law *Terentilla*.
defeated and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whosoever came within his reach,
was sure to go away throughly beaten, and clean stripped. So as it evidently appeared, if this
course might have been allowed, the law had soon been checked and overthrown. Now when all
the other Tribuns besides were herewith dismayed and welnear daunted. *Aulus Virginius* alone,
being one of their fellowship, was so bold, as to enter an action against *Caso*, of a capital crime.
By which deed of his, he rather fired, than feared his hot and furious nature. For so much the
more eagerly withstood he the Law, coursed and troubled the Commons, and persecuted the Tri-
G buns as it were with open war. The plaintiffe in the mean time, suffered the defendant to run on
still, and with many outrages to kindle more coals of ill will, and hatred upon his own head, and
to minister further matter of crimes to be charged with. And all the while he ceased not to prefer
the Law aforesaid, not so much of any hope to bring it to pass, as to provoke and set on work the
giddy head and humorous vein of *Caso*. Whereby it came to pass, that many follies oftentimes
were committed both in word and deed, by the younger sort: and evermore the blame light upon
poor *Caso*: he alone was always charged, because he had been once suspected. But nevertheless
he

hee gainsayed and crossed the Law. And *Aulus Virginius* ever and anon would entertain the Commons with these and such like speeches. "See ye not already (quoth he) O *Quirites*, that ye may "not now have *Caso* your Citizen, and the law which you desire both together. But what mean "I to speak of your Law? It is your liberty that he infringeth and setteth himself against, and in "pride and arrogancy he exceedeth all the *Tarquins* that ever were. But wait, ye were best, until "he be made a Consul or Dictator, whom ye see already, being but a private person, to bear him- "self so greatly of his strength and boldness, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many soo- thed the Tribune and said the like, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and beaten at his hands: and were forward enough of themselves to set the Tribune on, to proceed in his commenced action against him.

Caso recommended by many of the Nobility.

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it seemed abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their liberty consisted in the condemnation of *Caso*. In conclusion, driven he was with much indignity and shame, to creep and crouch unto every man, submissively craving their favor one after another. There seconded him his kinsfolk and neerest friends, the best men of the City. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consul, spake in his behalf: and after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own, and also of his family, affirmed, that neither in the house and race of *Quintii*, nor yet throughout the City of *Rome*, was ever seen so great towardness, no such shew and likelihood of ripe and perfect vertue and proweſs as in *Caso*: saying, that he had been first his souldier, and served under him, and that with his own eys he had seen him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again *Sp. Fusius* made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himself was in great distress and extremity, *Caso* was sent unto him from *Quintius Capitolinus*, to help at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whose good service, as he thought, the Weal-publick at that time was more relieved and restored, then by his. *L. Lucretius* the Consul last year before, glittering in his bright glory so fresh and new, joined with the rest, avowing *Caso* partaker with him in his praise-worthy acts: he recounted his brave combats, rehearsed his noble exploits, both in his rodes and voiages, and also in the pight field: advising & counselling them, that in any hand they would retain him still for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furnished with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a singular stay of the publick affairs, into what City and State soever he should come. As for that heat and hastiness (quoth he) which was in him misliked and offensive, age and time would dayly diminish, and bereave him of it: grave and sage counsel, which now was wanting, would come on apace every day more then other. Seeing therfore his faults waxed old and faded, his vertues now were in their growth, flourished, and grew ripe unto perfection; they should permit so brave, so rare a person, to live still among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the rest, *L. Quintius*, surnamed *Cincinnatus*, went another way to work: who not by iterating still his praises, for fear of heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his wildness and youthful demeanor; besought them for his sake at least wise, to give the son as a present to his father, who neither in word nor deed had ever offended any person. Some took no heed and gave a deaf ear to his prayers, either for modesty and reverence, or for fear. Others complaining how they and theirs had been beaten and hardly used at his hands, bewraied and shewed plainly by their shrewd and churlish answers what their judgment was. Besides, the common mislike and malice conceived against the defendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all, that touched him very neer. And that was this: *M. Volscius Fictor*, who certain years before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in against him as a witness, and deposed, how that not long after the plague was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youths as they made a riot and robbery in the *Suburra*: where there arose a brawl and fray, in which his elder brother, a man wel in years, and not throughly recovered of his sickness, was with a buffet with *Caso* his fist fell'd to the ground, and lay there for dead: so as he was fain to be had home between mens arms; and as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he as hainous as the fact was, bring his action and prosecute the law, for fear of the Consuls of these last years. As *Volscius* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in so much that *Caso* escaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginius* commanded to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to prison. The *Patritii* again by force resisted force. *T. Quintius* cried out, That he who was under arrest for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who shortly should come to his trial and be judged, ought not before sentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himself, thus violently be misused. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not to punish him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leave he would be so bold as keep him fast in prison, to be forth-coming at the law day; that he who had killed a man, might suffer therefore according as the people of *Rome* should award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their help, who by the means of an indifferent decree then made, shewed their lawful favours with speed. By vertue whereof they forbid expresly, that he should not be imprisoned, but pronounced that it was their wil and pleasure, that the defendant should personally appear, and a piece of money be promised unto the people, in case that he made default and failed of his appearance. Much question there was what sum of money should be thought reasonable to be promised. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whilst the Senators sate there-

thereupon, the defendant was kept still in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought good and set it down, that he should put in sureties. And they bound each surety in 3000 * Asses. But how many of these should put in bond, was left to the will and discretion of the Tribuns, who assigned and determined ten and no more. With so many sureties the plaintiff bound the defendant personally and peremptorily to appear at his day. This man was the first Roman that went under special bail, and put in good pledges to make his publick answer. Thus being enlarged out of the common Hall and dismissed, the next night following, unawares to the Consul, he departed to the Tuscans into exile. When the day of this judgement was come, and that it was alledged for his excuse, That he was out of the town, and gone into banishment: yet nevertheless *Virginius* assembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their help, dismissed the Court and licensed every man to depart, But the foresaid money was cruelly exacted at his fathers hands, so that he was driven to sell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a person confined, on the other side of Tyber, in a poor blind cottage out of the way. This process of judgement, and the preferring of the law above said together, bussed the City and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like Conquerers, seeing the Nobles appalled at the banishment of *Caso*, supposed now their law was in manner fully established and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had dispossessed themselves, as it were, of the Common-weal, and medled not for their own parts with the State: the younger sort, and such especially as were of *Caso* his crue and acquaintance, were kindled the more against the Commons, and abated not their courage: marry, this good thereby was done upon them, that in some measure they tempered and ruled their furious affections and violent outrage. The first time after the exile of *Caso*, that the law began again to be proposed, they being well appointed and banded together, backed also with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, set upon the Tribunes: taking the occasion when they charged them to depart out of the hall, in such manner, that no one of them above his fellows was singular, or carried home with him any special praise or blame more then another: but the Commons complained that for one *Caso*, there were now start up a thousand. All the days between, wherein the Tribunes medled not with their law, none more quiet, none more peaceable then they themselves. Courteously they would salute and speak unto the Commons, at all other times they would invite them home to their houses and make them good cheer, assist them and be present with them in the common Hall, suffer the Tribunes themselves without any interruption or impeachment to keep their courts and hold their assemblies whatsoever: shewing themselves at no time to any of them either publickly or privately fierce and cruel, but only when they went in hand with the law, for otherwise the young Gentlemen were popular enough. And not only in other causes made the Tribunes good dispatch, and went quietly through all their businesses: but also the same men were chosen again for the next year following without any foul and cross word: so far were they from being offered any forcible violence: and thus by soft handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little and little won the Commons, and made them as it were come to hand. And so by these fine fetches and devices, for one whole year the law was shifted off, and prettily avoided. The City being now in more quiet state, *C. Claudius* the son of *Appius* and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, came to be Consuls. And no news this new year: for the same care still, either about preferring or admitting the law, held the City occupied. As much as the puny Nobles insinuated themselves more into the favour and familiarity of the Commons: so much more eagerly again on the other side, did the Tribunes labour and endeavor with complaints and slanders, to bring them into suspition and jealousie with the Commons; Saying, that there was a conspiracy intended and contrived: that *Caso* was in *Rome*: that there were plots laid to murder the Tribuns, and to massacre the Commons: that they were set on work by some great ones, even the Ancients of the Nobles, utterly to abolish the Tribunes authority out of the C. W. and to bring and reduce the City to the same pass again, as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the Mount *Sacer*. Besides all this, war was feared from the Volscians and Æquians (so ordinary it was, and so duly once every year it came about:) yea and with all, another mischief newly sprung, and unlooked for.

* *9 lib. 7. fo. 6. d. sterl.*

The Capitol surprised by Slaves and Outlaws.

A rabble of banished persons, Outlaws and Bondslaves, to the number of 4500 having to their Captain one *Ap. Herdonius* a Sabin, surprised in the night the Capitoll and Castle, and were masters thereof. Who immediately killed in the castle as many as would not be of their conspiracie & take armes with them. The rest, amid this hurliburly ran headlong down into the Market place for fear. The alarmy was given on all hands: and no cry heard but *Arme, Arme, the enemies are in town*. The Consuls were afraid to put the Commons in arms, and they doubted also to let them be unarmed, not knowing what sudden occurrent this should be, that thus had entred and possessed the city: whether it were forraign or domestical, arising from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treachery and falshood of their servants? Yet they devised to appease the uproar: and as they were busie to repress it, the more other-while they stirred up new: for the frighted and amased multitude, could not be ordered by any commandment. Howbeit at length they resolved to suffer them to take arms, and not all in general, but only (for that they knew not what their enemies were) to have a sufficient and trusty guard about them, ready at all assayes and dangers whatsoever. In this careful suspence and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their

their number was, they passed the rest of the night, disposing strong watch and ward in all meet and convenient places of the City. But the day light discloseth the war and the Captain thereof, *Appius Herdonius* from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would come and follow him: "taking upon him forsooth to defend the cause of most miserable caitifs: "namely, to restore home again unto their native country all such exiled persons, as had been "wrongfully expelled, and also to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which "thing he could wish it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping "hand of the people of *Rome*. But in case there were no hope & comfort there, then he would assay the Volscians and Æquians, yea, and procure what means he could, by all hard courses and "extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and Coss. began to see more into the matter: and besides those dangers that were in view, and presently threatned, they feared some practise from the Veientians or the Sabins: and lest, there being already so many enemies in the City, the legions and Tuscans should combine together, and come upon them. Over and besides, lest their old enemies and perpetual, the Volscians and Æquians should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in some part, taken and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other the dread and jealousy of their own bondslaves presented unto them most imminent and present danger: for fear, lest every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither he could trust securely, nor yet mistrusts without some jeopardy: fearing lest being once discredited, he might prove the more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such streights they were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those that presently appeared and were in sight, that no man feared either Tribuns and Commons. That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising always by occasion of rest from all other, seemed then by reason of a forrein terror, stilled clean and brought asleep. And yet see, that was the only thing in a manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to bear down to the ground their state, which now began already to shrink and reel. For so furiously and madly were the Tribuns bent, that they stifly would stand to it, and bear men in hand, That it was no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had seised on the Capitol: for nothing else but to withdraw the minds of the Commons from intending and following their Law: and that a sort of clients, followers, and favorits of the Nobility and Gentry were gathered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the stir they had made, took no effect, would slip away soon and be gone, in more silence I wis, than they thither came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and summoned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the mean time the Coss. held a Councel fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribuns, than the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters where they were set in guard, then *P. Val.* leaving his collegue to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight into the Temple to the Tribuns. "What work is here my Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribuns? "Are ye about to overthrow the State indeed, under the conduct of *Ap. Herdonius*? and who was "notable to stollit and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his hap so good as to "corrupt and inveigle your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, whiles the enemy "is over our heads, to have our armor laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to "the whole multitude: If ye take no regard nor care (*O Quirites*) of the City, if ye pass not for your "selves yet have some reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native countrey, which by "your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captivate: *Iup. Opt. Max.* that most bountiful and Almighty God, Queen *Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of Gods, Goddesses (and heavenly "wights) are besieged: Outlaws and bondslaves are encamped about your Turelar Gods, and "have in possession the Protectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wise "and well governed City? is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies not "only within the walls, but also aloft upon the cliff within the Castle, overlooking and commanding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assemble in the Hall, Senators sit in "Court like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senator he delivereth his opinion at "the Councel boord: the citizens of *Rome* besides, are busy in their scrutinies and giving their "voyces. And had it not been more meet and decent that both Nobility and Commonalty, Consuls and Tribuns. God and Man, all armed together, should set to their helping hand, should "run up into the Capitol to deliver, save, and set in quiet that most stately and sacred house of *Jup. Opt. Max.*? O Father *Romulus*, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto thy "successors and posterity, whereby sometime thou didst recover and win again this fortress from "these same Sabins betrayed and lost by corruption, and for a sum of gold: command them to enter even that way which thou first ledst, and thy valorous army followed after. Lo, I the Consul, so far forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee an immortal God, and thy foot-steps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, so all the Romans shall do the like. And in case any man went about to hinder this, he would without regard of Consuls rule and dignity, or Tribuns authority & might, pass for no sacred or inviolable laws: but what or

The Proclamation of *Appius Herdonius*, Captain of the slaves.

The Oration of *P. Valerius* to the people.

or whersoever he were, in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal accordingly. Let the Tribuns (for asmuch as they forbad to take arms against *Ap. Herdonius*) command hardly, and spare not, to arm against *P. Valerius* the Consul: It should be well seen that he would dare and do that by the Tribuns, which the first of his house and name sometime had done by the KK. A great broil was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone together by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a goodly spectacle to the enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the Consul go up into the Capitol. The night at length stayed these brauls begun, and husht all. The Tribuns fearing the armed forces of the Consuls, yeelded to the darkness of the night, and gave over. Now when the principal Authors of the discord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went about to the Commons, intruding themselves into their companies as they were met in knots together: where they would enter into talk and discourse with them, according to the present occasions and the time, admonishing them to take heed into what danger they brought the State. "For asmuch as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Commons: but both Senators and Commoners, the Castle and strongest hold of the City, the Temples of the Gods, their houses both publick and private, were ready to be yeelded unto the enemies. Whiles these things were a practising in the common place, for to appease the dissention: the Consuls for fear, lest the Sabins or the Veientians, enemies both, should stir and rise, were gone to the gates, and all about the walls. The same night came tidings also to *Tusculum* of the taking of the Castle, the surprising of the Capitol, and likewise of the troublesome State wherein the City stood. At that time was *L. Mamilius*, Dictator of *Tusculum*; he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in the Messengers of the foretold news, and thought it very expedient and "needful not to wait until there came Embassadors from *Rome* to crave their aid: for that the "present peril it self alone, the urgent necessity, their social Gods, and the faithful bond of league, "required no less at their hands, than to send succour: adding moreover, that the Gods would "never give them the like occasion and opportunity again, to gratify the Romans: to bind and "oblige unto them by a found benefit and pleasure done, so mighty a City, and so neer a neighbour. Whereupon it was decreed, to relieve them with all speed. The able men of service were taken up and enrolled, munition and armor given them in their hands: who advancing toward *Rome* by break of day, seemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the Æquians or Volscians. But afterwards, when this foolish fear was overblown, they were received into the City: and marched down in order of battell to the market place. Where, at the very same time *Publius Valerius* having left his fellow Consul to guard and fortify the gates, was setting his men in array. The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised and assured them, that if the Capitol were once recovered, and the City set in quiet, if they would suffer him to be informed what fraudulent and secret mischief was underhand practised by the Tribuns under colour of this Law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, and of his *surname (which in regard of the affectionate love unto the people, by a special care, as it were by inheritance from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and assemblies of the Commons, nor cross and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their Captain, gain-say the Tribuns what they could (for all would not serve) advanced forward, and marched up against the rising of the Capitol Hill. The Tusculan Legion stuck close unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Associats both did their best, and strove who should regain the Capitol first, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men. Then began the enemies to fear, and wist not well what to trust unto, but only the scituation of the place. The Romans and their allies seeing their fear, came forward and advanced their Standards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the Temple. Where *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the formost in the vanguard, was slain. *P. Volumnius* a Consular man, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and stept himself into the Consuls room, and fought in his stead. The souldiers for heat and eagerness of fight, took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this so great mischance, but got the victory, ere they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there slain, and polluted the Temple with their bloud: Many taken alive Prisoners, and *Herdonius* himself was slain outright. So the Capitol was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The Tusculans had thanks given them. The Capitol was cleansed, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is reported, cast *Quadrants or mites into the Consul his house, that he might with greater pomp of funerals be brought to the ground.

When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribuns were earnest with the Nobles to perform the promise of *P. Valerius*: they were instant also with *Claudius*, to assoil the soul, and keep it from blame of his fellow Consul late deceased: and to permit the law to be set on foot, and go forward. The Consul flatly denied to suffer them to meddle with the law, before he had substituted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the grand Election for the substituting of a new Consul. And in the month December, after much suit, and labouring of the Nobles, was *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Caeso*, created Consul, and presently to enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and strucken dead, now that they

*Poplicola.

P. Valerius the Consul slain.

Herdonius slain, and his complices defeated.

*Quadrans, a piece of brass coin, the fourth part of As, and is asmuch as a cue and c.

The Oration of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, reproving the Senate and Commons of *Rome*.

they were to have an angry Consul, and mighty withal: considering the favour of the Nobles wherein he stood, and his own vertue & prowess besides: by reason also of his three sons, of whom there was not one, that for hautiness of mind came behind *Caso*, and for wisdom, discretion, and moderation (when time and occasion served) went far beyond him. Who being once entred into his office, in all his publick speeches and orations, continually ceased not as well to bridle, restrain and keep in the Commonalty, as also to chastise sharply the Senate: through the remisness of which degree, & want of courage, it was come to pass, that the Tribuns became now to continue still in office, and not as in the Common-wealth of the people of *Rome*, but as in some unruly and disordered house, with their lavish tongue reigned as it were, and ruled the rost: saying, "That together with his son *Caso* all vertue and constancy, all commendable qualities that graced young "Gentlemen both in war and peace, were chased and utterly banished out of the City of *Rome*. "In lieu whereof, bablers, mutinous persons, and sowers of sedition and dissention, are become "Tribuns the second yea, and the third time: who by indirect courses & lewd practises live loose- "ly in the City, like Princes and Kings. That same *Aulus Virginius* there, (quoth he) hath he de- "served less punishment than *Ap. Herdonius*, because he was not in the Capitol with the rabble of "other Rebels? Nay, much more a good deal, if a man will weigh the matter aright and truely. "*Herdonius*, (if there were nothing else) yet by professing himself to be an enemy, advertised you, "and gave you warning in a manner to arm your selves. But he, by bearing you down so confi- "dently, that there was no war, what did he else but disarm you, and as it were, take your weapons "from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercy of your bondmen and outlaws? And "have ye (under correction be it spoken, and saving the reverence and honor of *C. Claudius* here, "and *P. Valerius* that dead is) advanced your ensigns up the Capitol Hill, before you had rid the "market place and common Hall of these enemies? It is a shame (before God and man I speak it) "when our enemies were in the Castle and Capitol, when the Captain and Ringleader of outlaws "and slaves, abode and lodged within the Chappels and Sanctuaries of *Jup. Opt. Max.* to the pro- "phanation and polluting of all, that they at *Tusculum* should take them to their weapons before "us of *Rome*, and that it should be doubted, whether *L. Mamilius* the Tuscular General, or *P. V. I.* "and *C. Claudius*, the Roman Consuls, should save the Fortress of *Rome*: and that we, who hereto- "fore would not suffer the Latines in their own defence, when they had their enemies in their "borders, somuch as once to take weapon in hand, should now our selves have been surprised and "destroyed, had not they, the very same Latins of their own accord, put themselves into armor for "our sakes. Is this your succouring and helping the Commons, (O ye Tribuns) for to expose and "cast them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? I wis, if the meanest or baiest per- "son of your commonalty, which you have dismembred from the whole body of the people be- "sides, and made it, as it were the native country of your own, and a Common-wealth peculiar "only to your selves: If any one of them I say, should bring you word, that his house were beset "round about, with a company of servants and slaves in armor, you would think it meet that he "were aided and succoured: And when *Iup. Opt. Max.* was besieged with a power of armed "outlaws and bondslaves, was he not worthy of mans help? And yet these men would be coun- "sted and held for *Sacrosancti, i.* Sacred and inviolable, with whom the very Gods themselves are "not sacred and inviolate. And notwithstanding, that ye are thus overcharged and stayned with "sins both against God and Man, ye go up and down, and say, That this year you will get your "law to pass, and make it sure. In truth, if ye prefer it again, then I must needs say the Common- "weal is ill bestead, and had a shrewd turn that day whereon I was created Consul, yea, and worse "a good deal than at what time *P. Valerius* the Consul was slain. But now first and formost "(quoth he) O Quirites, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immedi- "ately against the Volscians and the Æquians: how the Divine Providence of God hath appoint- "ed it, I know not, but surely we find the Gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars "ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had stood of those nations, in case "they had known that the Capitol was in the hands and possession of outlaws, better it is to guess "by that which is past, than to try indeed by present experience. The Consul his Oration moved "and galled the Commons. The Nobles took heart, and were in a good belief, that the world was "well mended, and the state better reformed. The other Cos. more hearty to follow than to lead, and who was well content that his fellow had broken the ice before, and taken in hand to deal first in so weighty a matter, willingly challenged unto himself the charge to perform the part and office of a Consul, in the execution and accomplishment of those designments. But then the Tribuns made a game therat, and setting light at the Consul his words, inferred again and demanded, how the Consuls would lead out an army, and no man suffer them to muster souldiers. Marry (quoth *Quintius*) we need no mustering at all: for, at what time as *P. Valerius* armed the Commons to re- cover again the Capitol, they were all sworn unto him, and took their oath in this form. *To assemble together at the Consul his commandement, and not depart from their colours without his leave and licence.* We will and charge you all therefore, that have taken this oath to present your selves to morrow, with your armour, at the lake of * *Regillus* without fail. Then the Tribuns began to cavil and wrangle, and would needs have the people discharged in their conscience of that oath: alledg- ing how when they took that military Sacrament, *Quintius* was but a privat person. There was not as yet that neglect & contempt of the Gods entred into the world, which now reigneth every where and is so rife: neither did men interpret their oths, and construe laws, to serve their own purpose,

* Lago de Prasso de ade S. Setura.

A purpose, but rather attempered and framed their lives and demeanour thereunto. The Tribunes therefore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about setting forward the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Augurs were commanded to attend at the lake *Regillus*: and that by them a place should be hallowed and consecrate there, wherein the Consuls might duly commune and confer with the people, concerning all matters, according to the flight of birds: to the end that whatsoever at *Rome* had passed under a law, extorted by the violent force of the Tribunes; the same might there in a lawfull assembly and generall Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the souldiers, who without doubt would accord to that, which should stand with the Consuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no B appeale in force without the city, above one mile, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandment of the Consuls. These matters feared them indeed and put them in a bodily fear, but the greatest thing above all the rest that diquieted their hearts was this, that *Quintius* oftentimes had given out and said, that he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Coss. for that the city was grown so far out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usuall remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whosoever went about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute Dictatorship, that checked all appeales. The Senat was assembled at that time in the Capitoll; thither came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried C out and belought one while the Consuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senat of their protection; but could not once remove the Consul from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word and faithfull promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Consul propounded the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senat enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that year prefer their law: nor the Consuls lead out of the city any army. Item, from thence forth, the Senat deemed it not to stand with the weal publick, that Magistrats should continue still in place from year to year, and that the same persons should be more then once chosen Tribunes. The Consuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, say and gainsay what the Consuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also D because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needs choose *L. Quintius* likewise for their Consul again. But all the year through was not the Consul more earnest and vehement in any action and speech whatsoever then in this. Should I marvell my Lords of the Councell (quoth he) that you bear no stroke with the Commonalty, and your authority is so little worth among? Why, you, even your own selves set light thereby: seeing, forsooth, the Commons brake the ordinance of the Senat, touching the continuitie of Magistrates, yea also, because ye would "not seem to yeeld one inch in rashnesse and folly to the multitude, are as ready and willing to "infringe the same: as who would say, this were to have more rule and authority in a city, namely, "to use more levitie, inconstancie, and licentiousnesse. For it is a point of much more lightness "and vanity, I assure you, for men to disanull the acts and decrees of their own making, then of E "others. Ye that be Senators and Fathers of the C.W. imitate, and spare not, the ignorant, lewd "and inconsiderat multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, sin ye hardly your "selves, and do amiss by the precedent of others; neither then let others by your example do well: "so long as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my selfe to be declared Cos. against "an expresse act of the Senat. As to you, O *Claudius*, I would exhort you, that both your self would "restrain the people of *Rome* of this their licentiousness, that thus they have not their desire, and "also that you would perswade your self thus much of me, that so far off will I be from thinking "my honour by you impaired, that rather I will take my glory to be increased by the despising and "refusing of a dignitie, and the ill will and envy abated and diminished, that might grow upon the "continuation thereof. Whereupon both the Consuls jointly together made an edict and proclama- F tion, that no man should (by his voice) nominate *Quintius*, Consul: and if any man did, they would not allow of his election. So there were created Consuls. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Malugnensis*.

The oration of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* against the Senat

In this year was held a cessing and numbring of the citizens, but touching the *Lustrum*, there was some scruple of conscience, because the Capitol had been taken, and the Consul slain. When *Q. Fabius* and *Lucius Cornelius* were thus Consuls, suddenly in the very beginning of their year began great troubles: for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guise was, set the Commons a- work; the Latines and Hernicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volscians & Æquians: That the Volscian legions were already at *Antium*, and the Colonie it self greatly suspected to rebel. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made G aforehand to prevent this war. But upon these news, the Consuls parted between themselves the charge of all affairs. *Fabius* was appointed to lead forth an army to *Antium*: and *Cornelius*, to abide at *Rome* for the defence of the city, for fear lest some part of their enemies, as the Æquians manner was, should in running camp make rodes and forge the territories about. The Hernicks and Latines, were by vertue of the league, charged with the finding of certaine soudiers, so as the whole army should consist of ij. parts of confederats and one third of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Consul pitched down his tents without the gate *Capena*: from whence when he had taken a generall muster and purged his armie, he marched towards *Antium*

and encamped himself not far, either from the town, or the standing camp of his enemies: where H
the Volscians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the Æquians, had no heart to fight, but
made preparation how they might keep themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and ram-
pire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled toge-
ther, but three battailons severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & ranged them along
all about the counterscarpe and trench of his enemies. Himself was in the midst with the Ro-
man legions, and gave commandment to observe heedfully and mark the signall: that the Allies
also should both begin battell and also retire, when he sounded the retreat. In like sort he placed
the horsmen behind the *Principia* at the back of each battel. Thus in three sundry parts he assail-
ed the camp, and invironed it round about, and charging lustily hard upon them on every side, I
he beat the Volscians down from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And
having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearfull multitude clean out
of their hold, that now were retired to a side and corner of the camp. The horsmen might not
easily get over the trench, and stood still of purpose to behold the fight, and to mark them when
they should flie: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chased them as they ran a-
way on heaps: and by killing them in their fearfull flight, deserved their part in that victorie. Great
was the execution both within the camp, and also without the rampires, as they fled; but grea-
ter was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them,
and but that they shrowded themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perished every man.
During these exploits about *Antium*, the Æquians having sent before them the tallest and lustiest K
young men they had, surprised the castle of *Tusculum*, upon a sudden and at unawares in the night
season: and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the wals of *Tusculum*,
intending to intercept and stay the army of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in post to *Rome*,
and from *Rome* to the camp before *Antium*: which troubled the Romans as much as if news
had been brought, that the Capitoll was taken. So fresh in remembrance was the late desert of
the Tusculans: and the like jeopardy seeming to challenge and redemand semblable aid and suc-
cour. *Fabius* setting all other things aside, caused the booty in all haste to be conveyed out of the
camp to *Antium*: where having left an indifferent guard, he hasteneth space in order of battel
to *Tusculum*; by reason whereof, the souldiers could take nothing with them, but their ar-
mour, and such baked or boyled meats as were at hand ready. The Consul (*Cornelius*) sent a con- L
voy of victuals unto them from *Rome*. Thus for certain months continued the war at *Tusculum*.
The Consul (*Fabius*) with one part of his host assailed the camp of the Æquians: for the other
part he had let the Tusculans have, to win again their fortresse. Against all force it was impreg-
nable, but in the end famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being
at length driven, they were by the Tusculans disarmed and compelled to passe naked under the
yoke. Who as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken of the Roman Consul
in *Algidum*, and put to the sword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of
his army at *Columen*, for to the place is named. The other Consul like wise, seeing that there was
no danger threatning the wals of *Rome*, now that the enemy was discomfited & repulsed, departed
himself from the citie. So the Consuls entring two wayes the borders of their enemies, made M
sharp war and spoiled the Volscians of the one side, and the Æquians on the other. I find in most
writers that the *Antiates* in this year rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Consul managed that
war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any anci-
ent writers I dare not avouch it for a certaine truth.

* A kind of gallows made with two javelins pitched endlong in the ground, and a third fastned overthwart to the other.

This war was no sooner brought to an end, but the domesticall Tribunes war at home put the
Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to
keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to disappoint them for publishing the law. Yet never-
theless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and see an end.
Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, president of the city for the time, prevailed thus much with them, That all
Tribunitian actions should hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Consuls. There was besides N
a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* * Questors, gave
summons to *M. Volscius* to make his answer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without
all doubt, had born false witnesse against *Cæso*. For by many presumptions and evidences it ap-
peared, that neither *Volscius* his brother, from the first time that he fell sick and took his bed, was
at any time seen openly in the streets, or so much as to have sit up, and mended any whit, but of
that disease which held him many months, he languished and consumed away to death: nor a-
bout that time, wherein the deponent supposed the deed was done, was *Cæso* once seen at *Rome*:
it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the wars, that
he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any passport or
licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privatly challeng-
ed *Volscius*, and offered to traverse the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent O
judges. But when as he durst not abide the triall and to be judged, all these things put together
and so consonant one to the other made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Volscius* then
of *Cæso*, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of *Volscius*. The Tribunes were only the
stay; who said plainly they would not suffer the Questors to hold any sessions or judiciall court,
for the trial of the defendant, before they had a solemn assembly about their law. So were both these
matters

* Treasurers of Generall Receivers of the city

A matters put off unto the Consuls coming. Who being entred with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie, & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribunes were clean danted and stricken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hot contension for the law; and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrats. And albeit the Consuls had bent all their might and main against the continuity of the Tribunship, as earnestly, as if a law had been propounded, tending to the impairing and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribunes the mastrie, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon request and petition, unto the Æquians, And the Sessing, which the year before began, was now finished.
B And this was counted the tenth general Survey and solemn purging of the citie from the foundation thereof. There were numbred in the Censc-book of citizens 132419 polles. Aglorious and honourable year it was untill the Consuls, both at home and in war. For they not onely procured peace abroad, but also the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unitie, yet in lesse trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *L. Nautius*, that there were created Consuls, entred upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one sort, as the Consuls crossed the going forward of the law, so the Tribunes hindred the judiciall proceeding against *Volscius*. But the new Questors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with *M. Valerius*, the son of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Volesus*, was *T. Quintius Capitolinus* created Questour, a man that had been thrice Consul. Forasmuch therefore, as *Cæso*, the worthiest
C gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of *Rome*, could not be restored again, neither to the house of the *Quintij*, nor the commonweal, he pursued of mere pietie, with just & lawfull war, and false wittnels, who would not suffer on anythand the innocent person to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when *Virginius*, most of all the other Tribunes, was earnest to publish the law, the Consuls had two months respit given them to consider therof, and look into it throughly: to the end, that when they had advertised the people what secret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed to a scrunitie, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet state.

But the Æquians would not abide, that long it should continue so; Who having broken the league,
D which the year before was made with the Romans, chose *Gracchus Cluilius* for their governor and generall, who was in those daies the greatest man among the Æquians. Under the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter first in warlike manner the country of *Lanuvium*, and from thence into the territorie of *Tusculum*, spoiling and ransacking as they went: and being loaden with preyes and booties, they pitch their tents in * *Algidum*. Thither repaired from *Rome* into their camp, *Q. Fabius*, *P. Valerius*, and *A. Postbumius* as embassadours, to complain of wounds received, and to demand amends and satisfaction according to covenant. The Generall of the Æquians seemed to grant them audience, and willed them to declare what message and commission they had from the Senat of *Rome*, unto the oake; for that himself had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mightie great Oake hard by the General his pavilion, spreading
E his boughs even over it, and the shadow thereof served for a cold sitting place. Then one of the Embassadors, as he went his way, "Let both the sacred Oake (quoth he) and what divine power soever is seated in this place, heare and know, that by you first the league is broken, who now re-
"gard our present complaints, and shortly assist our valiant armies, when we shall prosecute
"and revenge at once the dissoiall breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So soon as the Embassa-
dors were returned to *Rome*, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Consuls should lead forth an armie against *Gracchus*, into *Algidum*, and the other have in commission, to wast the borders of the Æquians. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindred the muster and peradventure had staied it altogether, but for a new fearfull occurrent that suddainly came in the neck of the other.
F For a mightie power of Sabines were approached well neer to the wals of the citie, robbing, spoiling and destroying all a fore them with sword and fire. The territorie was pitiously round about laid desolat, and the citie therewith sore terrified. Then the Commons stomacks came down, and gently they tooke weapons in hand: and (lay what the Tribunes would against it) two great armies were enrolled. *Nautius* had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at *Eretum*, with rodes and incursions, and those for the most part by night, made such foul work and wast in The Sabines country, that in comparison thereof, the lands about *Rome*, seemed as if they had not been once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good successe, nor yet equall courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemie, and received no great foile and losse at his hands to speak of, yet he kept himselfe for fear with-
in the camp. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the co-
G wardite of one increaseth the courage of another) and assailed the camp in the night season: but seeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raised mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires stopped up all passages, five horsemen being even amongst the guards of the enemies, brought news to *Rome*, that the Consul with his armie was besieged. Nothing could there have hapned so little thought of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was such fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the camp, but the very citie. *Nautius* the Consul they send for, and because they thought him like to doe but small good, they agreed therfore to creat a Dictator, who

* Roequa del Papa.

L. Quintius nominated Dictator, found digging his ground with his own hands.

might restore again the distressed state of the C. W. And *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* by consent of all H
men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches
despise all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and vertue, but where wealth and
riches do flow in exceese. This *L. Quintius*, the only hope of the Romans, the man who was
to set upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a peece of ground, to the quantity of
foure acres, called at this day *Quintia prata*, *Quintius* his meddows, on the other side of Tyber,
over against that very place, where now the Arsenal and Shipdocks are, and there was he found
digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or else a plowing the ground, I wot not whe-
ther, but busie and earnest about some rusticall work, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed
on both sides, between him and the Embassadours that were sent, he was requested by them, that I
he would put on his best gown, and (that which might turn to the good of himself and the com-
monweal) hear a message from the Senat First, he marvelled what the matter should be, & very of-
ten asking of them if all were well he willeth his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe
straightway, out of his forie cottage: which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and
wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly) and then came forth unto them,
who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation, stiled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard
upon him to repair unto the city, and declaring in how doubtfull termes the armie stood. Then
was there barge provided ready for *Quintius*, at the cities cost: and being ferried over the river,
his three sons met him and received him first, then others of his kinstolk and friends, and after
them the more part of the Senatours. Thus attended with this frequent company, and with the K
Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Com-
mons: but nothing so joyous were they, to see *Quintius*, supposing that government of his over-
great and absolute, and himself a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verily,
nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morrow after, the Dictator
being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed Generall of the
horse, *L. Tarquitius*, of Noble blood descended: a man who for mere poverty had ever served on
foot, but of all the flower of *Rome* was reputed and taken to be a brave servitour, and an excellent
souldier. Then *Quintius* with the Generall of horsemen, mounteth into the pulpit aloft: pro-
claimeth a publicke vacation or Lawlteed; commandeth all shop windows through the city
to be shut, and charged that no man should follow any privat businesse of his own. Then as ma- L
ny as were of age to fight, were willed to shew themselves in their armour, before the sun set, in
Mars field, every one with victuals dressed for five daies, and with twelve forked stakes a peece
for to to pitch in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unweldy, and
not meet for service should dresse and provide victuals for the next souldier unto him, whiles he
himself made ready his armour, and sought for stakes aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to
and fro, to furnish themselves with stakes, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever
was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, ac-
cording to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of foot-
men, the Master of the horse likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and array, as might
not only serve for a speedy march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. "In M
"both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their souldiers, according as the present
"time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed, that by
"night time they might reach to their enemies: & not (say they) before there was great need: for
"that the Romon Consul and army were besieged, and had now three daies already been pent
"up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes
"in the twinckling of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, there fall out accidents of right
"great moment and importance. On afore space, Ensigne crieth one: follow souldier saith a-
nother. Thus went they also lustily forward, and all to pleasure and gratifie their captains. So
that by midnight they were come into *Algidum*: and so soon as they perceived their enemies
to be neer at hand, they pitched down their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as far forth N
as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, coasting and fashion of the
camp, commanded the Marshals and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and bag-
gage, should be laid up together in one place, and that the souldiers with their armour and stakes
only, should come again into their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the
same order that he marched, he draweth out his host in length, and compasseth the camp of
his enemies, and commandeth them all upon a signall or watch word given) to set up a shout,
and presently upon the shout to cast a trench, & every man stuck down his pale in the rampier. Ha-
ving given this charge, straight wayes the signall followed. The souldiers do that which they
were bidden: the shout was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Consul
his camp: causing in them one great fear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoycing one O
with another to hear the shout of their fellow-citizens and countriemen, with a conceit of their
coming to relcue, begin of themselves from their sentinels and *Corps de guard*. to threaten
and terrifie their enemies. The Consul let them forward and said, there was now no staying
for the matter, nor delaies to be made: for that it appeared by that alarm, that not only their
friends were come with succours, but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing,
that their enemies camp, was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon, he command-
eth his souldiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish,

and

A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification that the enemies on
that side also were driven to their shifts and in great harzard. By this time the Æquians had ad-
dressed themselves to impeach them in their trenching and making of their rampire, to the end that
they might not be compassed about: but the alarme was given and the skirmish already begun by
their enemies within: fearing therefore, lest they would break through the midst of their camp,
they turned from the pioners and workmen without, to them that fought within, and therby
gave the other leave to plie their work and labour all the night long at their pleasure: and so
they maintained skirmish with the Cos. untill day light. Now by the break of day they were en-
trenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out batell with one of the ar-
B mies. Then the host of *Quintius*, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their
weapons, entring of the mures and rampires of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict again, and
yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then seeing themselves thus distressed and so hard-
ly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to intreating: they beseought the Cos. on one side and
the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effusion of bloud and cruel mas-
sacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The Consul he
posted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and displeasure, would not be con-
tented without their shame and ignominy besides. *But* commanded that *Claelius* their generall
with other Colonels and Captains should be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoyned them to
abandon & quit the town of *Corbio*: as for the Æquians bloud, he sought not for it, he had no need
C thereof: they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, because he would have it now at
length, maugre their heads, confessed, that the nation was vanquished and subdued: his will and
pleasure was, they should passe all under the yoke or gallows: the maner wherof is this. They took
three speares or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their over-
thwart fastned unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the Æquians
to go. Thus having gotten the tents of the enemies full of all kind of store (for naked he sent them
under the yoke) the whole pillage he bestowed upon his own souldiers only: and rebuking sharp-
ly the Consuls army and the Cos. himself, Ye shall (quoth he) souldiers go without your part of booty
"won of the enemie, whose booty ye had like your selves to have been. And as for thee, O *L. Mi-*
"*nutius*, untill thou beginto have the heart and courage beseeming a Consul, thou shalt be a Lieute-
"nant only over these legions. So *Minutius* being discharged of the Consulship, remained still
D as he was commanded, with the army. But so well were men content in those daies, willingly
to yeeld obedience to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof
as of a favour received, rather then of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictatour a coro-
net of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of
their Patron. At *Rome* the Senat being assembled together by *Q. Fabius* Provoft of the citie, de-
creed that *Quintius* should enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battell aray as he
came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the ensignes are carried a-
fore; then followed the army laden with spoil and pillage. Great chear and banquets were set
out, men say, upon tables at every mans dore. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with
E songs of triumph, with sports and merry conceits, as they are wont to do at their great and solemn
feasts. The same day *L. Mamilius* the Tusculan, with the approbation and good liking of all men,
was enfranchised citizen of *Rome*. And forthwith would the Dictat. have resigned up his office, but
that the Court, held for the triall of *M. Volscius*, endited of bearing false witnesse, staied him: and
in truth, the Tribunes would have hindred the judiciall proceeding against him, if they had not
stood in awe of the Dictatour. But *Volscius* was convicted and had sentence, and departed to *La-*
nuvium in exile. And *Quintius* having taken the Dictatorship for six months, gave it over the six-
teenth day after he entred into it. About the same time the Consul *Nautius* fought valiantly with
the Sabines at *Eretum*: who besides the wasting of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. *Fabius*
was sent into *Algidum*, to succeed in the roome of *Minutius*. In the end of the year, the Tribuns
began to stir, about their law: but because the two armies were absent, the Senatour prevailed so
F much at that time, that no bils were propounded unto the people. The Commons like wise obtain-
ed, that they might create the self-same Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there
were seen in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange sight, the Capitol was
purged. And these were the acts of that year. Then followed Consuls *Q. Minutius* & *M. Horatius*
Pulvillius.

In the beginning of which year, whiles all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same
law caused dissention and sedition at home: which would have grown to a farther mischief, in
such heats men were, had not word been brought, as it were of set purpose, that the garison at
Corbio was surprized in the night by the Æquians and put to the sword: whereupon the Consuls
G called the Senat together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitary army
and with a running camp invade *Algidum*. Then was the strife about the law laid aside clean, and
a new contention arose about the musters. But the Consuls with all their authority, were over-
swaied of the Commons, by the help and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble
put them in fear for intelligence came, that a power of Sabins were come down already into the
territories of *Rome* for to fetch booties and make spoil: and from thence advanced against the city.
Upon which fear, The Tribunes were content that souldiers should be prest, yet not without this
covenant indented: That for as much as they had now themselves these five years been trusted off

and

36. lib. angel gold. *L. Quintius* triumpheth.

and deluded, & that this protectorship of theirs stood the Commons in little stead, in regard of their small number, therefore, there should from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Commonalty. The Nobles were so near driven and to such straights, that will they, nill they, yeeld they must thereto: with this proviso, that they should never after Elect the same men Tribunes twife. And for fear that this act should after the war was once past, turn to nothing, like as others had done before, they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. year from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten created out of every Classis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The musters then being taken and souldiers enrolled, *Minutius* went with a power against the Sabines, but found not the enemy. And *Horatius*, because the Æquians after they had put the garison at *Corbio* to the sword, and won *Hortana* besides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he slew, and drove his enemies not only out of *Algidum*, but also out of *Corbio* and *Hortana*. As for *Corbio* he utterly rased it, for betraying the garison there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcity there was of corn, by reason of the untemperat and unseasonable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the mount *Aventine* should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made again: who, all the year following, when *T. Romulius* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, in all their Halls and assemblies, still published the law: saying, it was a shame, that their number was thus increased "to no purpose, in case their affairs should lie dead in their two years, as they had done in the "whole 5. years past. Whiles they were earnestly debating these things, fearfull messengers came in all hast from *Tusculum*, with news, that the Æquians were in the territory of *Tusculum*. The fresh desert of that nation would not suffer the Romans for shame to defer their helping hand. Whereupon both Consuls were sent with an army, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountred and struck a battell: in which were slain about 7000. enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which the Consuls told out-right, by reason of the want of mony in their common treasury. But this caused the souldiers to repine and grudge, and in the end misinstred matter to the Tribunes, to accuse the Consuls unto the Commons. As soon therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternius* were Consuls: *Romulius* was arrested and put in suit by *C. Claudius Cicero*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewise troubled by *L. Halienus* an Ædile or Warden of the Commons. Condemned they were both the one and the other, to the great indignation of the Nobles. *Romulius* was fined in * 10000 Asses. *Veturius* in * 15000. But for all this hard hap and calamity that befell to those former Consuls, the new were never a jot more remisse and cool in the quarrel: saying, Well may we also be cast and condemned, and both Commons and Tribunes never the neerer to compasse and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding only to oft, was waxen stale and old, began more gently to deal with the Senatours, praying them to make an end once of all strife and contention. And in case that the "laws of the Commons so disliked and displeased them, they requested them to suffer certain Law-"makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty, as well as of the Nobility, who might "devise acts commodious & profitable to both parts and or the equal liberty and freedom of all. As "for the substance it self of this motion, the Senators refused not: but they flatly said, that none but of the Nobility should have the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws, & differed only and squared about the lawgiver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, *Sp. Postbumius Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpitius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplifie and copy out the famous and worthie laws of *Solon*: to search out and learn the ordinances, customes, and rites of other cities in *Greece*. For any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year following more quiet, when *P. Curiatius*, and *Sex. Quintilius* were Consuls, by reason of the continual silence of the Tribunes: which, as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to *Athens*, and of strange and forain laws, first and principally procured: so, two mighty great calamities that rose both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noisome and loathsome both to man and beast, afterwards continued. By means wherof, the fields lay wast and desolate, the city dispeopled with continual burials: many right worshipful and honourable houses thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamin of *Quirinus* dyed therof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went of it likewise: in whose room the Augurs (his Associats) chose *C. Veturius*: and the rather, because he had been condemned by the people. *Quintilius* the Consul departed also this life, and four Tribunes of the Commons. So that this was a year, with manifold losses and calamities foely distained. But for enemies all was quiet, After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* made Consuls. In which year likewise there was no war abroad, nary at home some troubles arose. By this time were the Embassadors returned with the Athenian laws. And therfore the Tribunes were so much the more earnest and urgent, that once at length they would set on, to describe and put down some laws. And agreed it was, that there should be created Decemvirs above all appeal: &c. for the yeare then g, there should no other Officers and Magistrats be in place. Now, whether any of these might be of the Commons or no, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and controversie continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles went away with it, & had the preheminence, upon this condition, that neither the law *Icilia*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other sacred lawes should be repealed. Thus in the 302 yeare after that *Rome* was built, was the form of the cities government changed the second time, and to the Consuls from the Decemviri, was the soveraign rule translated, like as before, from the kings to the Consuls. This

Ten Tribunes of the Commons first created.

Embassadours sent into Greece for an abstract of their laws.

Ten Magistrates called Decemvirs, instituted for the making of lawes.

* 35 lib 5 sh. & 46 lib. 17 sh.

This change was lesse notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magistracie was fair and goodly to see to, but grew too rank, and exceeded in overmuch licentiousnesse. The sooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conferred upon twain. The Decemvirs created were these: *Ap. Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, *P. Sestius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Julius*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Curiatius*, *T. Romulius*, *Sp Posthumius*, *Claudius* and *Genutius*, because they had been Consuls elect for that year, had this dignity bestowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And *Sestius* one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, against his fellow Consuls will. Next to these were counted the three Embassadours that went to *Athens*, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embassage into so far & remote a country, & also because men were perswaded, that by reason of their insight and skill in forrain ordinances of strange nations, they might be well emploied in setting down, and making of new; The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last scrutinies and suffrages at this Election, choice was made of those that were more aged, and farther stept in years, to the end they might not so fiercely and stoutly gainsay and crosse the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the roft and swaied all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people. He had so altered his nature, and became such a new man, that all on a sudden, of a cruel and terrible persecutor of the Commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and courter of the Commonalty, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one fat his tenth day in place of judgement, and ministred justice in their severall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knitches of rods were born by the Lictors before the soveraign judg: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one ser jeant to give attendance. In this agreement among themselves, (which accord other whiles when they were privat persons, had been hurtfull unto them) rested only and wholly the greatest equity towards others. A proof and argument of this their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and instance of one onely matter: for whereas they were created absolute, and past all appeal, it fortuned, that in the house of *P. Sestius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publicke assembly of the people. The thing being no lesse apparent in view, then hainous and horrible in fact, *C. Julius* a Decemvir, brought *Sestius* in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintif unto the people, and accused that defendant, whose competent judge he was by order of law. And so he yeelded of his own right: adding to much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was found and uncorrupt, & fet asit were from Oracle, and Gods own mouth, & al men wiling to accept of justice at their hands: then set they to it, and went about the making and giving of laws. And with great expectation of men, they set out ten Tables, and called the people to a generall assembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go. & (that which might turn to the good, to the benefit, and happines of the Common weal, themselves their children & posterity) to read the law there published: protesting, that so far as ten men could with all their wisedome forefee & provide for, had devised indifferent lawes, and equall for all sorts of callings, as well the best as the meanest. But for as much as the wits and heads of manymen, were of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave, to cast in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular; yea, and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was short and wanting, or what was superfluous, in every article: and look what laws the consent of all men seemed to bring in, those should the people accept, and none other: that it might appear they were not so much to approve of them and give their assent after they were propounded, as to propose and preferre them their own selves. And when as they were thought sufficiently corrected, according to the speeches of men, and as every one spake to the severall titles and chapters of the laws, as they were set forth: then in the high court of Parlament, assembled of all the Centuries & degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and established. Which even at this day, among that infinit number of statuts, heaped and hudled one upon another, are the very well-spring and fountain of all justice, both publick and privat. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, then might the complete body as it were of the whole Roman law be finished and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great Leet-day grew neer for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs again the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the very name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, sought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yeelded in their perogative, and admitted in some sort the appeal. But after that the solemn assembly for the chusing of Decemvirs, was published against the * *Trinundinum*, or third market day next ensuing, to such an heighth was the ambition and desire of this dignity growne, that the very chiefe men, and principall heads of the City (for feare, I beleeve, lest the possessions of so great a government, in case they were not invested themselves in the place, should lie open unto some unmeet and unworthy persons) went about and made court to every man, suing in humble manner to those very Commons, with whom they had been at strife & variance; for that honour and dignity, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthinesse and reputation of men of those years, and having born and gone through

The ten tables of Romans laws.

That is the 25 day following.

through such offices, being now come in question, and submitted to the choise and judgement of others, pricked on *Ap. Claudius*, and set him forwards. So as a man could hardly know whether to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or those that stood to be Decemvirs again. For otherwhiles he was more like one that sued for an office, than him that presently bare office: blaming presonages of best quality in the City, and laying hand to their charge: but extolling the vainest & basest of the Competitors. Himself in person forthing among the *Duilij and Icilij*, and such like as favoured the Tribunes, went swinging and squaring in the common place, using them as instruments to vendicate himself forth to the common people. So long, as at length his very brethren in office, who untill that time had been singularly addicted and affectionated unto him, cast their eies upon him, and began to mark, & marvail much what his meaning was: reasoning thus among themselves: "Surely there is no soundnesse nor goodnesse herein, but all meer dissimulation and hypocrisie. "Certainly, it is not for nought, that in such pride of his, there should appear so much courtesie. "What? to force his own nature too much within compasse: to debase himself, and suffer pri- "vat men to be his fellows, was a signe of one, that made not so much hast to forgo a dignity and "promotion, as sought means to keep it still. Openly they durst not presume to check and withstand his ambitious desire, but assaied by pleasing and soothing him up, to represse and bridle his fooliish affection. And seeing he was the younger of his company, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policy was, that he should not Elect his own self a thing, which unlesse it were the Tribunes again, and that was a most dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had done before. And he with all his heart accepting therof, made profession that he would be president of that honourable Court and Session, and prayed to the gods that he might perform it for the benefit of the weal-publik. And so took the vantage of that opportunity, to set forward his own design, which they meant should have stopped and crossed the same. And after he had by secret packing and convasing with the other competitours, and given the repulse unto the two *Quinctii (Capitolinus, and Cincinnatus)* and put beside the Cushion his own Uncle by the fathers side (*C. Claudius*, a most stout & resolut champion of the Nobility) with other citizens of like mark and quality: he createth Decemvirs, such as were not for worth, port, and behaviour, to them comparable and his own sweet self with the first. Which as there was no man thought she ever would have done, so all good men misliked when it was done. With him were elected *M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minutius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Petilius, T. Antonius Merenda, Caso Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen. M. Rabulenus.* And there's an end of *Appius* playing anothers mans part. Off went his mask and visour now, and to from thence-forth, he began to shew himself in his own likenesse, and to live in his kind: yea, and to frame his companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entred into office. Day by day had they their secret meetings by themselves apart from all others: and being once hereby furnished with ungratious and proud designments, which they had closely complotted together, they could no longer hold & dissemble their pride. Few might have accesse unto them: seldom would they be spoken with, shewing themselves strange, surly, & churlish to those that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the * Ides of May, which was the usuall
15. day of May and solemn day then of entring into offices of government. In the very begining whereof they made the first day of their magistracie noted by an intimation and evident shew of exceeding terrour. For whereas the Decemvirs their predecessors had observed this order, That one alone should have the rods of State born before him, and that this regall ornaments should passe round through them all in course one after another: Behold, these came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods carried before him. So that these Lictors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, fastned within the rods, took up and filled the whole *Forum* or common place as they went. And for as much as they were created absolutely, and their commission ran without all appeal, men made this exposition, that to go with their axes or without was all one, & made no matter at all. Thus was there a shew & representation of ten KK. And this terrour grew more and more, not with the meanest and basest sort only, but also with the chief and best of the Patritians: suppoſing that they sought to pick a quarell, and minister occasion and overture to some massacre: that if any man should offer either in the Senat or among the people, to speak one word concerning liberty, forthwith there should be exemplary whipping and beading, to the terrour of all other. For, besides that, from the people there was no remedy and succour to be had, by reason that the appeal unto them was quite disanulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themselves drew so all in one line together and were so combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thwart and crosse that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and sentences should be censured and corrected, by the appellations or appeal to one of their brethren in commission: yea, and in some cases put off some matters from themselves to be decided by the people, which seemed properly to belong unto their own jurisdiction. For a while, the fear was to all indifferent: but by little and little the Commons only began to feel the smart. The Nobles were forborn and escaped clear and scotfree: the meaner persons went to the wals, and with them they dealt according to their lust and pleasure right cruelly. The person wholly they regarded, and never respected the cause, as with whom favour and friendship prevailed as much as equity and right should have done. At home in their houses, they determined of matters how they should passe: and in open place they pronounced sentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him unto

A unto whom he fled for relief, he went his waies again by weeping crosse, repenting that he stood not to the order and injunction awarded by the former. It was thought and spoken also abroad, but the first author would not be known, That they had conspired together, not for the present time only to do wrong and injurie, but also were confederat between themselves privily, yea, and had bound it with an oath, to call no assembly at all for the electing of new magistrats: but being now once invested in the soveraign rule, to hold the possession of the Decemvirship for ever. The Commons than began to look about them, to behold and advise well the countenances of the Nobles, to see if they could from them catch some good gale of wind, some hope again of liberty, at whose hands they fearing bondage, had brought the common-weal to this hard passe.
B The LL. of the Senat hated the Decemvirs, they hated also the Commons. They liked not of things as they went, and yet were persuaded that the Commons were well enough served, and deserved no better: who gaping greedily after liberty were now fallen and plunged into servitude and thraldome. Help they would not with the least of their fingers, but rather heap more wrongs upon them: that having a wearisome and tedious loathing of the present state, they might fall to a longing desire after two Consuls, and wish the old world were come again. By this time now was the better part of the year gone and past: and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former year: which if they might be once confirmed and ratified by a Parliament of the Centuries, there remained nothing behind, for which the common-weal should need these magistrats: but expected it was certainly, that the assembly for Election of Consuls should out
C of hand be published and proclamed. Marry, there was one thing hammered in the Commons heads, by what means they might revive again the Tribunes authority; the very grand bulwark of their freedom, and the thing that now had discontiued and lien dead. But all this while there was not a word of the new Election. And the Decemvirs, who at the first presented usually unto the Commons sight, a crew of those that favoured the Tribunes, for to attend upon their persons (a thing right plausible and pleasing unto the people:) were guarded now, with certain tall pensioners of their Nobility: whole troups of them stood about their Tribunal seats and places of judgment. These made havock and spoil of the Commons and their goods: and look what the mind of a mighty man stood unto and lusted after, it was his hap to have it whatsoever. Nay, there was no spare now made of their backs and sides: some were scourged with rods, some lost their heads
D by the ax. And because this cruelty should not go unrewarded, lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobility, by this kind of hire well fleshed; not only opposed not themselves to withstand these wrongful dealings & hard courses, but carried it afore them, openly professing & avowing that they wished rather their own licentiousnes, than the liberty of all. The * Ides of May were now come about, and no new magistrates elected in the others roome. Forth come the Decemvirs, (who to say a truth and to give them their right, were no other than privat persons) neither with minds abated for the exercising of their imperious rule, nor with fewer regal ensignes, to
E set out and shew their honour & dignity. When the people saw that, they made no other reckoning but this was plain usurping of the kings government, and no better: And now farewell freedom for ever and a day. For neither had they presently, nor hereafter were they like to have any man to recover it again. So that now, not they only let fall their hearts and were discouraged in themselves, but also grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour-nations: who disdained highly, that they should have soveraignty of rule, who were not free themselves, nor enjoyed their own liberty. For the Sabines with a strong power invaded the Territories of *Rome*: and when they had forraged far and neer, and driven away booties both of people and of cattell, without impeachment, they gather their army together again, that had hanged here and there up and down, and entred unto *Eretum*, where they encamp themselves: laying this for a ground, and building their hope upon their discord at *Rome*, that it would stay their mustering. Not only the news that came hereof, but the the flying of the country peasants, put the whole city in great fear.
F The Decemvirs fall to consulting what were best to do. And whiles they were to seek what course to take, and between the hatred of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorn and destitute, there hapned also another fearfull trouble in the tail of the former. The Æquians from another side were encamped in *Algidum*. And from *Tusculum* Embassadours brought tidings that their country was wasted with excursions from thence, whereupon they craved their help and aid. These fearfull occurrents so troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that considering the city was now beset at once with wars from two places, their stomacks were come down to conuse with the Senat. They commanded therefore the Senatours to be summoned to the *Curia*. And well they wist, what a great fit and storm of anger, displeasure and blame was towards: namely, that they would burden them & lay to their charge, how they were the only cause both of the country wasted alteady, and
G of the perils like presently to ensue: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt and shrewd push, to abolish utterly their government, unlesse they stuck closely together to it, and by extending their authority sharply upon some few of the stoutest, quail and crush the the attempts of others. After the voice of the Bedell was heard in the Forum or common place, citing the Senatours to repaire into the Councell house to the Decemvirs: the novelty and strangeness of the matter, (because they had laid down for a long time the manner of calling them to Councell) caused the Commons to marvail and muse what was befallen, that they should after such discontinuance, take up a thing so obsolete and out of use. And thus they conceived of it, that

Two tables more added to the former ten.

* 15 day of May.

that they were much beholding to their enemies, and might thank war for this, that any ancient guise and custom of a free city was come up and in ure again. They looked about on every side of the Forum, to see if they might espy a Senators but few or none could they hear of, any where. Then looked they into the *Curia*, and behold, none at all appeared about the Decemvirs. Whereof their own selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no otherwise, but that in the conceipt, & consent of all men, their government was become odious: & the Commons also thus collected and interpreted, that the Senators met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs were indeed) had no authority to assemble a Senat. And now said they, is the way and entrance made to recover their liberty again, if so be the Commons would join with the Senat: and as the Nobles being called, meet not together in counsel, so the Commons likewise would refuse to be mustered. In this wise muttered and whispered the Commons. And in truth scarcely was there any one of the Senators about the common place, and but few within the city: for very griefe and indignity to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the countrie to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-weal, they became carefnl of their own privat affairs: thinking themselves so far forth freed from oppression and wrong, as they were remote and requestred from the society, meeting and conference, with so Lordly & imperious rulers. When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both for to streine and take away tresses for their contumacie and disobedience, and also to enquire and learn, whether they refused to come at their commandment, or of set purpose or no. And word they bring back, that the Senators were in the country. The Decemvirs were better apaid to hear that, than if answer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. They they gave commandment that they should be sent for: and they warned a Senat house against the next day following: where they assembled more in number then they looked for. Whereupon the Commons supposed that their liberty was bought and sold and utterly betraied by the Nobles, for that the Senat had yeelded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their office) as if they had given lawfull summons, who being privat men had no power at all so to do. But they shewed more obeisance and submission, as we have heard say, in coming to the Councel house, than any disposition to deliver their minds and opinions there, to the liking and pleasures of the Decemvirs. First, *L. Valerius Potitus*, as it recorded, after that *Appius Claudius* had proposed unto them the cause of their meeting, before they were required their advice in order and course, claimed the liberty of the house, to speak in the behalfe of the common-weal. But when as the Decemvirs denied it flatly, yea, and forbad him with threats, upon pain of their high displeasure, he inferred again and menaced, that he would go forth unto the commons, and so began a broil and tumult. *M. Horatius Barbatus* likewise took part with him, and was nothing behind in stoutnesse to maintain the quarell, terming them ten *Tarquins*: "and are ye aware (quoth he) how the Kings were in times past expelled by the the *Valerii* and *Horatii*? And yet the name it was not of "Kings, that men were so weary of and loathed in those daies. For why? it was right lawful to call "*Jupiter* by that name: whereby *Romulus* also the founder of this City, and other Princes his "successours have been called: yea, and the name hath been used and is retained still as a solemn ti- "tle, in the sacred rites of holy Kirk. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the King, that then "was odious, and nothing els, which enormities, if they were in those daies in the King himself, a "lawfull prince, or in the King his son intollerable, who can abide and endure the same in so ma- "ny privat persons? I advise you therefore to take heed how you debar men of their liberty of "speech in the Councel House, lest ye drive them thereby to speak their mind and complain with- "out the Councel House. Neither see I any reason at all, why it were not as lawfull for me "a privat man, to assemble the people to an audience, as for you to call the Senat together to a "Councel. Make triall whensoever ye will, ye shall find how much more forcible our just griefe "will be, in recovering our libertie again, than this greedy desire of yours, holding and upholding "still your usurped, unlawfull, and tyrannicall rule. You have propounded here unto us, forsooth, "concerning the Sabines war: as who would say, the people of *Rome* can be at greater war with "any than with those, who having been created Magistrates only for the publishing and enacting of "certain laws, have left now neither law nor justice at all within the city. Who have taken away "their *Comices*, *i.* Courts and Leets of Election, their yearly Magistrats, the successive change "and course of bearing rule, the only thing that maketh *Isonomy*, and equality of freedome. Who "being but private men, are possessed both of regall ornaments, and also of roiall government. After the expulsion of the Kings, the Magistrats that succeeded were of the Nobility: in proces- "se of time, upon the rising of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out "of the Commonalty. I demand of you, and I would gladly know, of whether state or body are "ye? Are ye, I pray you, popular, and of the Common people? What have ye ever done with ad- "vice and approbation of the people? Are ye Nobles and Peers? who now for a whole yeers space "almost, have held no Councell of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you restrain "them from speaking for the Weal-publick. Well presume not too much, neither bear your selves "upon the timorousnesse of others. For, trust me truly, the indignities that men already suffer, "seem more irksom and unsupportable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and fear hereafter. As *Horatius* spake these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethink themselves of some different & mean course, either in anger to be revenged, or in lenity to pardon and put up all, nor wist whereto this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then *C. Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*, the Decem-

M. Oratius Barbatus against the Decemvirs

A King Sacrifice instituted n the free state.

C. Claudius to the Decemvis.

A Decemvir, began to speak, rather by of way prier and intreatie, then in checking and reproving "wise, and besought *Appius* for his brothers soul sake, who was his own father, to remember "and regard more that civil societie wherein he was born, then this ungracious and wicked con- "federacie, contracted with his fellow Decemvirs. And this request I make (quoth he) tender- "ing your privat estate more then the Commonweal. As for her, if she might not by fair meanes "and with their good wils, obtain her own due and right, she would by foul waies, and in spight "of their hearts recover it in the end. And for as much as of much debate and strife there ensue "commonly heats of anger and cankred rancour, I am in dread & horror what the sequel and is- "sue will be of these jars. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the rest to speak, but only to the point proposed and occasion of their meeting, yet they were abashed to interrupt B the speech of *Claudius* and to cut him off: but suffered him to goe on untill he made an end. And in conclusion his opinion and sentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree, that any act of the Senat should for that time passe in that behalf. And all that were present took his words so, as if *Claudius* deemed no otherwise of the Decemvirs, then of private men. Many of them also, such especially as had been Consuls, were of his mind, and said as much. Another opinion there was, more rough and sharp in outward shew, but far lesse forcible and effectuall in deed: advising and willing the Nobles, to make no more ado, but to go together and chuse an Interregent. For this man seemed yet, to account and judge them Magistrates; (bad though they were) that had called C a Senat, and held them in Councell: whereas the former, that would not abide any act to passe, reckoned them but for privat persons. Thus when the Decemvirs cause began to shrinke and go downward, *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, brother to *Cornelius* the Decemvir, being reserved of purpose to give his opinion in the last place of all the Consular Senatours, such as had been Consuls, pretending a care that they had of the war, took part with his brother and his Collegues, saying, that "he marvelled much by what misfortune or destinie it hapned, that the decemvirs should be chal- "lenged and oppugned, especially by those that had stood for the Decemvirship, or by their "friends and associates: and how it came about, that in so many months space, whiles the city was "at rest and without fear of war, no man made question or doubt, whether they that were in place, "and governed the state, were lawfull Magistrates or no: and now at last, when the enemies are D "in a manner at the gates, they should sow civil dissention, unlesse this were the meaning of it, "that in a troubled state it would not be so clearly seen and perceived, what they went about. But "no man is able (qd. he) to set down a true doom, & alledge a ruled case in so great a matter as this "is, to men, whose minds are busied and wholly possessed of a greater care. And therefore my o- "pinion is, that concerning that point which *Valerius* and *Horatius* charged the Decemvirs with, "namely, That before the Ides of May their government was determned, and they out of office; "the Senat should discusse and debate, when as the wars now at hand were dispatched, and the "Commonweal brought once again to quietness. And that *Appius Claudius* should make this rec- "koning even now aforhand, and know that he is to render a reason of that high court of Parla- "ment, which for the election of Decemvirs he called and held, being a Decemvir himself: "namely, Whether they were created for one year only, or to continue still, untill the other laws E "which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmd. As for the present time, he thought good that "all other matters should surcease, and be passed over, save the war only: the rumour whereof, it "they thought to be false, and that they were but tales that not only the messengers, but also the "Embassadours of the Tusculans reported, then his advise was to send out espials, who upon their "discovery might bring more certain tidings. But in case they gave credence to messengers and "Embassadours both, then with all speed possible to muster, and the Decemvirs to have the con- "duct of the armies, and to lead them whither they thought meet: and that nothing els should be thought upon before this. Which opinion of his, that it might prevail and take effect, the punie Senatours by importunat convassing, obtained. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* both rose up the se- cond time more fierce and eager than before, calling upon them aloud, that they might be per- F mitted to speak concerning the Commonweal: and in case they might not be suffered by reason of the faction, to have the liberty of speech in the Councel House, they would speak their mind without, before the people. For neither could privat men (as they were) debar them in Senat House, nor in open assembly & to give place unto their imaginary, and pretended imperial ensigns, they would never be brought. Then *Appius* supposing the matter wel-neer come to this passe, that unlesse the violence were resisted with like boldnesse, their rule was at an end, and their authoritie conquered: Ye were not best (quoth he) to speak but to the matter, whereupon we sit in Consultation. And when *Valerius* replied again and said plainly, that he would not hold his tongue for a privat mans commandment: *Appius* sent a Sergeant unto him. Whereupon *Valerius* cried for help to the Quirites, from the porch of the Councell House. Then *L. Cornelius* clasping G *Appius* about the middle, without regard to content him whose good he pretended, staied the strife. So by the mediation of *Cornelius*, leave was granted to *Valerius* for to say his mind at his own pleasure. But, for as much as his libertie proceeded no farther, then to some few words, the Decemvirs held on their purpose still, and had their desire. The Nobles also, such as had been Consuls, and the ancients, upon an old cankred hatred that they beare still against the Tribuns authority, where upon they supposed the Commons were much more devoted and affected, then unto the government of the Consuls, were rather inclined and willing that the Decemvirs of their own accord should themselves afterwards forgo their office, than that upon hatred and malice received against

L. Cornelius his Speech in the Seat.

againſt them, the Commons ſhould take heart of graſſe, and hold up head again. For if with gen- H
tle handling of the matter, without ſtir and clamour of the people, the regiment returned again
unto the Conſuls, it would haply come to paſſe, that either by meanes of wars coming between,
or through the moderation of the Conſuls in their government, the Commons might in time for-
get the Tribuns quite.

Thus whiles the Nobles were ſilent and made no more words, a muſter was proclamed, and
the younger ſort of people, ſeeing the government of the Decemvirs abſolute and without appeal,
made anſwer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took order
and agreed betweenthemſelves who ſhould go forth to the wars, and who ſhould have the com- I
mand of the forces. The chiefe & principal of the Decemvirs were *Q. Fabius*, and *Appius Claudius*.
And for that there ſeemed greater war at home then abroad, the Decemvirs ſuppoſed the violent
nature of *Appius*, fitter to repreſſe all troubles and mutinies in the citie; and conſidering with-
all the diſpoſition of *Fabius*, to be leſſe conſtant and reſolute in goodneſſe, then active and quick in
militarie ſervice, (for this man having been in times paſt of great worth, both at home, and alſo
in war; the Decemvirſhip, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had ſo greatly changed,
that he choſe rather to be like *Appius* then himſelf) to him therefore was impoſed the charge of
the war againſt the Sabines, together with *M. Rabuleius* and *Q. Petilius* joined in commiſſion
with him. *M. Cornelius* was ſent into *Algidum*, with *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius*, *Caſo Duillius*, and
M. Sergius, and they ordained and appointed *Sp. Oppius* as aſſiſtant to *Appius Claudius*, for the de- K
fence and government of the city, and to have the full authoritie of all the ten Decemvirs. But
the Common-weal ſped no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The onely fault in the
Generals was this, That they had made themſelves odious to their ſouldiers and citizens: all the
blame els lay in the ſouldiers themſelves; Who to the end that nothing might go well forward
and proſper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, ſuffered themſelves to their own
ſhame, and diſhonour of their captains, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines
at *Eretum*, and alſo by the Æquians in *Algidum* diſcomfited. They that fled from *Eretum* in the
dead of the night, had encamped and fortified upon an high ground neerer unto the city of *Rome*,
betwen *Fidenæ* and *Cruſtumenia*. And when the enemie purſued them ſtill and provoked them
to fight, they would never come forth into the plain and even ground, to encounter with them L
in a pight battell, but ſtood upon their guard and defended themſelves, truſting in the ſituation of
the place and their rampier, and nothing upon their own manhood and force of arms. But in *Al-*
gidum they committed a more foul and beaſtly fault, and received withall a greater loſſe and over-
throw; inſomuch as having loſt their camp with all their tents, the ſoldiers being turned out of bag
and baggage, their harneſs and implements of neceſſary uſe, retired for refuge to *Tuſculum*, ho-
ping there to be entertained as gueſts, and to live upon the protection, mercy and devotion of
their hoſts and friends: who failed and deceived not their expection. But to *Rome* there
came ſuch fearfull news, that the Senatours and Nobles laying apart now all hatred againſt the
Decemvirs, thought good to keep watch and ward in the citie: and commanded as many as
were able to bear arms, to keep the wals and guard the gates: they gave order alſo to ſend har-
neſs and armour to ſuppy their want at *Tuſculum*: moreover, That the Decemvirs ſhould aban- M
don the caſtle at *Tuſculum*, and with their ſouldiers take the field and keep the camp: That
they likewiſe ſhould diſlodge and remove from *Fidenæ*, that lay fortified there and remove into
the countrie of the Sabines: ſo that by making wars upon the enemies firſt, they might feare and
divert them from purſuing their intent of giving aſſault unto the citie of *Rome*. Beſides theſe
damages and foils ſuſtained at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in war
abroad, and alſo in the citie at home, two moſt wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one

L. Siccius murdered by the treachery of the Decemvirs.

L. Siccius, during their abode in the Sabines countrie (upon an odious conceit and malice againſt
the Decemvirs) had gone up and down, and in ſecret talke whiſpered in the ears of the Common
ſouldiers, ſome mention of creating Tribuns, and of another inſurrection and departure: N
him the Decemvirs diſpatch before, to ſpie out a convenient plot of ground to encamp in. Now
they had given thoſe ſouldiers in charge, whom they ſent to accompanie him in that expediti-
on to ſet him upon him in ſome fit place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but
to their own coſt: for whiles he fought in his own defence, ſome of thoſe that laid for his mi-
chiefe, died for it, and lay along about him for companie: for being a right ſtout and ſtrong man
of his hands, he ſtood to it couragiouſly: and notwithſtanding he was beſet round about, he
defended himſelf very manfully. The reſt that eſcaped bring word into the camp, that *Siccius*
was fallen unawares into an ambuſhment, and whiles he fought luſtily, was with certain other of
the ſouldiers ſlain. At the firſt, credit was given to him that brought the news. But after-
wards, when as there was a band of ſouldiers thither ſent by the permiſſion of the Decemvirs, to O
bury them that there lay dead: they obſerving none of their bodies there, to be diſarmed and de-
ſpoiled, and *Siccius* lying in the midſt of his armour, and all the reſt of the dead with their faces
towards him: no corps of enemie, nor footing of them departing from thence, brought away
with them his dead carcaſſe, and made report that undoubtedly and paſſe all peradventure, he
was murdred by his own companie. Hereupon was the whole camp filled with hatred and de-
teſtation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that *Siccius* forthwith ſhould be convaied
to *Rome*, had not the Decemvirs made haſt to ſolemnize his funerals ſouldierlike, at the publike
charges of the common treaſurie. So interred was he with exceeding ſorrow and mourning

of

A of the ſouldiers, but to the moſt ſhameful obloquy and infamy of the Decemvirs, amongſt the
common ſort.

Now followeth the other heinous deed committed within the City: which began of wanton The tragical
luſt, and had as foul and ſhameful an end, as that which upon the carnal abuſing and bloody death Hiſtory of *Vir-*
of *Lucretia*, caſt the *Tarquins* out of the City, and deprived them of their regal dignity: that both *ginia.*
KK. and Decemvirs, might have not only the like ſucceſs and iſſue, but alſo one and the ſelf ſame
cauſe, oſtoning their rule and dominion. *Appius Claudius* enamoured upon a virgin, a commoners
daughter, luſted to the abuſe and ſpoil of her body. The father of the maiden *L. Virginius*, was
of good calling, and in place of credit in the camp that lay in *Algidum*, and had the leading there
B of a company: a man of honeſt example and converſation of life, both at home and alſo abroad in
warfare. His wife likewiſe of vertuous diſpoſition: ſo were their Children nurtured and taught
accordingly. He had eſpouſed and affianced his daughter in marriage to one *L. Icilius*, a man of
ſtout courage (as having been Tribune) and whoſe vertue and valor had been well tried and ap-
proved in the quarrel and defence of the commonalty. This damſel in the prime of her years, paſ-
ſing fair and beautiful withal, *Appius* (I ſay) caſt a fancy and liking unto, and ſo burned in love of
her, that he aſſayed with gifts and fair promiſes to win her good wil. But ſeeing all guarded and
ſurely fenced with maidenly ſhamefaſtneſs and honeſty, he bent his mind wholly to cruel and
proud violence. He inborneth and ſetteth on a favorite and follower of his, one *M. Claudius*,
to make challenge and lay claim unto her as his bond-maid: and not to give place nor yeeld her
C unto them, that required to have her at liberty out of his hands, during the ſuit, and until ſhee
brought proof of her freedom: ſuppoſing, becauſe the father of the virgin was abſent, he had good
opportunity to work this feat, and compaſs his intended injury. As the maiden therefore was
comming into the market place, (for there were the ſchools for peties kept, of reading and writ-
ing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to ſerve his maſters luſt) laid hold upon her, avowing that
ſhe was his bond-ſervants daughter, and therefore his bond-maid: commanding her to follow
him, and threatning beſides, that if ſhe made any ſtays, he would have her away perforce. The
fearful girl hereat was amazed, and her nurſe withal cried to the Quiritsfor help: whereupon the
people came running and flocked together all about them. Now was the name of *Virginius* her
father and likewiſe of *Icilius* her ſpouſe, very gracious and popular: ſo that the love and favour
D wherein they ſtood, raiſed friends and acquaintance: and the indignity of the thing beſides, mo-
ved the whole multitude to tender the cauſe of the damſel. When as there fore ſhe was now paſt
danger of violence, the party that made claim unto her, ſaid there was no need that the peo-
ple thus ſhould gather together, for his meaning was to proceed only by order of law, and not
with any violent courſe. And ſo he cited her to the court, minding to commence his action a-
gainſt her, and put her in ſuit. Then they that were preſent to aſſiſt her, perſwaded her to follow.
Now when they were come before *Appius*, ſitting judicially upon his tribunal ſeat, the Plaintif,
or challenger aforeſaid, declareth againſt her, and telleth a tale ful wel known to the Judge him-
ſelf, being the author and deviſer of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden
was born in his houſe, and by ſtealth was from thence conveied home to *Virginius*, and ſo was his
E ſuppoſed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certain knowledge of, by pregnant evi-
dences and witneſſes: and would make proof thereof to be moſt true, and let *Virginius* himſelf be
the judg, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the mean while, it was but
meet and reaſon, that the bond-maid ſhould go with her Maſter. The friends and advocates of
the damſel, having alledged and pleaded in her behalf, that *Virginius* was abſent and employed in
the affairs of Common-weal: and if he had word thereof, would not fail but be at home within
two days: that it was no reaſon, that whiles a father was away, he ſhould be in contention and
controverſie about his children: they required of *Appius* therfore to defer and put off the hearing
of the whole matter, until her fathers coming, and that according to a law by himſelf in that caſe
made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and ſtand at liberty, for to bring in proofs
F that ſhe was not bond: and that he would not ſuffer a maid of thoſe years, ripe and ready for a
husband, to be more in hazard and danger of her good name, then prejudiced in the trial of her
freedom. *Appius* made a long preface and diſcourſe before his decree, namely, how much he fa-
voured and tendered the cauſe of liberty, and to that effect, alledged the ſelf ſame law which the
friends of *Virginius* pretended for their purpoſe and demand. But ſo far forth, and no otherwiſe,
ſhould there be in that law aſſured ſafeguard of freedom, as the caſe altered not in circumſtance
of cauſes and perſons. For, this priviledge and benefit held only in thoſe that were claimed to
be free, where any man whoſoever might go to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers
hand & at his diſpoſition there was no other man elſe, unto whom the Maſter that maketh chal-
lenge, is to yeeld the right of his poſſeſſion. His pleaſure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That
G the father ſhould be ſent for; and that in the mean ſeaſon, he that made title to her, ſhould not
be prejudiced thereby, but that he might lead away the wench, promiſing and aſſuming to have
her forth-coming, and to preſent her in Court; at the return of him who is pretended and nomi-
nated to be her father. Againſt this injurious decree, when as many men rather muttered and
murmured, then any one durſt refuſe and contradict it, *P. Numitorius*, the maids Uncle by the
mother ſide, and *Icilius* her eſpouſed husband, hapned to come in place: and having way made
them through the throng and preſs, the multitude thought verily, that by the coming, eſpecially
of *Icilius*, *Appius* might have been reſiſted and croſſed. But then the Lictor pronounced that

Appius had passed an order and decree already, and put *Icilius* back: who cried out aloud (for so manifeſt and horrible a wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and ſet on fire a right mild natured perſon,) "Nay, *Appius* (quoth he) thou hadſt more need to ſet me back with "force of arms, if thou wouldſt go clear away, and not be ſpoken to, for that which thou wouldſt "do in hucker mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean ſhal go with me: I purpoſe to have her "to my ſelfe, an honeſt and pure virgin, and enjoy her in lawful marriage, as my wedded wife: "call therefore unto thee all the Lictors beſides (thou were beſt) that belong unto thy compani- "ons: cauſe both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Icilius* his eſpouſed wife, ſhall not "abide in any place without her fathers houſe. What? although ye have taken from the Com- "mons of *Rome* the Tribuns aſſiſtance and protection, and the priviledge of Appeal, two principal "bulwarks for defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannize, and "to fulfil your luſt upon our children and wives too. Exerciſe your rigour and cruelty and ſpare "not, upon our backs and ſides in ſcourging us, yea, upon our necks and heads alſo, in taking "them from our ſhoulders: ſo ye forbear to aſſail our chaſtity and honeſty. Whereunto, if any "violence ſhall be offered, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here preſent, in "the behalf of my ſpouſe: and *Virginius* for himſelf will call to the ſouldiers, in regard of his on- "ly daughter: we willery for help of God and man: and coſt it ſhall our lives before thou go away "with this decree, and put it in execution. I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore, to be "wel adviſed, and look how far thou doſt proceed. Let *Virginius* when he is come, ſee to his "daughter, how he dealeth about her: and let him know thus much for certain, that if he give "place to this plaintifs aſſertion, and forgo the preſent poſſeſſion of her, he ſhall go ſeek his eſtate "and propriety that he hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the free- "dom of my ſpouſe, I will loſe my life, before I fail in my faithful promiſe to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was moved, and like it was, that ſome mutiny and fray would preſently have enſued. For the Lictors had hemmed in *Icilius* on every ſide. Howbeit they proceeded no far- ther then to big words and high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Icilius*, "That he did not "this ſo much in the behalf and defence of *Virginius*, as, (being himſelfan unruly perſon, and even "already breathing forth a Tribuns ſpirit) ſought means, and picked occaſion of an uproar and ſe- "dition, Howbeit for his part he would not that day miniſter unto him any matter thereof. And "that he might now wel know, that he did not this to feed his malapert ſaucineſs, but in re- "gard of the abſence of *Virginius*, and for the name of a father, and the tender reſpect of freedom, "he would not that day ſit to hear and determin the matter, nor award a definitive judgment in "that caſe: but would requeſt *Mar. Claudius*, to ſuſpend his action, and to forbear and yeeld ſo "much of his own right, as to ſuffer the maid to be bailed and go under ſureties, and to be at her "liberty until the next day. But in caſe her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he "gave *Icilius*, and ſuch as he was, to wit and underſtand, that neither the law ſhould want the "patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvir fail in courage and reſolution: neither would he cal "together his fellow officers and ſergeants, for to keep under ſuch ſeditious and turbulent ſpirits "as he was: but would content himſelf with his own Lictors, and do wel enough. The time now of effecting this injury, being thus deferred, and the maids Advocates gone aſide, they agreed firſt of all upon this point, that a brother of *Icilius*, and a ſon of *Numitorius*, two luſty and nimble young men, ſhould be diſpatched ſtraight from thence to the gate: and that with all ſpeed poſſible *Virginius* ſhould be ſent for home from the camp: for that it ſtood the maid upon as much as her whole eſtate and life was worth; that he would be preſent and ready in due time the day follow- ing, to preſerve her from this hard courſe, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were bid- den, they ſet forward, and ſpared no horſeflеſh, until they brought tidings hereof to her father. All this while the plaintif that made challenge to the maid, was very inſtant with *Icilius* to bail her, and put in ſureties. And he again made anſwer, That he went about it as faſt as he could, and did nothing elſe: but indeed trifling out the time on purpoſe, until the meſſengers that were ſent to the camp, were got afore welonward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all ſides held up their hands, in token that they offered themſelves every one unto *Icilius*, ready to be- come bound. Whereupon, he burſt out into tears for tender heart. Gramercy (quoth he) my ma- ſters all, to morrow I wil uſe your helping hand: for this time I am ſped of ſureties enough. So was *Virginia* let at liberty, and bailed by the ſuretiſhip of her kinſfolk. Then *Appius*, after he had ſtayed a while, becauſe he would not ſeem to have ſat for that matter alone, when he ſaw all other ſuits and cauſes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for juſtice, he a- roſe, gat him home to his houſe, and wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the camp, that they ſhould not give *Virginius* his paſport, but keep him faſt in durance, and in ward. This wick- ed practiſe (as God would have it) came ſhort. For *Virginius* already had got his diſcharge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the ſetting of the firſt watch. And very early in the morning came the letters for to ſtay him, but all in vain. For *Virginius* by break of day was arrived: by which time the whole City reſorted into the common place, ſtanding and waiting earneſtly for his coming. And thither he himſelf being in ſoiled and ſimple array, brought his daughter in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of Advocates and friends: Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not only beſought their aſſiſtance by way of intreaty and prayer, but alſo requi- red it as due and deſerved: ſaying, that he ſtood dayly in field ready to fight in defence of their wives

Icilius his ſpeech to *Appius Claudius*.

A wives and children: neither could there be reported of any man more hardy exploits and valiant pieces of ſervice in war, then of him ſelf. But what booteth or availeth all this (quoth he) to ſave the City from enemies, in caſe our children be forced to abide the utmoſt extremities that befal unto Cities taken by the enemies? thus went he about preaching, as it were, from one man to another. Likewiſe *Icilius* caſt forth and redoubled like ſpeeches freely and ſpared not. But the train of women, with their ſtill and ſilent weeping, moved men more then any words uttered. All this notwithſtanding, *Appius* in his obſtinate mind (ſo diſquieted was he and wholly poſſeſ- ſed with a forcible ſpirit of humorous madneſs rather then of amorous paſſion) aſcended up into the tribunal. Where, as the plaintif firſt of himſelf was framing ſome ſhort complaint, that by rea-

B ſon of partial favour and making of great friends, he could not have law and juſtice the day paſt: before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given leaſure to *Virginius* for to put in his anſwer accordingly: *Appius* interrupted the ſpeech, and began himſelf. What preamble it was that he made before his decree, peradventure ſome ancient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I cannot any where find, in ſo ſhameful a decree, that which carrieth but a ſhew and ſoundeth like a truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought beſt to ſet down, even the ſentence barely without any preface at all: namely, *That he judged her in the be- halfe of the Plaintif to be his bond-ſervant.* Firſt, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and ſoul act: and being ſtrucken therewith aſtonied, for a good while after, ſtood ſtill and held their peace. But afterwards, when as *M. Claudius*, went to lay hand on the maid, amongſt the dames

C that ſtood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women: Then *Virginius* beckning with his hands and ſhaking them at *Appius*: "To *Icilius* (quoth he) have "I betrothed my daughter and not to thee O *Appius*: brought her up I have for honeſt and "chaſt wedlock, and not for unclean and filthy whordom: to be a wife another day, and not an "harlot. Is this the manner of it, like bruit and wild beaſts without all regard, to leap and run "upon you care not whom, and to fulfil your fleſhly luſt? How theſe that be here wil ſuffer ſuch "pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp with ſword in hand, I hope, will never put them "up. Now when as he that challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that ſtood about her repelled back, then proclamed the Bedle and commanded ſilence. And the De-

Virginius his words to *Appius*.

D cemvir having his head intoxicate, and altogether carried away with unbridled luſt, brake forth and ſaid, That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifeſt and aſſured e- vidences, (and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of *Icilius* yeſterday, and the vi- olent proceedings of *Virginius*, whereof he had the people of *Rome* to bear witneſs, and which might give ſome light and preſumptions) That the night paſt, there were meetings and conventi- cles in the City, and all to raiſe a mutiny and inſurrection: and therefore, he not ignorant of ſuch a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt any one that would keep the peace, but only by vertue of the majeſty of go- vernment and authority, to repreſs ſuch as troubled the peaceable ſtate of the City: therefore it were beſt for them to be ſtill and quiet. Go Sergeant (quoth he) cauſe the people to avoid the

E place, and make room for the matter to lay hand upon his bond-ſlave: and after he had thundred out theſe words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themſelves gave back and made way: ſo the poor ſilly wench ſtood all forlorn and leit as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then *Virgi- nius* ſeeing all paſt help and no other remedy: Well *Appius* (quoth he) I pardon me firſt I beſeech thee, if upon a fatherly affection and grief of heart, I have let fal ſome ſhrewd and curſt words a- gainſt thee more then was beſeeming: Then, give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her nurſe the truth of this matter, that if I have fathered her untruly, I may go hence better apay- ed and ſatisfied in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the nurſe apart from the reſt, neer to the Church of *Venus Cloacina*, hard at the ſhops, called at this day *Nova Taber- na*, i.e. the new ſhops or ſtandings: and there having caught a knife from a butcher, he thus

Virginia pite- ouſly killed by her father *Virginius*.

F ſpake: My ſweet daughter, no other means have I but this only to ſet thee free: and ſo he ſtruck the damſel to the heart: and looking preſently to the judgement ſeat, Here with this blood I ſa- crifice thee *Appius*, and thy head to the Devil. *Appius* with the crie that aroſe upon ſo horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded *Virginius* to be apprehended: but he with bloody blade in hand, made way where he went, until with a number that followed him apace to bear him com- pany, he recovered the gate. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* took up the bloodleſs corps, and held it aloft to the people, blaming and curſing the wickedneſs of *Appius*: pitying the unhappy and unfortu- nate beauty of the damſel: and bewailing the hard exigent and extremity of the father. The Matrons followed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children? Is this the hire and reward of chaſtity and virginity? with other like ſpeeches, which in ſuch a caſe, women in their grief of mind uſe to utter: whoſe ſorrow as it is

G more heavy, proceeding from weak and tender hearts, ſo it yeeldeth and affordeth more pitiful and lamentable words, as they make their plaints and dolorous moans. But the men and *Icilius* a- bove the reſt, had no other talk but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal unto the body of the people, how they were taken away from them, and of other publik indignities and common diſcontents. The whole multitude partly upon the hainouſneſs of this wicked act, and partly for hope by this occaſion to recover again their liberties, were all up at once in an uproar. *Appius* one while commanded *Icilius* to be called, another while for his diſobedience and contumacy to be attached, and convented before him. At the length, ſeeing no way made unto the Apparitors, for

to come by him, passed himself with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobility that were of his guard through the throng, & commanded to have him away to prison. By which time there were gotten about *Icilius* not only the multitude, but the chief Captains and ringleaders of the multitude, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*: who having thrust the sergeant back, said withal, that if *Appius* had any thing to charge him with by order of law, they would bail *Icilius*, and maintain his cause against him, who was but a private person: but if he went about to offer violence, he should soon meet with his matches. Hereupon grew a fierce brawl and broil. The Decemvirs officer seteth upon *Valerius* and *Horatius* to lay hold upon them: but his rods were by the multitude broken to pieces. Then *Appius* gets him up into the common place of audience, for to speak unto the people. *Horatius* and *Valerius* follow after him up, to do the like. Them the assembly heard with patience, but they hissed at *Appius* and cried out against him. Then *Valerius* took upon him, and commanded the Lictors to give attendance no longer upon a private person. Whereupon, *Appius* his heart was done and his courage quailed: and so standing in fear of his life, he was fain to cover his face, and to withdraw himself in disguised manner, and took an house over his head, neer unto the common place (unknown to his adversaries) there to save himself. *Sp. Oppius*, for to rescue and succour his Colleague, rushed from an other side into the place: and there he might see force and might to have got the upper hand of authority. After many devices and consultations, wherewith he was distracted, and framing himself to yeeld consent on every side, at length by the advice and persuasions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senat to be called together. This appeased the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by means of the Senators, who many of them, seemed to mislike the acts and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that government of theirs should come to an end. The Senat devised and took order, not to provoke the Commons too far: and withal to have a more provident and special eye, that the coming of *Virginius* into the camp, bred no mutiny in the army. Whereupon were sent certain of the puny Senators unto the host, that lay encamped upon the hill *Vecilius*, who advertised the Decemvirs from the Senat, to endeavor all they could to keep the souldiers in good order, from commotion and sedition. But there *Virginius* raised a greater uproar and tumult then he had left behind him in the City. For besides that, he was seen coming with a crew and train almost of four hundred men, who incensed with the indignity of the late accident, accompanied him voluntary from the City, his naked drawn knife, and himself besprinkled and embrued with blood, caused the whole camp to turn their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gowns seen in sundry places within the camp, made a greater shew of citizens in number then was indeed. Being demanded of them what news, and what the matter was, he wept, and for a good while held his peace. At the last, when as now the multitude; that for fear ran confusedly together, began to stand still and keep silence: he declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in particular, as it was done. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his companions and fellow souldiers, he besought them not to impute that foul act unto him, whereof in truth *Appius Claudius* was the author and cause: nor to detest and abhor him as a parricide and murderer of his own children: saying, that his daughters life was more dear unto him then his own, if she might have lived free and honestly. But when he saw her once haled by force, as a bond-maid to be ravished and made a strumpet, he thought it better to be bereft of his children by death, then by contumely and reproach: and so upon meer pitifulness incurred the shew and appearance of cruelty. And but that he reposed some hope in the aid of his fellow souldiers, trusting that they would be revenged for his daughters death, he would not have remained a live man after her. I know well (saith he) that you also have daughters, sisters and wives of your own: And it is not the death of my child that hath killed and mortified the lust of *Appius*, but rather the longer it escapeth unpunished, the more outragious and unbridled would it be. So that by the calamity of another man, ye are well taught and warned to beware of the like injury. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on Gods hand: and now my daughter, for that she might not finish the course of her days, with the safety of her maiden head and chastity, hath died, I confess, a pitiful and lamentable, but yet an honest kind of death. As to *Appius*, (quoth he) now can he not fulfil his lust in this my house: and for any other violence of his what soever, I carry the same mind and heart still, to defend mine own body, wherewith I have already saved my daughters. Now let other men look to themselves and their children, as well as they can. As *Virginius* uttered these speeches aloud, the whole multitude with one accord cried and protested, they would not fail, but both revenge his grief, and maintain their own freedom. The Citizens also in their side gowns, intermingled among the souldiers, made the self same complaints: shewing how much more horrible those things were in the eye to be seen in fact, then they could sound unto the ear by bare relation: and withal reported, how at *Rome* the matter was well neer dispatched already, for that there were certain come after them, even hard at their heels from thence, who brought word that *Appius* had like to have been murdered, and was departed into exile: and so far prevailed they with them, that they gave the alarme, plucked up their standards, and took their way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs being fore troubled, both at these present occurrents which they evidently saw, and also to hear these news, in what bad tearms all things stood at *Rome*, ran up and down, here one, and there another, into sundry parts of the camp for to appease the tumult. When they went to work mildly and gently, they had not a word of them again: but if any one laid his commandment upon them, and extended his authority, they would beard them and answer, That they were men, and more

A more then that men in arms and souldiers. Thus march they in order of battel toward the City, and take the mount *Aventine*, and there settle themselves. And as they encountred any, all their song was this, to exhort and encourage the Commons to recover their franchises, and to create Tribuns of the Commonalty. Not a word was heard else, tending to any violence. *Oppius* assembled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any case: for as much as they themselves had given the occasion of sedition. But three ancient personages, such as had been Consuls, were sent Commissioners in Embassage, as it were, *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Iulius*, and *Publius Sulpitius* with commission, to demand of them in the name of the Senat, by whose commandment they had abandoned the camp, or what their intent was thus in war-like manner to B keep the *Aventine*: and why leaving to war with their enemies, they had thus invaded their native Country: They were not to seek of an answer, only there wanted a man to give the answer: for as yet they were grown to no certain head, upon whom they might rely: and singly by themselves they durst not incur the hatred and dangerous displeasure that might ensue. This only the multitude with one voice cried aloud, to send *L. Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius* unto them, for to those they would make a resolute answer. The Commissioners being dismissed, *Virginius* putteth the souldiers in mind, and advertiseth them, how erewhile in a matter not of the greatest importance, they were in fear and perplexity, because the multitude was without an head: and how an answer was returned, although not altogether unprofitable and besides the purpose, yet agreed upon at a venture, and not proceeding from any publick counsel. But now his opinion was, that C there should be ten chosen to bear soveraign rule: who for the honour of warfare and souldiery, should be called military Tribuns. And when this dignity was to him offered first, Nay (quoth he) reserve still these your good persuasions and judgments of me, unto more happy days and favourable times both to me and you. For neither doth the remembrance of my daughter suffer me to take joy of any honour in this life, nor (as the state standeth now troubled) is it good for you to have them to be your Magistrates, who of all other are most exposed to ill will and displeasure, and in neerest danger to be hardly thought of. If I may serve you in any stead, you may make bold, and have no less use of me, remaining still a private person. So they create Tribuns military, ten in number. But all this while was the army as unquiet in the Sabins country. For even there also, by the instigation of *Icilius* and *Numitorius*, the souldiers fell away from the Decemvirs and de- D parted. For their minds were no less troubled and disquieted with the remembrance renued, of the late murder of *Siccius*, that kindled and set on fire by the fresh news of the death of *Virginia*, so villanously, so shamelesly laid unto and challenged, and all to satisfie the lust of another. *Icilius*, so soon as he heard say, that there were ten military Tribuns created in *Aventine*, fearing lest the Election in the City should follow the prerogative of the military Election in the camp, as a predecent to create the self same then Tribuns of the Commons, being a man well seen and experienced in these popular affairs, and reaching himself at the same dignity and promotion, wrought so with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the City, they should likewise elect the self same number with equal authority. Who entred the City with banners displayed, at the gate *Collina*, and marched through the midst thereof in warlike order, up to the *Aventine*. And E there joining and uniting themselves unto the other army, they gave in charge to the twenty military Tribuns, to create out of their number twain for soveraign governors to rule all. So they elected *Marcus Oppius*, and *Sextus Manilius*.

The Senators being in great care for the Common-weal, sat in Councel every day: where they spent time oftner in wrangling and jarring, then in sage advice and politick counsel. The murdering of *Siccius*, the wanton lust and loose life of *Appius*, the shameful disgraces received in the wars, were laid in the Decemvirs dish. At length they concluded, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should go to the *Aventine*. But they refused and would not go, but upon condition that the Decemvirs would give up the Ensigns and Ornaments of that Magistracy and government, which by right they should have forgon and departed from, a full year before. The Decemvirs were grie- F ved and complained, thus to be set down & made no better then private men, and said flatly they would not be deposed from their place of rule, before those laws were fully enacted and confirmed. for which at first time they were created. The Commons having intelligence by *Duillius* (who had been a Tribun of the Commons) that by reason of continual debate and contention in the Senat house, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed from the *Aventine* unto mount *Sacer*. For *Duillius* ceased not to suggest, and plainly affirm unto them, that the Senators and Ancients of the City would never sadly think upon any care and provision to be made, until they saw the City abandoned and desolate: moreover, That the mount *Sacer* would put them in mind of the constant resolution of the Commons; and that they should well know, that matters would never be setled and brought to concord, without they restored unto them their pow- G er and authority again. So they take their way by *Nomentana Via*, which at that time was named *Ficulensis*, and encamped themselves in the mountain *Sacer*; doing no harm to any creature as they passed along: following therein the modesty of their forefathers. The whole Commonalty followed after the host: there was not one who for age was able to travel on foot, that drew back and tarried behind. Their children and wives bare them company, in piteous wise moaning themselves. and asking them: whereto they would leave them behind in that City, where neither their honest chastity might be guarded, nor yet their liberty secured and kept safe. When as now, by reason of his uncouth and strange desolation, all seemed at *Rome* waste and void,

and none to be seene in the publick place, besides a few of aged men: and when the Senators were H
called into the Senate house, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there
were more besides *Horatius* and *Valerius* that cried out and said, What look you for still my LL. of
the Councel? What? and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peevish frowardnes, will
ye let things run at six and seven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what
goodly dominion is this, that you embrace so in your arms, that you clip and hold so fast? Will
ye minister justice and give laws to empty houses and bare walls? Are ye not abashed and a-
shamed, that there should be seen in the Place, a greater number well neer of your Lictors and
officers, then of gowned Citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies I
should come against the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should
march in arms, seeing we weigh their insurrection and departure so lightly? Will ye, together
with the ruin and downfal of the City, end your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plain, ye must
either have no Commons at all, or else allow them to have their Tribuns again: there is no
mean, there is no other remedy. Sooner shall we want our Magistrates of the Nobility, then
they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commonalty. They wrung and wrested
from our forefathers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no
proof and experience: how think ye then, that having tasted now the sweetnes of it, they
will endure the want thereof? especially seeing, that we our own selves are not of so tempe-
rate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of some suc-
cour and relief. And when these and such like reasons were on all hands often alledged and laid K
abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general consent and unity of the house, promised:
That seeing it was so thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators.
This only they besought at their hands, and admonished them of, by way of a proviso, that they
would take order for the safety and security of their persons: and not by shedding their blood, to
flesh the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with exercising cruelty upon the no-
bles and Senators. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* sent with commission to reclaim and call
home the Commons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should think convenient:
yea, and to set all things in good order and make a final composition, with a special charge to pro-
vide for the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude.
These mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the L
Commons, as being doubtless, their very saviours and redeemers, approved both in the beginning
of their troubles, and now also at the very end and upshot of all. In regard whereof, they were
welcomed with thanksgiving. *Icilius* was the mouth of the multitude, and their prolocutor. Who
when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenants, and that these Delegates and
Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they stood up-
on? Being already provided aforehand of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions, as it
was well seen, that they reposed more hope, and relied themselves rather in equity, and indiffe-
rency, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribuns power on foot again,
and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been
the only help and succour of the Commons. *Item*, that no man should be called in question, nor M
any way touched in life, limb, or goods for gathering the souldiers or Commons together by way
of commotion, for recovering again their liberties and franchises. Only, their demand concern-
ing the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of cruelty. For they deemed it
meet and reason, that they should be yeelded into their hands, and then they threatned to burn
them quick with fire. To these Articles the Committees spake in this wise. "As for those capitu-
lations, which upon counsel and deliberate advice ye have articled, they are so reasonable and
indifferent, that without your suit, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and free-
ly: for ye requeste to enjoy such things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and
maintain not your licentiousnes, to the offence and hurt of others. But as to your ire and wrath,
it is to be pardoned, rather then to be followed and yeelded unto: as who, under colour of N
hatred and detestation of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty: and before, in a manner, that ye be
set free your selves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adversaries. Alas the while, and will
our City never be at rest, and cease from punishing: but that either the Nobles will scourge the
Commons of *Rome*, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you, ye had more need of a shield
"I wis then a sword. Humbled he is enough, and too much humbled, who liveth in a City on even
hand, and equal with others, under the same laws, neither doing nor taking wrong. And if e-
ver at any time you mean to shew your selves dread and to be feared, when you have once re-
covered your Magistrates and Ordinances again, when ye have the law in your own hands, to
censure and judge according to your own discretion, then may ye give your doom of our lives
and goods, as each cause requireth. Now for this time it sufficeth, that ye claim and have your O
freedom again. Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the deputed Delegates, permitting
them to do what they would. Who seeing they had brought all matters to so good a conclusion,
promised to return with all speed. So they took their leave. And when they had declared to the
Senators the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at
all made of their punishment (a thing more then they looked or hoped for) denied no one point
thereof. But *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was most odi-
ous, and lay open to the malice of the people, and measuring the hatred of others toward him-
self,

The remonstrances of *Horatius* and *Valerius*, with others in the Senate, against the Decemvirs

The demands of the Commons in mount *Sacer*.

The answer of *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the Commons.

A self, by his own spleen that he bare against other men: "I wot well (quoth he) what ill fortune wil
"betide me shortly: and I see plainly, that our adversaries hold off to wrangle and contend with
"us no longer then until they have weapons given in their hands. To satisfie this their malice
"and hatred, we must part with our blood: nothing else will content them. For mine own part
"to renounce my Decemvirship I weigh not: neither pass I how soon I do it. Then was an Act
made by the Senat, that the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: and that *Q. Fu-
rius* the Arch-Bishop or High Priest, should create Tribuns of the Commons: provided always
expressly, that the mutiny of the souldiers, and insurrection of the Commons, should turn no man
to displeasure and harm. These Acts being passed, and the Councel risen, the Decemvirs came a- Decemvirs re-
B broad into the open place of assemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they resigned signe up their government.
up all their power and authority. Tidings hereof were carried to the commons by the mediators
aforesaid: and look what people soever remained behind in the City, went now forth to accom-
pany them. As this multitude passed along forward, they were encountred upon the way with an-
other joyful company from out of the camp. Who rejoyced mutually one in the behalf of the o-
ther, that both freedom and concord were restored to the City again. Then the mediators in the
general assembly of them all spake and said: "To the great good, happiness and felicity of you and
"of the C. W. be it spoken, Return in Gods name into your own country, to your houses, wives
"and children: but see, that as ye have demeaned your selves modestly in your way hither, hur-
"ring and spoiling no mans lands and possessions, notwithstanding the need ye were driven unto
C "of so many things: so ye carry the same moderation and stay of your selves homeward into the
"City. Go into the *Aventine* from whence ye came: and there for good luck sake, where ye laid
"the first foundation & ground-work of your liberty, create ye shal your Tribuns of the commons.
"There, will the high Priest be ready and give attendance, to call an assembly for the grand Ele-
"ction. Great was the accord, alacrity and cheerfulness, that they shewed in approving all that
was propounded. So from thence they turn their standards and ensigns, and as they marched to Tribuns of the
to *Rome*, they strove with all they met on the way, who could shew most joy and gladness: they Commons created again.
pass on through the City armed as they were, yet peaceably and without noise, until they came * A general
into the *Aventine*. Where the chief Priest immediately held the * *Comices*, in which they created assembly for
for Tr. of the C. first and formost *L. Virginius*, next after him, *L. Icilius*, and *P. Numitorius*, Uncle election of
D by the mothers side of *Virginia*: all authors of their insurrection and departure: then *C. Sicinius* Magistrates.
descended from him in right line who was the first Trib. of Comm. created in mount *Sacer*, (as
we find in records) and *M. Duillius*, who before the chusing of Decemvirs, had right worthily
and notably born the Tribunship, and in all combats and commotions with the Decemvirs, stuck
close to the Commonalty and never failed them. After these were elected, more for hope then a-
ny former desert, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Julius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Ici-
lius* immediately in the very entrance into the Tribunship, preferred a bill unto the Commons,
and the Commons enacted it. That the departure and insurrection of the common people against
the Decemvirs, should not be laid to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then without
farther delay *M. Duillius* went through with an act of his own, to wit, That there should be Con-
E suls created, with reservation of liberty to appeal unto the people. All these things passed in the
Comices of Commons, assembled in the meddows named *Flaminia*, which now they cal *Circus
Flaminius*.

Then, by an Inter-regent were Consuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who presently Consuls elect-
began their government. Whose popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Se- ed again.
nators and Nobles, so it was not without some offence committed of their part: For whatsoever
was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they supposed it abridged somewhat of their
power and authority. And first and formost, whereas it was a question and controversie not well
cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to stand to the Acts of the Commons: they made
a law now in a general Session, by the suffrages of the Centuries, That what ordinance soever the
F Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should comprise and bind the
whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribuns acts were armed with a most sharp and
keen weapon to strike withal. Moreover, The other Consular law concerning Appeal, the only
sort and strength of liberty, which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been overthrown, they
not only revive again, but also fortifie the same for the time to come, by making a new law, for-
bidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate absolutely without the liberty of ap-
pealing: and whosoever should create any such, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and
that murder should not be counted a capital crime. And when they had sufficiently strengthned
the Commons, on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the other side with the Tri-
buns power in favour of the Tribuns themselves, that they also might seem sacrosanct and inviola-
G ble (a thing now almost grown out of remembrance) they renewed that high priviledg, with cer-
tain solemn ceremonies which having been of long time laid aside & neglected, were now brought
up again and put in ure. And they ordained them to be inviolate as well in a reverent regard of re-
ligion and scruple of conscience, as also by a special law in that behalf provided: namely, that who-
soever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons, Ædiles, Judges, or Decemvirs, his head should be ac- * Proserpina,
cursed and devoted to *Jupiter* and his family sold in port-sale at the Church of *Ceres*, *Liber* & secundum Ar-
Liber. By vertue of this Act, the great Expositors of the law deny that any man is a sacrosanct or nob. & Cic.
inviolable: but (say they) it is enacted only, That whosoever hurt any of them, shall be accursed.

And

And therefore, an Ædile may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates. Which H although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an Ædile is not inviolable. Marry, as for the Tribuns, they were indeed by vertue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority, inviolable: as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Others have been, that thus open and interpret the law, That in this self same Act of *Horatius*, the Consuls also, yea, and Pretors too, (because they are created by the same *auspicia* or bird-signs that the Consuls be) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a Consul is called by the name of a Iudg. But that exposition is confuted, for that in those days it was not the manner to tearm the Consul a Iudge, but the Pretor only. And thus much concerning the Consular Laws. I

The same Consuls also brought up this order and custom, that all the Acts of the Senat should be brought into the Church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the Ædiles of the Commons: which aforetime were suppressed and smothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the Consuls. After all this, *M. Duillius* a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it, That whosoever should leave the Commonalty destitute of their Tribuns, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these Acts, as they passed against the wills and minds of the Nobles: so they went clean without their contradiction: for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them. But afterwards, when as both the Tribuns power, and also the Commons freedom, were once K well and surely grounded: Then the Tribuns, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the onset upon them, severally one by one, made choice of *Virginius* to be the first accuser or plaintif, and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant. And *Virginius* had not so soon arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* come down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renued. Then *Virginius*: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful
Virginius his accusation of Appius. "causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whose cruelty
"ye have by force of arms delivered your selves: nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other
"wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as tou- L
"ching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked designments, O *Appius*, which thou hast for
"these two years ungratiously and impiously enterprized and practised one on the neck of anoother, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst
"acquit thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the Iudge, against all order of Law, didst
"not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the
"suit depending, until she might bring proofs of her freedom: for this, I say, I command thee
"to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the Tribuns helping hand, or in the doom and judgement of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the Tribuns for succour: and also seeing himself tugged and haled away by the officer, and no man to stay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedom, being heard to come out of that M mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wise: "I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as neglect not
"the affairs of mortal men. Pride and cruelty (although it be long first) at length will surely have
"a fall, and throughly be punished. Lo, how he is now fain to appeal, who aforetime abolished
"and took away all appeal: he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under
"foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and de-
"prived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded and adjudged a free body to bandage and servi-
"tude. Amidst these words, I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly, *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of *Rome* for relief and mercy. He reckoned N
Appius moveth the people in his own behalf. "up withal, the deserts of his ancestors in the behalf of the C. W. both at home in the City, and
"abroad in the wars: he alledged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Commo-
"nalty of *Rome*, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the
"Nobility, he reigned up his Consulship, and all for to bring in and establish equal and indifferent
"laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained still in force and strength, he the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his
"own proper parts and deserts good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he
"should be permitted judicially to make his defence: as for the present time, he pleaded the com-
"mon benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speak for
"himself & stand to the doom of the people: neither feared he the hatred & malice of men so much O
"as to repose no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and
"if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once again
"call upon the Tribuns of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and
"imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribuns will be known and avow
"that they are linked in the same bond and covenant to abolish and take away the benefit of cal-
"ling unto any one of them by way of mediation (against which they have charged & blamed the
"Decemvirs for complotting & agreeing together) then he said, that he appealed unto the people,

and

A "and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tri-
"bunes, that present year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have bene-
"fit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attainted, and have
"not pleaded for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if
"*Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof
"to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule, or equal liberty be established: whether
"the calling for help by way of mediation & intercession, or by plain appealing against the wrong-
"ful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in very deed, or but onely pretended in bare shew,
"under vain colourable pretences and foolish Letters Patents. Against all this, *Virginius* made his
B rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and excluded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look back toward the tribunal seat, the ve- *The replication of Virginius upon Appius.*
"ry well-head, as it were, and receptacle, the fortress and hold of all wickedness: whereon that
"perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens,
"menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons; a contemner both of God
"and man, guarded with a crue of executioners and butcherly tormentors, rather then Sergeants,
"proceeding on from spoil and bloodshed to set his hart on leachery & carnal lust, plucked a maid
"by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if she had been taken captive in war;
"and that, in the sight of the people of *Rome*, and gave her away to one of his followers, even to a
"groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging
C "her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter; where he comman-
"ded, the espoused Husband and Uncle of the Virgin (that took up her body half dead) to be had
"away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him be-
"side his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder upon her by them committed.
"Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which he used to tearm, The habitati-
"on and dwelling house of the Commons of *Rome*. And therefore, plead he ever and anon, and
"as oft as he will, his appeal, I will nor give over (quoth *Virginius*) but as oft render a judg be-
"tween, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond:
"but in case he will not abide to be censured by a competent judg, then I command him to be car- *Appius committed to prison.*
"ried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there
D "was none misliked of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit, to see so great
"a personage punished, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & ex-
"cessive. The Tribun let him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer.

Amid these affairs, there came to *Rome* Embassadors from the Latins and Hernicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the Nobles and the Commons: in token wereof, they brought as a present unto *Jup. Opt. Max.* a crown of gold, not very massie in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those days, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also that the Æquians and Volscians prepared war with all the power they could make.
E Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces between them. To *Horatius* besel the Sabins, and to *Valerius* the Æquians and Volscians. And when they had proclamed musters against these wars, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not only the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were dispensed with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter their names into the muster-Masters book: whereby the army was not only in number greater, but also for the goodness of men, more puissant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced souldiers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemviral laws (which now are known by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in brass. Some writers have delivered, that the Ædiles performed this office, as they had it in charge *The Laws called the twelve Tables.*
F from the Tribunes. *C. Claudius*, who upon a detestation and deep hatred of the Decemvirs lewd and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brothers son, which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to *Regillus*, his old native country. He being now a very aged man returned to sue and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose vices he abhorred: and in sullied weed and poor array, accompanied with those of his linage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common place, and laboured every man one by one, "Beseeching them not to set that brand of ignominy, and bring such a
"stain upon the house and name of the *Claudii*, as that they should be thought worthy of impri- *C. Claudius his petition in the behalf of Appius Claudius.*
"sonment and irons: nor suffer a man of most honourable quality, a singular pattern of Nobili-
"ty to his posterity in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in
G "chains among fellons, night-theeves and robbers by the high way side: but to turn away their
"minds a while from anger and wrath, and encline to a due regard and consideration of matters:
"and rather at the suit and earnest petitions of so many of the *Claudii*, to forgive them one man,
"than for the hatred of one man to reject the prayers of so many suppliants. As for himself,
"he protested that he did thus much for kindred and names sake. Neither was he reconciled un-
"to him and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adverse fortune and poor con-
"dition were relieved. Concluding with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again,
by vertue & prowess, so the concord of all degrees & estates might be established sure by clemency.

Some

Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindneſs and love, then in any reſpect of him for whom he ſpake. But *Virginius* prayed them, "To take pity and compaſſion rather, of him and his daughter, and to give ear to the prayers and ſupplications, not of the *Clau-*
"*dii*, who have had the day, and tyrannized over the Commons but to the neereſt friends of *Vir-*
"*ginia*, the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and ſuccour of the Commons, do now
Appius killeth himſelf. "themſelves implore and beſeech the help and aſſiſtance of the Commons. And verily theſe tears were thought more reaſonable, and like to ſpeed. Thus when *Appius* ſaw all means of hope cut off, before the foreſaid day appointed was come, killed his own ſelf. Soon after this, *Sp. Oppius*, who of all the reſt next unto *Appius*, was moſt hated: for that he was in the City at the very time when this unjuſt doom and ſentence of his Colleague hapned to be pronounced, was attached by *P. Numitorius*. But *Oppius* was the worſe thought of and more prejudiced, by occaſion of an injury by himſelf done, then for not ſtopping the wrong intended by *Appius* to *Virginia*. For a witneſſe was produced to depoſe againſt him, one, who having ſerved in the wars ſeven and twenty years, had been rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant ſervitor, thus adorned with thoſe gifts and marks of valour, in the view and ſight of the people of *Rome* rent his garments, and ſhewed his back and ſides, and the skin all broken with ſcourging: beſeeching no other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accuſed, could juſtly charge him with any treſpaſs and offence by him committed, he ſhould not ſpare him, but now a private perſon as he was, exerciſe
Oppius dieth in priſon. and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewiſe was had to priſon: and there before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribuns did conſiſcare. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were baniſhed, and all their goods alſo were forfeit & confiſcat. And not ſo much as *M. Claudius*, the party that laid claim unto *Virginia* eſcaped, but he was arreſted to anſwer at a certain day, and was condemned. Howbeit *Virginius* of himſelf releaſed him his life, and would not take the extremity, ſo he was ſent away and confined to *Tybur*, as it were into baniſhment. Thus the poor ſpirit and ghoſt of *Virginia* more happy after her death, then fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted ſo many houſes for due revenge of her adverſaries: at laſt, when there was not one guilty perſon of them left unpuniſhed, gave over her walking, and reſted quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the ſame countenance already in the Tribuns, which they had obſerved in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duillius*, a Tribune of the Commons, wiſely and politickly reſtraining and keeping within a mean this exceſſive power of theirs: "We
"have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and alſo of revenge of our enemies: and ther-
"fore I will not ſuffer for this year, any man more to be arreſted or impriſoned. For I do not like
"that old faults done and paſt, and now as it were cancelled and raſed out, ſhould be revived a-
"gain, and brought in queſtion, ſince that by the puniſhment of the Decemvirs, ſatisfaction hath
"been made for the new: and the continual care and diligence of the Conſuls both twain, for the
"maintenance of your freedom aſſureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
"require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the firſt hand of the Tribun, put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Conſuls to be thought the worſe of, (for that they had been ſo addicted, wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magiſtrate of the Commons had more regard of the ſafety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magiſtrate of the Nobility: and becauſe the adverſe part had their full of revenge and puniſhment of the Nobles, before it did appear that the Conſuls would once ſeem to ſtop the courſe and ſtream of their licentiouſneſs. And many there were who gave it out, that the Conſuls bare themſelves too remiſs and ſlack in the matter, and little reſpected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & confirmed the Acts that were propoſed by the Tribuns. And no queſtion, troubled as the ſtate was then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the neceſſity of the time.

When the Conſuls had ſet all things in good order within the City, and ſurely grounded the ſtate of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province. *Valerius* againſt the armies of the Æquians and Volſcians, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where full politickly he held off, and ſtood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard of a battel, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (conſidering how the hearts of Romans and enemies both, were affected preſently upon the unfortunat conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turned to their great loſs, and coſt them an overthrow. He therfore haying encamped a mile off from the enemies kept his ſouldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battel array took up the whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come forth and fight, not one Roman would anſwer them again. At length the Volſcians and Æquians, weary with long ſtanding ſtill, and in vain expecting battel, thinking verily that the honor was in manner yeelded unto them, departed: ſome into the country of the Hernicks, other ſome to the territories of the Latins, for to raiſe booties and make ſpoil: leaving behind them rather a competent guard for defence of the camp, then a ſufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which when the Conſul perceived, he paid them again with the like meaſure of fear, as they before had from them received; and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battel: who being privy to themſelves what forces were wanting, forbare to fight: whereupon the Romans preſently took a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in ſuch a fear within their rampart. When they had ſtood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreſhed their

their bodies and made much of themſelves, but the enemies nothing ſo hearty and couragious, ſend out meſſengers every way in fearful haſt, to call again the forragers. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp: thoſe that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans iſſue forth of the camp, intending to give an aſſault upon the Rampier, unleſs they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth day and the enemies ſtirred not at all, the Conſul commanded to advance with their enſigns. The Æquians and Volſcians ſeeing their battell coming forward, began to chaſe and take ſoul diſdain, for very ſhame that their rampier and trench ſhould protect victorious armies within this camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earneſt likewiſe themſelves with their Generals for the ſignal of battell, and at length after much importunity obteined it. Now were ſome of them ſallied out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Coſſ, before the battel of the enemies ſtood ſurely furniſhed with their full ſtrength, came on ſtill and gave the onſet: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and ere they were well marſhalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themſelves, and to their fellows: and to amuze their troubled heads the more, he aſſails them with a great ſhout and main violence. At firſt the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their ſpirits together, and were come again to themſelves, and that their Captains on every ſide rated them, and asked them whether they would yeeld unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be renued. "The Conſul on the other part, wiled the Romans to remember, that this was the firſt
The Oration of *Valerius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers. "day, wherein they being newly ſet free, were to fight likewiſe for the freed City of *Rome*: and
"therefore they were to win a victory for themſelves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize
"for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and ſtan-
"dard of *Appius*, but of the Conſul *Valerius*: who as he was deſcended from the deliverers of
"the people of *Rome*, ſo he was one of them himſelf: exhorting them to ſhew now, that in for-
"mer battels of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the ſouldiers, that they atchieved
"no victories: ſaying, it were a foul ſhame for them, to have had more ſtomack againſt their
"own neighbours and citizens, than heart againſt their enemies; and to have ſtood more in fear
"and chaſtity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in
"regard of his unbridled and diſſolute luſt, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war
"ſhould fall on our ſide, and go againſt us, then ſhall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abu-
"ſed and ſpoiled at the hands of many thouſands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to
"preſage ſuch miſeries and to prognoſticate to the City thoſe calamities, which both *Jupiter*
"and our ſtock-father *Mars* forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon ſo lucky ſigns and
"happy foretokens, at the firſt beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine* Hill, and
"Mount *Sacer*: that where within theſe few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye
"may carry back again your Empire, ſafe and ſound, unſteined and unfoiled: that all the World
"may ſee that Roman ſouldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the baniſhing of the De-
"cemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indiffe-
"rent Laws, the manhood and proweſs of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor diminiſhed. Having uttered theſe words among the enſigns of the footmen, he made ſpeed to the
"cornets of the Horſemen. Go to, brave gallants, (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and
"and chivalry; like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very firſt ſhock and en-
"counter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hand, ſet
"ſpurs to, gallop after them apace, and chaſe them out of the plain field: they will never abide
"your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and ſtand rather at a ſtay, than make
"any reſiſtance. Hereupon they gird out luſtily, and run their horſes among the enemies, diſordered already, and in diſarray by the ſervice of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and paſſed forth even to the rereward: certain of them caſt about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all ſides to fly, they turned moſt of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and ſcared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Conſul himſelf, with the whole ſtrength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, aſſailed the tents, won them, and beſides a great ſlaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

When news of this battel was brought, not only into the City, but alſo to the other army into the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and ſolemnity: but in the camp it ſet the ſouldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to ſtrive for the like honor and renown. Now had *Horatius* already partly by ſending his ſouldiers forth, to make incurſions and outrodes: and partly by training and proving them in light ſkirmiſhes, enured and acquainted them to truſt to themſelves and have confidence in their own good ſervice, rather than to remember the ſhamefull diſgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even thoſe ſmall bickerings had done them much good already againſt they ſhould venture upon a ſet field, and hearted them in aſſured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, ſtill luſty upon their good ſucceſs the year before, ceaſed not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them what they meant after the guiſe of robbers, to run in and out in ſmall companies, ſo to triſle out the

Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindness and love, then in any re- H
spect of him for whom he spake. But *Virginius* prayed them, "To take pity and compassion ra-
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other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accused, could justly charge him with any trespass and of-
fence by him committed, he should not spare him, but now a private person as he was, exercise
Oppius dieth in prison. and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewise was had to prison: and there
before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribuns did confis- K
cate. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were banished, and all
their goods also were forfeit & confiscat. And not so much as *M. Claudius*, the party that laid claim
unto *Virginia* escaped, but he was arrested to answer at a certain day, and was condemned. How-
beit *Virginius* of himself released him his life, and would not take the extremity, so he was sent away
and confined to *Tybur*, as it were into banishment. Thus the poor spirit and ghoſt of *Virginia* more
happy after her death, then fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted so
many houses for due revenge of her adversaries: at last, when there was not one guilty person of
them left unpunished, gave over her walking, and rested quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the same countenance already in the Tribuns,
which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duillius*, a Tribune of the Commons, L
wisely and politickly restraining and keeping within a mean this exceſſive power of theirs: "We
"have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and also of revenge of our enemies: and ther-
"fore I will not suffer for this year, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned. For I do not like
"that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and rased out, should be revived a-
"gain, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath
"been made for the new: and the continual care and diligence of the Consuls both twain, for the
"maintenance of your freedom assureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
"require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the first hand of the Tribun,
put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Consuls to be thought the worse of, (for that they
had been so addicted, wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more M
regard of the safety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobility: and
because the adverse part had their full of revenge and punishment of the Nobles, before it did ap-
pear that the Consuls would once seem to stop the course and stream of their licentiousneſs. And
many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remiss and slack in the
matter, and little respected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & con-
firmed the Acts that were propoſed by the Tribuns. And no question, troubled as the state was
then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the necessity of the time.

When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the City, and surely grounded the
state of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province, *Valerius* against the
armies of the Æquians and Volscians, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where ful po- N
litickly he held off, and stood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard
of a battel, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies
both, were affected presently upon the unfortunat conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turn-
ed to their great loss, and cost them an overthrow. He therfore haying encamped a mile off from
the enemies kept his souldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battel array took up the
whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come
forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them again. At length the Volscians and Æquians,
weary with long standing still, and in vain expecting battel, thinking verily that the honor was in
manner yeelded unto them, departed: some into the country of the Hernicks, other some to the
territories of the Latins, for to raise booties and make spoil: leaving behind them rather a com- O
petent guard for defence of the camp, then a sufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which
when the Consul perceived, he paid them again with the like measure of fear, as they before had
from them received: and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battel: who being privy
to themselves what forces were wanting, forbare to fight: whereupon the Romans presently took
a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in such a
fear within their rampart. When they had stood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired
back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreshed
their

A their bodies and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing so hearty and couragious,
send out messengers every way in fearful haſt, to call again the forragers. Such as were near at
hand came running back into the camp: those that were farther off, could not be found nor met
withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans issue forth of the camp, intending to give
an assault upon the Rampier, unless they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth
day and the enemies stirred not at all, the Consul commanded to advance with their ensigns. The
Æquians and Volscians seeing their battell coming forward, began to chafe and take foul disdain,
for very shame that their rampier and trench should protect victorious armies within ths
camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earneſt
B likewise themselves with their Generals for the signal of battell, and at length after much impor-
tunity obteined it. Now were some of them sallied out at the gates already: and others follow-
ed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and
rank. By which time, the Roman Coſſ. before the battel of the enemies stood surely furnished
with their full strength, came on still and gave the onset: charged them before they were all come
forth, yea, and ere they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it
were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: and to
amuze their troubled heads the more, he assails them with a great shout and main violence. At
first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come a-
gain to themselves, and that their Captains on every side rated them, and asked them whether
C they would yeeld unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be re-
nued. "The Consul on the other part, wisled the Romans to remember, that this was the first
"day, wherein they being newly set free, were to fight likewise for the freed City of *Rome*: and
"therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize
"for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and stan-
"dard of *Appius*, but of the Consul *Valerius*: who as he was descended from the deliverers of
"the people of *Rome*, so he was one of them himself: exhorting them to shew now, that in for-
"mer battels of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the souldiers, that they atchieved
"no victories: saying, it were a foul shame for them, to have had more stomack against their
"own neighbours and citizens, than heart against their enemies; and to have stood more in fear
D "of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginia*, she was but one, whose honesty
"and chastity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in
"regard of his unbridled and dissolute lust, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war
"should fall on our side, and go against us, then shall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abu-
"sed and spoiled at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to
"presage such miseries and to prognosticate to the City those calamities, which both *Jupiter*
"and our stock-father *Mars*, forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon so lucky signs and
"happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine* Hill, and
"Mount *Sacer*: that where within these few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye
"may carry back again your Empire, safe and sound, unstained and unsoiled: that all the World
E "may see that Roman souldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the banishing of the De-
"cemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indiffe-
"rent Laws, the manhood and prowess of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor dimi-
"nished. Having uttered these words among the ensigns of the footmen, he made speed to the
"cornets of the Horsemen. Go to, brave gallants, (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and
"and chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very first shock and en-
"counter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hand, set
"spurs to, gallop after them apace, and chase them out of the plain field: they will never abide
"your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and stand rather at a stay, than make
"any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lustily, and run their horses among the enemies, dis-
F ordered already, and in disarray by the service of the footmen. And having broken through their
ranks, and passed forth even to the rereward: certain of them cast about in the void and open
ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to fly, they turned most of them away from
their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and scared them wholly
from thence. The footmen and the Consul himself, with the whole strength of the main battell,
made forward to the camp, assailed the tents, won them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a
booty far greater.

The Oration of *Valerius* the Consul to his souldiers.

When news of this battel was brought, not only into the City, but also to the other army into
the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and solemnity: but in the camp
it set the souldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to strive for the like honor and renown.
G Now had *Horatius* already partly by sending his souldiers forth, to make incursions and outrodes:
and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, entured and acquainted them to trust
to themselves and have confidence in their own good service, rather than to remember the shame-
full disgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even those small bickerings
had done them much good already against they should venture upon a set field, and hearted them
in assured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, still lusty upon their good suc-
ceſs the year before, ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them
what they meant after the guise of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, so to trifle out
the

the time, and thus by peece meal to make of one entire battel many petty and small skirmishes? H Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a cast, and commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to see unto what side she will incline. Then the Romans, besides that of themselves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with the indignity of this challenge also set on fire: considering, that when the other army was at the point now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to insult and crow over them with reproachful tearms: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when should they ever be able to make their parts good? So soon as the Consul perceived the souldiers thus to mutter and mumble within the camp, he assembled them all together, and thus he spake: "Sirs (quoth "he) what succes hath been, and how the service hath sped in *Algidum*, I suppose you have al- I "ready heard, namely, such as beseemed the army of a free state and people. By the policy of my "fellow Consul, and the manhood of his souldiers together, atchieved is the victory. As for my "self, that course will I take, and that resolute mind will I carry, which you my souldiers shall "afford unto me. The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be also dispatched and "ended speedily: If protracted it shall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the "same discipline still I wil exercise you, and bring to pass, that your hope and prowes may encrease "every day more then other. If your hearts now serve you wel, and that you like to fight it out, "Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous proweſs, now set "up such a cry and shout, as you wil make when you first join battel, and give the charge. After that they had with exceeding cheerfulness shouted aloud: God bless us all (quoth he) I will ful- K "fil your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the rest of that day was best owed in making their harnes and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the Sabins so soon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battel array, came forth also themselves, as ready and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battel struck, such as might beseem two armies, that trusted on both sides in their own valour, and made ful account of that days honour. The one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wonted evermore to have the upper hand, the other proudly bearing themselves upon a new victory lately atchieved. The Sabins besides, mended their strength wel with a stratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions every way, they reserved two thousand drawn out of the rest, extraordinary without the ranks apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, should hotly charge the left point of the Romans: L they advancing overthwart with their ensigns, & flanking them on the one side, pressed shrewdly upon that one point, and overcharged it, wel neer environed all about. Then the horsemen of two legions, 600. almost in number, alight on foot from their horsebacks, and as their fellows were even now ready to retreat, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withal, made head against the enemy. And first, they put life unto them again, for that they entred equally with the footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more boldness and animated them to fight. For abashed they were, that horsemen should be put to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foot: and professed footmen not able to countervail the horsemen, who had taken them to their feet. So they advance forward to the battel, which on their part was abandoned, and make haste to recover the ground which they M had lost. And in a trice, at one instant, not only the fight was renued, but also a battalion of the Sabins began to shrink. The horsemen closely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat again to their horses, and from thence rod speedily unto the other side, reporting to their fellows the victory: and withal, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, because the stronger wing of their side was discomfited: neither were there any in this battel also, that were seen to perform better service then they. The Consul, as an overseer, beheld all the manner of it, praising those that stood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so soon chastised and reproved but presently they bare themselves like hardy men, and did right good service: and look how much that praise excited some, so much shame stirred up others. Then with a fresh shout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the ene- N mies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The Sabins scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoil to their enemies: where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies as before in *Algidum*, but their very own, which they had lost by the forraging and spoiling of their lands.

Horatius the Consul to his souldiers.

For this two-fold victory atchieved in two sundry battels, the Senat right sparingly (such was their misery) decreed in the name and behalf of the Consuls, one days thanksgiving and procession, and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from authority, solemnized the same in great numbers. And this popular procession, disorderly as it was, and without formality, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the other. The Consuls of set purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compass of those two O days into the City: and summoned the Senat to assemble in *Mars* field: where, as they were about to make some speech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the Senat, complained and shewed themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled on purpose, among the souldiers, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Consuls, because they would give no occasion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into *Prata Flaminia*, where now the Temple of *Apollo* stands, a place which even then they called *Circus Apollinaris*: wher they being denied triumph with one voice and general consent of the nobles, *L. Icilius* a Tribun

A a Tribun of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls triumph. And among many that stepped forth to cross and dissuade the bill, *C. Claudius* above all others cried out aloud, that the Coss. intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their enemies: and that they sought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the Tribun, and not for an honorable reward, for any vertue and worthy act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred to the Senate, to consider and determine of that honor. Neither had the Kings at any time, impaired the Majesty of that highest Court and degree: what should the Tribuns then meddle so much, and have their hand in all matters by vertue of their authority, as to suffer no publick B counsel at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free, nor Laws equal and indifferent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own priviledge, and hold their proper pre-eminence. When the rest of the principal Senators had spoken much to the same effect, all the Tribes notwithstanding in general, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribun had propounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voyces of the people, without the authority and assent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribuns and the commonalty had like to have turned to a dangerous surfeit of licentious liberty: by reason that the Tribuns conspired together and were fully agreed, to be chosen Tribuns again: and to the end that their own ambition should be less seen above others, they alledged to the Coss. for a sufficient reason (that they likewise should continue still in place of government) the agreement and consent of C the Senators: through whose holding together and drawing in one line the liberties of the Commons, to the great disgrace and reproach of the Consuls, were intringed and indammaged. For what would come of it, say they, if before the late Laws were fully established, the (new) Consuls with their factious banding, should set upon the new Tribuns: for we must not look to have always such as the *Horatij* and *Valerij*, to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own weal before the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to *M. Duillius* his lot especially, to be chief President of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wise man, forseeing the heart-burning and hatred, like presently to ensue, upon the continuance of the same Magistrates still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribuns he would not propound any one: and when his brethren in office laboured earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free D scrutiny, or else yeeld up the charge to him allotted, of holding the assembly, unto his brethren, who would keep the same and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and pleasure of the Nobles: *Duillius* then, seeing their earnest contention, caused the Consuls to be called into their own pues and seats, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Consuls: and when they answered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth together with them into the assembly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out into their presence, and were asked the question, what they would do, in case the people of *Rome* should elect them Consuls the second time, and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for their good service in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them constant in the E same mind still, and nothing altered from their resolution: after he had commended the Consuls, for their steadfast perseverance unto the last (as altogether unlike to the Decemvirs) went presently to the new Election. And when he had created five Tribuns only, seeing there were not other competitours enough to reach unto sufficient voyces of the Tribes, in comparison of the other nine Tribuns his colleagues, who openly stood to be chosen again: he brake up the assembly, and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled the Law in that behalf, which without setting down any precise and definite number of Tribuns, so that there were some left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to those that were created, to chuse and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited the words of the Law, which run in this form. *If I shall propound ten Tribuns of the Commons to be* F *created, and they shall that present day make fewer than ten: they by vertue of this Law, shall be accounted Tribuns, whom those elected shall cause and take unto them for their fellows, and as lawful shall they be held, as those whom this day ye shall create Tribuns of the Commons.* This when *Duillius* persisted still resolute unto the end, saying, That in any case the state might bear five and twenty Tribuns, and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great favor and the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tribuns now in the electing and making choise of their companions, curried favour with the Senators, and framed themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them two of the Nobility, and those that had been Consuls, to wit, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *Au. Æternus*. And Consuls there were created, *Sp. Herminius* and *Titus Virginius Caliomontanus*. Who bearing themselves in a mean be- G tween Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other, had peace as well at home as abroad. *Lu. Trebonius*, a Tribun of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators, and spightfully bent against them, and saying withal, that in the coaptation of the rest of the Tribuns, he had been cunningly over-raught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, proposed a Law, That whosoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribuns to be elected, should not give over, but still propound, until he made up the full number of ten. Thus continued he all his Tribunship in persecuting and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be quiet: whereupon he was surnamed * *Asper*.

After this, *M. Geganius Macrinus*, and *C. Julius*, being created Consuls, appeased the contentious Orations of the Tribuns, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the Nobility, so as without any bitter invectives against that authority of the Tribuns, they preserved still the soveraign Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of decreeing musters against the wars of the Volscians and Æquians, stayed the Commons, and kept the City from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citizens, forrainers took heart, The care likewise of outward peace, was the cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation of the other: for whiles the Commons were still and in good temper, the puny Senators began to offer them wrong and hard measure. And when the Tribuns would have assisted the weaker side, at first it booted little, and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter moneths, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that toward the end of the year, the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and groweth feeble and weak. So that now the Commons had little or no confidence at all in the Tribunship, unless they might have such as *Icilius* to be Tribuns: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side, as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: so they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trespass and excess, they had rather those of their own degree and coat should exceed measure, and have greater stomack, than their adversaries. So tickliſh and dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whiles under a colour of wishing and desiring equality, every man advanceth and lifteth up himself so, as that he thrusteth and beareth down another: and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off and turn from our selves, we impose upon others. As if there were no remedy, but that we must either do, or suffer injury.

Then were made Consuls, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*: who found neither sedition within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand. For now could no longer the dissention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out. And both Tribuns and Commons rose against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings of the people, one or other alwayes of the Nobles and Senators were served with process: whereupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battel had been given, and the alarm stricken up, the Æquians and Volscians took arms: and withal, their Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and perswaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go through with their musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to obey, and brake their alleagance: which was the only cause that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides, say they, The use and manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious loosenes, discontinued and clean decayed: *Rome* was now no more a common-wealth and country to her citizens: For, all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against forrein nations, was now turned upon their own selves: so that at this time they had fit occasion and good opportunity to surprise them, blinded as wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joyned their whole power, and first wasted the country of *Latium*: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and spoiling all the way to the very walls of *Rome*, even before the gate *Esquilina*, there braving and vaunting in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid their fields and territories wast. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and loss, driving their booties afore them, and marched along to *Corbio*. *Quintius* the Consul seeing this, assembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise. "Albeit
The Oration of *Quintius* the Consul, to the people of *Rome*.
"I am not privy to my self, and my conscience accuseth me not of any fault, *O Quirites*, yet am "I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you "shou'd know, or the posterity hereafter understand, how the Æquians & Volscians (who of late "dayes were hardly comparable to the Hernicks) came when *T. Quintius* was the fourth time Cos. "in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of *Rome*, & went their wayes "again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shameful dishonor, if I had known it "would have light, so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath so gone: and "such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no "goodness toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death, if "there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have *Rome* been taken in the time "of my Consulship, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valorous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already: then had I lived long enough, "and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time Consul. But who "were they, I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours, despised and set so "light by? Were we they that are your Consuls, or you (Quirites) the people of *Rome*? If we were "in the fault, take from us as unsufficient & unworthy persons our rule and government: and if that "be not enough, let us over and besides be well punished, and abide the smart. But if the blame be "in you Quirites, let neither God nor man chastise your trespass and offence, only do you repent "your

"your selves, and be sory therefore. It was not your cowardise that they scorned and despised, neither was it their own valour wherein they trusted. For why? they having been so often defeated "and driven out of the camp and the field, fined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the "gallows, and brought into servitude, knew very well both themselves and you also. No, no, the "variance and discord between our own states and degrees, is the only bane, and nothing else, of "this City: the jarres and debates, I say, between the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither "we have any gage or stay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty: "while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and we likewise of the Commoners Magistrates, they "gave gotten heart, and wax bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would "you have? Tribuns of the Commons ye longed and fought after: for quietness and concord sake, "we let you have your longing, Decemvirs you had a great mis of, and them you desired: we "granted and permitted them to be created. Weary you were anone, and all too weary of Decemvirs: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued still against "them, being become private persons again, we suffered to be put to death, and to be exiled, most "noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect anew your Tribuns of the Commons, you chose them at your pleasure. To create Consuls from out of your own faction, although we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we seen that dignity proper "to Nobility, given away as it were, and made common with the Commonalty. The assistance of "Tribuns, the appealing to the people, the Laws and Acts devised by the Commons, to be tendered and impoised upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and colour of *Isonomi*, or equal and indifferent Laws, our own rights and priviledges should be overthrown, we have abidden, and do still endure. When will there be an end once of discord and "dissention? Shall we never have one City of it? Shall we never have this to be the common "Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished, than "whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you, that you are dread and feared of us? but still "you seek for more? Against us it was, that you took the Mount *Aventine*, against us it was that "you held and kept the Mountain *Sacer*. For when the gate *Esquilina*, was wel-neer surprised by "the enemy, and when the Volscians our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and "to scale our walls, none of you there was to be seen, for to remove and set them farther off. Against us ye play the men, against us ye can be armed. Well then, go to: When ye have here beset "the Senate-house, taken up the market place and common Hall with souldiers, filled the goal "with Noblemen, and those of the chiefest and best quality, then with like courage and stoutness "of heart, sally forth of the gate *Esquilina*. Or, if you dare not venture so much, behold and view all "afore you from the walls, discover your Lands and territories with fire and sword wasted & consumed, your goods and cattel had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houses "burning and smoking in every quarter. But all this time the Commonweal only (you think) by "this means is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired, the City besieged, and the enemy "goeth his way with the honor of the war. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private "estate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly, from out of his own livings "and possessions, of his proper losses: and what have you at home (if a man may ask) to make supply again? Will the Tribuns make you restitution, and amends for all your damages? You shall "have words of them your fill. They will not stick to speak, to rail, and let fly slanders freely before "you against the heads of the City. Laws upon Laws you shall have heaped thick and threefold. "Assemblies, convocations, and seditious invectives good store. But from these their assemblies, "never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one gray groat or single denier, nor in "better state to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife & "children, but hatred and malice, displeasure and rancour, grudges and heart-burnings, both publick "and private? From which at all times ye have been shielded and defended, if not with your own "vertue and innocency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye served in wars "under the conduct of us your Consuls, and followed not the leading of your Tribuns: when you "served I say in camp, and not in the Hall and common place: when in battel your enemies quaked "to hear you shout and not in your assemblies, the Romans were in dread of your *uras* and outcryes: then you wan prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home "with triumph to your houses, ful of riches and wealth ful of honor and renown, as well publick "as private. Whereas now, you suffer your enemies to depart, fraught and laden with your "goods. Stick to your Ward-Leets, as if you were nailed and fast pinned to them: dwell still in "your Hall, and lead your lives continually there: yet must you needs war when all is done, fly from "it as fast as you can. Grieved it you indeed, and thought you it a trouble and painful thing, to "take an expedition so far as into the Volscians and Æquians country? Lo, the war is come even "unto your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will scale the "Castle and Capitol. it will follow you even into your houses. Two years ago, the Senate gave order and commanded that there should be souldiers mustered, and an army conducted into *Algidum*. But we sit still at home & do nothing, but chide & scold (as it were) one at another like cursht "and shrewd women, contenting our selves, and joying in a present peace: and little seeing that of "that rest, there will come sundry wars again, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are "speeches more pleasing & plausible than these. But to speak the plain truth for your good, rather "than to flatter and sooth for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not teach and

" admoniſh me, even very neceſſity doth force and conſtrain me. Willing would I be, and moſt H
" willing, O Quirites, to pleaſe you: but much more would I have you to be in ſafety, think what-
" ſoever ye will of me. It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who ſo ſpea-
" keth to a multitude in his own cauſe, and for himſelf, is better liked, and heard with more ap-
" plauſe, than he whoſe mind aimeth at nothing elſe but a publick weal. Unleſs peradventure you
" think theſe common flatterers, theſe clawbacks, and men-pleaſers, which give you no reſt, nei-
" ther in war nor peace, do ſtir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the
" truth? ye being once ſolliicited and pricked on by them, ſerve their turns in good ſtead, either
" for their honor or gain. And becauſe they ſee themſelves to be of no worth and regard, while
" the ſtates do agree, they deſire to play ſmall game, rather than to ſit out: to be Captains of miſ- I
" rule and lewdneſs, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders
" and guides of troubles and diſſentions. Whereof, if you be ſo bleſt and happy, as to be weary now
" at length, and will betake your ſelves to the ancient manners and faſhions, both of your own,
" and of your anceſtors, in lieu of theſe new fangles, I will refuſe no puniſhment: nay, let me be
" put to the moſt ſhameful death that is, if I do not before many dayes paſs over my head, defeat,
" diſcomfit and put to flight theſe robbers and deſtroyers of our fields, and ſend them packing out
" of their own camp, and finally tranſlate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are
" ſo affrighted and aſtonied, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities.
Seldom at any time elſe, had there been a ſpeech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable
unto the Commons, than was the ſharp Oration at this preſent of a moſt ſevere Conſul. Yea, and K
the very youth, which amid ſuch terrors of war, had been wont to refuſe ſouldiery, the only keen
and ſharp weapon they had to fight withal againſt the Nobles, now deſired war and to be in
armes. Over and beſides, the country kerns that fled (to *Rome*,) ſuch alſo as were ſpoiled and
wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were
preſented unto their eyes, and ſet all the City in an hot an angry broil. Now when the Senators
were aſſembled together in the Councel Houſe, then verily they all caſt their eyes upon *Quintius*,
beholding and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majeſty of *Rome*: but
the chief peers and Lords of the Senate ſpake out and ſaid: That he had made an Oration, be-
ſeeming the ſoveraign Government of a Conſul, beſeeming ſo many Conſulſhips by him already
born, beſeeming the whole courſe of his life, that had paſſed oft through many honorable digni- L
ties, and yet alwayes deſerved more. As for other Conſuls, they either in flattering and ſoothing
up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or elſe in ſeeking by hard courſes to
maintain the rights, preheminencies and royalties of their ſtate, and to tame the multitude, have
thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintius*, he hath made a ſpeech, reſpective
and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States,
and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would requeſt him therefore, toge-
ther with his brother Conſul, to take in hand the care of the Common-weal. They would requeſt
the Tribuns likewiſe, to joyn in one accord with the Conſuls, and ſhew themſelves willing and
forward, to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in ſo fearful and dan-
gerous a caſe, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: ſaying more- M
over, That the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribuns and
craveth their aid, now that the territories are waſted, and the City at hand to be aſſaulted. Where-
upon, they all agreed generally to decree a muſter, and preſently to make a levy of ſouldiers. And
when the Conſuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there aſſembled, that it was
no time as then to hear excuſes, but that all the younger ſort, ſhould betimes the next morning
by day-light be ready to attend in *Mars* field: and that after the war was ended, they would find
out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reaſons, that entred not their names:
and that he ſhould be taken for a traytor and rebel, whoſe excuſe they allowed not: the whole
manhood and youth of the City ſhewed themſelves the morrow after in readineſs. Each cohort
or regiment choſe their Centiners or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their N
Provoſt Marſhals. All this was performed (by report) with ſuch ſpeed and expedition, that on
the very ſame day, the ſtandards and enſigns were by the Queſtors had forth of the Armory and
Chamber of the City and brought into *Mars* field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the ſame
day, ſet forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old ſoul-
diers, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and reſted, at ten miles
end. The day following they diſcovered their enemies, and at *Corbio* encamped cloſe unto them.
And by the third day, there was no ſtay on both hands, but they muſt needs encounter and fight.
For why? The Romans for anger were ſharp ſet: the enemies again, upon a guilty conſcience that
they had ſo often rebelled, were grown deſperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two
Conſuls were in equal commiſſion, yet gave *Agrippa* place unto his brother *Quintius*, and yeelded O
unto him the entire and abſolute command. A courſe moſt profitable in the managing and exe-
cution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again in courteſy anſwered and requited
the others Gentleneſs and inclination to ſubmiſſion, in this wiſe, by imparting unto him all
his Counſels: by parting with him all his honor and praiſe, and by making him his equal,
who was indeed his inferiour and underling. In the battel, *Quintius* commanded the right
pont, *Agrippa* led the left: *Sp. Poſthumius Albus*, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct of
the main battel. And *P. Sulpitius* the other Lieutenant, they ſet over the horſemen. The foot-
men

A men of the right point fought moſt valiantly, and the Volſcians received them with equal valour.
Sp. Sulpitius with his men of arms, brake through the main battel of the enemies: & albeit he might
have retired himſelf the ſame way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring
their ranks again into order, that were ditarayed: yet he thought it better to charge them upon
their backs. And in one moment he had diſcomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by aſſailing
them behind, and thus affrighting them on both ſides, but that the Volſcian and Æquian Horſe-
men recharged him, held him play in his own fight, and ſo kept him occupied a good while.
" Thereat, *Sulpitius* ſaid, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to beſtir themſelves,
" crying out aloud, that they were environed round, incloſed within their enemies, and excluded
B " from their own fellows, unleſs they let to, and bent their whole force, quickly to diſpatch the
" Horſe-fight: and that it would not ſerve, to put the Horſemen to flight and ſave their lives: but
" kill both horſe and man, that none might ride back again from thence into the battel to renew
" the fight. And to make head and reſiſtance againſt him and his horſemen, they were never able,
" ſince that the main thick battel of footmen had given him ground already. Good ear they gave
to his words, and ſoon harkned to his direction: and with one entire aſſault they gave a fierce
charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavallery, unhorſed and diſmounted a number of
them, and with their javelins goared both them and their horſes. And there's an end of the horſe-
ſervice. Then they ſet upon the battel of the footmen, and diſpatched meſſengers unto the Conſuls
with news, what they had done: where alſo by that time, the battel of the enemies began to
C ſhrink. And when tidings came unto the Romans that were already upon the point of victory,
they verily were more encouraged: but the Æquians that were about to retreat, were ſtrucken
with greater fear. In the main battel firſt began the overthrow; namely, whereas the men of arms
before had broken the array. After them, the left point alſo began to be diſtreſſed and driven
back, by *Quintius* the Conſul. But in the right there was hardeſt hold, and moſt ado. Where,
Agrippa being a tall man of his hands and young withal, ſeeing in every part of the battel things
go better than where he was: caught the enſigns from the enſign-bearers, advanced them forward
his own ſelf, yea, and fell to flinging ſome of them againſt the thickeſt of his enemies. For fear
therefore of ſo ſhameful a diſgrace, the ſouldiers beſtir themſelves, and freſhly aſſailed the enemy.
And ſo on all hands alike, they atchieved the victory and won the field. Then came a meſſenger
D from *Quintius*, & brought word, that he had the better hand, and was now ready to give an aſſault
upon the camp, but would not break in, and enter thereinto before he knew for certain, that they
in the left point alſo had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battel. In caſe therefore he
had diſcomfited the enemy, he ſhould joyn his forces to him, that the whole army altogether
might gain the ſpoil and pillage of the tents. So *Agrippa*, who alſo for his part was victor, came to
his brother Conſul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation one to the
other. There, finding but a few to defend, whom they diſcomfited in the turning of an hand, they
brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmiſh: and ſo beſides the recovery
of their own goods again, which they had loſt by the overrunning of the country, they gained alſo
a rich booty, and retired back with their whole army. I cannot learn, that either they themſelves
E required triumph, or the Senate offered them any: and no cauſe appeareth upon record, why they
ſhould either refuſe, or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, ſo far as I can gueſs in ſo long
diſtance of times, ſeeing that *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who over and beſides the conqueſt of the Volſ-
cians and the Æquians, had the honor alſo of diſpatching and finiſhing the Sabines war, were de-
nied triumph at the Senats hand: theſe Conſuls might not with modeſty, ſue for the ſame; having
performed but half the good ſervice of the others: leſt if they had gotten it granted, there might
have ſeemed more regard had of the perſons, than of the deſerts.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus atchieved, was obſcu-
red and ſouly diſtayned with a ſhameful doom of the people, in a controverſy of their allies,
about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of *Aricia* and *Ardea*, having
F warred oftentimes one with the other, about ſome Lands in queſtion between them, and by gi-
ving and taking ſundry foils and overthrows outwearied, choſe the people of *Rome* their Em-
pire to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their counſel to plead
the caſe, the Magiſtrates granted a Court of Aſſiſes of the people. Where was much arguing
and diſpute on both ſides before them: and after the witneſſes were depoſed and that at length
the Tribes ſhould be called to the ſcrutinie, and the people give their voices, there ſteps forth an
" old father one *P. Scaptius*, a Commoner. And I (quoth he) for my part, O Conſuls, if it be lawful
" to ſpeak for the good of the State, will not ſuffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this que-
" ſtion. When as the Conſul's denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and
commanded him (as he cryed ſtill that the publick cauſe of the City was betrayed) to be had
G away, he calleth for the aſſiſtance of the Tribuns. The Tribuns then, who lightly are ever over-
ruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yeelded unto the Commons: That for as
much as they were deſirous to hear what the old man could ſay, *Scaptius* ſhould ſpeak his mind
at large. Then ſetteth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourſcore winters
old and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground for which all this ſtrife and vari-
" ance is, I ſerved as a ſouldier, when I was no young man neither, but one that had been preſt to
" wars, and received pay twenty years afore. And it was, I remember well, during the ſiege be-
" fore *Corioli*. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time,

A controverſy between the Ardeates and Aricins, decided by the people of *Rome*.

The evidence given by old *Scaptius*.

"worn out clean and forgotten of other men, but fresh in my knowledge and remembrance: to H
"wit, that the Lands thus litigious, and in controversy, had been sometime within the confines
"of the *Coriolans*: and after the winning of *Corioli*, were seised by right of conquest, to the Com-
"mons of the people of *Rome*. I marvel much therefore, by what custome and prescription, the
"Ardeates and Aricines, who never had right and interest, and were not possessed of the land,
"(so long as *Corioli* stood in prosperity) should hope to defeat the people of *Rome* thereof, whom
"being the LL. in fee of the ground, they had chosen for their Arbitrator. As for me, I have
"but a small while to live, and one foot already is in grave: and yet I cannot find in my heart, but
"(to that Land, which as old, I being a young and lusty souldier, did my best to fight for, and
"conquered with sword in hand) make claim now that I am aged, by word and mouth, the only I
"means left me to recover it. I advise the people therefore in good sadness, that in a vain respect
"of bootless modesty, they condemn not their own cause, nor give away their right. The Con-
"suls marking well what audience was given to *Scaptius*, and that he was heard not only with si-
lence, but also with good liking and contentment, cryed out upon this abominable practise: cal-
ling both Heaven and Earth to witness, and therewith sent for the Lords of the Councel: and
joyning with them, went to the Tribuns, fell in hand with them, and instantly besought them
"not to go forward with this most lewd action for the present, and a more shameful precedent
"for the time to come: namely, that Umpiers and dayes men, should convert the thing in suit
"unto their own and proper vantage: especially considering, that, Admit it were a lawful thing
"for a judge himself to have an eye and regard to his own commodity: yet would there not be K
"so much gained and gotten by coming thus between, and interverting the Land, as there would
"be damage and hinderance another way, in alienating by those hard courses, the hearts of their
"good friends and Allies. For the losses (verily) and cracks of name and credit, are such as may
"not be valued at any price. And should the Embassadors indeed, say they, go their wayes home
"with this goodly award: and make report abroad how they have sped? should our confederats
"hear this? should our enemies come by the knowledge thereof? with what grief the one? with
"what joy the other? Think ye that our neighbour nations will impute, attribute, and ascribe
"this, unto the speech made by *Scaptius*, a prating old busy body, and one that loveth to hear
"himself speak in assemblies? Nay, this is certain: well may *Scaptius* be famous and much talked
"of, in the playing of this pageant: but the people of *Rome* shall incur the obloquy, to have acted L
"the part under the visour of *Scaptius*, of a cunning promoter, and a false interceptor to himself,
"of other mens right in suit. For, what judge at any time in a private matter, hath done the like,
"as to award the thing in question, unto himself? Why, even *Scaptius*, past all shame and grace
"as he is, would never have done it. These and such like words, spake both Consuls and Senators
aloud in all their hearing. But the covetousness of men, and *Scaptius* that first set them a longing
and their teeth a watering, prevailed more than they all. The Tribes were called to the Scrutiny
of their voyces, and gave judgment, That the Lands pertained to the common Territory of the
people of *Rome*. Neither can it be denied, but it would have so appeared indeed, in case it had
been tried before other judges. But now, for all the goodness of the cause, is not the ignominy
of the arbitrement one jot the less: Nay, the Aricines and Ardeates themselves, thought not M
more shamefully and hardly of it, than the very Senators and Peers of *Rome*. The rest of the year
continued quiet, from all troubles as well domestical as forrain.

The Fourth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. N

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fourth Book.

THe Law concerning marriage between the Nobles and the Commons, was proposed, and with much ado enacted by the Tribuns of the Commonalty: notwithstanding, the Nobles withstood it. Tribuns military with full authority of Consuls, were created. Under this kind of Magistracy was the State ruled for certain years, both in City and in war. The Lands of the Ardeates, which had been awarded from them by an arbitrement of the people of Rome, *were restored again unto them, and Coloners sent to inhabit the same. In the time of a great dearth and famine at* Rome, *one* Sp. Melius, *a Roman knight,* O *dealt corn amongst the people freely, at his own proper charges: by which deed he won the favor of the Commons: and thereby aspiring to be King, was at the commandment of* Quintius Cincinnatus, *the Dictator, slain by the hands of* C. Servilius Hala, *General of the Horsemen.* L. Minutius, *who disclosed the treason, had a bullock with guilt horns given him for a reward. The Embassadors of the Romans, which were murdered by the Fidenates, had their Statues or Images erected at the* Rostra, *or the common Court of the City, because they died in the service of the Common-wealth.* Cornelius Cossus *a Colonel, having slain with his own hand* Tolumnius, *the King of the Veientians, won and bare away the second*

A *second royal spoils.* Mamercus Æmylius *the Dictator, limited the Government of the Censurelhip, within the compass of one year and six months, which before that time continued five years: and for that act, was shamefully disgraced by the Censors.* Fidene *was conquered and subdued, and thither were Coloners sent to dwell. Whom the men of* Fidene *slew, and revolted from the people of* Rome: *and by* Mamercus Æmylius *the Dictator were subdued, and the City forced. The conspiracy of the bondslaves was suppressed.* Posthumius *a Tribune military, was for his cruelty slain by his own souldiers. The souldiers then first, and never before, had their pay out of the common treasury. Moreover, this book containeth the wars against the Volscians and Veientians, the Fidenates and Falisci.*

B

The fourth Book of T. Livius.

THere succeeded Consuls after these, *M. Genutius* and *P. Curiatius.* A year full of broils, both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of the year, both *Canuleius*, a Tribune of the Commons, propoſed a law, concerning alliance of the Patritians with Commons, by way of mariage. Whereby the Nobles supposed their bloud to be stayned, and the Rights and Priviledges of Families and Houses confounded. Also, whereas at first the Tribuns by little and little had moved, That one of the Consuls might be created out of the Commons: now the matter proceeded so far, that of ten Tribuns that then were, the other C nine propounded this in plain terms for a law, That it might be in the peoples power to chuse both the Coss. (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobility. Mary, if that should come to pass, the Nobles thought indeed that the soveraign rule and authority, was not only made common with the baseſt sort, but also translated altogether from the great men and best of the City, to the commonalty. Glad were the Senators therefore to hear say, that the people of *Ardea*, for the wrongful awarding away of their Lands from them, were revolted: and that the Veientians had wasted the Frontiers of the Romans: and that the Volscians and Æquians grudged and muttered for the fortifying of *Verrugo*; So much preferred they any war, miserable though it were and dangerous, before a shameful and dishonourable peace. Having heard therefore these news, and taken them in the worst manner: to the end that amidst the rumour and bruit of so D many wars, the Tribunitian troublesome suits might stay and be dead for the time: they command musters to be taken, souldiers to be levied, all furniture of war, and all manner of force to be prepared, and (if it might be) with more indeavour, than it had been when *T. Quintius* was Consul. Then *C. Canuleius*, after some hot words which he spake aloud in the Senate: namely, that the Consuls by frighting the Commons, went about but in vain, to avert them from the regard of their new Laws: and that so long as he had any breath in his body, they should never go through with muster, unless the Commons had first ratified those things, which by him and his brethren had been propounded: forthwith assembled the people together. Thus at one instant the Consuls animated the Senate against the Tribune, and the Tribune incited the people against the Consuls. "The Consuls gave it out plainly and said, that no longer now might these furious The allegati-
E "courses of the Tribuns be endured. Now were they come to the very height and extremity, ons of the Con-
"and raised more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubt) suls against
"hapned not so much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, nor of the Tribuns the Tribuns of
"more, than of the Consuls. For look what thing was best rewarded in a City, the same alwayes the Commons.
"most increased: thus men in peace (we see) prove excellent, thus in war they come to be singular. In *Rome* (say they) seditions sped ever best, and have been reputed both to each one in particular and to all in general most honourable. But let the Senate call to mind the dignity which "they themselves had received from their fathers, and compare it with that which they were like "to leave to their children: and see, whether they may boast as the commonalty doth, how that "their condition is much bettered and more glorious than before. Well, neither is there any end
F "now, nor ever will be, so long as the Authors of seditions be as highly advanced, as the seditiOns themselves are prosperous and fortunate. See what matters and how great hath *Canuleius* "attempted! He would bring in a commixture or rather confusion of kindreds and houses, a "perturbation in the managing both of publick and private affairs: that nothing might be sincere and intire, nothing pure and undefiled: that all difference and distinction being taken away, "no man might know either himself or his. For what thing else do these mixtures of states and "degrees by mariages draw after them, without all order and discretion: but that like brute beasts "in a manner, Commons and Nobles may go and couple together? so that the children between "them born, shall not be able to tell of what bloud he is descended, and to what Religion he doth "belong, being a mungrel, as it were, the one half a Noble, the other a Commoner; and not well
G "suiting and according with himself? They thought it not enough (be like) that all divine and "humane Laws, were confused and shuffled together: for now these mutinous persons, these busy "heads and troublers of the common people, address themselves to shoot at the Consulship. At "first, they sounded in private speeches and secret discourses, only, how to compass, That one of "the Consuls might be created out of the body of the Commons: but now they go roundly to "work, and carry it before them: they are so bold to prefer laws (forsooth) that the people might "make them both, either Nobles or Commons, at their good pleasure. Whereby (no doubt) they "would make choise from out of the Commons, of the most seditious persons of all other.

"We

"We ſhall have then the *Canuleians* and *Icilians* to be our Coſſ. But *Jupiter* (that great good
"God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majeſty, ſhould come to that low ebb or de-
"ſperate paſs: dye they would a thouſand deaths rather, than ſuffer ſo great a ſhame and indigni-
"ty: knowing this aſſuredly, that their anceſtours alſo, if they had once ſuſpected or forſeen,
"that by granting the commonalty every thing as they deſired, they would not have proved
"more lovely and chearful towards them, but rather more churliſh and untractable: and when
"they had obtained their firſt ſuits, to proceed ſtill to demand worſe and worſe, one thing after
"another: they would ſooner have indured at the firſt, any conteding and debate whatſoever,
"than ſuffered thoſe hard conditions to be impoſed, and put upon them: and becauſe they had
"once relented, that Tribuns ſhould be created, therefore to grant them again the ſecond time.
"So that as now, there is no quietneſs with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, ſo long as in
"one and the ſelf ſame City, Tribuns and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this ſtate
"muſt be put down, or that office utterly aboliſhed. And better late than never, to withſtand
"and meet with their raſh and deſperate boldneſs. What? ſhall they without controlment, firſt
"ſow diſcord at home, and then ſtir up forrein wars abroad? and afterwards, againſt thoſe wars
"which themſelves have raiſed, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend it ſelf?
"and when as they have as good as ſent for the enemies to come to their dores, then, not ſuffer an
"army to be levied againſt them. But let *Canuleius* (if he dare) ſpeak theſe words out in the Se-
"nate, That unleſs the Nobles ſuffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror, to be admitted and re-
"ceived, he will ſtay the muſtering? For what elſe is that, but to threaten that he will ſell and
"betray his country, and ſuffer it to be aſſailed and loſt? What encouragement will ſuch a word
"give as that, I ſay not, to the commonalty of *Rome*, but to the Volſcians, Æquians and Veien-
"tians? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Canuleius*, to be able to ſcale the Capitol and
"the Caſtle, if ſo be the Tribuns ſhall take from the Nobility their couragious hearts, as they have
"bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that
"the Conſuls are ready, firſt to ſhew themſelves to be Captains and Leaders, againſt the miſchie-
"vous practiſes of their own citizens, before they will make head againſt the armed forces of
"their enemies? Whiles theſe matters were debated of with great contention and heat in the
Senate houſe, *Canuleius* for the maintenance of his laws, and to croſs the Conſuls, made this O-
The Oration of *Canuleius* to the Commons, againſt the Nobility.
ration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have deſpiſed you, O Quirites, how unworthy
they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have,
as often heretofore, ſo now eſpecially and moſt of all perceived: in that they have riſen up alto-
gether ſo fiercely to check and withſtand our propoſed laws. "Wherein, what pretend we elſe,
"but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we
"are not of the ſame wealth, yet we inhabit the ſame country with them? In the one, we requeſt
"mariage: a thing to borderers, yea, and to forrain nations uſually granted: and to ſpeak of our
"ſelves, we alſo have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is
"far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and chal-
"lenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of *Rome* may beſtow their offices
"and dignities, upon whom they pleaſe. What reaſon have they then, I pray you, to ſer all on an
"uprore, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould go together? and what is the cauſe, that erewhile I had
"like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and
"ſay, they could not forbear nor keep their hands from me, and threaten to abuſe and violate the
"ſacred authority of the Tribuns? Set caſe that the people of *Rome* may have their free voyces
"and ſuffrages, to elect the Conſuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, ſo he be
"worthy of the higheſt place, for to obtain the ſoveraign dignity. How then? cannot this City
"poſſibly ſtand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like)
"and importeth as much, to diſable a Commoner, for being made Conſul, as if a man inferred, that
"a bondman or a freed libertine ſhould become Conſul. Perceive you not yet (my Maſters) in
"what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in ſome meaſure of this day
"light: that ye breath and ſpeak, that ye have the ſhapes of men, they think much, they repine,
"and it goes to their heart. And what elſe? They give it out flatly and ſay (if God will) it is un-
"lawful, that a Commoner ſhould be a Conſul. I beſeech you hear me a little. If we may not be
"allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruſe the High-prieſts records and regiſters, know we
"not thoſe things then, that even all ſtrangers know? namely, That Conſuls entred in place of
"Kings, and ſucceeded them, and have no other right, preheminence or dignity at all, than Kings
"had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not ſomuch as
"a citizen of *Rome*, much leſs then, a Patritian and Nobly deſcended among them, was ſent for
"out of the Sabines countrey, and by the peoples voyces, and the aſſent of the Nobles, created
"King of *Rome*? Alſo afterwards, how *L. Tarquinius*, who was no Roman born, no, nor yet ſo
"much as an Italian, but the ſon of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, a ſtranger inhabitant at *Tarquinis*,
"and from thence removing, albeit King *Ancus* his ſons were living, attained likewiſe to the
"crown? Moreover how *Servius Tullius* after him, the ſon of a captive woman of *Corniculum*,
"whoſe father was unknown, whoſe mother a bondwoman, through wit and vertue, obtained
"and held the Kingdom? For what ſhould I ſpeak of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* him-
"ſelf, the father and founder of this City, admitted to raign together with him? Well, ſo long as
"no ſtock was diſdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared ſparks of vertue, the Romans Em-
"pire

"pire became mighty, and flouriſhed. Scorn ye then at this day, a Conſul out of the Commo-
"nalty, when our forefathers deſpiſed not Kings that were aliens and ſtrangers? No, nor when
"the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and ſhut againſt forreiners, that were valorous, and
"men of action. The kinred and whole name (I am ſure) of the *Claudii*, after the Kings were
"exiled, we not only admitted into our City, from out of the Sabins, but alſo received into the
"number of the Patritians and Noble men. And may a meer forrainer indeed become a Noble-
"man, and ſo a Conſul? And ſhall a Citizen of *Rome*, if he be of the Commonalty, be wholly diſa-
"bled and out of all hope for ever of being Conſul? Tell me I pray you, Think ye it not poſſible,
"that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons,
"may prove like to *Numa*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Servius Tullius*? and if he do, whether ſhall we ſuffer
"him to govern the Common-weal, or no? And whether will ye have our Conſuls, ſuch rather
"as the Decemvirs (the moſt wretched and wicked perſons under the ſun, who, by your leave,
"were at that time of the Nobility) than ſtrangers and new-comers, which of all the Kings
"were ſimply the very beſt? But forſooth, preſently after the KK. were depoſed and expelled,
"there was not one of the Com. a Conſul. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained,
"and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practiſed,
"(as in a ſtate newly incorporate) ought not ſuch then to be put in uſe, if they be thought expe-
"dient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no Biſhops nor Augurs: by *Numa Pompilius* they
"were created. There was no Seſſing of the people at all in the City, no deſcription of Hundreds
"and Claſſes. By *S. Tullius* they were inſtituted. Coſſ. were never heard of before: when the KK.
"were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the abſolute rule nor yet the
"name of a Dictator was known. In our fathers dayes it firſt began. Tribuns, Ædiles, Queſtors
"there have been none: it was ordained they ſhould be made. Within this ten years, we have
"both created and alſo aboliſhed out of the common-weal, Decemvirs for the making and pen-
"ning of our laws. And who doubteth, but in a City founded for ever to endure, and increaſing
"ſtill infinitely, there will be brought in new Governments, new Prieſt-hoods and ſacerdotal
"dignities, new priviledges both of kindreds and private perſons? And even this one thing in
"queſtion, to wit, that the Com. and Nobles might not joyn in marriage, were not the Decem-
"virs they that firſt within theſe few years made that Edict? A moſt ſhameful enſample and pre-
"cedent in a free ſtate, and tending to the manifeſt wrong of the Commons. Can there be any
"greater or more notorious injury, than that there ſhould be in a City one part and member, as
"defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What elſe is this, but to ſuffer
"exile and confining within the ſame walls, when they debar us that we ſhould not be either al-
"lied in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forſooth) and take order that blound ſhould
"not be mixed, not families confuſed. How then? If this do pollute this great gentry of yours,
"which moſt of you deſcended from the Sabins and Albans, have not by right line from the Pa-
"tritians, but by coptation and election into the number of the Nobles, as being choſen either by
"the favour and grace of the Kings, or elſe by the peoples voyces after the KK. were expelled:
"could not your wiſedoms have kept your blound uncorrupt by ſome private means and proviſi-
"on, namely, by taking heed neither to eſpouſe wives from among the Commons, nor to ſuffer
"your daughters and ſiſters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might
"be ſure) would have forced a daughter of any noble houſe: no, theſe inſolencies of laſcivious
"luſt are appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of
"you againſt his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimony. But I wot, that by an ex-
"preſs law it ſhould be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons ſhould be
"condemned, that is it, which to the commonalty is a plain contumely and open injury. And
"why conſer ye not and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poor? That,
"which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and conſide-
"ration; namely, That into what houſe ſoever a woman caſt a liking and fancy, there ſhe might
"be married: and into what family a man obliged himſelf by word, promiſe and covenant, from
"thence he might take a wife: even that, reſtrain ye within the bonds of a moſt proud and tyran-
"nical law: whereby ye might break in ſunder all civil ſociety, and of one City make twain. Why
"forbid ye not by a poſitive Law, that a commoner ſhould not dwell by a Noble-man, or go the
"ſame way that he doth, or frequent the ſame feaſt, or converſe in the ſame market or common
"place of aſſembly? For in effect what difference is there, if a Gentleman marry a commoners
"daughter, or a commoner eſpouſe a Gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of ſtate
"is thereby changed? ſurely the children ſtill take after the father. Neither ſeek we for any thing
"elſe by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of
"citizens. Neither is there any cauſe, why you ſhould ſo contend and ſtand upon it (unleſs it do
"you good to croſs and take a pleaſure to exerciſe your ſelves in working us diſgrace and ſhame.)
"Finally I would gladly know whether the ſoveraign government of the ſtate reſteth in you or in
"the people of *Rome*? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your ſelves Lordly
"ſoveraignty, or purchaſed all men equal liberty? It muſt needs be granted, that the people of
"*Rome* may at their pleaſure publiſh and ordain a law. And will ye then as ſoon as any law what-
"ſoever, is by them propoſed, appoint a muſter preſently for their puniſhment? and as ſoon as I
"that am Tribun, ſhall begin to call the wards to give their voyces, ſhall you that are Conſuls, by
"and by ſwear all the younger ſort, preſs them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and

"menace

"menace the Commons, menace I say, the Tribun also? What? If ye had not twise already good
"experience, how little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Commons, when they
"agreed and stuck together, it were somewhat. Will ye say, that ye forbare to strive, ye tendered
"our good, and for pity spared us? Nay rather, to say a truth; was not this the cause that no fray
"was made, For that the stronger side was also the more cool and modester of the twain? Neither
"(O *Quirites*) will there now, I warrant you, be any combate, nor blows dealt: they will al-
"wayes assay and sound, what stomacks and hearts ye have, but never will they feel your fists, and
"try how keen your swords be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly in-
"deed reported) O ye Consuls, the Commons are ready prest to follow you: provided alwayes,
"that by granting them liberty of mutual marriage, ye will make at length this City one: that
"they may be linked, joyned and united unto you, by private alliance and affinity: that hardy and
"valiant men may have hope and possibility, to honors and dignities: that they may be allowed
"fellowship and society in the Common-weal: Finally, that (which is due unto equal liberty)
"they may one with another in alternative course, obey annual Magistrates, and be obeyed again
"in their turns. If any of you shall gainsay and withstand these conditions, prate still and talk at
"your pleasure of wars: multiply and make them as many and as great as ye will; There is not
"one shall give his name, not one shall take arms, not one shall fight for those proud Lords, with
"whom they can have neither fellowship of dignity in the Common-weal, nor alliance of mar-
"riage in private estate. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assembly
of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long Orations, to short dispute
and altercation: the Tribun demanded why a commoner might not attain to a Consulship? Unto
whom the Consul returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, so for the present con-
tention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Au-
spices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, lest upon a doubtful
and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled confusion of the Auspices. But hereat, the
Commons stormed and stamped most of all: that as odious men unto the immortal Gods, they
were flatly denied and deemed unworthy to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never
gave they over their heats of clamorous debate (whiles the Commons had gotten unto them a
most sharp Tribun to set them a work and were themselves in obstinacy no whit behind him) un-
till at length the Nobles were overcome and driven to grant, that the Law as touching marriage
should pass: supposing by that means especially, that the other Tribuns would either clean give
over their suit for making commoners Consuls, or at least wise put it off, until the war were ended:
and that the Commons in the mean while being well pleased and contented with marriage among
the Nobles, would be willing and ready to levy a muster. *Canuleius* for this his victory over the
Nobles, and for the favours he got among the Commons, became a great and mighty man. Where-
upon, the other Tribuns were kindled to the like combate: and for the proceeding of their Law
also, indeavoured with all their might and main. And albeit the rumour of the war encreased daily
more and more, yet they hinder the levy of souldiers. The Consuls seeing now that no decree
and order could pass the Senate-house, by reason that the Tribuns interposed their negative voyce:
took counsel together with the chief of the Nobility at home in their private houses. And well
they saw that they must yeeld either the victory to their enemies, or the buckler to their own ci-
tizens. Of all the Senators that had been Coss. only *Valerius* and *Horatius* were not present at
these counsels. *C. Claudius* his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms a-
gainst the Tribuns: But the two *Quintij*, *Cincinnatus* and *Capitolinus*, abhorred all bloudshed and
violent proceedings against those, whom by a solemn covenant made with the Commons, they
had received and accepted for to be as sacrosainct and unviolable. But in these counsels they
grew to this point in the end, that they suffered military Tribuns of equal power with the Con-
suls, to be created indifferently from out of the Commons and Nobles: provided alwayes, that
as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner afore-
time. And herewith were both Tribuns and Commons well satisfied and contented. A general
assembly therefore was proclaimed for the chusing of three Tribuns in Consuls authority, which
being once published: forthwith as many as had spoken or done ought tending to sedition, and
above all others those that had been Tribuns of the people, began in their whited robes to take
hold of men and run to and fro about the common place labouring for this dignity. At the first,
the Nobles partly in despair of obtaining the place (seeing the Commons so set a flote) partly for
disdain and indignation to bear any honourable office joyntly with them of so base condition,
were scared and affrighted from standing therefore: at the last (but they were forced thereto
first by the heads and the chief Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitors and suit-
ers for the dignity: lest they might seem to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Com-
mon-weal, and leave it entirely for the Commons. The event and effect of this Court, shewed
plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about liberty and dignity, than
presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging aright without passi-
on and affection. For the people satisfied herewith, that there was some account made of the
Commoners, and that they were not shut out, elected military Tribuns all of the Nobles. This
modesty, this equity, this noble mind where shall a man now adayes find in one person, which
then was to be seen in the whole people? In the three hundreth and tenth year after the City of
Rome was founded, were the first military Tribuns created, that bare office in the room of the Con-

A Consuls, to wit, *A. Sempronius Aratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Cecilius*: in whose government, concord at home caused also peace abroad. There be writers, who affirm, That upon occasion of the Veientian war, and the rebellion of the Ardeats, because two Consuls were not able to manage so many wars at once, therefore were three military Tribuns chosen: without making any mention of the Law published, concerning election of Consuls of the Commons: and that they were invested both in the jurisdiction, and also in the ornaments of the Consuls. Howbeit, the exercise of that government, stood not fast and sure, nor continued long. For within three moneths after that they entred, they forewent their office, by a decree of the Augurs, as if there had been some error in their creation. It was alledged that *C. Curiatius*, who was President of that Court
B of Election, had taken his quarters amiss for the observation of the lucky signs by flight of birds, and not according to the Augurs skill.

There came from the Ardeats to *Rome*, Embassadors, complaining of wrong received, in these terms: That if it might be redressed, and amends made, and their grounds restored, they seemed willing to abide still in league and amity. Answer was made them by the Senate, that the judgment of the people, already passed, could not be reversed by the Senate, if it were so: nothing else but for concord sake and agreement of the States: besides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor Law and authority to warrant them. Marry, if the Ardeats would wait their times, and put to the Senates arbitrement and discretion, the redress and easement of their injury pretended, it would come to pass, that in proces of time they should not repent of governing
C their passions, and bridling their choler: and should well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, that there should no wrong be offered unto their friends, as they were careful, that if any were offered, it should not long continue. Thus the Embassadors, promising, to make a true report, unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly dismissed, and had their discharge.

The Senators seeing now the Commonweal, without any soveraign Magistrate of the chair and of State, went together, and made an Interregent: and whiles they strove whether Consuls or Tribuns should be created, the Interregent continued many dayes. The Interregent and the Senate laboured, that there should be an Election of Consuls: the Tribuns on the other side, and their Commonalty, were for the Tribuns Consular. But the Senators prevailed, because both the people seeing they were to confer the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, surceased to strive any
D more: and also the chief of the Commons, chose rather to have that Election, wherein they should not be once propounded, than wherein they were sure to take the repulse, as unworthy. The Tribuns also gave over to contend any longer to no purpose, and without effect, seeming thereby somewhat to gratify and please the LL. of the Senate. So *T. Quintius Barbatus* the Interregent, chose for Consuls *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratius*. Whiles these were Consuls, the league with the Ardeats was renued. And this is the only evidence and proof, that they were Consuls that year, for that neither in the ancient yearly records, nor in the Calenders of the Magistrates, they are found at all. I take it, because the military Tribuns were created in the beginning of that year: and therefore, although these Consuls were in their stead chosen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole year.

E *Licinius Macer* affirmeth, that they are mentioned both in the composition with the Ardeats, and also in the linen books or registers in the Church of *Juno Moneta*. Albeit there had been so many terrors and bravados, threatned from the borderers, yet both abroad and at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribuns only, or Consuls also chosen in the room of Tribuns governed in this year; certain it is, that the next following, had Consuls *M. Geganius Macerinus* the second time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fift time. This was the very year when the Censors office came up first. A thing that rose of a small beginning: which notwithstanding afterwards increased to that height, that it had government, of the manners and discipline of the Romans: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the distinction of worship and shameful disgrace, were reduced. Likewise, the survey of publick and private Ædifices,
F yea, and the tributes, revenues and subsidies of the people of *Rome* were at the disposition, ordering, and discretion of that office. The beginning of which thing arose upon this occasion: For that the people in many years space had not been assessed and numbred, and seeing the Cense could be deferred no longer, nor the Consuls (by reason of wars, from so many nations imminent) had leisure to go about and accomplish that business: the Senate therefore made a motion, that the charge being painful, and not for the Majesty of Consuls to busy themselves in, required a special Magistrate, and a peculiar officer by it self. Under whom should attend the Secretaries and Clerks: who likewise should have the keeping and charge of the rolls and publick records: and at whose discretion should pass the scedules and instruments of all Assesments. The Senators therefore accepted gladly of this overture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet because there
G should be the more Magistrates of the Nobility. Supposing (I ween) it would come to passe, as (it proved indeed) that shortly the power and wealth of those, who bare the office, should win more authority and credit unto the thing. Yea, and the Tribuns also made no great ado, but suffered it to pass, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of necessity and attendance, than of shew, port, or honor: because they would not seem to be crosse and peevish in every small matter. When as therefore this dignity was of the principal of the City refused, the people by their voyces chose to that Office. *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, of whose Consulship there was some doubt: to the end, that by that office they might supply and make up the

Military Tribuns first created, with Consuls authority.

Consuls chosen again.

Censors first created.

the defect and miss of a Consulship. And of the exercise and function it self, Censors were they called.

Whiles these things were a doing at *Rome*, there came Embassadors from *Ardea*, craving as wel in regard of their most ancient amity, as also of the late league renued, their helping hand for their City, welnigh undone and overthrown. For, peace (which wisely and by right good advise they had kept and maintained with the people of *Rome*) they might not enjoy at home, by reason of inward debate and domestical quarrels. The cause and beginning whereof, as it is reported, arose from siding and factions, which have been and will be to most States more pernicious, than forrain wars, than famine or plague, or other adversities, which men attribute to the anger and wrath of God, as the extremity of all publick calamities whatsoever. There was a maid, a Commoners daughter and no better, by birth, but for her rare beauty of singular note and passing renown: whom two young men were suiters unto. The one of the same condition or estate that the maid was of, and who relied upon her guardians and tutors, who also were of that degree and calling: the other a Gentleman, enamoured on her, only for her beauty. As for him, he had the good wills of the best in the City, by whose means the strife of partaking, entred even into the house of the Damosel. For the Gentleman in the Mothers judgment, was the more welcome and better liked of, whose desire was, that the maid should be preferred by marriage, and be most worshipfully bestowed. The Guardians also banded themselves, and laboured for their party. But when as the matter might not be ended within dores, it came to suit in Law. And when the reasons and allegations were heard, both of the Mother and also of the Guardians, the Judges pronounced sentence of marriage to be at the disposition of the Mother. But might prevailed more than right. For the Tutors aforesaid, openly in the market place of the City, having amongst those of their party and faction, complained of that injurious award, with a troup of men by force, fet the maid out of the Mothers house. Against whom arose a stronger power of the gentry, and following the young Gentleman, who was incensed and set on fire upon this injury offered. Whereupon insued a cruel fray. The Commons being defeated, went forth (far unlike to the Commons of *Rome*) armed as they were out of the City, and took for their hold a Hill, and invaded the Lands of the Nobles with fire and sword: and having gathered to them a multitude of Artisans and handicrafts men, whom in hope of spoil they had called forth, they purpose and prepare to besiege the City also, which aforetime had been altogether unacquainted with the like storms. In such sort, as no kind of calamity that followeth war, was wanting: as if the poor City had been tainted, infected, and poisoned with the furious madness of two brain-sick young men, seeking a woful and deadly marriage, with the utter ruin and destruction of their native Country. And neither part thought it enough to war and fight at home among themselves. For the Nobles solicited the Romans for to rescue their besieged City: the Commons stirred up the Volscians, to help to force and sack the City. The Volscians under the conduct of *Æquus Cluilius* came first to *Ardea*, and against the walls of their enemies, raised a countermure, and cast a trench, and blocked the Town round about. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, forthwith *M. Geganius* Consul, went forth with an army, and incamped himself three miles from the enemies: and the day being now far spent and drawing toward night, he commandeth his souldiers to refresh and make much of themselves, and take their rest: and afterwards at the relief of the fourth watch, he brought forth his ensigns, set his men to work, and sped his business once begun, so that by the sun-rising, the Volscians might see themselves invested more streightly by the Romans, then the City beleagnered by them. And on another side the Consul had joyned a sconce to the wall of *Ardea*, by which way his souldiers might go and come in safety. The Captain of the Volscians, who had to that day prepared no victuals, but sustained his army only with the corn which he had for the present from day to day robbed by forraging the Country, seeing himself intrenched, and of a sudden to be destitute of all things, called the Consul forth to emparle, saying, That if the Romans coming was to raise the siege, he would remove and dislodge from thence. To which again the Consul made this reply, That vanquished men were to take, and not to make Articles of Conditions: neither should they, as they were come at their pleasure to assault the allies of the Romans, so depart again when they list to *Volsci*. He commandeth therefore to yeeld their General, to lay down their weapons, confessing themselves overcome, and to be at his devotion. Otherwise he would be a bitter and mortal enemy unto them, whether they departed or tarried still, and carry home to *Rome* the victory of the Volscians, rather than their faithless peace. The Volscians, when they had assayed that small hope they had in their weapons (for all hope else was cut off) besides all other things that were cross unto them, encountred in a place of great disadvantage for fight, but worse for flight: and seeing themselves on every side beaten down and slain, turned from fighting to intreating, delivered up their Captain, yeelded their weapons, were driven under the Gallows, and in their single doublet and hose with great shame and calamity, were let go and sent away. And sitting them down to rest themselves, not far from the Town *Tusculum*, the Tusculans upon an old grudge and hatred against them, set upon them thus disarmed and naked as they were at unawares, and were so meet with them, that scarcely there remained any one to carry news of their ill day and unfortunate overthrow. Then the Roman Cos. appeased the troubles at *Ardea*: beheaded the chief Captains of that commotion, and confiscated their goods to the common chest and Chamber of the Ardeats. And so by this great favour and benefit of the people of *Rome*, they supposed the injury of the former arbitrement was done away and recompensed. But yet the

See the end of the former Book.

the Senat of *Rome*, thought somewhat behind still for the cancelling of the memorial of publick avarice. The Consul returned, triumphing into the City, leading *Cluilius* the Captain of the Volscians before his chariot, with the spoil born afore him of the enemies, whom he had disarmed, and brought under the yoak. *Quintius* the Consul again for his part, in his long robe and gown of peace, countervailed (a thing not usually seen) the glory of his Colleague in his bright armor: who had so great regard at home to entertain concord and peace among the Citizens, by ministring justice indifferently, as wel to the highest as to the lowest, that the Senators reputed him a severe Consul, and the Commons accounted him as meek and gentle a person. And more he won at the Tribuns hands by countenance and reputation, than by contention and debate. His five Consulships wherein he carried himself after one and the self same manner and order: the course of his whole life, ever Consul-like, caused his person to be in a manner more reverenced then his honourable place. By this means, whiles these were Consuls, no words were made of military Tribuns. Then created they for Consuls *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Posthumius Ebutius Cornicen*. These Consuls, by how much greater and more glorious the acts both at home and abroad, were atchieved by those, whom they saw they were to succeed (and surely that year was right memorable among the borderers, as well allies as enemies, and namely, because the Ardeats in so hard distress, were by them succoured) so much the more earnestly endeavoured for their part, to raze out of mens minds the infamy of that judgement aforesaid, and made an Act and Decree of the Senat in this form, *That for as much as the City of the Ardeats, by reason of Civil troubles, was dispeopled and brought to a small number of Citizens, there should be enrolled certain inhabitants to be sent thither for a Garrison, and defence against the Volscians.* This was openly ingrossed in publick Tables, and Instruments, for a policy, that their secret intent and purpose of reversing and disanulling the arbitrement, might not be perceived by the Tribuns and the Commons. But they closely complotted, that when they had enrolled a far greater number of Rutilians than of Romans, for to inhabit *Ardea*, neither should any other lands be divided, but those which by that infamous and unhoneſt award were intercepted: nor that one foot or clod of ground should be assigned to any other Roman, before the whole lands were parted among all the Rutilians. Thus the domain that had been in question, returned again to the Ardeats. The Triumvirs for the conveying of a Colony to *Ardea*, were created these, *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Cloelius Siculus*, and *M. Ebutius Helva*. Who, besides that, they offended the Commons by their ready service and nothing popular, in regard, that they assigned and set out to their allies, that land which the people of *Rome* judged their own, were not well thought of neither, by the chief of the Nobility: because in the execution of their charge, they did nothing of affection, and for favour. Howbeit they avoided all troubles and dangers that were toward them (albeit they were accused by the Tribuns before the people.) For when they had registred and placed the Coloners, they remained still themselves in the same Colony, which they had as witness of their innocency, and just dealing.

In this year, and the year following, when *Caius Furius Pacilius*, and *Marcus Papirius Crassus* were Consuls, there was peace at home and abroad. The plays which had been vowed by the Decemvirs, according to the Senats decree, during the time of the Commons insurrection and departure from the Nobles, were this year set forth. *Petilius* sought for some occasion of sedition, but in vain. Who being made Tribun the second time, albeit he harped still upon one string, and threatned the self same things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Consuls should propose unto the Senat, concerning the division of lands among the Commons: and when as with great ado he had obtained thus much, that the Senators should be moved and their opinions asked, whether they would have an election of Consuls or Tribuns (Consular:) determined it was at length, that Consuls should be chosen. So, that the menaces of the Tribun, that he would hinder the muster, was a ridiculous matter of game: seeing that when the borderers were at quiet, there was no need either of war or preparation for war. After this great quietness of the State, followeth a year (wherein *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Consuls) for sundry calamities and perils memorable: namely, Seditions, Famine, and hazard of receiving upon their necks the yoak of Kings rule again, and that, by the sweetness of a Largess. There wanted only forraign war: wherewith if the Common-weal had been afflicted too, hardly could the help of all the gods above, have recovered the State. These calamities began with hunger. But whether it were, for that the year was unseasonable for corn, or that they were so in love with the plausible and seditious Orations, and of the City it self, that they slighted and neglected the Tillage of their ground, it is uncertain. For both the one and the other is reported. The Lords of the Senat blamed the idleness of the Commons: and the Tribuns of the Commons laid the weight one while upon the fraud and naughtiness, another while upon the negligence and remissness of the Consuls. At the last, the commoners enforced and drave the people (but not against the will of the Senate) to chuse *L. Minutius* Master of the provision or principal purveior of corn and victuals: a man who in that office proved more lucky to preserve the liberty of the City then happy in the exercise or ministery of his charge: albeit at the latter end, he deserved and had, both praise and thanks, for bringing down the price of Corn. Who, notwithstanding many Embassages sent both by sea and land, to the neighbor nations round about, and all to little purpose (ut that out of *Hetruria* there was brought some little sprinkling of Corn) nothing eased and mended the Market: and therefore he turned again to the dispensing or dealing the present dearth

indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confesse what corn he had, to open his garners, H to bring it forth, to vent and sell that, which he had more then would serve a month. But when by this practise, and by defrauding servants a portion of their dayly food, and by accusing the corn-mungers and exposing them to the furious ire of the people, he had with all his hard courses and sharp inquisitions rather laid open then eased the present need and necessity: many of the common people despairing of all hope, rather then they would live thus miserably tormented, pining and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themselves headlong into *Tyber*. Then *Sp. Melius*, by calling a Knight or Gentleman of *Rome*, a man (as in those days) exceeding rich, enterprised a thing, commodious I must needs say, but a dishonest precedent of dangerous consequence; and proceeding of a worse mind and intent of his. For having with his own I mony bought up the corn out of *Hetruria* by the means of his friends and vassals, whose ministry he used: which thing (I believe verily) was an hindrance that all the publick care and providence, took small effect, and nothing helped the general want and scarcity, he devised to bring up a free dole and distribution of corn: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and liberality won the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way soever he went carrying a port and majesty with him above the degree of a private person, draw after him a train of the people, promising him by their favour of support, undoubted and assured hope of a Consulship. But himself (as mans nature is unsatiable) not content herewith, aspired to higher matters then fortune promised him, and those unlawful, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very Consulship was to be wrested from the Nobles against their wills, he plotted to make himself a K King, and thought that, the only guerdon due for so deep reaches and designs, and worthy that great contention and strife which he was to abide with much toil and sweat of brows. Now drew the Election on apace for Consuls, which thing prevented him afore he had brought his devices to full ripeness and perfection. Consul was created *L. Quintius Capitolinus* the sixth time, a man most unfit for his turn, that should go about innovations and to change the state: and with him was joined *Agrippa Menenius*, surnamed *Lanatus*. And *L. Minutius*, was either made again the master victualler, or else created he was at first without limitation of time, to continue so long as the case should require. For there is no certainty thereof, but only the name of Corn-master, recorded both years in the linnen Books or Registers among other Magistrates. This *Minutius* was vigilant and as careful for the Common-weal, as *Melius* for his private wealth: and upon oc- L casion that men of the same quality, to wit, the Commons, were conversant in both houses, namely, in his own and in the house of *Melius*, he came to the knowledge by their means, of *Melius* his treason: and declared unto the Senat the whole complot. Namely, That there was armor and weapons good store, carried into the house of *Melius*: that he kept conventicles there, and made seditious Orations, and that it was past all peradventure that he practised to be King. As for the time of working the feat and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined and certainly known: all other things were already agreed upon. *Item*, that the Tribuns were bribed and hired to sell and betray the liberty of the City: That to certain Captains of the multitude divers charges were appointed. And herewithal, he excused himself (and said) That because he would not be reputed the author of any uncertain or vain intelligence, he uttered these matters somewhat M with the latest, and later well-neer, then might stand with the common safety of the Weal-publick. Which news after they were heard, and that on every side the chief Senators had given both the Cons. of the former year a check, for that they had suffered those Largesses of corn, and tollerated meetings of the Commons in a private house: and rebuked the new Consuls also, for that they had stayed so long and waited till a matter of so great importance was by the corn-master detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Cos. to be not only the informer, but also the reformer: Then *T. Quintius* answered, That the Consuls were blamed without just cause, who being bridled with the laws of appealing, tending to the great prejudice and disanulling of their soveraign government, had not commission sufficient by vertue of their place, to punish the thing according to the hainousnesse and quality thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto: N and that there was need now, not only of a valiant and stout man, but also of one that was freed from all bonds of laws and tied to none. And therefore he would name *L. Quintius* for Dictator: in whom there was courage answerable to that absolute authority. When all men liked wel thereof, *Quintius* himself at the first refused: demanding what they meant, to object and expose him, an unweldy man & so far stept in years, to so great trouble, and manifest danger. Afterwards, when as they replied on all hands, and alledged how in that heart of his for all his age there was more valour. and in his head more policy then in all men besides; heaping on him right due and deserved praises, and commendations; and whiles the Consul also importuned him still and gave not over: then *Cincinnatus*, after he had prayed to the gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in so fearful a case, might not turn either to the losse or dishonor of the Common-wealth, was by O the Consul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated *C. Servilius Hala* General of the horsemen. The morrow after when he had set and disposed certain guards, in divers places of the City, and was come down into the common place: the common people wondring at the strangeness of the matter, had their eyes upon him: and the adherents and complices of *Melius*, and he himself their Captain, saw well that the force and power of this so great a magistrate was bent against them. But they that were not acquainted with those plots and designs that tended to the setting up of a King, asked one another, what tumult or sudden war, should require either a

XIV

Dictators

A Dictators majesty, or that *Quintius* after fourscore years of age, should be the only Ruler of the City. With that, *Servilius* the General of the horsemen was by the Dictator sent to *Melius*: Who said unto him, The Dictator calleth thee. Whereat he being afraid, asked again, What he would? and *Servilius* said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that *Minutius* had informed against him, before the Senat. Then *Melius* began to retire himself back into the rout of his followers, and looking about at the first, shrunk only away from him, and refused to obey. At the last the Apparitor at the general of the horsemens commandment, began to force him to go with him: but he being rescued by the standers by, found his feet and began to fly, and besought the aid of the Com-
B monalty of *Rome*: saying, That the faction of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberality bestowed upon them: beseeching them to help him in that extremity, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very sight. As he spake these words, *Hala Servilius* overtook him, and killed him out-right: and being sprinkled with his blood thus slain, and guarded with a company of tall Gentlemen of the Nobility, he bringeth word to the Dictator, how *Melius* being cited to come unto him, put back the Apparitor, and raised the multitude: and now had suffered due punishments for his deserts. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forth in this valor and vertue of thine, O *C. Servilius*, thou deservest great praise, and hast delivered the Common-wealth this day from tyranny. Then XV
C as the multitude murmured and made a stir upon some doubt, what they should think of the fact, and what might be the occasion thereof; he commanded them to assemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that *Melius* was justly slain: yea, albeit he had been cleer from seeking to be King: for that being summoned and convented before the Dictator, and that by the General of the horsemen, he refused and came not: "for my self (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and enquire of the cause: and The Oration of *Quintius* the Dictator, to the people of *Rome*.
"upon the trial thereof, *Melius* should have sped no worse then his cause deserved: but
"because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgment, by violence
"therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a Citizen, who
"being born in a free state, where justice and law were in force: and in that City, where-
D "out he was not ignorant that the KK. were sometimes expelled: and where in one and
"the same year, *Collatinus* sisters sons, and the sons of that Cos. that was deliverer of
"his Country, detested of a complot and conspiracy of receiving again into the City the
"KK. blood, were by their own father beheaded: out of which City, *Tarquinius Col-*
"*latinus* Cos. for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office,
"suffered exile: in which City, many years after *Sp. Cassius* for practising and plotting onely
"to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs,
"for a tyrannical pride, where deprived of their goods, banished their country, and bereft
"of their lives. That in the same City (I say) *Sp. Melius* should conceive any hope
"of reaching to a Kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what quality and condition? And
E "yet, no gentility of birth, no dignities nor deserts were sufficient to make way to any * *Sol. Appio*
"for lordly rule and tyranny. Howbeit, the * *Claudii* and *Cassii*, by reason of the Consul-
"ships and Decemvirships of their own, by reason of the honourable estate and reputati-
"on of their ancestors, and the worship and glory of their linage, took upon them, be-
"came haughty and proud, and aspired to that, whereunto *Sp. Melius* had no such means
"to induce him: who might have sit him down, well enough, and rather wished and
"prayed to God, then hoped once for so much, as a Tribunship of the Commons. And
"supposed he, being but a rich corn-master, that with a quart (or measure of corn of
"two pounds) he had bought the freedom of his fellow Citizens? or thought he by ca-
"sting morsels of bread and victuals afore the common sort, that the victorious people,
F "conquerers of all nations about them, might be allured into thraldom? and whom the
"City could hardly brook to be a Senator, him they should endure their King, to have
"the regal ensigns and the government of *Romulus*, the first founder of the City, de-
"scended first from the gods, and to them ascended up again: why, it was a thing not so
"wicked as monstrous. Neither was this act sufficiently satisfied for, with the shedding
"of his blood, unless the house and walls, within which so horrible madness was conceived
"and forged, were cast down and razed: and unless these goods, which were tainted and
"infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the Kingdom, were forfeit
"and confiscate. He commanded therefore the Questors, to sell those goods, and * Three fac-
to bring the mony into the common Treasury. And then he caused forthwith his dwel- things Engl.
G ling house to be overthrown and made even with the ground, that the plot or floor thereof, * *Modius*, a Ro-
might be a monument of a wicked attempt, smothered and stifled in the very hope and man measure,
hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards *Æquimelium*. As for *L.* containing a
Minutius he had an Ox with guilded horns given him for an honour and reward without peck within a
the gate *Trigemina*. The Commons therewith were not miscontented, for that to pint, or the
them he divided *Melius* his corn, at the price of one * As a * *Modius*. Among some authors fourth part of
Lond in bushel,
or *Warwick-*
shire strike.

I find, that this *Minutius* forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribun of the Commons, and appeased the mutiny that arose upon *Melius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribuns to be encreased: and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the commonalty would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed, or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this consuteth and reproveth the false title of *Tribune* set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a Statute expresly provided, That Tribuns might not chuse and take unto them a Colleague in office. *Q. Cecilius*, and *Q. Junius*, and *Sextus Titinius* were the only men of all the Colledge of Tribuns that propounded not the Law for the honour of *Minutius*, but rather accused it unto the Commons, both *Minutius* and *Servilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of *Melius*: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an election for military Tribuns rather then for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if six were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Melius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were tossed that year with many and sundry troubles, chose no more then three Tribuns with Consuls authority: and among them, *L. Quintius* the son of *Cincinnatus*: Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship past, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and *Mamercus Æmylius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore *Quintius*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Julius* they created for the third.

XVII

Tolumnius murdereth the Roman Embassadors.

Whiles these bare soveraign rule, *Fidene* the Colony of the Romans, revolted to *Lars Tolumnius*, the King of the Veientians, and to the State of the Veientians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed. For at the commandment of *Tolumnius*, they slew *C. Fulcinius*, and *C. Julius*, *Sp. Nautius*, and *L. Roscius* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and sudden alteration. Some here do excuse and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a lucky cast of dice he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the Fidenatians so taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadours to be killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadours (a thing incredible, that at the comming in of the Fidenatians, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proveth to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Fidenatians should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him, being attaint with the guiltinesse of so foul a murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands. The statues of these Embassadors which were at *Fidene* murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the *Rostra*. [*A publick crosse (as it were) or pulpit in* Rome, *out of which the Magistrates made Orations to the people, beautified with the beakheads of ships and their brasen pikes called Rostra.*] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and Fidenates. Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribuns, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet; there was no question, but that *M. Geganius Macerinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius Fidenas* (namad (I suppose) so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountred with the King of the Veientians on this side * *Anio*, and gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the loss of his own souldiers, then the joy for the discomfiture of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrents, ordained *Mamercus Æmylius* to be created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of Tribuns military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horsemen, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, who had been a Tribun with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthy son of so worthy a father. To those souldiers that were by the Consul mustered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilful warriers, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battel were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferiour, drave the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their camp still backward, seized upon the hills between *Fidene* and *Anio*: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legions of the *Falisci* came to succour. Then at length, the Tuscans encamped themselves under the walls of *Fidene*. And the Roman Dictator likewise rested and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had cast up a trench and rampart afront, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battel. The enemies

* A river now called *Teveron.*

XVIII

A mies were of sundry minds. The Falisians, who hardly could away long with military service farre from home, and trusting withal in their own selves, that they were good enough, required battel. The Veientians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on length. *Tolumnius*, albeit the advice of his own men liked him better, yet because the Falisians should not endure lingring warfare, sendeth a trumpet, and proclameth battel against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans, for that the enemies for the present shifted off fight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the souldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, That unlesse they might have battel, they would assault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both parts came forth B into the midst of the plain, between the two Camps. The Veientians, as being more in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certain companies to fetch a compass behind the Hills, who in the time of the conflict should set upon the Roman Camp. And in this order stood the main Army of three Nations together embattelled. The Veientians kept the right point, the Falisians the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the Falisians, and on the left *Capitolinus Quintius* charged the Veientians: and against the main battel between both, marched the Coronel of the Cavalry, with his Cornets of horse. Thus as they stood arranged in battel array, for a pretty while was there silence on either side, and all quiet. For neither would the Tuscans begin first, unlesse they were urged: And the Dictator looked ever and C anon backward toward the Capitol of *Rome*, that the Augurs should set up a signal aloft (as it was agreed between them) so soon as the flight of fowls gave approbation accordingly: which he no sooner espied, but he put out presently the men of arms, with a great shout against the enemies. The army of the footmen followed hard after in the tail, and seconded them with a lusty charge. But on no hand were the Tuscan legions able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry stood hardest to it, and made head still. For the King himselfe, the best horseman and most valiant of them all, when as on every side his enemies charged and pressed sore upon him, rode afront them, held out and maintained fight. There chanced then to be among the Roman horsemen, a Tribune or Marshal, one *A. Cornelius Cossus*, a goodly tall man of body, and as valiant and strong withD al, who set before his eyes the noble house from whence he was descended, and carried this mind, as it was right honourable already by his ancestors left him, so to recommend the same to his posterity more glorious and renowned. This man seeing the troops of Romans waving to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tolumnius*, which way soever he bent and turned; and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bare himself like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel. "Is this (quoth he) the forsworn breaker of "humane league, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and of nations? Now "will I presently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world should remain wholly and "inviolate, be his Priest, I will sacrifice and betake him to the ghosts of our Embassadors "deceased. Herewith, setting spurs to his horse, with bent spear in rest, he rode full aE gainst that one enemy, singled from the rest; smote him, and dismounted him from his horse. Then bearing upon his staff, alight presently on foot, and as the King was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the boss of his target, and laid him stretching long & after many wounds given him, at length fastned him with his spear to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he disarmed and dispoiled him, and struck off his head: and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearful spectacle to the enemies of their King slain, and so discomfited them. Thus was the strength of the horsemen defeated also, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put likewise the legions of footmen to flight, pursued them still, and drave them to their fort, killing them all the way in the chase. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coasts of the Country, fled into the F mountains, and escaped. *Cossus* with his horsemen passed over *Tyber*, and brought home into the City a great booty out of the country of the Veientians. As this battel was in fighting, there was a skirmish also in the Roman camp, with that part of the forces, which (as it is aforesaid) was sent by *Tolumnius* to surprise it. *Fabius Vibulanus* first defended the rampart, ordering his men all within, in compass like a garland: and while the enemies were wholly bent about the assaule, he with the *Triarii* or souldiers of the rereward, suddenly issued forth at the gate, called *Principalis*, on the right hand, and gave a hot charge upon them; Upon which they were affrighted, but there ensued the less slaughter, because the number was smaller. Howbeit, they fled no lesse in disarray, than those in the very battel. Thus the Dictator having prosperous success every where, returned with triumph into the City, by G the decree of the Senat, and grant of the people. In which triumphs the greatest shew and goodliest sight of all, was *Cossus*, bearing the rich & royal spoils of the King, slain by his own hand. For of him the souldiers chanted divers rude ballads without rime and metre, comparing him in their songs with *Romulus*. Which spoils with a solemn manner of dedication he bestowed and hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, neer unto those of *Romulus*, which

were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went he with- H drew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto himselfe, and hee in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that festival day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter*, a golden Crown, weighing one* pound weight, raised out of the common money of the City.

* 36. lib. sterl. in angel gold.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second royal spoils. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoils onely are by right accounted *Opima*, or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none I for General, but him under whose conduct an high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [*That* Cossus *being Consul, won those spoils.*] When I once heard say, that *Augustus Cæsar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entred into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it so written in a linnen Jack or Curaze: I thought it little better then sacrilege, to discredit and cancel the testimony of *Cossus* himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Augustus Cæsar*, the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That so ancient Records and Chronicles, and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linnen, and laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, *Macer Licinius* doth very often quote and K cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh year after Consul, with *Titus Quintius Pennus*: let every man abound in his own sense, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more then all this may be alledged to prove, that so famous a battel could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence and dearth of corn: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third year, after that *Cossus* was Consul, he was military Tribun in Consuls authority, and in the same year General of the horsemen also: in which government he fought another notable battel with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guesse what he will. L But (as I think) we may toss these things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battel his own selfe, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Jupiter* himselfe standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to bee despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.*]

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientians Country, and the other into the Falisicians, and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for M the enemies themselves, no where in the Country were they to be seen, nor any battel was fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not assaulted, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons sought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to prevaile and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these surmises were with the people of lesse credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sickness still encreasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearful and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the N Country were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whiles the Duumvir going afore pronounced the prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the year following, when C. *Julius* the second time, and *L. Virginius* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, so great a fear of utter desolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whiles the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the Fidenates also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entred now into the lands about *Rome*, and forraged all the Country. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Falisci- O ans could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio*, and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensigns. So the fear was no lesse within the City than in the Country. Then *Julius* the Consul bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and the

A the walls: whiles *Virginius* assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*, for to ask their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Servilius*, surnamed (as some say) *Priscus*, or as others, *Structus*. *Virginius* making no longer stay than until he had consulted with his Colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, *Posthumius Ebutius Helva*. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate *Collina*, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and Ensigns were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City and brought to the Dictator. Whiles these things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawn to the higher grounds and B and places of advantage; and thither marched the Dictator with his army in order of battel. And encountring with them not far from *Nomentum*, he discomfited the legions of the Tuscans, and drave them into the town of *Fidenæ*, and cast a trench about it. But neither could the town be scaled for the high site thereof and the strong walls about it: and to lay siege unto it might not avail: for that they had corn not only to suffice the ordinary need of men besieged, but also plenty to spare, of their old store and provision gathered aforehand. Thus the Dictator being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing them to yeeld by composition, purposed in certain places for the neerneese to him well known, at the backside of the City which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the surest, to undermin unto the Castle. And he him- *Fidenæ* won by C selfe in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army di- a Stratageme vided into four parts, to succeed one another by turns in order: and so, by continual skirmishing day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay and withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the work under ground: until such time as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up into the Castle. And when as the Tuscans were wholly amused upon the vain threatnings, and bravado's of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an out-cry, that the town was taken. In this year *Cn. Furius Pacilius* and *M. Geganius Macerinus*, Censors, appointed and *Villa Publica.* D dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in *Mars* field: and there first by them was held the Setting and numbring of the people. I find in *Macer Licinius*, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and *Q. Tubero*, do name *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpitius* for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both *Tubero* and *Macer* professe that they followed the linnen Records: and neither of them both conceal, that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribuns military, in Consuls authority. *Licinius* without doubt is addicted to those linnen Registers, and *Tubero* is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

After the winning of *Fidenæ*, great was the fear in *Hetruria*, whilest not only the Veien- E tians were scared, fearing the like destruction: but the *Falisci* also, remembring the war A General Diet of all Tuscanie at *Fanum Voturnæ.* began first with them, albeit they were not assistant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadours abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all *Hetruria* should be assembled at the Temple of **Voturnæ*: the Senat, as if some great troubles were like thereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Mamercus Æmylius*, should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Posthumius Tubero* was named General of the horsemen. And with so much greater endeavor made they preparation of arms than in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Hetruria* banded together, than had been from two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When F as therefore news came by Merchants, that the Veientians were flatly denied help, and bidden to end that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun on their own heads: not seek to embark them in the association of their misery and adversity, unto whom they had not imparted their mind & hope in their upright state, and when they were in their height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of work for a monument, setteth in hand to abate and diminish the Censorship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offended not so much with the greatnesse of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore The Oration of *Mamercus Æmylius*, to the people. assembled all the people together: "For as much as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have under- G "taken to govern the Common-Weale abroad, and performed all safe and sure: I for my part "concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and pro- "vide for the freedom of the people of *Rome*. The greatest preservation, and defence "whereof resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when "they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for

* *Viterbo* at this day, as it is thought. *Ortel.*

"for other magistracies they are from year to year: but this of the Censors continuing five
"years, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many years, even a
"great part of their life, in danger of the same Rulers still. Minded therefore I am, to pro-
The office of Censors reduced from the term of five years, to one and an half. pose a law, That the Censorship continue no longer than one year and six months. With
great applause and consent of the people, the next day after, he both published the law
and enacted it. And now that ye may (quoth he) O *Quirites*, know in very deed, how
I mislike of these long lasting offices, here presently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus hav-
ing given over his own place, set a limitation to the rule of others, and absolutely ended
one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his
house. The Censors taking it grievously that *Mamercus* had abridged an office of the people
of *Rome*, displaced him from his own Tribe, laying on him an eightfold tax in the subsidy
Book, disfranchised and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better then
Mamercus Æmylius disfranchised and made *Ærarius*. a Tributary. Which disgrace (they say) he took with a noble stomach, looking rather to
the cause of this shameful note, than to the ignominy it self. Moreover, the Lords of the
Senate, albeit they were willing enough that the Censorship nails should be pared and their
power taken down, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severity of
those in place: for as much as they all saw plainly, that they should be both longer time and
oftner under Censors, then Censors themselves. But so great an indignation of the people
(by report) grew hereof, that by the authority of no man but of *Mamercus* himself, could
they be restrained from offering violence to the very persons of the Censors. And the Tri-
buns of the Commons, with their continual Orations and Remonstrances, prohibited the
Election of Consuls. When as the matter was well neer brought to the point of an Inter-
reign, they obtained at length with much strife and contention, that there should be mili-
Tribuns Military in Consuls room, chosen again. tary Tribuns chosen, with Consular authority. But reward of this their victory, whereat
they shot, could they get none: namely, that a Commoner might be chosen for one. They
were all of the Nobility that were created, to wit, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Folius*, and *L.
Sergius Fidenas*.

The plague that year was the occasion of quietness from all other troubles. A Temple
then was vowed to *Apollo* for the health of the people. Howbeit, great loss was there both
in town and country, by the the mortality of men and murrain of cattel, one with another
indifferently. And fearing lest the husbandmen of the country should be famished, they
sent for corn into *Hetruria* and the country of *Pomptinum*, to *Cumes*, and at last even into *Si-
cily*. And not a word all this while about the election of Consuls. So there were military
Tribuns elected, with Consuls authority, all again of the *Patritii*, namely, *L. Pinarius Ma-
mercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albus*. That year the violence of the sick-
nesse abated: neither was there any danger or fear of scarcity of Corn, because they had made
provision aforehand. Great sitting and consultation there was in the general Diets of the Vol-
scians and Æquians, and in *Hetruria* at the aforesaid Temple of *Votumnia* about making war.
There, the matter was put off for one whole year: and by an Act or Decree it was pro-
vided, that no Assembly or Parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the
people of the Veientians complained but all in vaine, that the same fortune was like
to happen unto *Veii*, which had fallen already upon *Fidene*, even the utter sub-
version of the State. In this mean season, at *Rome* the chiefe heads of the Commons
having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vain, after higher place of
dignity and honour, took their vantage whiles all was quiet abroad, and began
to have their conventicles and meetings in the houses of the Tribunes, and there en-
tertained secret Counsels. Some complained that they were much despised of the com-
mon people: for whereas in so many yeares, There were Tribunes Military crea-
ted with Consuls authority, yet never was there any one of the Commonalty ad-
vanced to that Dignity. Our forefathers (say they) in great wisedom and deep fore-
cast, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobility at any time should have acces
to any office of the Commonalty: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere
this some of the *Patritii* for their Tribuns: so odious are we become to those of our own coat,
and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Nobles. Others excused the people, and laid
the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose crafty strches and subtil poli-
cies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the highway to advancement
and promotion. But if the Commons might have any respit or breathing time, and
not be sollicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember
themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten
assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and soveraign type of authority. For
the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and re-
solve, that the Tribuns should preser and publish a Law, that no man might wear white more
then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment. while he sued for any dignity. A
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resolve, that the Tribuns should preser and publish a law, that no man might wear white
more then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he sued for any
dignity. A small matter now adays and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious
counsel, which notwithstanding at that time, set both nobles and commons in a great heat
of contention. Yet obtained the Tribuns so much, that this law passed: and it appeared,
that the Commons when their blood was once up, would affect their own, and wholly
incline to them in their suffrages. But to the end that they might not have their full scope
and put it in practice, an Act of the Senate was, that there should be held an Election of
Consuls. The occasion thereof, was a tumult or commotion: which, as the Latins and
Hernicks advertised them, arose from the Æquians and Volscians. *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*,
the son of *Lucius* (surnamed *Pennus*) and *C. Julius Mento* were elected Consuls. Nei-
ther was this fearful news of war entertained any longer. For the enemies having by a sa-
cred law (which amongst them was of greatest force to levy an army) muttered their pow-
er, set forth two mighty armies from both parts, into *Algidum*, and there met. Where
the Æquians and Volscians, severally by themselves encamped strongly, and more earnestly
studied the Captains to fortifie their camps, and to train and exercise their souldiers,
than at any time afore. Whereupon, the news was more fearful that the messengers brought
to *Rome*. So the Senate agreed to create a Dictator. For, although those nations often-
times had been vanquished by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible manner, and
with preparation, than at any time before. Also, by reason of the late sickness, the youth
and flower of the Romans was sore diminished. But above all, the private discord of the
Consuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their counsel terrified them
most. There be that write, how these Consuls had but unlucky fortune, and lost a field in
Algidum: and that it should be the cause of making a Dictator. But this one thing is certain,
that howsoever else the Consuls disagreed, yet they jumped in one to cross the wills of the
Senators, in that they would not nominate a Dictator until such time as after news brought,
still worse and worse, and yet the Consuls would not be ruled by the Senators: one *Quin-
tus Servilius Priscus*, a man, who right worthy and honourably had born the highest offices,
made this speech: "My Masters, ye that are Tribuns of the Commons (quoth he) in this
"exigent and desperate case, the Senate calleth for your assistance, that in so great hazzard
"of the Common-weal, ye by vertue of your authority, would force the Consuls perem-
"torily to make a Dictator. Which speech being once heard: the Tribuns supposing now
they had good occasion offered, to stretch and extend their power to the full, departed a-
side: and in the name of their Colledge or society, pronounced, That it was their pleasure
and will, that the Consuls should be obedient unto the Senat: and in case they proceeded to
do farther, then the consent of that most honourable House would bear them out, they
would command them to ward. The Consuls chose rather to be over-ruled of them than of
the Senat: saying yet withal, that the prerogative of the highest government was by the Se-
nators betrayed, and the Consulship made thrall and subject to the Tribuns power, if so
be the Consuls might be compelled to do ought by vigour of the Tribuns authority, and (than
which, a private person could fear no more) be sent also to ward, or committed to prison.
The lot fell to *T. Quintius* (for in this also they could not agree between themselves) to no-
minate the Dictator: who named *A. Posthumius Tubertus*, his wives father, a grim Sir,
and a man of most severe and stern government. By whom was *L. Julius* nominated for Ge-
neral of the Cavalry: Herewithal was proclamed a vacation or law-steed, and that through-
out the whole City they should go in hand with nothing but war. The taking knowledge of
such as pretended to be freed and exempt from souldiery, was put off until the war was ended.
So that they that were before doubtful, suffered themselves to be enrolled: and souldiers were
levied out from the Hernicks and Latins, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their
uttermost. All these things were dispatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator ha-
ving left *C. Julius* the Consul, for the defence of the City, & *L. Julius* the General of the horse-
men for all sudden occasions incident unto wars, that they might not be to seek for any thing
whereof they had need in the camp, took with him *Aulus Cornelius* the High Priest, & saying
after him certain prayers, word for word, he vowed great and stately playes, in regard of this
tumultuous and troublesome war: and thus departing from the City, and dividing his whole
army between himself and *Quintius* the Cos. at length he approached the enemies. And
like as they had discovered the two camps of their enemies, a little space distant one from an-
other, so they also, about a mile from the enemy, intrenched themselves: the Dictator neer
to *Tusculum*, and the Consul to *Lanuvium*. So these four Armies, and as many fortified
camps, had a spacious and large plain in the middle, sufficient not only for small excursions
to skirmish in, but also to display their armies of both sides. And all the time that they lay
encamped

The speech of *Q. Servilius Priscus*

encamped one against another, they ceased not to make light skirmishes: for the Dictator was well content, that his men by making proof, and comparing their strength and puissance with their enemies, and assaying by little and little to try the event of these skirmishes, should conceive afore hand some hope of the entire and general victory.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to speed well in a set field and pight battel, assailed by night the Consuls camp, and put all to the hazard of a doubtful issue. The sudden cry and alarm, awakned not only the Consuls, Sentinels, his *corps de guard*, and so his whole army, but the Dictator also out of their sleep. And where need was of present help, there failed not the Consul, either in courage or counsel. Some souldiers ward and defend the gates, others compass the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other camp of the Dictator, look how much less stir there was, so much more leasure had they, and studied what was most needful to be done. Forthwith aid was sent unto the Consul his camp, under the leading of *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, a Lieutenant. The Dictator himself in person, with part of his power, fetching a small compass about, gained a place most apart from all noise and tumult, and from whence at unawares he might charge upon the back of the enemies. And leaveth as Vicegerent in the leaguer *Q. Sulpitius*: and to *M. Fabius* a Lieutenant, he committeth the conduct of the horsemen, commanding him not before day to stir with his horse, as being unruly and hard to be managed in tumults and troubles of the night. And all things else, that a provident and industrious Captain in such a case might command and do, that commanded he, and did orderly. But for one thing above the rest, he shewed singular proof of policy and courage, and worthy no mean praise: in that he sent out first *M. Geganius* with certain chosen Squadrons to assail that camp of the enemies, from whence he knew by his espials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that he surprised the enemies there, amused wholly upon the event of other mens danger, careless and secure for their own selves, and therefore neglecting their scouts and guards; wan their hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was assailed. From whence the Dictator having descried a smoak (which was the signal agreed between them) crieth aloud, that the enemies camp was won, and commandeth news thereof to be carried every way. Now it waxed broad day light, and all was clearly to be seen: by which time both *Fabius* with the horsemen, had given the charge, and the Consul also had made a sally out of the camp, upon the enemies that now already were scared. But the Dictator on the other side, charging upon the rereward and the middle battel, came on every side with his footmen, and horsemen in train of victory against the enemies: who were forced to turn round and fight every way, according to the dissonant outcries, and sudden alarms. Thus being environed round about, they had in the midst died for it every one, and suffered punishment due for their rebellion, had not *Vettius Messius*, one of the Volscians, a man more renowned for his valiants acts, then noble by his parentage, rebuked with a loud voice his fellows, being ready now to cast themselves into rings, and said: "What? will ye here without making your defence, without revenge, offer your selves to be devoured of the enemies sword? What "do you with your armour and weapons? Why began ye war first? Are you trouble- "some and unruly in peace, and cowards in war? What hope have ye in standing still? "Do you look for some god from Heaven to protect and deliver you? You must make "way by dint of sword. Go to then, and stick to it like men, and that way whereas ye "shall see me go afore, follow ye after, as many of you as mind to see again your home, "your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampart and trench, but "armed men that must withstand armed men. In valour ye are their matches, but in respect "of necessity (which is the last and strongest engin of all other) ye are the better. When he had these words spoken, and done accordingly, with a fresh shout they followed after, and made head to that quarter whereas *Posthumius Albius* had placed against them his cohorts: and compelled the victors to lose ground, until such time as the Dictator came to succour his men thus distressed, and now ready to retreat: and so he bent thither all the force of the whole battel. In one only man, *Messius*, rested all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Many a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one slain outright, and left dead in the place. So as now the very Roman Commanders, fought not without bloodshed. Only *Posthumius* being smitten with a stone, which had broken and bruised his head, went out of the throng: for neither the Dictator, wounded as he was in the shoulder, nor yet *Fabius*, albeit his thigh was almost nailed to his horse, nor the Consul, for all his arm was quite cut off, once retired or departed out of that dangerous combat. But *Messius* amidst the enemies that there lay dead on the earth, with a guard about him of most hardy & tall men, passed through in forcible manner, and escaped clear to the Volscians leaguer, which as yet was not lost: and so the whole battel in-lined thither. The Consul, after he had chased them, scattered in parties here and there, even as far as to the trench, assaileth the very camp and the rampart. Thither also bringeth the Dictator his power to another side. Neither was the assault less hot there then the fight was sharp afore. It is said moreover, that the Consul threw an ensign within the rampart, to animate the souldiers, that they might more eagerly get up after it: and

The speech of Vettius Messius to his fellow souldiers.

The valour of Vettius Messius a Volscian.

and so by recovering the banner again, was the first breach and entrance made. Thus the Dictator having broken through the mure, came to close fight and hand-stroaks even within the camp. Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yeeld themselves prisoners. So being themselves and their pavillions taken, they were all sold, but those of Senators calling. Part of the pillage was restored to the Latins and Hernicks, namely, to as many as knew their own goods: part thereof the Dictator sold in port-sale. And leaving to the Consul the charge of the camp, rode himself triumphing into the City, and gave over his office. Of which his noble and famous Dictatorship, they blemish the memorial, who write, that *A. Posthumius* (the Dictator his son, for that upon advantage offered of a fortunate service, he departed without leave from his quarter and guard) was after his victory atchieved, by his fathers Commandment beheaded. But I list not to believe it. And lawful it is for me so to do, among so divers opinions: and a good proof it is on my side, that such imperious and rigorous proceedings were called *Imperia Manliana*, and not *Posthumiana*. For like it is, that he who had given the first example of such cruelty, should have gotten afore all others, that noted title of cruelty. Besides, *Manlius* it was, that was surnamed *Imperiosus*: But *Posthumius* is not marked with any odious note at all.

Imperia Manliana.

C. Iulius Consul, in the absence of his Collegue, without any casting of lots, dedicated the Temple of *Apollo Quintius* having discharged his army, when he was returned into the City took not that well. But it was no boot to complain in the Senat house. Moreover, in this notable year, so full of brave and worthy acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in those days no thing pertinent to the State of *Rome*, namely, that the Carthaginians (so great and mortal enemies in time to come) passed the seas then first: and (upon the occasion of civil dissention and discord among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicily, for to take part with a side and faction. In the City of *Rome* the Tribuns of the Commons laboured, that Military Tribuns might be with Consuls authority chosen: but it could not be obtained. Consuls were made, *Lu. Papyrius Crassus*, and *L. Iulius*. The Æquians Embassadors suing to the Senat for a league, and for that league, pretending very often to yeeld themselves, and be in subjection, obtained a truce only for 8. years. The Volscians after their overthrow in *Algidum*, fell to continual debate and contention, whiles some perswaded peace, and others war: so long, until at length they grew to brawls and mutinies. So on every side the Romans were at rest. The Consuls understanding that the Tribuns of the Commons were complotted (for one false brother among them bewrayed and detected all) to put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the estimation of fines and penalties (a thing right pleasing and acceptable to the people) they themselves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were Consuls, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, the second time, and *Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In whose year nothing was there done worthy of rehearsal. After them succeeded Consuls, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *Titus Quintius Pennus* the second time. The Veientians made rodes into the lands of the Romans. And a rumor went, that some of the Federatian youths were accessary unto them, and had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commissioners to make inquisition, *L. Sergius, Quintus Servilius*, and *Mamercus Æmilius*. Some of them were confined to *Hostia*, for that they could make no sound excuse, and justifie their absence for certain days out of *Fidene*. So the number of the inhabitants there, was encreased; and their lands, who were slain in the wars, assigned unto them.

An act for fines and penalties.

In that year hapned an exceeding great drouth. For not only there wanted rain water from above, but also the very earth lacking her natural moisture, scarcely sufficed to maintain the running stream in main rivers. The scarcity of water besides about springs that were dried up, and the small rivulets and brooks caused a great death and mortality of cattel for default of drink: whereof some died of the scab: by contagion whereof the people also were diseased generally. The malady first began among the rustical sort, the bond-slaves and hinds: and afterwards spread into every corner of the City. Neither were men only tainted and diseased with this infection: but their minds also were troubled and possessed with sundry sorts of superstitions religious, and those for the most part strange and forrain: whiles upon vain and foolish prophesies, they brought new rites and ceremonies of sacrificing into mens houses; and made good gain of such as were given to superstitious devotion, and made conscience of every little thing: until such time as now it grew to a publick offence, and the chief of the City were ashamed to see in every street and chappel, strange and unaccustomed purgatory sacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favour and mercy of the gods. Whereupon the Ædiles had in charge and commission, to look streightly to this disorder: and that no other gods were worshipped, then those of the Romans: nor after any other manner than had been usual in their native country. So their anger against the Veientians, and desire of revenge, was put off unto the next year following, when *C. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* were Consuls. And even then, they made some scruple to proclaime war immediately, or to make out any power against them: but they thought good to send their Heralds afore, to make claim for their own and challenge restitution. For whereas of late years there had been a field fought with the Veientians before *Nomentum* and *Fidene*: whereupon there followed no peace but only a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and also before the day they had rebelled. Yet were there Heralds sent unto them. And when they had demanded amends by a solemn oath and other ceremonies according to the ancient manner, they might have no audience, neither were their words regarded. After this there arose some question, whether the war should be proclamed with the peoples allowance & suffrages or

A great drought about Rome, and much mortalitie thereupon.

Rome addicted to superstitions.

or the Senates decree were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatning that they would stop the musters, obtained in the end, that *Quintius* the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it, for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately from his Consulship, *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *Cornelius Cossus*: of which *Cossus* had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had mustered, took a journey to *Veii*, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whiles every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entred upon the army thus distracted, whiles some commanded to sound a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battel. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was neer at hand, thither they retired themselves in safety: so, as the shame they got was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was pensive and hereupon sorrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrows. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator; in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the Augurs were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribun) nominated *Mamercus Æmilius* Dictator: by whom he was himself also pronounced Grand Master of the horsemen. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true vertue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthily noted by the Censors.

Four military Tribuns in Consular authority.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of *Hetruria*, boasting and vaunting that in one battel they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their soliciting, perswade any to be seen to take part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of *Fidene* only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wise lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as afore they had embrewed their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then, they began with murdering their new received Coloners: and so banded themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make *Veii* or *Fidene* the seat town of the war. *Fidene* was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the *Tyber*, and translated the war to *Fidene*. Great fear was there at *Rome* to see the army of their enemies removed from *Veii*, and implanted at *Fidene*. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrow besides, they encamped even before the gate *Collina*. On the walls were armed souldiers placed, vacation in all courts of law was ordained, shop windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer then a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight loss and smal foil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardise of the Roman army, but only through the disagreement and difference of the Leaders. "Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they "had put to the worst and vanquished, and especially of *Fidene*, which had been oftner in a manner won, then assaulted. As for the Romans and their enemies (saith he) they are even the "same still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the "same bodily strength, and the same armor: and even my self am the same *Mamercus Æmilius*, "and no other, who heretofore discomfited at *Nomentum*, the Veientians and Fidenatians, with "the Falscians power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he wil no doubt be the "same General of horsemen in this battel, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a "Knight Marshal, slew *Lars Tolumnius* the King of the Veientians, in the fight of two armies: "and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armor of him despoiled. Wherefore "ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas "with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against "the law of all nations: also the massacre of the Fidenatian inhabitants, in time of peace: the breach of truce, and their revolting now seven times, to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon "therefore in hand like men: for I trust assuredly that so soon as we shall join our camps together, "and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no long joy of the shameful discomfiture of the Roman army. And the people of *Rome* shall understand, how much better they "have deserved of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those, "who for clipping the Censors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had distained "and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach. After this speech, when he had made his vows accordingly: he encamped a mile and an half on this side *Fidene*, flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river *Tyber*. And commanded *T. Quintius Pennus* his Lieutenant, to gain the hills afore, and be possessed secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morrow when

The Oration of *Mamercus Æmilius* Dictator to the Citizens of *Rome*.

when as the Tuscans, (full of pride and stomack for the prosperous success of former dayes, which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had stayed a while, until the scouts and espials brought word, that *Quintius* was gotten safely unto the Hill top near adjoyning to the Castle or fort of the Fidenatians, he advanceth forth his standards: and with his footmen ranged in battel array, marched against his enemies with full pace: commanding his General of the Horsemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himself "as need should require, would give the signal for the aid of his cavalry to come in, willing him "then, to quit himself like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combate with a King: "of his rich present and oblation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. Thus the legions assail one another and encounter right hardily. The Romans kindled and enflamed with rancour and malice, termed the Fidenatians, wicked and godless wretches: the Veientians, Robbers and Theeves; truce-breakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embassadors: steyned with the execrable massacre of their cohabitants: faithless and treacherous allies, cowardly and dastardly enemies: thus both in word and deed they satisfied their hatred to the full; And at the very first shock forced their enemies to shrink. At which instant all at once, there issued out of the open gates of *Fidene* a strange army, not heard of nor usual, before that day; A mighty number armed with fireworks; and shining all over with burning lights, after a fanatical and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with spirits, upon their enemies: and with the uncouth sight of this kind of fight, amased the Romans a prety while. Then the Dictator busy in fight, having sent both for the General of the Cavalry with his troups of Horsemen, and also for *Quintius* from the mountains, hastened himself to the left point: which being terrified with a scarefire more like than a battel, had given place unto the flame, and stepped back. Where with a loud voyce he thus spake: "What? will ye be overcome with smoak like a swarm of Bees, and lose your "ground, and retreat from your naked and unarmed enemies? will ye not put out this fire with re- "doubled stroke of brandishing swords? And will ye not every man for his part, if we must needs "fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and fling "them again at their own heads? Go to, I say, like hardy men, mindful of the renown of Ro- "mans, remembring the prowess of your Fathers, and your own selves. Turn this fire upon your "enemies City, and consume *Fidene* into ashes with her own flames: this disloyal *Fidene*, which "by no favors and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win and pacifie. The blood of your "Embassadors, the blood of your Coloners thither sent to people their City, your Frontiers and "Borders by them wasted, put you in mind of no meaner revenge. At the Dictators commandment, the whole battaillon was moved and encouraged. Some catch the firebrands as they flew; others by force snatch them from them, so that now both battels were armed with fire. The General of Horsemen for his part, renueth the Horse service: commanding them to pluck the bitts out of their Horses mouths; and was the first himself, that setting spurs to, rode with bridle in Horse neck, into the midst of the fire: and the other Horses also being pricked forward, and eased of their bridles, carried the riders with full carier against the enemy. The dust rising together with the smoke, took the light from mens eyes, and Horses both. And that sight which had terrified the souldiers, nothing at all affrighted the Horses. Wheresoever therefore the men of arms rode they bare down all afore them as if some Houses had come tumbling upon their heads. Herewith happened a new alarm to be heard, which having caused both armies to wonder and listen thereunto, the Dictator cryeth out aloud, That *Quintius* the Lieutenant and his Regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himself reenforcing the shout, advanceth his ensigns forward more freshly. When as now two armies, and two divers battels, pressed sore upon the Tuscans, and environed them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither flye back to their camp, nor yet retire or withdraw themselves unto the mountains, from whence a fresh supply of enemies, made head, and affronted them: and that the horses being unbridled, carried the riders every way hither and thither: the most part of the Veientians ran scattering in disorder, and highing them apace, toward the *Tyber*: and the Fidenatians that remained to the City *Fidene*. But in that fearful flight they ran upon their own death. Some were killed on the banks of the River, others were driven into the water, and the stream and whirlepits carried them away. And even they that were cunning swimmers, what with weariresse, and what with faintness of their wounds and with fright, sunk and were drowned: so that few of many swam over in safety. The other army fled through their camp into the City. The same way also the Romans followed forcibly after: and *Quintius* especially, together with them who erewhile came down from the mountains, and were the freshest souldiers for fight (as who came last into the battel) and so afterwards entred pell-mell among their enemies into the gate, climbed upon the walls, and from the walls set up a banner to their fellows, in token that they had won the Town. Which as soon as the Dictator espied, (for now by this time had he made an entrance into the forlorn, and abandoned camp of his enemies) he brought the souldiers, upon desire to run to a spoil, and hoping of a greater sacage in the City, streight unto the gate. And being gotten within the walls, marcheth directly forward to the Castle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to flye for refuge and safety. The execution in the City was no less than in the field: which continued until they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life yeelded themselves to the Dictator. So both City and camp was spoiled and sacked. The morrow after, the Dictator disposed of his prisoners thus: He drew them by lot, and gave to every Horseman and Centurion one, and to as many as had done more

The words of the Dictator *Mamercus Æmylius* to his souldiers.

valiantly then other, two apeece: the reſt he ſold in portſale. And ſo with triumph brought home H
to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with a great booty: and having commanded the General
of the Horſemen to reſign up his office, himſelf alſo ſurrendreth his own, upon the ſixteenth day
after his creation yeelding up his government in peace, which in time of war, and in a fearful
ſtate he had received.

There be ſome that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a battel fought with the
Veientians at *Fidenæ* by ſhips upon the water. A thing verily, no leſs impoſſible than incredible.
Conſidering that even at this day, the river is not broad enough for ſuch a purpoſe: and at that
time, (as by ancient men we have learned) it was far narrower than now it is. Unleſs haply in
croſſing over the river ſome veſſels or bottoms, that were put out to meet and to receive them, I
were mayed. And ſo, men making the matter greater (as uſually it cometh to paſs) have deſired a
vain title of a naval victory at Sea. The year following, there were military Tribuns, with Con-
ſuls authority, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L.*
Horatius Barbatus. Then was there a truce granted unto the Veientians for twenty years, and to
the Æquians for three years, whereas they had made ſuit for more. Reſt there was alſo from all
ſeditions and broils in the City. The year following, having neither war abroad, nor yet ſedition
at home, was famous yet for the playes which in time of war had been vowed: both in regard of
the great preparations that the Military Tribuns made, as alſo for the frequent reſort and con-
courſe of the Nations adjoyning. The Tribuns with Conſuls authority, were *Cl. Craſſus*, *Sp. Nau-*
tius Rutilus, *T. Sergius Fidenas*, and *Sextus Julius Tullus*. The ſight of theſe games and paſtimes, K
whereunto thoſe ſtrangers were come by publick conſent of their States, was unto them more
acceptable in regard of the courteſy of thoſe friends that gave them intertainment. "After theſe
The Tribuns Orations to the Commons. "playes there enſued ſeditious Orations of the Tribuns of the Commons, who rebuked the com-
"mon multitude, for that they being beſotted with admiration of thoſe whom they had to ha-
"ted, kept themſelves in perpetual thraldome. And not only durſt not attempt to put forth them-
"ſelves for to bring in again the poſſibility to have Conſuls of their part, as in time paſt: no, not
"ſo much as in the creation of Military Tribuns (the Election of whom was indifferent as well
"for Commons as Nobles) were mindful or thought either upon themſelves or their friends,
"and thoſe of their own body; And therefore they ſhould ſurceaſe to marvel, why no man plea-
"ded for the benefit of the commonalty. For, travel is well beſtowed, and danger well adventu- L
"red, where profit and honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is ſo difficult but
"men would employ themſelves to enterpriſe the ſame, if for the adventuring of great exploits,
"there might be propoſed as great rewards. But, that any Tribun of the Commons ſhould run de-
"ſperately and blindly into a world of brawls and troubles, with great hazard of his perſon, and
"no hope at all of fruit and profit in the end: for which contention, he might be ſure that the No-
"bles againſt whom he ſtrived would perſecute him with deadly and irreconciliable malice: and
"at the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he ſhould be honored and advanced
"never the more. it was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The only means to get
"courage and magnanimity, is advancement to high place of honor and dignity. And as for them,
"they would not diſdain the meaneſt commoner that was, if they themſelves might be no more M
"deſpiſed. To conclude, the matter were worth the tryal in one or two, whether any commoner
"were ſufficient to bear a great office of ſtate; or whether it were a wondrous thing and ſtrange
"miracle, that a valiant and hardy man ſhould ariſe out of the commonalty. With much a do
"(ſay they) we got and obtained that Tribuns military with Conſuls authority might likewiſe be
"choſen out of the commonalty: and men approved both in war abroad and in affairs of State
"at home had ſued therefore. In the firſt years they being nipped by you, and ſo having the re-
"pulſe, were had in derition of the Nobility: ſo that at length they forbare to give themſelves
"thus contumelioully to be miſuſed and made fools. We ſee no cauſe therefore, why that law al-
"ſo ſhould not be repealed wherein a dignity was granted, and never like to be obtained. For N
"leſs ſhame would there ariſe, if the law were not indifferent nor reſpective unto them, than as
"unmeet perſons and unworthy, thus ſhamefully to be paſſed by and take the repulſe. Theſe and
ſuch like ſpeeches were heard with ſo good an ear and general applauſe, that ſome of them were
incited forward to ſue for the Military Tribunſhip: whiles every one promiſed in the time of his
office to do great matters, and to propoſe, ſome one thing, ſome another, for and concerning the
benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of dividing the common Lands, and planting
of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impoſitions upon landed perſons, for to pay ſoul-
diers wages. But the Tribuns military then in place, deviſed to ſpye out a time, when upon ſome
occaſion of the abſence of much people departed out of the City, the Senators by a privy and
ſecret warning, ſhould at a certain day be called home: and then, whiles the Tribuns of the
Commons were away, an act of Senate ſhould paſſe in this form: That for aſmuch as it was O
noiſed that the Volſcians were entred into the Lands of the Hernicks to forrage and rob, the mi-
litary Tribuns ſhould go to ſee whether it were ſo or no, and that in the mean while there ſhould
be held a general aſſembly for the Election of Conſuls. The Tribuns military took their
journey accordingly, and left *Appius Claudius* the Decemvirs ſon, Governour of the City, a
ſtout young Gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and ha-
tred againſt the Tribuns and the Commons. And bootleſs it was either for the Tribuns of
the Commons to find themſelves grieved with thoſe, who made the decree, now that they were
abſent,

A abſent, nor yet had they cauſe to quarrel with *Appius Claudius*, becauſe the thing had been con-
trived and paſt afore his time. So, Conſuls were created, *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Quintus*
Fabius Vibulanus.

A forrein matter, but yet worthy to be remembred and here inferred, is reported to have hap-
ned that year: to wit, that *Vulturnum* a City of the Tuſcanes, which now is *Capua*, was by the
Samnites taken: and that it came to be named *Capua* of one *Capis* their Captain, or (which ſoun-
deth more like a truth) of the champian field. But they wan it by this means. For upon occaſion
that the Tuſcans were wearied with former wars, they were admitted into the ſociety of their
City and territory. And on a ſolemn feaſtival day, when as the citizens had filled their bellies, and
B were ſound aſleep, the ſe new Coloners the Samnits, ſet upon the old inhabitants, and in the night
ſeaſon ſlew them all.

But now to return. Things paſſing thus (as I ſaid before) the Conſuls abovenamed upon the *13 of De-
*Ides of December, entred their government. By which time not only they which were of pur- cember.
poſe ſent to learn the news of the Volſcians, brought word that war was at hand, but Embaſſadors
alſo from the Latins and Hernicks, gave intelligence of the ſame. And namely, that never at any
time afore, the Volſcians were more buſy and occupied, either in chuſing of good Captains, or in
levying an army, giving out theſe ſpeeches abroad and in every place, That the time was now
come, either to forget warfare, and lay away ſouldiery, and for ever make account to bear the
yoke of thraldom; or elſe not to give one foot, nor come behind thoſe with whom they ſtrove
C for ſoveraignty, either in manhood or in painful travel, or in Diſcipline of warfare. And ſurely
they were no vain tidings that thoſe meſſengers reported. But the Senators would take no ſuch
knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withal, *C. Sempronius*, unto whom the charge
of that war was allotted, preſuming upon fortune, as if ſhe were alwayes right conſtant and at
command, and leading an army of a people uſed to victory, againſt thoſe that were wont to be
overcome, did all things raſhly and negligently. So as to ſpeak a truth, there was more Roman
Diſcipline in the Volſcian hoſt, than in the Roman. And ſo, fortune (as oftentimes elſe) went with
vertue. At the firſt encounter, which by *Sempronius* was unheedfully and unadviſedly begun, before
that either the battaillons were reinforced and ſtrengthened with freſh ſupplies of ſuccour, or the
Horſemen ranged in convenient place, they ran together, and came to hand ſtrokes. And the firſt
D token which way the victory would encline, was the manner of ſhout at the firſt charge; which
by the enemy was more loud, more ſhrill and continual: but by the Romans diſſonant, unequal,
dead and cold, often begun, and often renued: and by their uncertain and variable noiſe, they be-
wrayed the inward fear of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies ſo much the more eagerly charged
them, preſſing upon them with their ſhields, and laying at them thick with their bright ſwords:
on the other ſide, the Romans helmets wag, and their creſts nod every way as they look about
them: and as they were to ſeek what to do, ſo they tremble and run together on heaps: one
while the enſigns ſtand ſtill, and were abandoned of the formoſt fighting in the vanguard another
while they retired in again amongſt their own ſquadrons. Yet was not the flight certain, nor yet
the victory. The Romans ſought more to cover and ſhrowd themſelves than to fight: to ward
E blows rather than to ſtrike. The Volſcians ſet forward their enſigns, preſſed upon the main bat-
tel, and ſaw more enemies under foot ſlain than running away. And now in all places the Ro-
mans retired, notwithſtanding *Sempronius* the Conſul both rebuked and alſo exhorted them to
ſtick to it: for neither his commandment nor the authority and Majeſty of his countenance a-
vailed ought. And immediately had they all turned their backs on their enemies, if *Sex. Tempa-*
nius, a Decurion of Horſemen, had not in this deſperate caſe, with a reſolute courage and ready The valor of
adviſe, helped at a pinch: Who cryed with a loud voyce, that thoſe Horſemen which would the *Sex. Tempa-*
ſafety of the common-wealth, ſhould diſmount off their Horſes. And when the Corners of Horſe- *nius.*
men beſtirred themſelves at his words no leſs than if the Conſul had given commandment; "Un-
"leſs (ſaith he) this troup of men of arms, ſtay the violence of the enemies, we ſee the laſt of the
F "Roman Empire. Follow therefore in ſtead of banner diſplayed, the point of my lance: let
"both Romans and Volſcians ſee, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foot or
"Horſe. Whoſe encouragement being approved and received with a ſhout, he advanceth for-
ward, bearing his ſtaff aloft: and what way ſoever they go, they enter and make room with for-
cible ſway: and where they ſee their fellows in greateſt diſtreſs, thither they make ſpeed, op-
poſing their targets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thruſt themſelves for-
cibly, was the fight renued: and doubleſs the enemies had turned their backs, if poſſible it had
been, for ſo few to have performed every thing at once. Now when as the General of the Vol-
ſcians, ſaw his men not able to withſtand them, he gave a ſignal and charge to give way to this
new band of enemies, to wit, theſe Targettiers: until ſuch time as they had put themſelves ſo for-
G ward, that they might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, theſe Horſemen were
enclоſed on every ſide: neither could they breakthrough that way which they went, becauſe the
enemies were there thickeſt, where they had made their lane before. The Conſul then, with the le-
gions of the Romans, having loſt the ſight of thoſe that had been a ſhield of defence and bulwark
erewhile to the whole army, leſt that ſo many hardy men thus invironed, ſhould be overpreſſed
by the enemies; reſolved to adventure any peril or hazard whatſoever. The Volſcians were like-
wiſe diverſly occupied & troubled. For on the one ſide they bare off the Conſul and legions: on the
other ſide they affronted *Tempanius* fore, & the Horſemen, who ſeeing that after many aſſayes and

offers they could not break forth to their fellows, gat up unto a certain little Hill, and cast them- H
selves into a ring and stood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies:
neither gave they over fighting until night. The Consul also maintained the battel so long as he
could see, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them asunder, and uncertain it was who
had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who sped the better, so great a terrour
came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their carriages
behind, both armies as taking themselves losers, recovered the mountains that were next unto
them. Howbeit the Hill or bank aforesaid, continued still beset round about, until midnight. But
when word was brought thither to the Assailants, how that their camp was abandoned: they
thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, and made shift and fled in I
the dark as well as they could. *Tempanius*, fearing an ambushment, kept his men there together
until day light. Then went he down with a few to discover the coasts: and finding by enquiry
made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volscians were left and forsaken: he was full
glad thereat, and called down his souldiers from the mount, and entreth into the Roman camp.
Where seeing all void and forlorn, and finding the same desolation which was amongst the ene-
mies: before that the Volscians upon knowledge of their errour should return again, he took
with him those hurt souldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Consul was
gone, marcheth forward the next way to the City of *Rome*. And thither already the bruit of this
unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those Horsemen K
were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in pub-
like. The Cos. *Fabius*, seeing the City also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates:
by which time, they might discover the Horsemen aforesaid afar off: but not without some fear of
their parts, doubting who they were. But being soon known, they caused so great contentment
after former fear, that in most joyful manner, the noise went through the City, how the Horsemen
were returned safe with victory. And out of those mourning and sorrowful houses, which a while
afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran into the
streets and high wayes by heaps. The fearful dames also and wives, forgetting, for joy, all decent
and womanly modesty, went out to meet the army, fell every one with open armes upon their
own husbands and sons, took them about the neck, clipped and kissed them, and with all their
hand and heart received them; yea, and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves. L

The Tribuns of the Commons, who had challenged and accused *M. Posthumius* and *T. Quin-*
tius, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before *Veij*: seemed to have good occa-
sion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Consul *Sempronius* into fresh and new hatred
and disgrace, for to renue the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them. Having
assembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Common-
wealth was betrayed first, at *Veij* by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went clear away
withal, and unpunished, therefore the army in *Volsci* was likewise lost by the Consul: and that a
troop of most valiant knights were thus cast away and given to be murdered, and the camp shame-
fully left and forsaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribuns, commanded *Tempanius* the Horseman M
to be called, and before them all said, "I would know of thee O *Sextus Tempanius*, whether thou
"think that *C. Sempronius* the Consul, either began battel in good time, or strengthned his bat-
"taillons with good succors and supplies? or whether thou thy self, when as the Roman legions
"and footmen were discomfited, of thine own head and policy, causedst the Horsemen to alight
"on foot, and thereby reenforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of armes were
"shut out from our battel, whether either the Consul himself came to rescue, or sent any succor
"unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadst any aid or rescue at all? Whe-
"ther thou and thy troop of Horsemen brake through into the camp by your own hardiness and
"valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Consul or army, or rather the pavilions aban-
"doned, and the souldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To these premisses and points,
"hast thou to speak this day upon thy vertue, and the faith of a souldier: by which only, in this N
"war-service the Common-weal hath stood preserved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where
"our legions be? Whether thou were forsaken thy self, or whether thou forsookest the Consul
"and the army? And to conclude, whether we have lost or won the field? To these demands,
Tempanius made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy speech like a souldier: not full of
self-praises, nor shewing any gladness for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How
great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what sufficiency is in *C. Sempronius*, it is not for me a
souldier to judge, nor yet to make any estimate of my General: but it was for the people of *Rome*
to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voyces, in a solemn Election, they
chose him Consul. "And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the O
"policies of a General Captain, or vertues and duties of a Consul: deep points to be examined,
"weighed, and discoursed by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I
"with mine eye saw, I am able to make report and testify; namely, That before himself was ex-
"cluded out of the battel, I beheld the Consul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging
"his men earnestly, and even amongst the Roman Standards, and Pikes of the enemies, busily
"employed. After which I was carried from the sight of my fellows, howbeit by the stir, noise and
"shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as
"I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude
"of

The Interrogatories tendred unto *Tempanius* by *C. Julius* a Tribun of the Commons.

The modest answer of *Tempanius*, to the former Interrogatories.

A "of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not: But I suppose, that
"as I my self in an extremity and fearful case, defended my self and my men, by advantage of the
"ground: so the Consul for to save the army; took some more safe place to encamp in. Neither
"think I verily, that the Volscians stood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the
"darkness of the night (no doubt) caused errour and confusion on every side, and in all places.
After which speech when as he besought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travel,
and faint of his wounds: he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his
modest speech, licenced to depart.

Whiles these things thus passed, the Consul by that time, had marched by the way of *Lavicum*
B as far as to the Temple of *Quies*: thither were wains, draught-beasts and sumpter Horses sent
from the City, to receive and ease the army, toiled out with fight, and tired by journying all
night. Within a while after, the Cos. entred into the City: who endeavoured not more, to put
the fault from himself, than to extol *Tempanius*, and give him his due deserved praises. Now
whiles the City was sad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry also with the Captains: behold,
M. Posthumius, who before had been accused, was now presented unto the people, for to wreak
their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribun Military in place of a Cos. at *Veij*, and now
was condemned, & a fine set on his head of ten thousand Asses of brass. But as for *Titus Quintius*,
his fellow in government, because that among the Volscians he had served fortunately as Consul,
under the conduct of *Posthumius Tibertus* the Dictator: and likewise at *Fidene*, as Lieutenant of
C the other Dictator *Mamercus Æmylius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time from him-
self upon his collegue before condemned: he was found unguilty and acquit by all the Tribes. It is
said that the fresh remembrance of his father *Cincinnatus*, late a right worthipful citizen, helped
him much: Yea, and *Capitolinus Quintius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly besought
them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the carrier
of so heavy news unto *Cincinnatus*. The Commons made Tribuns of the commonalty, *Sex. Tem-*
panius, *A. Sellius*, *Sex. Antistius*, and *Sex. Pompilius* in their absence: whom also the Horsemen had
chosen for their Captains or Centurions, in the former exploit, by the advise and counsel of *Tem-*
panius. But the Senators, because now for hatred of *Sempronius*, the name of Consuls misliked and
offended them, determined that military Tribuns with Consuls authority, should be created. So
D there were chosen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*.

In the very beginning of the year *L. Hortensius* the fifth Tribun of the commonalty, accused *C.*
Sempronius the Consul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the
fight of the people of *Rome* besought him, not to trouble their guiltless Captain, in whom nothing
could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverse fortune: *Hortensius* could hardly abide, but
thought it was but to prove and trye his resolute constancy: and that the party accused, trusted
not upon the prayer and intercession of the Tribuns, which only for a shew was pretended, but
upon their support and assistance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempronius* himself, deman-
ded what was become of that hauty courage and stomack, so ordinary in those of Senators cal-
ling? and where was that magnanimity which rested and relied upon innocency? since that he ha-
E ving been a Consul, was fain to shelter and shrowd himself under the shadow and protection of
the Tribuns? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribuns: but you my Masters
(quoth he) what will ye do? if I prosecute mine action against him still, and convict him in the
end: Will ye take from the people their right, and overthrow the authority of the Tribuns among
the Commons? When they again said and inferred, that the people of *Rome* had absolute power
to do what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others: and that they neither would nor
could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (say they) our prayers in the behalf of our Ge-
neral, who was to us in stead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change
our weed for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth *Hortensius*) The Commons of *Rome* shall never
F see their Tribuns arrayed in soiled and mournful apparel. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now no
more to say to him, since that he hath carried himself so, whiles he was General, as that he hath
gained thus much, as to be so dearly beloved of his souldiers. Neither was the kindness of those
four Tribuns more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Hortensius*,
who at their reasonable request, was so easy to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune fawned upon the Æquians: who embraced the doubtful vi-
ctory of the Volscians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when *Cn. Fabius Vibula-*
nus, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, the son of *Capitolinus*, were Consuls: by the leading of *Fabius*,
unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For
when as the Æquians had made semblance of a battel, and brought their army only in fight,
they were in fearful wise soon discomfited, and shamefully fled, ministring no matter of great ho-
G nor to the Cos. And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominy of the losse
which happened by *Sempronius* was partly allayed: it was granted that he might enter Ovant into
the City. [A General was said to enter Ovant into the City, when ordinarily without his army
following him he went on foot, or rode on Horseback only, and the people in their Acclamations
for joy, redoubled *Obe.* or *Obo.* So that *Ovatio* is as much as *Obatio*: Howsoever, some think
that *Ovatio* took the name of sacrificing a sheep. But he rode in triumph, when his souldiers at-
tended him in his chariot, crying *Io Triumphe*. In this he caried a branch, or ware a garland of law-
rel, in the other of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a less honor than the Triumph. And it was

* The goddess of rest and Repose.

31 *lib.* 5 *fo.* 1[illegible].

This within these marks [ ] *take as a marginal note.*

granted to inferior persons, and for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unless H he were Dictator, Cos. or Pretor, and had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much spoil and pillage, and augmented the State of the Roman Empire.] Like as the war was dispatched with less ado than they feared: so in the City, after a calm and peaceable state, there arose between the Commons and Nobles, a world of discords and troubles more than they expected. Which began upon occasion of doubling the number of Questors. For when the Consuls had propounded, that besides two Questors or Treasurers of the City, there should be other twain ready to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to war: and when the Nobles also with all their power had approved it, the Tribuns of the Commons entred into a contention with the Consuls, and required that some of the Questors (for until that time they had been cre- I ated from out of the degree of the Patritij only) might be likewise of the Commons. Against which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and main. But afterwards having granted thus much, That as the use and practise was in creating of Tribuns with Consuls authority, so in like manner, in the Election of Questors, the people should have their free liberty to chuse. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Questors. But although it were thus by them given over, the Tribuns took it in hand again, and set it on foot: yea, and other seditious actions besides very often sprang forth, and among the rest, those also concerning the Law *Agraria*. Upon which troubles, when as the Senate was of mind, that there should be Consuls rather than Consular Tribuns created; and by reason of the Tribuns stepping between K with their negative voyce, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Common-
* The vacancy of the soveraign Magistrate. weal was devolved from Consuls to an * Interreign, but not without exceeding great debate: for that the Tribuns kept the Patritij from meeting and packing together. Now when as the greater part of the year following was spent, with much strife and contention between the new Tribuns and certain Interregents, whiles one while the Tribuns stayed the Nobles from assembling together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for granting out any Act of Senate or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed
The Oration of *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, to the Nobles & Commons of *Rome*. the Commons, and said: "That the Common-wealth neglected and forlorn of all men, was L "taken into protection of the Gods, and guided by their care and providence: standing upright "and safe only, upon the truce observed by the Veientians, and the slow speed or small haste that "the Æquians made to war. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will "(quoth he) and pleasure belike, that the state should be surprised and assailed, whiles it is with- "out any Magistrate of the Nobility. For neither is there an army ready, nor yet a Captain to "raise an army. What? think ye to put back forrain war abroad by civil discord at home? Which "if they both should come together, there were no other remedy though all the Gods in Heaven "should set to their helping hand, but that the Common-weal of *Rome* should utterly be subver- "ted. Yet rather remit every one of you somewhat of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and "(for the love of God) take some indifferent course to joyn in unity: the Nobles for their part, M "by suffering Military Tribuns to be created in lieu of Coss. the Tribuns again, by no more thwar- "ting and interposing their negative, but that four Questors may be cholen by the free voyces of "the people, from out of the Commons and Nobles, one with another. First therefore was the High Court held for choosing soveraign Tribuns: and Tribuns there were created in Consular authority, all of the Nobility; namely, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, *Sex. Furius Medullinus* the second time, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. When this Tribun last named, was president of the Election for Questors, and the son of *Antistius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a brother besides to another Tribun, one *Sex. Pompilius* stood for the dignity, among certain other of the Commoners: neither all their own means that they could make, nor all the voyces they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to the place, according to their gentry and high birth: namely, whose fathers and grand-fathers they had seen Con- N suls. All the Tribuns of the Commons stormed and chafed at this, but especially *Pompilius* and
The complaints of *Pompilius* and *Antistius* against *Atratinus* the Tribun military. *Antistius*, being set on fire at the repulse of these their friends. "What should this mean (say "they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their own merits, nor considering the "injuries at the Nobles hands nor yet for desire they might pretend to the first hansel of that "thority, which now was lawful, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was "created, if not a Military Tribun, yet not so much as a Questor? What, that neither the fathers "prayer in the behalf of his son, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribuns both of "them, invested in that sacred authority, and which first was erected for the maintenance of com- "mon freedom, could ought at all prevail? Surely there is some fraud and jugling in the matter: O "and *A. Sempronius*, hath in the Election used more art and cunning than truth and fidelity. Complaining that by his injurious and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the foil. When as therefore they might not by any violence touch his own person and attach him, being fenced with innocency in this Action, and secured by vertue of the office which then he bare: they wreaked their selves and discharged their choler upon *C. Sempronius*, the cousin germain of *Atratinus* by the brother: and with the help of *M. Canuleius*, one of their collegues, arrested him for the ignominious service in the Volscian war. Ever and anon, also the same Tribuns made some words and motion in the Senate-house, concerning the division of Lands, and revived the law *Agraria*

A *Agraria* (which *C. Sempronius* at all times most sharply and eagerly had withstood. Supposing, as it fell out indeed, that the accused person should either by giving over the cause, be less esteemed of the Nobles: or if he stood to it still until the time of judgment drew near, he should displease and offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of the displeasure and malice of the people, that were opposed and bent against him, and so to wound his own private estate: than to betray the common and publike cause: and persisted resolute in the same minde still, that there should no bribing donative be granted, that might win and procure favour unto those three corrupt Tribuns: "For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they shoot at, for the benefit of the The singular constancy of *C. Atratinus*. "Commons; that is not their seeking: but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me:
B "and therefore I will for my part, abide that storm and tempest with a resolute mind. And the "Senate ought not to esteem either of me, or of any citizen else so highly, as to buy the sparing "of one man so dear, even with the harm and dammage of the whole state. The day of judicial tryal came. When as he had pleaded for himself, and seemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet, for all that ever the Nobles could do, who tryed all means, but in vain, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in * fifteen thousand Asses. The same year *Postumia* a Vestal Nun, was called in question for incontinency and incest, and came to her answer. A Virgin guiltless for any deed done: but scarcely of good name and fame: by reason that she was suspected for her apparel and going more light and garish in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more conceited and pleasant, than became a maid, and nothing respective of the speech of the world.
C Her tryal was put over to a farther day, and she (after she had twise pleaded) in the end was acquit: only the high Priest by the advise, and in the name of the whole colledge, schooled her, and gave her warning to leave her sports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her rayment to be seen not so gay as devout, and wear her garments rather saintly than sightly. The same year was *Cumæ*, a City inhabited at that time by the Greeks, taken by the Campanians.

* 46 *lib.* 17 *ß.* 6 *d.* ster. *Postumia* suspected of Incontinency, for her pleasant wit and gay apparel.

The year following had military Tribuns with Consuls authority, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Sp. Nautius Servilius*. A year, by the happiness and good fortune of the people of *Rome*, more notable for a danger escaped, than for any harm received. Certain bond-servants had conspired to fire the City in divers places far asunder: for this intent, when the people should be busily occupied, here and there, to save their houses, then by force and armes to
D surprise the Castle and Capitol. But *Jupiter* turned away and disappointed their wicked designs. For by the peaching and information of twain, the rest of the malefactors were taken and executed. But those that disclosed and revealed the conspiracy, had ten thousand pound in brass mony (which was in those dayes thought to be great riches) weighed them out of the City chamber, and freedom besides, for their reward.

A conspiracy of bondslaves.

3 *l. lib.* 5. *ß.* 8.

After this, began the Æquians to renue war: and word was brought to *Rome* by credible persons, that certain new enemies also, to wit, the Lavicans, joyned together in counsel with the old. These Æquians, were good neighbours: for once a year ordinarily, they used to put the City of *Rome* to the pains of warring with them, and not miss. Embassadors then were sent to *Lavicos*, who brought doubtful answers from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that instant they
E were ready to war, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The Tusculans were charged, to take good heed, and have an eye that way, that no new stirs and troubles should arise ar *Lavicos*. There came Embassadors from *Tusculum*, to *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *C. Servilius*, the son of *Q. Servilius Priscus*: (by whom being Dictator, *Fidenæ* was won) who were Military Tribuns in Consuls authority the year following. These Embassadors brought news that the Lavicans were out, and in armes, and joyning with the Æquians army, had forraged the country of *Tusculum*, and encamped themselves in *Algidum*. Then was war proclaimed against the Lavicans. And when by a decree made by the Senate, that two of the Consular Tribuns should go to war, and one manage the affairs of *Rome*: there arose a contention on a Sunday, among the said Tribuns. Every one thought himself the meetest and most sufficient man, to be General of
F the war, refusing the charge of the City, as a base, dishonourable, and thankless office. As the Senators mused and wondred, to see amongst those that were fellows in government, so undecent a strife and contention: then *Q. Servilius*: "Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, "either of this honorable house, or of the Common-wealth: the father his countenance and "dread Majesty, shall end this debate. My son without any lot casting, shall govern the City as "President. God grant, that they which love war so well, may manage it with more discretion "and concord than they wish it. As for a general muster to be levied out of all the people indifferently, that was not liked of. So ten Tribes were drawn by lot, out of which, the younger sort were preft forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribuns. The strife which began to be kindled among them in the City, through the same desire still of soveraignty, brake forth and
G grew much hotter in the camp. In nothing agreed they, striving whose opinion should stand: each one would have his own way: his own commandments obeyed and none else: one despised another, and were despised one of the other: until at length, upon the Lieutenants reproof, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they should each other day rule one alone by himself absolutely. Which news being brought to *Rome*, it is reported that *Q. Servilius*, a man for his years and long experience right skilfull, prayed of the immortal Gods, that by the variance and discord of the Tribuns, the Common-wealth sustained not more harm, than they had received at *Veios*. Ad as if there were no doubt, but that some great loss and overthrow was

ready

ready to happen, he was instant upon his son, to levy souldiers, and to provide munition for war. H
Neither proved he a false and vain Prophet. For by the leading of *L. Sergius*, whose day it was
to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of fear, withdrew unto the trench, and so trayned them
thither upon a fooliſh hope to win the camp, even under the very camp of the enemies in an un-
even ground of diſadvantage, they were ſuddenly charged by the Æquians, diſcomfited and chaſed
down the valley: and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foot
and ſlain, and with much ado that day kept they their own tents. The morrow after, when as
now the enemies had beſet a great part of the camp, they ſhamefully fled away, at the back gate,
and forſook the camp. The Captains, Lieutenants, and the ſtrength remaining of the army, which
kept to their enſigns and colours, went to *Tuſculum*. Other that were ſcattered here and there I
about the fields by ſundry wayes, made haſt to *Rome*, and reported there the overthrow to be
greater than indeed it was. Leſs was the trouble and ſorrow, becauſe men looked for no better
iſſue and ſucceſs: and alſo for that, there was help and ſuccour (which they were to have an eye
unto in ſo fearful a caſe) provided by the Tribuns aforehand. At whoſe commandment, when as
the tumult was by the inferiour Magiſtrates appeaſed in the City, eſpials were ſent out in haſt:
who brought word that the Captains and the army was at *Tuſculum*: and that the enemy had
not removed his camp. And then (which encouraged them moſt of all) by the Senates decree,
Q. Servilius Priſcus was choſen Dictator, a man whoſe Providence over the Common-weal, the
City as many other times afore, ſo in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only K
ſuſpected the contention of the Tribuns afore this unhappy ſoil. Who having nominated Gene-
ral of the Horſemen, his ſon (as ſome ſay) by whom being military Tribun, himſelf was declared
Dictator (for others there be that write how *Servilius Hala* was that year General of the Horſe)
went forth with a freſh army to war, and having joyned unto him thoſe which were at *Tuſculum*,
he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But ſee the fruit of good ſucceſs. The pride and
negligence which had been amongſt the Roman Captains, went from them to the Æquians.
Therefore in the firſt beginning of the conflict, when the Dictator with his Horſemen whom he
ſent againſt them, had diſordered and put out of array the formoſt ranks of the enemies, then com-
manded he the enſigns of the legionary footmen with all ſpeed to follow hard upon: and one en-
ſign-bearer of his own, who made ſome ſtay, he ſlew with his own hand. Then were they ſo L
earneſtly ſet to give an hot charge, that the Æquians could not abide their force: and being in
fight overthrown, when as they fled all amain to the camp, the aſſault thereof was both ſhorter
and with leſs ado, than was the battel. When the camp was taken and ſpoiled, and that the Di-
ctator had given the pillage unto the ſouldiers: and that the Horſemen, which chaſed the enemies
from the camp, had brought word back, that all the Lavicans were overthrown, and a great part
of the Æquians were fled to *Lavicos*: the day following was the army alſo led thither, and the
Town compaſſed and beſet round about, ſcaled, and ſacked. The Dictator having brought home
to *Rome* his victorious army, upon the eight day after he was choſen, gave over his office. And
in very good time, before there was any ſedition ſtirred up about the Law *Agraria*, by the moti-
on of the Tribuns of the Commons, for the diviſion of the Lavicans Lands: the whole body of
the Senate appointed that a Colony ſhould be ſent to *Lavicos*. So there were ſent from the City M
A Colony planted at *Lavicos*. a thouſand and five hundred to inhabit there, and two acres apiece given them of Land.

After the winning of *Lavicos*, there were created Military Tribuns with Conſuls authority, to
wit, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Servilius Structus*, with *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus* (all three
the ſecond time) and *Sp. Veturius Craſſus*: and the year following *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, the
third time, and theſe twain, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *Sp. Nautius Rutilus* the ſecond time:
for theſe two years there was peace abroad, but diſcord at home about the Laws *Agraria*. They
that troubled the people, were *Sp. Mecilius*, who now the fourth time, and *Metilius*, who the
third time were made Tribuns of the Commons, both abſent. And when they had publiſhed their
Act, That all Lands conquered from the enemies, ſhould be divided by the poll: by which Ordi-
nance, the poſſeſſions of a great part of the Nobility became confiſcate, (for ſince their City was N
ſcituate and built in a ſtrange ground, there was in a manner no Land lay to it, which had not
been purchaſed by the ſword; neither enjoyed the Commons any, but that which either had
been ſold or aſſigned to the Commons) this ſeemed to be a bone caſt between the Nobles and the
Commons, to ſet them together at ſtrife and contention. Neither knew the Military Tribuns any
way to take counſel in this caſe, albeit one while they aſſembled the Senate, and another while
met in private conference with the Nobility. Then *Appius Claudius*, (the nephew or grandſon
of notorious *Appius* the Decemvir, created for the making of Laws) the puny of all the counſel-
The ſpeech of *Ap. Claudius* to the Senators. of the Nobility, made (as it is reported) this ſpeech, and ſaid, "That he would impart unto them
"that which he had received by tradition from his anceſtours, to wit, an old deviſe, and appro- O
"priate to his houſe, for that his great grandſire *Appius Claudius*, had ſhewed unto the Nobles
"the only way, to abate and take down the Tribuns power; namely, by the coming between
"and negative voyce of their fellows. For men new come up, and riſen to promotion, might
"ſoon by the authority of the chief rulers be brought from their purpoſe, and made to change
"their mind, if otherwhiles thoſe great men in place would uſe ſome ſpeech unto them fitted and
"framed rather to the time and preſent occaſion than reſpective to their own high place and dig-
"nity: for evermore the heart and courage of ſuch, is according to their degree and wealth. And
"when they ſee once their fellows poſſeſſed firſt afore them of the cauſe, and thereby crept wholly
"into

A "into all the favour with the Commons, and that no room is left for themſelves to have any
"part thereof, they will be willing enough to enc line and condeſcend unto the Senate, and take
"their part: by means whereof, they might wind into the love and good grace of that univer-
"ſall ſtate, and particularly with the principal Lords of the Nobility. Which ſpeech, when they
all had approved, and eſpecially *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, who praiſed the young Gentleman, for that
he was not grown out of kind, nor degenerate from the ſtock and race of the *Claudij*, then every
man was ſet about this buſineſs, to ſee whom of the Colledge or company of Tribuns, they could
win and draw to croſs and ſtop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up,
the chief of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribuns, and were in hand with them perſwading, ex-
B horting, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould every one in private gratify not only, but alſo the
whole body of the Senate in general: and never gave over, until they had procured ſix of them to
interpoſe their negative, and to croſs the Law. The morrow after, when as of purpoſe a matter
was propounded afore the Senate, about the ſedition which *Mecilius* and *Metilius* had raiſed, by
a Largeſs of dangerous conſequence; ſuch ſpeeches were by the principal of the Nobles delivered,
that each one for himſelf confeſſed, that now they were to ſeek for counſel, and ſaw no other
help nor remedy but in the authority of the Tribuns: to the protection and ſafegard of which
Magiſtracy, the Common-weal betook her ſelf, and fled for ſuccour, as being beſet with danger,
like ſome poor private perſon, and had no other means to ſave her ſelf: ſaying, That it would be
both for themſelves, and alſo for their authority, an honorable thing, if it might appear, that the
C puiſſance of their Tribunſhip were not more imployed in moleſting the Senate, and making diſ-
cord among the States than in reſiſting the peeviſh wilfulnes of their collegues. Whereupon aroſe
a great noiſe through the whole company of the Senators, whiles out of all parts of the Court
there aſſembled, they called upon the Tribuns for their helping hand. Then after ſilence made,
they (who for the favour of the Lords of the Senate, were made aforehand to their cauſe) de-
clared and confeſſed, that they were ready to croſs that act, by their fellows publiſhed, ſeeing the
Senate judged it to be prejudicial to the Common-wealth. Theſe Tribuns for the offer of their
good ſervice, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the Authors and Patrons of the Act afore-
ſaid, calling together an aſſembly of the Commons, when they had inveighed againſt their fellows
moſt ſharply, terming them betrayers of the Common-wealth, and ſlaves to the Nobles: and u-
D ſing other bitter ſpeeches, gave over their action and ſuit.

Two grievous wars had continued all the year next following (wherein *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, were military Tribuns in Coſſ.
authority) but that the Veientian war was deferred by the ſuperſtitious fear of their own Princes;
whoſe grounds, *Tybris* (overflowing the banks) had ſpoiled, and overthrown alſo the villages and
houſes that ſtood thereupon. The Æquians likewiſe by reaſon of their loſs received three years
before, made no great haſt to aid and aſſiſt the Volans, a people of their own nation. For they
had made certain rodes into the Lavicans Country, confining upon them, and warred upon the
inhabitants, lately there planted. Which treſpaſs by them done, they hoped to have been able to
maintain, by the banding and aſſiſtance of all the Æquians: but being forſaken of their allies, they
E loſt both their Town and territory, only by ſiege, and one light skirmiſh, and never fought for it
any memorable war. *L. Sextius* alſo Tribun of the Commons, aſſayed to make an Act, that there
might be ſent to *Vola* as well as to *Lavicos*, Coloners to people it: but by the negative of his Aſſo-
ciates, who ſhewed, that they would not ſuffer any Statute of the Commons to paſs without the
aſſent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the year following, the Æquians having recovered and won again *Vola*, and brought a
Colony thither, fortified the Town with a freſh power, at what time were Tribuns Military in Con-
ſuls authority at *Rome*, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the ſecond
time, and *M. Poſthumius Regillenſis*. The war againſt the Æquians, was committed to this *Poſt-
humius*, a man of a crooked diſpoſition, as his victory ſhewed more than the whole courſe of the
F war. For having levied an army in haſt, and brought it before *Vola*, after ſome ſmall skirmiſhes,
he tamed the Æquians, and at length entred the Town. And when he had done with the enemies,
he began to quarrel with his own ſouldiers: for whereas during the time of the aſſault, he had
given out by Proclamation, That they ſhould have the ſaccage after the Town was once won:
he brake promiſe with them. For I am induced to believe that this was the cauſe rather why the
army mutined and was diſcontented, than for that in a Town lately ſacked before and in a new
Colony, there was found leſs ſpoil than the Tribun made boaſt of. But this diſpleaſure and anger
once conceived was made the worſe after that he returned into the City: for being ſent for by his
fellows, upon occaſion of the Tribunitian ſeditions, there eſcaped him an indiſcreet ſpeech. I muſt
needs ſay, yea, and without all fence, wit, and honeſty. Which he let fall in an aſſembly of the
G Commons: wherein it hapned, that as *Sextius* a Tribun of the Commons, was preferring the law
Agraria, and ſaying withal, That he would propoſe an Act that Coloners ſhould likewiſe be ſent
to *Vola*, for that they were worthy to have both the Town and Lands of *Vola*, who had by ſword
and ſpear conquered the ſame: *Poſthumius* caught the word out of his mouth: And that ſhall my
ſouldiers, deerly abide (quoth he) unleſs they be more quiet. Which word being overheard, offen-
ded not ſo the Com. preſently there in place aſſembled, as the Lords of the Senate awhile after.
Moreover the Tribun aforeſaid, an active man and eloquent withal, having among his adverſa-
ries met with a proud humorous ſpirit, and an inſolent and intemperate tongue, which walked

so freely and so long by his provocation, that he uttered these speeches, which bred not only ill will and displeasure to himself, but also wounded the cause, and the whole state of the Patritij. This *Sextus* (I say) was busy, and quarrelling with none of all the Military Tribuns, more than with *Posthumius*. And even at that time, taking advantage of the same cruel and inhuman speech of his: Hear ye not, O ye Commons (quoth he) how he threatneth mischief unto his souldiers, as unto bondslaves? "And yet this beast ye will think more worthy of so great dignity wherein "ye have placed him, than those that indue you with house and land, that send you abroad to in- "habit Colonies, that provide habitation for you against old age, that tendring your wealth, take "part and defend you against so cruel and proud adversaries. Begin now henceforth to marvel "why so few take in hand to maintain your cause: For what may they look for, and hope at "your hands? for honors, which ye bestow rather upon your adversaries, than those that are "affectionate defenders of the people of *Rome*. Ye sighed even now and groaned again, at the "words uttered out of this foul mouth. But what matter makes that? If ye were now to go to "an election, and to give your voyces, ye would no doubt for all that, prefer this man (who "threatneth to mischief you) afore them that are willing and desirous to establish your Lands, "your dwelling places, and the whole state of your substance and living. But when that lewd language of *Posthumius* was reported once to the souldiers, it bred a far greater indignation (be sure) within the camp. How now? (say they) is he, who hath intercepted our booty, and defrauded us poor souldiers of our due, not content therewith, but must menace mischief besides unto us, as his varlets? When as therefore they openly muttered thereat, and the Questor or Treasurer *P. Sestius* thought that the mutiny might be restrained with the same violence by which it was first raised: he sent an Officer to one clamorous souldier, that kept a noise above the rest. Whereupon arose an outcry and a brawl: and he got himself a good rap with a stone for his labour, that he was faint to go out of the presse. And he that smote him, spake aloud besides, and bad the Questor take now that for his pains in a mischief, which the General had threatened his souldiers. *Posthumius* in this hurliburly was sent for, and he, when he was come, made all worse and worse with his sharp examinations, tortures, and cruel punishments. At the last, when he could not see to make an end, nor bridle his choler: they all ran on heaps together, at the lamentable cry of those whom he commanded to be choked in the mire and killed under the hurdle: and he half besides himself, full foolishly stept down in more hast than good speed from the Tribunal seat, to chastise one that contested with him, and made a great brawling. Now when as the Lictors and Centurions every where laid about them to make way, and ill intreated the multitude in the throng, they moved their patience so much, that in that furious fit of the souldiers, the Military Tribun was by his own army stoned to death. Which horrible act, after it was noised at *Rome*, and the Military Tribuns by the Senates authority, were about to sit in commission for the examination of the death of their collegue, by way of rigour and torture: the Tribuns of the Commonalty opposed themselves, and resisted them. But that contention depended upon another quarrel. For the Senate doubting lest that the Commons for fear of those examinations intended, would in their anger create Tribuns military from out of their own body and degree: were very careful, and studied all they could, that Consuls might be chosen again. But whereas the Tribuns of the Commons would not suffer an act of the Senat to pass, and hindred also the election of the Consuls the matter came to an Interreign. But in the end the Nobles had the upper hand. For when as *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the Interregent, held a Court for the said Election; there were created Consuls *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*.

The Oration of *Sextus* against *Posthumius*.

Posthumius stoned to death by his own souldiers.

An inquisition about the murder of *Posthumius*.

In the beginning of these Consuls year, the Senate made a decree, that the Tribuns with all speed possible should propose unto the Commons, concerning the inquisition of *Posthumius* his death: and that they should make chief Commissioner and Judge whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Consuls commission to see it done, and performed accordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenity, they dispatched and ended the matter, by punishing a few, who (as it was credibly thought) made themselves away: yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Commonalty took it very hainously, and in the highest degree, saying. That the Acts and Ordinances, which had been propounded concerning their weal and commodities, those lay a long time asleep in the deck, and nothing done: but an order granted for their bloudshed and death, that was presently put in execution. Of so great force and importance was it. Now this had been the fittest time, that after these mutinous souldiers were chastised, the division of the Volane territory, should have been offered unto them for to comfort their poor hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hot desire and longing after the law *Agraria*, had been abated, which tended to dispossess at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were seized of. But this indignity stuck in their stomacks, and was taken neerer to the heart, when they saw the Nobility so stiffly bent, not only to keep the common grounds in their hands, which they held by force: but also unwilling to divide among the people so much as the wast and void ground, lately gotten by conquest from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the rest) to be a booty, and divident, to be shared among a few.

The same year were the legions led by *Furius* the Consul, against the Volscians: who forraged the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they wan *Ferentinum*, whither a great number of the Volscians had retired themselves. The booty there was less than they hoped for:

for: by reason that the Volscians, seeing small hope of keeping the Town, trussed up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the Town: which was won the morrow after, being left well near destitute and empty. All the Lands were given freely to the Hernicks. When this year now was passed in good quiet by the modesty and peaceable carriage of the Tribuns, then in place: there succeeded another Tribun of the Commons, *L. Icilius*, when *Q. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Furius Pacilus* were Consuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his year, was busy in stirring new seditions (as if it had been a task imposed upon his name and linage) by proposing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there arose a pestilence, more fearful than hurtful, which turned away mens minds, from their publick assemblies and accustomed contentions, to tend their houses, and to care for the cherishing of their bodies. And (as men verily think) the sickness was less dangerous than the seditions were like to have been. When as the City was now excused, as it were, and well escaped with the sickness only of many and death of very few: presently after this pestilent year, followed (as it is commonly seen) a great dearth of corn, by reason of the neglect of tillage. *M. Papyrius Atratinus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus* being Consuls. This famine would have been more grievous than the plague, had they not provided well for corn, by sending forth their Embassadors to the neighbour nations all about, inhabiting along the Tuscan Sea and the *Tyber*, for to buy grain. Proudly were the Embassadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnits, who held at that time *Capua* and *Cumes*: but contrary-wise bountifully were they relieved by the Tyrants or Potentates of *Sicilie*. And such was the willing endeavour of *Hetruria*, that great store of victuals came down the *Tyber*. In what desolation the City was, during this affliction, the Cons. tryed by this: that when they could not furnish an Embassage, but with one Senator, they were compelled to adjoyn two Knights unto them. And setting aside the sickness and dearth, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for those two years. But when these storms were once overblown, and that care past: then began again the old troubles wherewith the City had usually been disquieted: dissention at home, and war abroad.

A pestilence.

A famine.

When *M. Aemylius* and *C. Valerius Potitus* were Consuls, the Æquians made preparation for wars, and banded with the Volscians. Who albeit they took arms by no publick commission; yet such as would of themselves serve for hire or wages, followed the wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the Country of the Latins and Hernicks) whiles *Valerius* the Consul mustered his men and levied souldiers: *M. Menenius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a publisher of the Agrarian laws, opposed himself against him. And when as by reason of the protection and assistance of the Tribun, no man would be compelled to take a souldiers oath against his will: suddenly news came, that the Castle of *Carventus* was by the enemies forced. This dishonor thus received, as it was a cause that *Menenius* was hated among the Noblemen, so it gave to the rest of the Tribuns, who were already framed and prepared to withstand the law *Agraria*, more just cause to resist their collegue. The matter being thus for a long time protracted by much debating, the Consuls called both God and man to witness, that whatsoever shame or loss, either had been already received, or were like to be sustained by the enemies: the blame should be imputed to *Menenius*, who hindred the mustering. And *Menenius* protested again aloud, that if the unlawful Landlords, would surrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjustly detained, he would not stay the musters. Then the nine Tribuns, by setting down a decree between them, made an end of the strife: and pronounced by authority of their colledge, that they would assist *C. Valerius* the Cos. (all contradiction of their collegue notwithstanding) to award any penalty restreint or chastisement, upon them that refused to be enrolled for warfare. The Cos. being armed with this decree and warrant, after he had caused some few to be had away by the neck and laid fast, that called upon the Tribun for help, the rest for fear were sworn to serve. Thus the army was led forth to the Castle of *Carventus*. And although the souldiers were as odious to the Consul, as wickedly bent against him, yet at the very first coming, having manfully and lustily dispossessed the garrison, they recovered the fort. The souldiers who were slipt away from the hold, and gone a plundering, by their negligence gave the Romans a opportunity to enter and to surprise it. And a good booty there was: by reason that they had continually gotten prizes, and laid up all there as in a place of safety. Which being sold in port sale, the Consul commanded the treasurers for to bring the mony into the common Chamber of the City: giving out these words withal, that the army should then have part of spoil, when they denied not their service in war. Hereupon both Commons and souldiers were more angry with the Consul. And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entred the City *Ovant*, in a pety triumph, the souldiers according to their licentious manner (in that case permitted) followed after with songs and sonnets, answering one another in rude rime and gross meeter by alternative staves. Wherein the Consul was greatly blamed, but *Menenius* the Tribun, his name was set out to the height: his praises were blasoned and extolled aloft: and at every time that he was named, the affectionate favour of the people that stood in the streets appeared, by clapping of hands and great applause, striving much to exceed the songs chanted by the souldiers. Which caused the Nobles to look to it, and troubled them more than the malapert sauciness of the souldiers with their Consuls, which is an ordinary and usual fashion among them. And *Menenius* (who doubtless had been one of the Military Tribuns, if he had sued for it) was excluded from that dignity by an Election of Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time.

Never took he Com. the matter more to the heart, that the Election of Tribuns escaped their hands:

hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of Questors, they both shewed and revenged. For H this was the first time that the Questors were made of the commonalty: to that in chusing of 4. there was but one place left for C. *Fabius Ambustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, Q. *Silius*, P. *Ælius*, and P. *Pipius*, were preferred before young Gentlemen, of most noble houles. I find that the perswaders of the people to use their full liberty in bestowing their voyces, were the three *Icilij* (descended of that house, which ever was most malitiously bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen Tribuns of the commonalty, and possessed the peoples heads with a world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flatly gave out and said, They would not stir at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of Questors, which only the Senat had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect I that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of Questorship to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overture for new risen upstarts, to be advanced to Consulships and triumphs. The Nobles contrary-wise stormed, not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the utter losse thereof: protesting that if things went so on end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more: who being put from their Ancestors place, and seeing others in possession of their dignity should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the state, and be good for nothing but only to be made Priests for *Mars*, and Flamines for *Jupiter*, imployed about nothing else but to sacrifice (forsooth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds netled and provoked, K whiles the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and maintain their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the Questors Election (if it lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of Consuls, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the *Icilij* persisted still, and urged the point, that in any hand Tribuns Military should and must be created. For now it was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no Action hitherto belonging to the offices and charge of the Consuls had been presented unto them, by the hinder- ing whereof they might wring from them, that which they desired and sought for. But see, how even then, in wonderful good opportunity, word was brought that the Volscians and Æquians were departed out of their own Confines, and made an expedition into the Latine pale for to rob L and spoil. To the which war, when as by vertue of an order from the Senat, the Consuls began to muster: the Tribuns laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occurrent fortuned happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick, active and conragious men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worshipfully descended. Whereof twain took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the Consuls, to keep them awork, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to entertain the commonalty: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whiles to rein them in, another while to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither Consuls went through with the musters, nor the Tribuns with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that whiles the souldiers that M lay in garrison at the Castle *Carventana*, were stept aside to get a booty, the Æquians having slain a few warders that kept the hold, entred it: and that all the souldiers were slain: some as they ran into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so cross against the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designments of the Tribuns. For being dealt withal, that now at length they would surcease from hindering the war, nothing would prevail: for that they neither gave place to the publick calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of Senat was granted for to chuse Tribuns Military. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated; That none of them who had been Tribuns that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no, nor chosen again Tribuns of the Commons for the year following. Whereby no doubt, the Senat N noted and pointed at the *Icilij*, whom they charged to seek to be Consuls, for a reward of their seditious Tribunship. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all the States.

Sundry Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the Consuls went to the Castle *Carventana* or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foresaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had assiled the Castle long time without effect they were compelled from thence to remove: and that *Verrugo* in the Country of the Volsci ins by the same army was recovered, and that great forraging there was, and driving of booties, both in the Country of the Æquians and also of the Volscians. Now at *Rome*, as the victory of the commonalty rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so O in the issue and successe of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all mens hope and expectation, there were three Tribuns Military chosen with Consuls authority, all of the Nobility, *C. Julius Tullus, Cn. Cornelius Cossus C. Servilius Hala*. Men say that the Nobles used a subtile practise and cunning device, which even then the *Icilii* charged them with: to wit, that by intermingling a many of unworthy and unmeet competitors with others of mark and quality, they had alienated the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable baseness that appeared in their persons.

After

A After this, tidings came, that the Volscians and Æquians (were it that the Castle of *Carventus* which they held and guarded still, put them into some hope: or their garrison and fort lost at *Verrugo* drave them into anger) were up in arms, with all force ready to make war: that the Antiats were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their Embassadors had solicited the people of both nations, rebuking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and suffering the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of *Verrugo* to be surprized and lost. Moreover, that not only hosts of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were planted in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themselves, had bestowed upon the Hernicks B the town *Ferentinum*, which they had won from them. At these speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whither they went to sollicit, the younger sort and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those nations, gathered together to *Antium*, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, caused more fear then need was. And the Senat presently (which in all fearful occurents was ever their last remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created. Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two military Tribuns (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereof ensued much heart-burning and dissention, whiles the LL. of the Senat of one side complained in vain of their grievances, That the Tribuns Military would not be ordered by the authority of the Senat: and at the last had recourse to the Tribuns of the Commons for help: alledging withal, that the very C Consuls power upon the like occasion had been by their authority overruled and set down. And the Tribuns of the Commons on the other side, rejoycing at the discord of the Senators, made answer again, and said, "That for their parts, they were not able to yeeld any succour at all, who "were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the roll of Citizens, nor yet so much "as in the number of men. But if so be (say they) dignities and honors were communicated to "us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrate whatsoever, the "Senats decree should be made frustrat and disanulled. And in the mean whiles, seeing the No- "bles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magistrates, let them of themselves "also exercise the Tribuns authority if they would. This discord falling out so unfitly, when so great war was in hand, occupied and possessed mens heads a long time: whiles *Julius* and *Cornelius* D one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were Captains good enough for the conduct of such a war, it was not meet that the honour once bestowed upon them by the people, should be made void and taken from them. Then *Servilius Hala*, who also was a Tribun Military spake and said: "I have been silent thus long, not for that I was doubt- "ful in mine opinion, or to seek what to say, (For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his "advice by himself, and go from the publick Council?) but because I had rather, that my bre- "thren of their own accord should give place to the Senats authority, than to suffer the Tribuns "power to be called for, against them. And even now also, if the case would permit, I could wil- "lingly give them time and space to retract their too too obstinat, perverse and peremptory opi- "nion. But seeing that the necessities of war, wait not upon human counsel, I will have more re- E "spect and consideration of the Weal-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. Wherefore, if the "Senat persist still in that mind and resolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominat a "Dictator. And if any one withstand me, I will ask no more, than the power and vertue of the Se- "nats Act. By which speech of his, having won deserved praise and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictator, and was himself by him nominated General of the horsemen. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Collegues, That otherwhiles favour and honor fooneſt fall to them that least desire the same. The war was small and nothing memorable: for in one easie and slight battel were the enemies overthrown and slain at *Antium*. The army upon this victory wasted the Volscians Country, won by force the Castle upon the lake *Fucinus*, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the Volscians within their walls, F not able to keep their frontiers. The Dictator, after he had performed this war in such sort, as only he might not seem to neglect his wonted fortune but keep it still in ure, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and resigned up his place.

The Tribuns Military, making no words at all of the chusing of Consuls (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictator had been created) published the election of Tribuns Military. But then the Senators were in greater care and perplexity, seeing their cause betrayed even by those of their own company. Wherefore, as in the former year, by foisting in the basest of the Commons for competitors, they had caused even men of good worth to be despised: so, now by procuring the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, to stand for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could be chosen. So there were created four, G all having afore born that Magistracy, *L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *C. Servilius Hala*. This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other vertues and worthy parts, as for the late favour which he won by his rare moderation, and singular carriage of himself.

In that year, for as much as the time of truce with the Veientian Nation was expired, they began by Embassadors and Heralds of Arms to challenge of them amends and restitution. Whom as they entred into their territory, the Embassage of the Veientians encountred in the way requesting them not to go forward to *Veii*, before they had presented themselves to the Senat of *Rome*.

O Who

Who being thither come, obtained of the Senat, that for as much as the Veientians were at civil discord among themselves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other mens distress and calamity. Also at the Volscians hands they sustained damage by loss of their garrison at *Verrugo*. But (see what a thing it is to slack the time) For whereas the souldiers besieged there, by the Volscians and sending for aid in due time, might have been rescued if speed had been made, the army which was sent for succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Only this escaped they die: The enemies, who after their fresh massacre committed upon the garison, were gone abroad straggling for to raise booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The cause of this slackness was imputed to the Senat, rather than the soveraign Tribuns: who because intelligence was given, that they in the garrison resisted and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no proweis of man whatsoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched. Most brave and valiant souldiers they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unrevenged.

The year following, when *P.* and *Cornelius* both surnamed *Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *L. Valerius Potitus* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority, began the Veientian war by occasion of a proud and arrogant answer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claim amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed presently out of the City and Country, they would serve them as *Lars Tolumnius* had done others before. The Senators of *Rome* hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, that the Military Tribuns should propose unto the people as speedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and sending defiance to the Veientians. Which as soon as ever it was noised and published, the younger sort and men of service, murmured and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not fully ended the war with the Volsci-"ans: that even of late two whole garrisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the forts kept still "with danger and great hazard. There is not (say they) a year passeth over our heads, but one field "or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now in-"tended new war with a most mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to "raise against us all *Hetruria*. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, "and utter these speeches, so the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more mat-"ters into their heads, and set all on a light fire: Who gave out still, That when all was done, the "greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpose "were to be toiled out with travel or warfare, and exposed to the enemies for to be murdered: "and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and sent out of the "way: left by being quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they should con-"sult and devise, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. "And ever as they could meet with any old beaten souldiers, they would hold them with talk, "take them by their hands, reckon up how many years they had done service in war, fall to tel-"ling of their gashes and scars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to "receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to spend and shed, in the quarrel of the "Common-wealth? When as by iterating these and such like speeches, both in their private talk and conference, and also other whiles in their publick assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the foresaid Act propounded, was put off until a farther day, and lay still for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have passed farther, in case it had been referred and subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they stood affected. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns should conduct an army into the Volscians country. *Cn. Cornelius* alone was left at *Rome*. The three Tribuns, after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battel, parted themselves three ways to waste and forrage the frontires. *Valerius* he marched to *Antium*, *Cornelius* to *Ecetre*. And every way as they went, they spoiled all before them, both house and field, and all to amuse & keep the Volscians occupied that way. But *Fabius* without any forraging at all, came directly to assault *Anxur*, which was the service most desired. Now *Anxur* was that, which at this day is called *Tarracine*, a City seated upon marishes. And on that side *Fabius* made shew of assault. But there were four cohorts under the leading of *C. Servilius Hala* sent out to fetch a compass: who having gained the hill that over-looketh and commandeth the town from that higher ground, with a mighty shout and outcry assailed the wall, where it was disfurnished of guard to defend it. At which sudden alarm, they were amazed who manned the wall of the base town against *Fabius*: and suffered them to set ladders to, and to scale. By which means every place was full of enemies. And upon the walls for a good while there was nothing but killing, as well those that fled, as those that resisted, armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weak, yet forced were they to fight: because in yeelding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made, that none but armed men should be killed, all the multitude besides willingly were disarmed. Of which number there were upon 2500. taken alive. From the saccage *Fabius* kept the souldiers, until his Colleagues were come: saying, that *Anxur* was taken as well by those armies, which had driven away the rest of the Volscians from the defence of that place, as by themselvs. Who being come, the three armies jointly ransacked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time.

Which

Which courtesie and bountifulness of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a most happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribuns made the motion, the Senat decreed, that souldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber; whereas before that time, every man in that service had born his own charges. Never was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Councel house: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and said, "They were now truly called *Patres, i.* Fathers, confessing that now the day was come, that in the "quarrel of so bounteous a City, there was no man would so long as his breath lasted, spare ei-"ther limb or life. Seeing that this commodity they should have to help them, namely, that du-"ring the time that their bodies were imployed, and busily occupied in the defence of Common-"weal, their private estate should stand at one yet and not decay. And forasmuch as it came of "themselves, and never moved by any of the Tribuns of the Commons, nor called for and cra-"ved importunately, by their importune speeches; that was it, that multiplied their joy, and made "the boon it self much more acceptable. But the Tribuns of the Commons (who only had "not their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinion, and "said, that it would not prove so joyous and happy to the Nobles all in general, as they supposed: "that this course and order taken, was at the first sight better then it would be found in the pra-"ctise and execution. For how could that money possibly be made and raised but by levying a tri-"bute or payment of the people? they were therefore liberal; but of other mens purses. But "admit, or say, that the rest would bear it, yet those neither could nor would endure it, who "were past war-service, and lived upon their pensions and annual salary: who would grudge and "repine, that others hereafter should serve in war for more gain then they had in their time "done; who having been charged with the pay of their own service, should now again be put "to contribute to the wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Commonalty. Last of all, when there was a levy exacted, the Tribuns also proclamed, That they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the souldiers pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had so well begun, and were the first that opened their purse, and for that as yet they had no silver coin, some of them carried gross pieces of brass in Wains to the treasure house, and made a goodly shew of Contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth: the chief of the Commons also, friends of the Nobility, as it was afore agreed, began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common sort saw both to be commended of the Nobles, and to be admired and reverenced of the souldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a sudden, refusing the Tribuns assistance, began to strive who should pay first. And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaming war against the Veientians, the new Tribuns Military led an army to *Veios*, consisting much upon voluntary souldiers. Now the Tribuns were *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *P. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *C. Julius Tullus* the second time, *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, and *M. Æmylius Mamercus*. And these were the first that besieged *Veii*.

About the beginning of which siege, when the Tuscans held a Councel in a solemn assembly at the Temple of *Voumna*, they could hardly agree upon this point, Whether the Veientians should be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the siege not so hot, by reason that some of the Tribuns, and part of the forces, were called away to the Volscian war. The Tribuns Military in Coss. authority, that year were, *C. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *M. Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Malugginus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilus* the second time. With the Volscians there was a pight field fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetra*; wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribuns began to lay siege to *Artena*, a Town of the Volscians: where, by reason of a sallying forth by them attempted, the enemies were driven back into the town, and the Romans took occasion and vantage thereby, to break in with them pell mell, and so they won all, save only the Castle. Into this fort naturally fenced, a good company of armed men betook themselves: but beneath the Castle, many a man was either slain or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the fortress besieged also. Neither could it by assault be forced, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it, considering the bigness of the place: nor gave the assailants any hope of yeelding, for before the town was lost, they had conveyed all their publick provision of corn into the Castle. So that the Romans had for very weariness departed from thence, but that a bondslave betrayed it unto them; who let in certaine souldiers at a steep high place, and those were they that won the fortress: for when the warders were by them slain, the rest of the multitude with sudden fright were soon overcome, and yeelded. Thus, when both the Castle and town of *Artena* was sacked and spoiled, the legions were brought back from the Volscians, and all the Romans power imployed against *Veii*. To the traitor aforesaid, there was given besides liberty, the pillage of two housholds for a reward. And he was named ever after *Servilius Romanus*. There be that think *Artena* was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians: the occasion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between *Cere* and *Veios*. But that town the Roman Kings destroyed: and it belonged to the Ceretes, and not to the Veientians: but this other, whereof we have reported the destruction, was in the country of the Volscians.

The Fifth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fifth Book.

At the siege of Veii, *the souldiers had holds made them for to winter in. Which being a new kind of service, struck an heat in the Tribuns of the Commons, who complained that they had no rest from warfare, so much as in the winter season. Then the Gentlemen of* Rome *began first to serve upon their own horses. When the Alban lake overflowed, a certain Prophet or Wizzardwas taken captive from the enemies, who should interpret that strange wonder.* Furius Camillus, *after ten years siege, won* Veii: *he transtated the Image of* Juno *from thence to* Rome. *The tenth part of the spoil and saccage he sent to* Apollo *at* Delphi. *The same* Camillus *being Tribun military, whiles he laid siege unto the* Falisci, *sent back again to the parents, his enemies sons that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the* Falisci *yeelded themselves, and so by his righteous and just dealing, obtained victory over them. When one of the Censors* C. Julius *was deceased,* M. Cornelius *was substituted in his place: Which was never done again afterwards, because in that five years space,* Rome *was taken by the Gauls.* Furius Camillus, *being indited by* L. Apuleius *a Tribun of the Commons, departed into exile. When as the Senones a people of the Gauls, besieged* Clusium, *and the Embassadors sent from the Senat to conclude a peace between them and the Clusines, fought themselves in person against the Gaules in the Clusines army. The Senones hereupon made quarrel, and with a cruel army came against the City of* Rome: *and after they had defeated the Romans at the river* Allia, *they were Masters of the City, all but the Capitol, into which the able and serviceable young men of the City betook themselves. The elders with their ornaments of state belonging to the offices that each one had born, they slew sitting in the porches and entries of their houses. And when they were now gotten up to the top of the Capitol, by the back side of the hill, they were discovered by the gagling of Geese, and were turned down, principally by the valour of* M. Manlius. *Afterwards when through famine the Romans were forced to covenant and grant for to give them the sum of* 1000. *pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the siege:* Furius Camillus, *who was created Dictator in his absence, came with an army, whiles the gold was in weighing: and drove the Gauls out of the City, after they had been possessed of it six months, and slew them. A Chappel was built to* Locutius: *in that place where before the taking of the City, there was a voice heard, that the Gauls were coming. Whereas it was purposed and propounded to remove to* Veii, *because the City of* Rome *was burnt and razed: that course by the advice and authority of* Camillus *was crossed and dispatched. The people was moved thereto the rather, by occasion of the omen of a word spoken by a Centurion, who being come with his band of souldiers into the* Forum, *was heard to say thus,* Stand Souldiers, here will be our best abiding place.

The fifth Book of T. Livius.

WHen peace elsewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veians were at war, with such mutual malice and hatred; that it seemed, whether part were vanquished, should come to final destruction. The assemblies for the election of the Rulers of both Nations, far differed one from the other. The Romans augmented the number of Tribuns Military in Consuls authority: for eight of them (so as never afore) were created: *M. Æmylius Mamercus* the second time, *L. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *Appius Claudius Crassus, M. Quintilius Varus, M. Julius Tullus, M. Posthumius, M. Furius Camillus,* and *M. Posthumius Albus.* The Veientians contrariwise, being weary of suing for dignities every year (a cause sometimes of civil discord) made themselves a King. Which offended the people of *Hetruria:* who as they abhorred all regal government, so they hated the person of the King himself. He had aforetime oppressed that nation, in regard of his greatness and pride withall: in that he had violently put down their solemn playes, the intermission whereof was held unlawful and detestable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a repulse, and by the suffrages of the twelve Nations, another was preferred before him to be high Priest, in the very midst of their solemn Games and sports, he took from them the very Players and Actors, whereof a great sort were his own servants. That people therefore given to superstition above all other, and so much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious observing the same, decreed to deny the Veientians their aid, so long as they were governed under a King. This decree was suppressed and not spoken of at *Veii* for fear of the King, who would accompted him that should report such rumor, for a sower of sedition, rather then an author of news. The Romans, albeit they heard that all was quiet from *Hetruria,* yet because they were advertised that in all the Diets and Councels of that Nation, the question was on foot and much debated, made their fortifications at *Veii,* so as they stood two wayes: some looked towards the City against all sallies and eruptions of the townsmen: others fronted *Hetruria,* to stop all succours that haply might come from thence. But the Roman Captains having greater hope in long siege, then in quick assault, began to build wintring harbours (a strange thing to Roman Souldiers.) Their intent was all winter time to keep continual war. Which after it was told at *Rome* to the Tribuns of the Commons

Commons (who now a long time could find no matter and occasion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the assembly of the people, sounding and solliciting the minds of the Commons, and often saying, "That this was the only matter, why a set pay was appointed "for the souldiers: and that they were not ignorant, that the gifts of enemies would prove to be "besmeared with poison: That the freedom of the Commons was bought and sold: That their "young men were sent away far off, and as it were banished from the City and Common-wealth, "so that now they had not so much spare time as winter nor any season else of the year, for to visit home and see unto their estate. What think ye (say they) is the cause of continuing this "warfare? No other verily should they find it but this, lest by reason of the frequent number of "those young men, in whom the whole strength of the Commonalty consisted, there might be "something dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and besides they complained how they were much more hardly used, then the Veientians. For as for them, they spent "the winter within their own houses, defending their City, fortified both with goodly walls, and "also by natural situation of the place: but the Roman souldiers abode by it still in labour and "travel, shrouded under booths of poor hides, overwhelmed with snows and frosts, not laying away their harnesse and weapons, so much as in winter the ordinary time of rest from all wars "both by sea and land. This manner of hard bondage, neither the Kings, nor those proud and "imperious Consuls (before the Tribuns authority was ordained to take them down) nor yet the "Lordly ruling Dictator, nor the insolent and unsupportable Decemvirs, ever enjoined; thus to "dwell in continual souldiery, as these Tribuns Military do: who exercise upon the Commons of *Rome,* an absolute and kingly authority. What would they do another day, when they were Consuls or Dictators indeed, who now but representing only the Consuls governmen (as Vice-Consuls) are so cruel and unreasonable? But we are well enough served, and justly have deserved no less. For that there was not so much as one place for a Commoner amongst "eight Tribuns. Afore time, the Nobles were wont with much labour and toil, to fill but three "rooms: and now they go eight in a rank together, to obtain all charges and dignities of "State and Government: and in that throng, a Commoner cannot have a place amongst them, "to put his Colleagues in mind (if he did nothing else) that they that go to warfare were free"men yet, and Citizens with them, and not bondslaves. Who in winter at the least, ought to "be brought again to their houses and homes, and once a year visit their loving parents, their "sweet children, and best beloved wives: to make some use of their liberty, and chuse their "Magistrates: These and such like speeches, whilest they broadly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adversary that was able to match them, *Appius Claudius,* lest for the purpose at home by his brethren in office, to restrain the Tribuns seditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained up in the broils and contentions of the Commons. Who certain years before (as we have said) gave shrewd and unhappy counsel to dissolve and put down the Tribuns authority, by the contradiction and inhibition of their own Colleagues. This man being not only in wit prompt and ready, but also exercised by long practice, made at that time this or such like speech: "If ever doubt were made, O Quirits, whether the Tribuns of the Commonalty have "for love of your good or their own particular vantage, been always the authors and beginners "of discord and dissention, this year I know assuredly, ye need no more stand in doubt. And "as I rejoice ye are at length come to an end of this your long wandring, so I congratulate "both you, and the Common-weal for your sake, that this error is cleared, and especially in the "midst of your prosperity. Is there any man maketh question now, that the Tribunes of the "Commons were not offended, nor took snuff so much at the injuries at your hands received "(if haply there have sometimes been any) as at the bounty of the Nobles, towards the Com"mons, in allowing pay to those that serve in war? What think ye else, either they feared them, or "would at this day disturb and disquiet but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which "they suppose rendeth most, and is sufficient, to abolish and overthrow the Tribuns authority. "And verily, as naughty Artisans or lewd leeches, seek for work still, and would be ever doing: "so they likewise desire to have something or other out of frame and amiss, in the Commonweal, "that to the repair and cure thereof, they might be ever sent for and employed. So whether do ye "(and speak truth) maintain or impugne the commonalty? Are you the adversaries or the advo"cates of them that serve in the wars? Unless peradventure this be your saying, Whatsoever the "Nobles do, it misliketh us, be it for the good of the common people, or to the prejudice and "dammage. And even as masters forbid their own servants and slaves, to have any dealing at all "with strangers, and think it meet and reason, that they medle neither hot nor cold with them: "even so forewarn ye the Nobles from all commerce and entercourse with the Commons: to "the end, that neither we by our courtesie and liberalitie, should allure and win them; nor they "again become dutiful and obeisant to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were "any spark (I say not) of civilitie, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to "favour, and as much as lieth in you, foster and cherish, as well the gracious kindness of the Nobles, as the willing service and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpe"tual, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Seignory and Empire within a while, might "prove the mightiest and most renowned of all those States that border hard upon our confines? "As for this purpose intended, and plot devised by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have "the army withdrawn away from the siege of *Veii,* before the service were brought to an end;

The Oration of *App. Claudius.*

"how it would not be only profitable, but alſo neceſſary, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now H
"for this time, I liſt rather to treat and ſpeak of the preſent condition and ſtate of thoſe, that are
"employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only,
"but alſo in the camp, and there canvaſſed and ſcanned of by the very army it ſelf, I ſuppoſe, would
"ſeem equal, and be received for good and reaſonable. Wherein, if nothing elſe ſhould come in-
"to my head to ſpeak, I would content my ſelf, and reſt ſatisfied with the only ſpeeches given
"out by the very adverſaries. They ſaid of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the ſouldiers,
"for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and to male-
"content, if they who have ſome new commodity coming to them, be enjoined alſo new labour I
"proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, nor gain common-
"ly without travel and employment. Pains and pleaſure, things of themſelves in nature moſt un-
"like, yet by a natural kind of ſociety (I know not how) are linked together. The ſouldier (afore-
"time) thought much to beſtow his labour & ſervice upon the Common-weal, at his own pro-
"per charges: yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year he might look to home,
"husband his land, and get maintainance to find himſelf and his, both at home in City and abroad
"in war. Now, taketh he contentment, and is well pleaſed, that the Common-weal is gainful to
"him: and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewiſe be content, with patience to
"forbear his houſe and family (ſince he is at no great charge) ſomewhat longer than ordina-
"ry. Might not the Common-wealth, if ſhe would call him to a reckoning, juſtly ſay: Yearly K
"pay thou haſt, perform therefore thy yearly ſervice? Doſt thou think it reaſon, to receive full
"wages for the whole year? and to be employed but ſix months for it? Much againſt my Sto-
"mach, O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell ſtill in this one part of my Oration: for
"in this wiſe ought they to reaſon that have mercenary and hired ſouldiers: but we will uſe
"them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewiſe that they entreat us kindly, and ſpeak unto
"us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all; or elſe
"to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of *Rome*, to finiſh
"it with all ſpeed poſſible. And finiſhed it will be, if we preſs upon our enemies thus beſieged:
"if we depart not afore we have accompliſhed our hope, by the winning of *Veii*. And ſurely, if L
"there were no other cauſe but this, even the very ſhame and indignity of the thing, might force
"us to continue ſiege unto the end. In old time, the whole power of *Greece* laid ſiege full ten years
"to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home? how
"many lands and ſeas between? Are we then loth and weary being within 20. miles of our dwel-
"ling place, and almoſt in the ſight of our own City, to endure the toil of one years ſiege? Be-
"cauſe (forſooth) we have but ſmall cauſe given us to war: and not griefs enough that might
"juſtly provoke us to abide and ſee the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace
"never were they true. Our Country have they ſpoiled and waſted a thouſand times. The Fide-
"nats they have cauſed to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have ſlain: and
"againſt all law of nations they were the principal inſtruments of that unworthy and unhuman
"murder of our Embaſſadors. All *Hetruria* would they have raiſed up againſt us, and at this day M
"about it they go. And when our Embaſſadors came to demand amends, they had like to have
"run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with theſe kind of men to ſtand at a bay
"and to war coldly and by leaſure? But if ſo juſt an hatred as this move us not: do theſe things
"(I pray you) nere awhit move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep
"trenches: blocked with mighty ſconces, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his
"own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what ſo ever was afore tilled, hath been deſtroyed by
"war. If we diſlodge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for deſire
"only of revenge, but upon neceſſity alſo and conſtraint to prey of other mens goods, having loſt
"their own) will invade and over-run our country? So that by this means we defer not the war,
"but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly
"indeed concerneth ſouldiers (of whom our good Tribuns of the Commons would now in all N
"the haſte ſeem to have ſo great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wreſted their wa-
"ges:) but what is that (I ſay?) A trench they have caſt, a rampart and platform they have raiſed,
"(matters of exceeding travel and labour) ſo far about: ſconces at the firſt a few, but after as
"their army encreaſed, they have erected very thick in every place. Forts they have built, not
"only to command the town, but alſo looking toward *Hetruria*, to impeach any relief, if any aid
"ſhould from thence come. What ſhould I ſpeak of the rolling frames and towers, the man-
"tilets and other Fabricks? What ſhould I ſpeak of the Tarraces, Tortoiſes, Rams, and all other
"engins of aſſault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after ſo great toil and pains taken, now
"that the works at length are brought to an end, theſe things ſhould be left and abandoned, that
"againſt ſummer we ſhould be new to begin again, and ſweat afreſh about the ſame? How O
"much leſs travail rather is it to keep theſe munitions already made? to be inſtant, and con-
"ſtant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For ſurely we may
"ſoon diſpatch the ſervice, if it be plyed throughly and followed on ſtill without ſtay; and if we
"our ſelves by theſe intermiſſions and reſpits between, make not a long piece of work of it, and
"draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and loſs of time. What elſe? Conſidering
"theſe ſo many Parliaments, theſe Diets and Councels continually in Tuſcany, about ſending
"aid to *Veii*, can we forget the danger that we incur by deferring the War? Indeed (as things
now

A "now preſently ſtand) I confeſs the Tuſcans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and
"deny to ſend: and for any thing by them done, we might win *Veii* out of hand. But who dare
"warrant, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the ſame mind? Seeing that if the
"Veientians have any reſt and breathing time given them, they are like to ſend oftner their Em-
"baſſages, and thoſe more honourable than heretofore. Alſo the King who newly is ſet up and
"created at *Veii* (the only thing that now offendeth the Tuſcans) in proceſs of time, may be chan-
"ged for another governor, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of
"the Tuſcans) or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that his princely regiment ſhould
"be hurtful to the ſafety of his ſubjects. See how many things, how many inconveniences fol-
B "low and enſue upon that courſe and manner of proceeding. The loſs of the fabrick and fortifi-
"cations, with ſo great labour already prepared and atchieved: the imminent and preſent waſting
"our own borders: the Tuſcans war inſtead of the Veientians. Theſe your devices, O ye Tri-
"buns, are much what like to his, that offering a ſick man ſome kind of meat or drink, for the
"very preſent to gratifie him withal, to pleaſe his palat and to content his taſte, maketh his diſ-
"eaſe long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in caſe at
"once, he would have reſolutely endured the right cure of a skilful Phyſitian. And ſurely, if it
"were not material to the managing of this war in hand, yet would it import much to martial
"diſcipline, that our ſouldiers ſhould be acquainted, not only with the ſweet fruit of a victory
"atchieved, but alſo if occaſion required longer time, to abide this tediouſneſs: and to wait for
C "the end of their hope, be it never ſo long: and if war be not finiſhed in ſummer, to ſtay for win-
"ter: and not as ſummer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and ſeek for houſing,
"harbour and covert. Conſider, I beſeech you, and ſee. The love and pleaſure of hunting carri-
"eth men into mountains, woods and forreſts; through froſt and ſnow, after their game: ſhall
"not we then uſe the like ſufferance in the needful exploits of war, which paſtimes ſports, and de-
"lights, are wont to draw and fetch out of us? Think we the bodies of our ſouldiers ſo effeminate,
"their hearts ſo tender and delicate, that they cannot for one winter abide in a camp, and forbear
"their home, but muſt needs war as men at ſea, watching times and ſeaſons, and obſerving the
"quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would
"bluſh and be abaſhed verily, if a man ſhould therewith charge them: and they would ſtand ſtifly
D "in this, and avouch. That they had both in body and mind manlike ſufferance and patience: and
"that they were ſouldiers as well for winter as ſummer: and that they ſet not the Tribuns a work
"for any patronage of cowardiſe and ſhelter of idleneſs: but remembred well enough, that their
"forefathers were not under ſhade for fear of ſun-burning, nor had their houſes over their heads
"for taking cold, when they firſt created and ordained that magiſtracy of Tribuns. This rather is
"beſeeming the valour of your ſouldiers, this fitteth well the name of Romans, not to have their
"eye upon *Veii* only, and this war now in hand, but to ſeek for fame and glory both by other
"exploits, and alſo with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would enſue
"hereupon a ſmall crack of credit, and hazzard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbor nati-
"ons confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of *Rome*, That if a City could receive their
E "firſt brunt, and abide their aſſault for a very ſmall while, it need not after to fear any more: Or
"rather ſhould not this dread and terror of our name ſpread all abroad, both far and neer, That
"no wearineſs of long ſiege and aſſault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raiſe the Ro-
"man army from any town once by them inveſted? as knowing no other end of war but victo-
"ry? and whoſe manner of ſervice is not by way of violent force more then of obſtinate continu-
"ance, which (as in all other military occaſions) ſo in beſieging of Cities is moſt needful: the
"greateſt number whereof, being either by ſtrong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural
"ſituation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirſt, proceſs and tract of time only doth
"force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) *Veii* at length: unleſs the Tribuns of the com-
"monalty ſuccour our enemies: unleſs that the Veientians find that relief and aid at *Rome*, which
F "they ſeek in vain throughout all *Hetruria*. For can there ought happen to the Veientians ſo
"wiſhed for, as that firſt the City of *Rome* ſhould be full of variance, and then the Camp (as
"it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwiſe I aſſure you, among
"the enemies, ſo good order there is and government, that neither the rediouſneſs of long ſiege,
"nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath cauſed any ſtir or commotion among them. No nor the
"denial of help from the Tuſcans hath one whit troubled and diſtempered their minds: but
"die he ſhall forthwith, that is the author of ſedition. Neither ſhall any man there be ſuffered to
"ſpeak thoſe words, which are ſpoken here amongſt you without any puniſhment or controlling.
"He deſerveth the baſtanado, to be dry beaten and wel cudgelled, that forſaketh his Colours, or
G "departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open aſſemblies, they that perſwade and
"counſel not one or two ſouldiers, but whole armies to leave their Standards and Enſigns, and
"abandon the very camp, have audience with applauſe. Inſomuch, that whatſoevera Tribune of
"the Commons ſpeaketh, although it were to betray the City, and undo the whole State, yeare
"uſed to hearken and give good ear to him: and being raviſhed and carried away with the ſweet-
"neſs of that authority, ye ſuffer under it to lurk any miſchief whatſoever. There remaineth now
"no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the ſame they might
"iterate in the camp among the ſouldiers, to corrupt the army, and not ſuffer them to obey their
"Captains. For to ſuch licentious liberty they are grown at *Rome*, that they fear and reverence
neither

"neither Councel nor Magistrate, neither Laws nor ancient Customs, neither Decree of Senators, H
"nor yet the Discipline of Military service.

Now was *Appius* with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns, and able to meet them at every turn: But see; (a thing that no man would have thought) a loss and foil received before *Veii* m de *Appius* to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent desire to assail *Veii* more hotly, and to besiege it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount neer unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and roofed mantlets, whiles (I say) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch these Fabricks, as they were busie and earnest in the day time to rear and plant them; behold, all of a sudden the enemies opened a gate, and armed in great I numbers, especially with burning firebrands, set all on a light fire: and in the space of one hour consumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had cost so long time in making. And many a man besides that came to help (but in vain) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at *Rome*, made all men heavy and sad, and caused the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might possibly prevent and stay, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting lest that the Tribuns would have insulted over the Common-weal, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and so assessed, and had no horses of service assigned them from the City, after some consultation together among themselves, suddenly came into the Senat: and having liberty granted of speech, promised to serve in the wars with horses of their own. After that the Senat had right honourably thanked and given them K most gracious words, the news thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a sudden the Commons came running unto the Councel house, saying, that as they were then to serve as footmen, so they offered their service to the Commonweal extraordinarily without mustering, whether they should be led, either to *Veii*, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to *Veii*, they would not return again (they say) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators so exceedingly joyed above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemen afore, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Councel house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keep themselves within the Councel house L door. But every one of them in his own behalf, so well as he could signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the *Comitium*, a general joy conceived: saying, That the City of *Rome* in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemen, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confessing that now they had surpassed the courtesie and bounty of the Senat. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy wept again who could weep most, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decree was made, That the Tribuns Military should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemen and footmen, and promise in the name of the Senat, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindness to their Country: and to signifie that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary service so willing- M ly, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there were assigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horseback for money. This voluntary army marched to *Veii*, and not only repaired again the works which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the City was provision of victual brought, with greater care of convoy than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an army so well deserving of the Common-weal.

The year following had for their Military Tribuns in Consuls authority, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius*, *P. Virginius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius* the second time, and *M. Sergius* the second time. In these Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the Veientian war, the fort of *Anxur* being neglected, by occasion that the garrison souldiers were disbanded and N ranged much abroad, and commonly received Volscian Merchants into the town, was suddenly surprised, by reason that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Less company of souldiers there were slain: because that all of them (besides those that were sick) found themselves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawless lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better success at *Veii*, wherein rested the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angred one at an other, than couragious against the enemy: but also the forces of the enemies were encreased by the sudden comming of the Captains and the *Falisci*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, because they inhabited next, supposing when *Veii* should be forced and lost, that their turn would be next to be warred upon by the Romans: and the Falisians besides, upon a special grudge and old quarrel of O their own, for that aforetime in the Fidenat war, they had intermedled and interessed themselves, sent their Embassadors to and fro, and by binding themselves by a solemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Veii*. And by chance they assailed that side and quarter where *M. Sergius* a Military Tribun had the charge of a sconce. Who gave a great alarm and caused exceeding fright: because the Romans supposed certainly that all *Hetruria* was raised out of every part, and there present, with all the power they could make. The same imagination animated the Veientians also within the City, to make a sally. So was the Camp of the

A the Romans assailed on both sides. And whiles they ran together up and down, and turned their ensigns every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the strength of their fortresse, nor yet repulse the violence from their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themselves from their forraign enemies behind: their onely hope was to have help from the greater leaguer: that the legions in sundry places might make head, some against the Capenats and the Falisci, others against the tally of the townsmen. But *Virginius* had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice against *Sergius*, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that most of the Fabricks and bulwarks were assaulted, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both sides charged lustily, kept his B souldiers well appointed in arms: saying, that if there were any need of help, his Colleague should send unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not so arrogant and insolent, but the other was as peevish and wilful. Who because he would not seem to seek unto his adversary, nor crave aid at his hand, chose rather to be vanquished of his enemy, than to overcome him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them for a good while the poor souldiers went to wrack, and were slain. At the last, forsaking their ramparts, a very few of them escaped into the maine camp. But the most part, with *Sergius* himself, went through to *Rome*. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginius* should be sent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputie, and Lieutenants should command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a C taunting and reviling: and many hard tearms were dealt between them. Few there were that tendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the LL. of the Senat thought good, howsoever that so shameful chance hapned either through the default, or unlucky fortune of the Captains, not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that presently there should be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the * Calends of October. To which opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing gainsaid it. But *Sergius* and *Virginius* (for whose sake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magistrates that year) at the first made means & besought them not to disgrace and discredit them so: and afterward assayed to cross the decree: denying that they would give over their place, before the * Ides of December, which was the set and usual day D of entring yearly into new offices. Amid this business, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept silence even against their wills, so long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City prospered, upon a sudden brake out and threatned sharply the two Tribuns Military, that unless they would submit themselves, and rest in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then *C. Servilius Hala*, a Military Tribun, stood up and said, "As for you and your threats, "O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly see once, that there were no more "power and authority in these here, then will and stomack in you. But who seeth not that there "is no striving against the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear "you to seek opportunity and occasion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren for "their parts shall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or else if they shall continue E "stubborn still in their contumacy, I will presently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave "their office. This speech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terrors and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridle magistrates: the two military Tribuns aforesaid, were overweighed with the consent of all parties, and held a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the * Calends of October: and before that day they resigned up their places. Thus were *L. Valerius Potitus* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the second time, *M. Æmilius Mamercus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *L. Julius Tullus*, Tribuns military in Consuls authority.

In whose time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not onely F they had war in sundry places at one time, namely, at *Veii*, at *Capena*, against *Falerii*, and with the *Volsci*, to the end that *Anxur* might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at *Rome* also, what about musters and paying the tribute for souldiers pay, there was much trouble. Besides, there was some variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the rest: and the two arraignments of those, who a little before had governed in Consuls authority, caused no small stir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the muster should go forward. Neither were the younger sort and serviceable men only prest forth, but the elder also compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the G number of souldiers, so much more money they needed for their payment. And the same was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as tarried at home. For that besides the levy they were enjoined to become souldiers also, in defence of the City and to serve in person for the Commonwealth. These things, grievous as they were of themselves, so by the seditious Orations of the Tribuns in their assemblies, they seemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and discoursed thus, "That wages was appointed for souldiers to this end, only that what by warfare, "and what with exactions and impositions, they might undo the Commons, and make an end of "them at once for ever. One war (say they) hath now continued three years, and the same, on "set purpose, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one muster there were "armies enrolled for no fewer than four wars, whereunto beardless boyes and old crasie men,

were

* 1. day of October.

* The 13. day of December.

* 1. day of October.

"were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or ſummer: ſo as the
"poor Commons at no time can have any reſt. Who now at laſt are taxed alſo and racked to the
"uttermoſt, ſo that after they have brought home with them their bodies overtoyled with travel,
"weakned with wounds, and laſt of all, waſted and ſpent with age: and finding all things at
"home unhusbanded by reaſon of the long abſence of the maſters and owners, they muſt be fain
"to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick ſtock, and repay again with great uſury to
"the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon intereſt.

Between the muſters of one ſide, and the levy of ſouldiers pay on the other ſide, and their minds occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not ſully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, there ſhould be ſome of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to impeach and overthrow * the Tribuns law, it was effected or brought to paſs that they ſhould aſſume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, *C. Lacerius*, and *Marcus Attilius*, by the might and practiſe no doubt of the *Patritii*. It hapned, ſo that the ſame year *C. Trebonius* was a Tribun of the Commons, who would ſeem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law *Trebonia*, and diſcharge it as a duty to that name and houſe belonging. He ſpake aloud and ſaid, "That
"whereas the Tribuns Military had won that, whereof ſome of the Nobles had born the repulſe
"in their firſt ſuit, and that the Law *Trebonia* was diſannulled, in that certain Tribuns of the Com-
"monalty were taken into their fellows, not by ſuffrages and free voices of the people, but by the
"rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that paſs, that either
"Noble men, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribunes of the Commons: that
"their ſacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority wreſted from out
"of their hands by violence: all theſe inconveniencies he complained to have hapned through
"the fraudulent practiſe of the Nobles: and the miſchievous lewdneſs and treachery of his own
"companions in office. Thus whiles there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not
the Nobles only, but alſo the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they
that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *Minutius*, fearing ſome ſhrewd turn, like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virginius*, (the Tribuns military of the former year) and by ſerving proceſs, giving them a day to anſwer, turned from themſelves the anger and diſpleaſure of the Commons, upon thoſe two perſons: I
publiſhing openly, "That whoſoever were grieved for the muſters and the Tribute, whoſoe-
"ver thought the war long, and the continual ſouldiery tedious, whoſoever ſorrowed for the
"dammage and diſcomfiture received at *Veii*, whoſoever for the loſs of their Children, Bre-
"thren, Kinsfolk, or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful houſes: to them they offered
"liberty and power to vent their publick and privat grief, upon theſe two guilty perſons and of-
"fenders, *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the very cauſes of all the miſchiefs and calamities that were hap-
"ned. For why? the adverſary charged them with no more then was confeſſed by the very par-
"ties: who finding themſelves both faulty, laid the blame one upon the other: whiles *Virginius*
"reproached *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treaſon to *Virginius* his charge, in that
"he denied his help in time of need. For to ſay they were both of them ſo inconſiderate and M
"ſooliſh only, were to ſpeak beyond all compaſs of belief. But much more likely it was, that
"there was ſome packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practiſed of ſet pur-
"poſe, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritii*. By whoſe means both
"at the firſt the Veientians gat opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and pro-
"long the war, and alſo now the army was bought and ſold, and the Roman camp betrayed to
"the *Falifci*. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax
"old at *Veii*, and that the Tribuns might not propoſe and conſult with the people about the di-
"ſtribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full
"aſſembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and withſtand the conſpiracy of
"the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (ſay they) a prejudice paſſed againſt theſe N
"offenders both by the Senat and people of *Rome*, and alſo by their Colleagues. For as they
"were diſplaced and depoſed from their office, by an Act of the Senat: ſo when they refuſed to
"give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to reſign up their
"government: and the people of *Rome* had created other Tribuns military to enter into their
"charge, not upon the uſual day which was in the * Ides of *December*, but forthwith in the Ca-
"lends of *October*: as who would ſay, the Common-wealth had not been able to ſtand any lon-
"ger, if theſe men had remained ſtill in place. And yet for all this, theſe perſons thus convicted
"and ſore-condemned by ſo many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking
"they are ſufficiently quit, and diſcharged, yea, and have ſuffered puniſhment enough, in that
"they were two months ſooner then ordinary, made private perſons; and perceive not, that O
"thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no puniſhment inflicted up-
"on them. For as much as even their very Colleagues, who had not offended, were likewiſe
"diſcharged as well as they: Let the *Quirites* therefore and people of *Rome*, take that heart to
"them again, which they had upon the late overthrow freſh and bleeding new, when they be-
"held the army running in fearful flight, ſore wounded and agaſt, arriving at the gates, bla-
"ming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only theſe their two brave leaders. And as for us,
"we know aſſuredly that there is not one of all them here preſently aſſembled, who that day curſed

* *Lex Trebonia* publiſhed by *L. Trebonius*. See the third Book.

The invective ſpeech of *C. Trebonius* againſt *Sergius* and *Virginius*.

* The 13. day of December.

A "ſed not in his heart and deteſted the head, the houſe, and whole eſtate of *L. Virginius*, and *M.*
"*Sergius*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, erewhile every man prayed that the anger
"and vengeance of God would light againſt them now when they both may and ought, they
"ſhould not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand
"themſelves upon ſinners and offenders: but it ſufficeth that they arm the wronged and oppreſ-
"ſed perſons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon theſe ſpeeches mo-
"ved with indignation, condemned theſe two offenders in * 10000. brazen Aſſes a piece: not- * 26. *lib.* 5. *ſit.*
withſtanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himſelf, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all *fort.*
upon fortune: and *Virginius* beſought them (but both in vain) that he might not be more un-
B happy, and ſpeed worſe at home, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted
upon theſe two, obſcured and darkned the remembrance both of the aſſumption and admitting
of the Tribuns aforeſaid, and of deluding and diſanulling the Law *Trebonia*. The Tribuns thus
having got the upper hand, to the end that the Commonalty might have a preſent reward for a-
warding this doom, publiſh the Law *Agraria*, and forbid the levying of the Subſidy for ſouldi-
ers pay: ſeeing there was need of pay for ſo many armies: and ſped ſo well they had, in the ma-
naging of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any wafting at all. For at *Veii*
the pety camp which was loſt, being recovered again, was fortified with ſtrong bulwarks, and fur-
niſhed with good guards. The Tribuns Military, *M. Æmylius* and *Q. Fabius*, had the charge
there. And as for *M. Furius* in the Faliſcan, and *Cn. Cornelius* in the Capenat Country, they could
C meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drave away booties, and waſted their
marches, by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither aſſaulted nor
beneged them. But in the Volſcian country, after their territory was waſted, *Anxur* alſo was
aſſaulted (but in vain) for that it was ſituate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the
charge of that province, ſeeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay
ſiege to it, and inveſt it round. The affairs of war abroad ſtanding in theſe tearms, there aroſe
domeſtical ſtrife and ſedition at home: and the ſame was followed more earneſtly and with greater
ado, than the wars were managed without. And when by reaſon of the Tribuns there could no
ſubſidies and exactions be gathered, nor money for ſouldiers pay ſent to the Generals, and that
the ſouldiers called on them hard, and were haſty for their wages: the camp alſo had like to have
D been troubled and infected with the contagion of thoſe civil mutinies. During theſe heats and an-
gry fits of the Commons againſt the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people ſaid, That now the
time was come of eſtabliſhing their freedom, and tranſlating the chiefeſt dignity from the *Sergii*
and *Virginii*, to the Commoners, ſuch as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no
more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it were to make entrie and take poſſeſſion
in the right of that dignity) to wit, *P. Licinius Calvus*, ſhould be created Tribun Military with Con- *P. Licinius Calvus* the firſt Commoner advanced to ſoveraign government.
ſuls authority: the reſt were all of the Nobility, *Pub. Manlius*, and *P. Titinius*, *P. Melius*, *L. Furius*
Medullinus, and *L. Popilius Volſcus*. The very Commons themſelves marvelled that they had ob-
tained ſo great a thing, and not he only who was created, a man that aforetime had never been
in place, and born no magiſtracy, yet an ancient Councellor of State, an elderly perſon, and well
E ſtept in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he firſt and above all others was coun-
ted a meet man to have hanſel, or make eſſay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think,
that for his brother *Cn. Cornelius* his ſake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and
had given to the horſemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in, and called to ſo great ho-
nour. Others, for that himſelf had picked out a convenient time, and made a plauſible Oration,
that both Nobles and Commons liked very wel, concerning the agreement and unity of the States.
The Tribuns of the Commons rejoicing highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted
and called in the Inhibition of the ſubſidy or impoſition aforeſaid, the thing that moſt of all pre-
judiced the ſervice of the Common-wealth. By means whereof paiment was made in all dutiful
obedience, and ſent it was unto the army. Then within ſhort time was *Anxur* (in the Volſcians
F Country) recovered: by occaſion that on a feſtival holy day, the watch and ward of the City was
neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and ſnowy winter, ſo as the high ways
were choaked up, and *Tyberis* was unnavigable; Howbeit, by reaſon of proviſion brought in a-
forehand, the price of corn aroſe not. And for becauſe *P. Licinius*, as he entred his government
without any troubles, and with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than indignation
of the Nobles; ſo alſo ruled and executed it all the year long accordingly: therefore their teeth
watered at the next election alſo, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only *M. Veturius*,
of all the Nobility that ſtood in ſuit for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the o-
ther Tribuns Military in Conſular authority, all the Centuries in a manner choſe Commoners, to
wit, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius Racilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Attilius*.

G After this hard Winter, either by reaſon of a diſtemperature and diſpoſition of the weather,
ſuddenly changed to a contrary, or upon ſome other hidden and unknown cauſe there followed
preſently a contagious and dangerous ſummer, by occaſion of a peſtilence, noiſom to all kind of
living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reaſon could be found, nor
any end thereof ſeen, the Books of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senat peruſed: and Duumvirs
appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a Lectiſtern (then firſt inſtituted in
the City of *Rome*) to appeaſe and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Nep-*
tune; feaſted them (as it were) for the ſpace of eight days together, & for that purpoſe they ſet out

three

three beds or banquetting tables, with as magnificent and ſtately furniture as could be for that time poſſibly deviſed. Which ſolemnity was privately alſo performed. All the gates and doors through the City ſtood wide open: all ſorts of viands were ſet out abroad to be uſed in common: open houſe kept for all comers, one with another, as well unknown ſtrangers as their acquaintance, with all friendly welcom, and entertainment. Kindly, and courteouſly would they talk and deviſe, even with their adverſaries: all chiding and brauling was laid aſide and put under foot. The priſoners alſo for that time were enlarged, yea, and conſcience made afterwards, that any ſhould be laid or kept in irons, unto whom the gods had vouchſafed that gracious meed.

But all this while much trouble there was, and many alarms before *Veii*, by reaſon that three wars were joyned now in one. For when as all at once the Capenats and the Faliſci came (in manner as afore) about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans for to reſcue the beſieged, they were forced to make head, and hazzard a doubtful battel againſt three armies. But the beſt help they had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. Therefore having conducted by a neerer way, their forces from the greater camp (which before lay ſtil and would not come to ſuccour) they ſet upon the Capenats backs, as they turned againſt the rampart of the Romans. The battel there begun, made the Faliſci alſo afraid: in which affright of theirs they ſuddenly ſallied out of the leſſer hold, in ſo good time that they forced the enemies to turn their backs, all quaking for fear. And having got the upper hand, they followed the train of the victory, and in the chaſe made a very great ſlaughter and deſtruction of them. And not long after, the forragers that waſted the land of the Capenats, as they ranged abroad here and there, encountred the reſidue and remnant of this battel, as if fortune of purpoſe had preſented them to their hands, and ſwept them up clean. Alſo many of the Veientians as they fled back into the City, were cut in pieces before their very gates: whiles they within for fear leſt the Romans at once ſhould ruſh in, made the gates faſt and ſo ſhut out the hindmoſt of their own men. Theſe were the atchievances of this year.

And now approached the Election of the Tribuns military, whereof the nobles had in a manner a great care then of the war: as who ſaw now that the ſoveraign rule was not only parted with the Commonalty, but welneer on their own behalf quite loſt. Therefore albeit of ſet purpoſe they had prepared moſt noble and excellent men to ſtand in ſuit, whom to paſs by and let ſlip, they thought the people would have been aſhamed: yet nevertheleſs they themſelves (as if they had been the parties that ſtood) tried every way, and not only ſought the help of men, but alſo craved it at the hands of the gods: making it great ſcruple and a matter of conſcience: and alledging that the elections for two years paſt were not according to the wil of God: as appeared by this, ſay they, that in the former year there was an intollerable winter, and ſuch as portended ſome heavy judgements from above; how alſo the year following, there were no prodigious tokens ſhewed aforehand, but even the very events and effects thereof, were ſeen and felt: namely, the peſtilence both in Country and City, through the very indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the fatal Books of *Sibylla* it was found out, that they ought to have been pacified, for the diverting away of that peſtilent influence. As if in thoſe ſolemn aſſemblies which ought in the name of the gods & religiouſly to be held, the gods thought it an indignation and unſeemly thing, that the honourable offices of ſtate ſhould be made common: no diſtinction of degrees, no difference of horſes obſerved, but all confuſed and ſhuffled together. The people therefore being driven into amaze, not only in regard of the Majeſty and Dignity of thoſe that were competitors, but alſo of a very remorſe of conſcience, choſe for Tribuns military in Coſſ. authority all of the Nobility: and a good part of them, the moſt honorable perſonages of the reſt, to wit, *L. Valerius Potitus* the firſt time, *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, *Quintius Servilius Fidenas* the ſecond time, *Quintus Sulpitius Camerinus* the ſecond time. Howbeit in this year no great exploit worthy of record, was performed at *Veii* under theſe Tribuns. All the ſervice that was, conſiſted in forraging and waſting. The two Lord Generals raiſed huge booties, to wit, *Potitus* from *Falerii*, *Camillus* from *Capena*: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched, that might be ſpoiled by fire or ſword. In this mean time, many fearful prodigious tokens were reported, the moſt part whereof were ſlenderly credited, for that of each there was but one only author: and becauſe there were no ſoothſayers, by whom they might make procuration therefore (ſince that the Tuſcans were now profeſſed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one eſpecially there was, which all men had an eye and regard unto, namely, for that a certain pool within the Alban forreſt, without extraordinary rain from above, or any other occaſion which might make the thing ſeem leſs miraculous and wonderful, was riſen unto an unuſual height. Certain Orators therefore were ſent to the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know what the gods foreſignified by that prodigious token. But they, as god would, met with an interpreter of the Deſtinies neerer home, to wit, an ancient Veientian. Who (upon a time, when as the ſouldiers, both of the Romans and Tuſcans, let fly one at the other taunts and ſcoffs from their ſtations and guards) thus ſpake in prophetical wiſe: That until the water were drained and let out of the Alban poole, the Romans ſhould never be maſters of the town of *Veii*. Which ſaying of his was at the firſt contemned as a fooliſh word, raſhly let fall from him: but after, it began to be much talked of, ſo long, until a certain Roman ſouldier, from out of his ward, enquired of a townsman that warded next unto him (for now by reaſon of long war they had entercourſe of ſpeech one with another) what he was who had caſt out ſuch an ambiguous riddle of the Alban Lake?

The Alban lake riſen to a wonderful height.

When

A When he heard that he was a ſouthſaier, being himſelf alſo a man not without ſome ſenſe of religion, he trained that wiſard forth to communication, pretending that he would gladly be reſolved himſelf, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: & therefore requeſted him at his good leiſure, to take ſo much pain as to confer with him, and give him counſell about the expiation and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all fear and ſuſpition one of the other, the Roman being a luſty tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the ſight of them all, and notwithſtanding a great ſtir that the Tuſcans made (but all in vain) had him away perforce to his own company; Who being brought before the General, was ſent afterwards to *Rome* unto the Senat. And being de-
B manded what the meaning of that ſhould be, which he had prognoſticated and preſaged concerning the Alban lake, anſwered thus: "Certainly the gods were offended with the people of *Veii* "that day on which they put this into his mind to bewray the fatall and inevitable deſtruction of "their State and country: and therefore that, which as then he being ſtirred by divine inſpiration "had propheſied, neither might he call back again and unſpeak: and beſides, happily by conceal-
"ing thoſe things, which the immortall gods would have to be publiſhed, there might be commit-
"ted as great ſin, as by diſcloſing myſteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth he) is it writ-
"ten in the fatall books of fortunes, and thus in the Tuſcans learning, to us is delivered, *That when* *the Alban water overflowed, if then the Romans with due and religious ceremonies let it out, they ſhould have the victory of the Veientians: but before that, the gods would not forſake the walls of the*
C *Veientians*. Then went he on ſtill, and ſhewed what was the ſolemn and right maner of deriving the water. But the Nobles ſuppoſing authour to be the light of credit, and not of ſufficient account in ſo weighty a matter to beleeved, reſolved to expect the Embaſſadors, and the anſwer of the Oracle of *Apollo*. But before theſe meſſengers were returned from *Delphi*, or any expiation found out for this Alban miracle, the new Tribuns Military with Conſuls authority, *L. Julius Tullus*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the fourth time, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *A. Poſthumius Regillenſis*, *P. Cornelius Maluginenſis*, *A. Manlius*, began their government.

The propheſie of the Deſtruction of *Veii*.

In that year there aroſe new enemies, the Tarquinians; they ſeeing the Romans buſied with many wars at once, with the Volſcians at *Anxur*, who laid ſiege to the fort there: with the Æquians at *Lavicos*, who aſſaulted the colony of the Romans: beſides, with the Veientians the Faliſcians and Capenats: and that within the City there was no greater quietneſs, by reaſon of va-
D riance between the Nobility and Commons: ſuppoſing, I ſay, that hereby they had good opportunity to do ſome injury and harm, they ſend forth certain bands of ſouldiers lightly appointed, into the territory of *Rome*, to forrage and make ſpoil: thinking that the Romans would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, becauſe they would not charge themſelves with a new war: or encounter them and make head with a ſmall power and the ſame but ſlender and diſfurniſhed. The Romans was more offended at the indignity of theſe bravadoes, then they cared much for the ſpoil done by the Tarquinians. And thereupon they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it out any long while. *A. Poſthumius* and *Lu. Julius* levied a power without any ordinary muſter (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a man-
E ner of voluntary ſouldiers, whom they had procured with good words and comfortable ſpeeches. And paſſing throughout the country of the *Ceritis* by croſs & crooked waies, ſurpried the Tarquinians upon the ſudden, as they returned from plundering, & laden with great prizes. Many they ſlew, all they eaſed of their loading: and thus having recovered the ſpoils of their lands, they returned to *Rome*. Two daies were allowed for the owners, every own to own his proper goods: & on the third day, ſuch goods that were unknown (whereof the moſt part belonged to the enemies) were ſold in port-ſale: and that mony which was made thereof was divided among the ſouldiers. All other wars, and eſpecially the Veientian, had doubtfull iſſue. For now the Romans deſpairing of all mans help, regarded and expected only the courſe of deſtinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embaſſadours were retuned from *Delphi*, bringing the anſwer of the Oracle, agreeable
F to the former anſwer made by the wiſard, with was taken priſoner: and it ran in this forme: *Beware O Romans that the Alban water be not kept too long in the pool. Bewear thou let it not diſcharge it ſelf into the ſea. Let it forth and wtear the fields therewith, by ſundry rivulets or ſtreams thou ſhalt waſt it and draw it dry. Then aſſault valiantly the enemies wals, remembering that out of that City which ſo many years thou haſt beſieged, victory is promiſed to thee aſſuredly, by thoſe deſtinies which now are revealed. And after the war ended and conqueſt atchieved, ſee thou bring unto my temple, an ample and honourable preſent: and perform the ſacred ceremonies of thy country according to the old cuſtome, and renew thoſe a freſh which have of late time been neglected.* Here grew this captaine prophet above ſaid to be greatly
G accounted of: and the Tribunes military, *Cornelius* and *Poſthumius*, began to take his counſel and advice, about the procuration of the Alban miracle, and to appeaſe the gods in due order. And found it was at laſt where it was that the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies & for letting the ancient ſolemnities and ſacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing elſe, but that there was an errour committed in creation of the Magiſtrats: and they ſo created, had ſolemniſed the Latine holidaies wrong and celebrated the ſacrifices in the Alban mount amiſſe. The only purging or expiation wherof was, that the Tribunes military ſhould give over their office, and that they ſhould take new Auſpices againby the flight & ſinging of birds, and ſo to proceed to an Interreign. All which things were according to a decree of the Senat performed. Whereupon there interre-

The anſwer of the Oracle.

gents succeeded one after another. *M. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus.* But all this while no end there was, nor intermission of troubles and dissentions. For the Tribunes of the Commons disturbed and staid the assembly for the election so long, untill it was agreed that the Commons disturbed and staid the assembly for the election so long, untill it was agreed that the greater par of the Tribunes military should be created from the Commons. H

During these affaires, the Tuscans held certain Diets and Councels at the Temple of *Voltumna:* where when the Capenats and Falisci required that with one common assent and resolution, all the people of *Hetruria* should raise the siege from *Veii*, this answer was returned: "That here- "tofore they had denied the Veientians their help in this regard, that they were not to seek for "aid at their hands, from whom in so weighty a matter they had not sought for counsell: but now "their own fortune made answer for them. For such was the difficulty of their present estate, I "That if they would, yet they well could not: considering especially how into that part of *He-* "*truria* there were newly arived to seat themselves there, the Gauls, a strange nation unto them: "with whom they neither had assured peace, nor yet certain war to trust unto. Howbeit for blood- "sake, and for the very name, and in regard of the present perils of their kinsmen, they would "grant thus much: that if any of their youth would go forth to the war willingly and of them- "selves, they would be no hindrance. Now was it noised at *Rome*, that a mighty great number "of these enemies were come to raise the siege. Whereby the civill discords of (as it is common- ly seen upon a generall fear) began to wax more calm and to slake. For the principall Tribe that had the prerogative to give their first voice, chose *P. Licinius Calvus* Tribune Military, without his own suit (but not against the will of the Nobles) a man of approved good carriage, and moderati- K on in his former government, but exceeding old. And it appeared evidently, that all the rest for that year, should be chosen anew after him, out of the Colledge of those that had been Tribunes Consular beforetimes: namely, *L. Titinius, P. Menenius, Cn. Genutius, L. Attilius*: who before they were elected and pronounced, *P. Licinius Calvus* spake in this manner (by the permission of the Interregent) unto the other Tribes, that were called in their right and orderly course, to their suffrages. "I see well, my masters O ye Citizens of *Rome*, That in this election, wherin ye have in remembrance our former Magistracy, ye guesse and presage happily against the year ensuing, "concord and unity: the only thing at this time of all others most profitable: in case I say, you "chuse again, those who by experience also are become now more sufficient. But as for me, you "see I am not the same man I was: but a bare shadow and name only is all that is left of *P. Lici-* L "*nius*. The strength of my body crasie, and feeble, the sense of my eies and ears dim and dull: "my memory faileth, the quickneſſe of my spirit grown heavy and lumpish. But behold (quoth "he, laying hand on his son) this young man, the very image and portraiture of him, whom ye "afore time made Tribune Military, the first that ever was out of the commonalty. Him trained and "brought up after my own order and discipline, in stead of my self, I bequeath, I give, I dedicate "unto the commonweal. And I beseech you O *Quirites*, that the dignity which of your selves you "have offered unto me, without my seeking, you would bestow upon him at his own humble suit, "and the rather shew him this favour at my earnest request in his behalf. The father had his desire granted. And so his son *P. Licinius*, was with them, whom before we named, declared Tribune Military in Consuls authority. *Titinius* and *Genutius* Tribunes Military, made an expedition M against the Falisci and Capenats: Who managing the war in greater heat and courage, than with sage advise and counsel, plunged themselves headlong into an ambushment of their e- nemies. *Genutius* paid for his rashnesse, and made amends by an honorable death: For he was slain even before the ensignes, valiantly fighting in the vanguard of the battell with the formost. But *Titinius*, having after much fear rallied his souldiers, retired himself unto an high hill, and made head again. Howbeit he durst not encounter the enemy on even and plain ground. The shame of this defeat was greater than the losse otherwise. And yet it had like to have turned into a right great damage and overthrow. So great was the fear, not at *Rome* only, whither much news came di- versly reported: but also in the camp before *Veii*, that hardly could the souldiers be kept from run- ning away. For it was noised all over the camp, that the Capenats and Falisci ans had got the vi- N ctory, slain the Generals and the whole army: and that all the flour and strength of Tuscany was not far off. But at *Rome* there was much more hurli-bury: For there it was verily beleeved, that the leaguer about *Veii* was assaulted, and that, part of the enemies already were coming in warlike maner against the City: so as they came running on heaps to man the wals. And even the very matrons and dames of the City, whom publike fear had caused to leave their houses, fell to their beads and supplication in the churches: beseeching the gods to avert and divert destruction from the houses, Temples, and wals of the City of *Rome*, and to turn away that fear from them upon *Veii*: if they renued aright their festivall daies, if they made satisfaction by sacrifice for the prodigious sights, and no otherwise.

Now by this time were the solemn plaies & the Latine holidaies renewed, now was the water O let out of the Alban lake into the fields, now *Veii* drew neer to her final end, hastned by the course of the Destinies. Therefore there was created *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, the fatall captain, predesti- ned to destroy that City, and to save his own country: who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* Collo- nell of the horsmen. The change of the General made a change soon of all things else. The hopes of men were other than afore, the minds of men were altered, yea, the fortune of the City seem- ed not the same. But first of all, he proceeded by martiall law against them, who in that fearfull fright

The Oration of *Licinius Calvus* to the people.

A fright at the last alarm, were fled from *Veii*: and taught his souldiers not to fear their enemies most, but likewise to stand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had published to take musters upon a certain day, himself in the mean while rode post to *Veii*, there to encourage the hearts of the souldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, for to levy a new army: and there was not one that refused to serve under his standard. For even the youth of the forrainers both Latins and Hernicks, came & offered their service in that war. Unto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senat house yeelded thanks, and that all things now were in sufficient readinels, by a decree of the Senat he made a vow, that when he had won *Veii*, he would incontinently celebrat the great games, and reedifie and consecrat anew, the Temple to dame *Matuta*, which afore time had been B dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. Thus when he was gone forth from the City, and his army on foot, with greater expectation of the people then hope: first he fought a field with the Falisci ans and Capenats in the Country of *Nepet*, [*called at this day Nepe*] where he ordered all the exploits with as great discretion and policy as might be: and as it commonly falleth out he sped as well and fortune favoured his designes. He not only defeated his enemies in battell, but also drave them out of the field, and gained a huge booty, whereof the greatest part came to the Treasurer his coffers; and somewhat (though not much) was given to the souldiers. From thence he march- ed with his armour to *Veii*, and there he caused more sconces and bastillons to be made, and to stand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none should fight without speciall com- mandment, he withdrew the souldiers to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skir- C mishes that they made oftentimes, and that rashly, between their camp and the wall of the town. The greatest work of all the rest and most laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Castle of the enemies. And to the end that this work should not be intermitted, nor yet the continuall labour still under the ground might over-toil them: he divided the pioners into six parts, and each of them wrought six hours round by turns, so that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Castle. The Dictator seeing now the victory as it were in his hands, and a most rich City ready to be taken, and that there was like to be such faccage, as never had been the like in all the wars put together aforetime: lest that he might incur either any mutiny and anger of the souldiers in pinching and scant parting of the pillage, or displeasure and discontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of *Rome*, by so prodigall a largesse in sharing all: dis- D patched his letters to the Senat, to this effect, "That wheras by the goodnesse of the immortall "Gods, his own policy and direction, and the travell of his souldiers, the City *Veii* was now in "a maner at his devotion; what they would advise, should be done with the rich spoils thereof. "There were two divers opinions that mightily distracted the Senat: the one of the old *P. Licinius*, whose mind being asked of his son, spake first (by report) and said: that his opinion was, there should a proclamation be published abroad among the people, that whosoever would be partaker of the booty, should go to the Leaguer before *Veii*. The other of *Ap. Claudius*, who finding fault with this new, prodigall, unequall, and undiscreet largesse, in that they thought it unlawful and unfit, that the treasure got of the enemies should come once at least wise to the common purse of the City, which had been emptied so often by reason of wars: was of advice, "That the soul- E "diers should have their pay out of it, that the Commons thereby might be eased, in the Difference in the Senat about the pillages of *Veii*. "charges of the subsidy levied of them: for so should every mans house equally feel the so- "ciety and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle persons remaining at home in the town pree- "dy now of rifling, and who would be fingering of Pillage, should not pluck from the hardy "warriors their due rewards. For as much as it is usually seen, that as the valiantest man "commonly aimeth at the greatest part of travell and perill, so the more coward alwaies reach- "eth at the biggest portion of the spoil, and hath his hand deepest therein. Contrariwise, *Li-* "*cinius*, alledged that such mony laid up would be alwaies suspected and odious, and would mi- "nister matter unto the Commons of criminations & finding one fault or other, whereof seditions "and commotions may arise, and would give occasion of new laws to be preferred: and there- F "fore better it were that by this gift and boon the hearts of the Commons were won and recon- "ciled: who being spent and eaten out by reason of their charges of so many years, herewith "might be well relieved. And that they ought to tast the fruit and sweetnesse of the booty out "of that war, in which they had spent their years, and were waxen old men. And that it "would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man should be his own carver, and with "his own hand catch from the enemie what he could, and bring it home with him, than if they "should receive much more by a great deal at the discretion and pleasure of another. And the "Dictator himself (saith he) hath avoided as neer as he could, the displeasure, hatred, and offence "that might arise thereof, and therefore posted it off to the Senat: the Senat ought likewise "seeing the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to G "have such share as the fortune of war will allot him. This advise which made the Senat grati- "ous with the people, was thought to be the safer and better of the twain. Whereupon procla- "mation was made, That whosoever would have part of the spoil of *Veii*, should shew himself "before the Dictator in the camp. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the camp againe. Then the Dictator after sacrifice done, and advice taken of the lucky signes of birds, went forth and commanding his souldiers to take armes and weapons in hand, spake these words "and said: "By thy conduct and the instinct of thy divine power O *Pythius Apollo*, I let for- "ward to the winning of the town of *Veii*, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the spoils thereof.

"And thee withall (ô Queen *Juno*) who at this hour dost inhabit within the compasse of these
"wals, I beseech, that thou wouldst vouchsafe, to follow us after conquest into this city, ours
"now, and thine within awhile: whereas thou maiest be shrined in a Temple meet for thee, and
"the grandeur of thy majesty. Having made these praiers, with an exceeding multitude he invest-
ed the city, and assaulted it round on all parts: to the end that they within might have lesse percei-
vance of the peril intended towards them from the undermining. The Veientians little knowing that
they were betrayed, partly by their own prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and that some
of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the spoil and saccage, and other by vowes and
praiers trained and called out of their own city; began to look after the temples of their enemies
& their new habitations: little weening that this was their last day, & fearing nothing less than that
their wals should by undermining be overthrown, and that their Castle was full already of enemies:
every man for himself ran armed to the wals, marvailing what the matter should be, that whereas
for so many daies space no man stirred ont of the Romans Leaguer, then of a sudden (as if it were in
a wood rage) they ran upon head so rashly to the assault. But hereto belongeth a tale; That
when the Veientian King was at sacrifice, this voice of the Southsaier was overheard out of the
mine under ground, *That he whose hap was to cut forth the Inwards of that sacrifice (should obtain
victory*, and moved the Roman souldiers, to break out of the undermining, and to catch up the
entrails and bowels, and carry them to the Dictator. But as in things of so great antiquity, it suf-
ficeth me, that those which carry some likelyhood of truth, be received for true: so for fabulous
matters fitter indeed to make a shew in a stage play (where people take delight in such miracles)
then to be sadly beleeved, it will not quit for the pains either to avouch them, or disavow them.
The mine or cave at the same time (no doubt) full of chosen souldiers, yeelded forth all at once ar-
med men into the Church of *Juno*, which was in the castle of *Veii*, and some of them set up-
on the backs of their enemies that were on the wals: others pluck up the portcullis of the
gates: some of them, whiles from the houses the women and servants flung down stones and
tiles, cast fire abroad. So that every place was full of cries and voices, partly of them that fright-
ed others, and partly of those that were affrighted, with a confused screecking of women and
children. When as now in a moment, the armed souldiers were thrown down from the wals e-
very where, and the gates set open: whiles some entred marching in aray, others scaled the naked
wals, the city was filled with enemies: and skrmishes there were in every place. After great mas-
sacre and execution committed, the fight began to quail: and the Dictator commanded the Bedles
to proclame and give commandment, to spare the unarmed. Thus the bloudshed ended. Where-
upon the unarmed people began to yeeld: and by permission of the Dictator the souldiers ran to
the spoil. Which being brought in sight of the Dictator, of greater price and value a good deal,
than either was hoped or looked for: it is said that he stretched forth his hands towards heaven
and praied, "That if his own fortune and the felicity of the people of *Rome* were thought by any
"god or man to be excessive, the envy belonging thereto might be mitigated with as small
"privat losse of his own in particular, and with as little common calamity of the people of
"*Rome* in generall, as might possibly be. And it is recorded, that in this maner praying and wor-
shipping, as he turned himself about, he slipt forward and caught a fall. And as men afterwards
guessed by that which fell out, it was supposed that the ominous token presaged the condemnation
of *Camillus* himself, and the ruin of the city of *Rome*, which hapned within a few years after to be
forced and sacked. Thus was that day spent in the slaughter of enemies, and in rifling of that
most wealthy city. The morrow after, the Dictator sold in portsale the bodies of as many as
were freeborn. That mony only came into the common treasury not without some anger and
repining of the Commons. And as for that booty and spoil which they brought with them away,
they counted themselves beholden therefore, neither to the Generall himself (who to colour and
excuse his own nigardise had referred the matter to the Senat: wherein he might have used his own
liberty and discretion) nor to the Senat: but unto the house of the *Licinii*, whereof, the son
propounded the matter before the Senat, and the father was the author of so popular an over-
ture.

The City of *Veij* won by *Camillus*

When as now worldly and earthly riches, were carried forth and tumbled out of *Veii* by heaps,
then began they to remove and have away the sacred gifts and oblations of the gods with the gods
themselves, but after the maner of devout worshippers, rather than of greedy spoilers. For chosen
there were out of the whole army, certain youths in the flower of their age, who having their bo-
dies clean washed, and being arraied in robes, had in charge to carry Queen *Juno* to *Rome*, and
entred into the Church with great adoration and reverence: and at the first very charily and religi-
ously laid hand upon her, for that (after the Tuscan maner) there used none to handle that Image
but the Priest of one certain tribe. After this, when as one of them, whether it were upon a certain
divine inspiration, or in some youthfull sport, cast out these words, *Wilt thou march to* Rome *dame
Juno*? The rest with one voice cried aloud, That she gave a nod, and seemed thereto to give as-
sent: whereupon this also was added to the tale, that she was heard to say, *I will*. But for certain
it is reported, that she was stirred out of her foot-stall, with the help of a small lever, and that as
she willingly was displaced, so she was easily removed & translated, and so safe and sound conveied
into the mountain *Aventine*, there to abide and remain for ever; which was the place assigned un-
to her by the vows of the Roman Dictator. And there *Camillus* according to his vow, dedicated to
her afterwards a temple. This was the finall end and fall of *Veii*, the richest City of all the Tuscans,
which

Which even in the last and utmost calamity shewed her mightiness, and having been besieged
found about continually the space of ten summers and winters, & in that time done much more an-
noiance and hurt then it received, was now at last through the necessity of fatall destiny, gained
rather by long siege and secret undermining, then won by forcible assault and violence.

When tiding came to *Rome* of the winning of *Veij*, albeit both the prodigious sights that were
seen, had been expiat by sacrifice, and that the answers of the Prophets and wisemen, yea, and the
Oracles of *Apollo* were well known: and that so far forth as mens counsel and policy might help,
they had chosen for Generall *M. Furius*, the most noble captain and warrior of all other: yet con-
sidering they had there warred so many years with variable fortune, and received many losses and
overthrows, their joy was exceeding great, as if a thing had hapned unlooked for. And before
that the Senat could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of *Rome* giving thanks
to their gods. And the Senat ordained by an act, that suplications should continue for four daies,
the like as never had been before time in any war. The Dictator also was met upon the way as he
came home by all degrees and estates in great number, and was more welcomed and honoured
then any man afore time, to that day. And the triumph far exceded the usuall maner of the solem-
nity to that day belonging. But most of all was he himself all goodly to be seen, entring into the
city in a chariot drawn with white steeds. And that was thought an honour, not only unmeet for
the quality of a citizen, but hardly beseeming the condition of any man whatsoever. For they
made it a matter of conscience, that their Dictator should be equall with *Jupiter*, and the sun, in
respect of their bories: for which only cause especially, the triumph was more glorious than gra-
cious, and taken in good part. Then assigned he & set out to Queen *Juno* a church in *Aventine* hill,
and dedicated another to dame *Matuta*, and so having atchieved and performed those divine and
humane deeds, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

The temple of Queen *Juno*, 1 he temple of *Matuta*.

After this began some speech about the Present to *Apollo*. Unto whom, when as *Camillus* said
that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil: and the Priests and Prelats thought good that the
people should discharge their conscience in that behalf: there could no ready mean be found how
to command them to give back again the spoil, that the due portion thereout might be set apart
for the holy oblation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought the easiest course
of all, that whosoever would acquit himself and his house in conscience, should, after he had made
an estimat to himself of his own share in the spoil, bring the value & price of the tenth part into the
common Chest: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for the state of that Temple,
beseeming the power of that god, and answerable to that dignity of the people of *Rome*. Yet even
this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from *Camillus*.

A mid these affairs there came Embassadours from the Volscians and Æquians, to treat for peace,
and peace obtained they, rather because the city, wearied with continuall wars, might now take
rest and be at quiet, than for any deserts of them that sued for it. After *Veij* was taken, the year
following had six Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, two *P. Cornelij*, namely, *Cossus* and *Sci-
pio*, *M. Valerius Maximus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus* the second time, *L. Furius Me-
dullinus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Unto the *Cornelij* fell out by lot the Falis-
can war, to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenats. Who neither assaulted their cities by force, nor
wearied them with siege: but forraged the countries, and drave booties away of such things as
were in the fields, not a tree that beareth fruit, not any fruitful things besides, escaped their hands. This
distresse and calamity subdued the Capenats: who thereupon sued for peace, and had it granted.
But amongst the Falisians the war continued still. In the mean time, at *Rome* there were
sundry seditions. For the appeasing whereof, it was thought good to send a Colony to *Volsci*, and
thither three thousand citizens were appointed in checkroll. And Triumvirs were thereto chosen,
who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began
to be despised, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to stop their mouths withall, and
to put them beside a greater hope. For why should the Commons be sent away into the Volsci-
ans land, seeing there was *Veij* within their eye-sight, a most fair city, and the land about more plen-
tifull and large than that of *Rome*? And as for the city it self, they preferred it, either for the site,
or state of privat or publick buildings and other places, before the city of *Rome*. Moreover a mo-
tion also was made (which, after that *Rome* was won by the French, was more hotly followed)
concerning a General transmigration and removing to *Veij* for ever. Marry, they intended
that *Veij* should be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: saying, That the
people of *Rome* might well enough inhabit two cities joyntly in one state of Commonwealth.
"Against all this, the LL. of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainly said, they
"would sooner dye in the sight of the people of *Rome*, than any of those matters should passe.
For why? if there were now in one city so much distention, what would there be in twain? Would
"any man be so mad, as to prefer a conquered city, before his own country that had conquered
"the same? and suffered *Veij* after it is won to be in better estate then it was afore, even when
"it was at the best? Finally, well might they be forsaken at home in their own country by their citi-
"zens, but to forsake their country and citizens, they would never be brought by any force what-
"soever. They would not follow to *Veij*, *T. Sicinius* as their founder, (for he amongst the Tribuns
"of the Commons perswaded this Act) and leave their god *Romulus* the son of a god, the first
stock-father and beginner of the city of *Rome*. Whiles these matters were in handling with foule
stir and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion some of the Tri-

Tribunes) there was nothing else that staied the Commons hands from outrage, but this, that H
when there was an outcry made to begin the quarell, and to set them together by the ears, the
chiefe and principal Senatours first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid
at, smitten and slain. In regard of whose age, dignity, and honour, they forbearing to do violence,
were likewise for shame staied in their mood, for any the like attempts besides. *Camillus* taking
vantage hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: "That it
"was no marvell truly, that the city was in a rage and madnes, which being charged with a vow,
"made more care of all things else, then to discharge their conscience thereof, and see it perform-
"ed. As for the collation and gathering of a small donative, rather then a tithe, he said nothing of I
"it: seeing that every man privatly bound himself thereto, and the body of the people stood fre-
"ed therefrom. But one thing there was that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace,
"that out of that booty only which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levi-
"ed: as for the city and ground that was won, which also was comprised within the vow
"there were no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senat seem-
ed doubtfull and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelats: their colledge calling to them *Ca-
millus*, thought good, that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever
after the vow, came into the hands of the people of *Rome*, the tenth part thereof should be con-
secrated to *Apollo*. So both the city and the lands were valued: and mony taken forth of the city
chamber. And the Tribunes military Consular enjoyned therewith to buy gold. Whereof there be-
ing not store enough, the dames of the city, having their assemblies and meetings by themselves K
for to consult therabout, by a common decree made promise to the Tribunes military, and brought
into the exchequer their own gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was as ac-
ceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senat, as ever any had been: and for this liberality (men
say) they had this honour granted unto them, as to ride to church and to plaies in hanging or
ship-coaches, and as well on working daies as holidaies, to be at their wagons. When the gold
was of every one received by weight and prised to the worth, that they might again be paid mony
therfore: it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made therof, and presented as an ob-
lation to *Apollo* at *Delphi*. So soon as they had eased and disburdned their minds of this religious
vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began sedition anew. So as the multitude was incited and
stirred up against all the peers, but above all other against *Camillus*; charging him, that what by con- L
secrating and consecrating the booty of the Veientians, he had brought it to just nothing. Those no-
bles that were absent they blamed and they cried out against mightily, but of such that were pre-
sent in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so
soon as they saw the matter in question to be deferred and continued past that year, they chose again
for the year following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that act and
law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against
the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons (a good part of them) were chosen the very same again.
But at the Election of the Tribunes Military, the Patritij after very much ado got at length, that
Furius Camillus was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided
of a Generall for war, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adversary to withstand M
the acts and proceedings of the Tribunes. Together with *Camillus* were made Tribunes Military
in Consuls authority, *L. Furius Medullinus* the sixt time, *C. Æmylius*, *L. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp.
Postumius*, *P. Cornelius* the second time.

In the beginning of the year, the Tribunes of the Commons stirred not untill *M. Furius Camil-
lus* was gone against the *Falisci*, as his charge required for that war. And by delaies afterwards the
matter was well cooled. As for *Camillus*, whom of all other they most feared to be their adversary,
he waxed great and glorious, by his service against the Falisci. For when as at the first, the enemies
kept themselves within the wals, thinking it the safest way: he by wasting their country, and
setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their town, howbeit they feared to
be too bold, and to go far forward: and encamped themselves a mile and lesse from the town; N
reposing their safety and security in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the waies
all about being rough, ragged, and stony, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and
steep. *Camillus* having tak en a prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late
in the night dislodged his camp, and betimes in the morning at break of the day, shewed him-
self upon the higher rounds a good deal. The Romans on three sides, fell to fortifie by trenching and
casting rampiers, whiles the rest of the army stood ready ranged for the batrell. And where-
as the enemies assaied to hinder the work, be discomfited them and put them to flight, where-
upon the Falisci were so frighted, that as they fled amain in disaray, they passed beyond their
own camp, which was neerer; and made as fast as they could to the town. Many were slain and
many wounded, before that in this affright they could hit upon the gates. Their camp being taken, O
the booty thereof came into the Questors coffers, with the great gruding and anger of the
souldiers. Howbeit yeelding to the severity of discipline and good government: the same vir-
tue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was
the city besieged, and sconces and platforms raised about it. Otherwhiles also, as occasion
was offered, the townsmen would sally forth and assaile the Romans camp, and make light skir-
mishes. Thus the time passed without any great good hope of either side: for that they within
the town besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessaries than they
that

A that lay at siege without. And it seemeth they would have had as long a peece of worke there, as
they had at *Veij*, had not fortune yeelded to the Romans General, both a trial of his approved vertue
in war and also speedy victorie.

It was the manner among the Falisians, to entertain for the government of their Children one
that should teach and instruct them in school, and withall bear them company whersoever they
went: and many children together (as the guise continued still even to this day in *Greece*) were
committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the Nobles and principall mens sons of this
City (as it is usually every where else) a speciall man had the teaching of them, such an one, as
was thought most learned and the greatest clerk of all other. This man, having in time of peace
B begun to bring the children forth before the town side, to disport and exercise themselves, gave
not over his wonted manner now in time of war. And using still to train them abroad one
while neerer, an other whiles further off from the gate: it fell out so, that one day what with pa-
stime, and what with pleasant talk and discourses, he drew them further then he accustomed: and
seeing his time, went forward as far as the enemies *corps de gard*, and so forth on, till he had brought
them within the compasse of the camp, and even to *Camillus* his pavilion. Where to his wicked *Monte Fiasco.*
intended act, he added also a more graceless speech, saying, "That he yeelded * *Falerij* into the
"Romans hands, in that he gave them those children to do with what they would, whose parents
were the rulers and commanders of the city. Which words when *Camillus* heard, thou comest not The words of *Camillus* to the traiterous schoolmaster of the Noblemens sons of *Falerij*.
"(quoth he) lewd wretch as thou art, with thy lewd and cursed present, either to a people or to a
"captain like thy selfe. We have not indeed with the Falisians any league at all, by covenant of
C "man concluded and established: yet by nature, there is and will be still a kind of amity or soci-
"ety between us and them. There are laws due for war as well as for peace: and those have we
"learned to observe no lesse justly, than valiantly. We bear arms not against that silly age, which
"usually is spared in rasing and sacking of towns, but against armed men, and those who being,
"by us neither harmed nor provoked, have assailed the Romans camp at *Veij*. And yet those ene-
"mies (as bad as they be) like as thou hast for thy part exceeded them in a new and strange kind of
"wickednesse: to will I conquer I doubt not, by feats that the Romans professe: by vertue, by
"travell, by hardy fight: like as I have done *Veij* already. After this he caused him to be stripped
naked, and so with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him
back to *Falerij*: and gave them rods withall, wherwith they might whip and drive this traiterous
D person forward into the city. At which sight the people at the first came running together: and
then the Magistrats called a Councell to sit upon this strange occurrent. But see what a change
it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred and anger so cruelly set,
as that they wished rather in a maner to be destroied with the Veientians, then to accept of peace
as the Capenates had done; now through out the whole city required to be at accord with the
Romans. No talk in the Market place, no speech in the Councel house, but of the faithfulnesse
and truth of the Romans, and of the justice of their General. And with one generall consent of all,
Embassadours were sent to *Camillus*, into the camp. And from thence by permission of *Camillus*
to the Senat of *Rome* they went, to deliver up *Falerij*: and being admitted into the Senat house,
in this wise (by report) they spake: "In that victory (right honourable) which neither God nor
E man can chuse but allow, are we by you and your General overcome and vanquished. And here we The Oration of the Embassadors of *Falerij* to the Senat of *Rome*.
render our selves into your hands: supposing this (than which to a conquerour there can be no-
thing more honourable) that *we* shall live better under your government, than under our own pro-
per laws and liberties. The event & issue of this war, hath afforded to mankind two worthy exam-
ples to follow. Ye for your part have made choice to observe faithfulnesse in war, rather then to at-
"chieve a present conquest: and we again, by this your faithful dealing induced and provoked,
"have willingly yeelded unto you the victory: confessing our selves now presently to be your liege
"& lawfull subjects. Send whom you will, to receive our armor, our hostages, our town with open
"gates. Neither shal you ever repent of our allegance nor, we think much of your rule & go-
vernment. *Camillus* had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The Falisci were charged
F with mony for that years pay, that the people of *Rome* might be freed of their subsidy. Thus when
peace was granted, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

When as *Camillus* was returned after this conquest of his enemies into the City, with much bet-
ter commendation, than when as in triumph he rode in a chariot drawn with white horses through
the city, as being now famous for his just dealing and faithfulnesse: secretly the Senat was abashed
for very reverence of the man, and could no longer bear, but without further delay to acquit him
of the vow he made. So there were sent *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Manlius* as Embassadors in one
galley unwafted, to present unto *Apollo* at *Delphi* by way of obligation, a standing cup of gold.
Who not far off from the narrow seas of *Sicily*, were encountred & borded by certain Lipareusian
G pirats or men of war, and had to *Lipara*. Now the maner was of that city, as common rovers use
to do) for to divide the prize among them. Haply the chief officer or Magistrat for that year, was
one *Timasitheus*, a man more like to the Romans than his own countrimen. Who having him-
self some reverent regard of the name of Embassadours, and the present of the god to whom it
was sent, and the occasion thereof: possessed the multitude also (which also rightly resembleth
their governor) with due religion and prick of conscience. This head ruler brought the Embassa-
dors into their lodging, & entertained them courteously at the cities charges, wafted them with the
convoy of a sufficient fleet: accompanied them in person to *Delphi*, and from thence conducted
them

them home again safe to *Rome*. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, there was a contract made with him of amity and mutuall entertainment, and gifts bestowed upon him at the cities cost. The same year there was doubtfull war with the Æquians, so it was uncertain both in the army and at *Rome* whether they had won or lost the victory. The Generals for the Romans, were of the Tribunes Military, *C. Æmylius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. At the first they warred both together, but after, when the enemies were in fight discomfited, it was agreed, that *Æmylius* should keep *Verrugo* with a garison, and *Posthumius* wast the borders. Where, as he marched somewhat negligently with his army out of order, as presently after field won, the Æquians set upon him, and having put him in fear chased him to the hils next hand. The fright whereof came from thence to the other garrison also at *Verrugo*. *Posthumius*, after that he had retired his men into safty and assembled them together, and there in an Oration greatly blamed and cried out upon their fear and running away: and that they were discomfited by a most dastardly fugitive enemy: the whole host cried out with one voice, that they deserved to be told of it, and confessed that they had committed a foul fault: but they themselves would make amends therefore: and promised that the enemies should carry it neither to heaven nor hell, nor joy long therewith. Requiring that he would conduct them presently to the enmies camp (which in sight was pight upon a plain) protesting to refuse no extremity of punishment, if they were not masters of it before night. He then commended them, and willed them to refresh their bodies, and to be ready at the relieve of the fourth watch. Now lay the enemies likewise in the passage, to intercept the Romans, as they fled by night from the hill, even in the way which leadeth to *Verrugo*. And before day they encountred together (but you must think the moon shone all night) and saw how to fight, as well as by day light. But the noise being heard to *Verrugo*, strake so great fear amongst them, thinking the camp of the Romans had been assailed, that for all *Æmylius* could do to hold them, and to beseech them to the contrary, they fled scattered unto *Tusculum*. From whence the news came to *Rome*, That *Posthumius* was slain, and his army lost. But he riding about the host (after that in the morning betimes the day light shewed them that followed apace on every side, that there was no fear of ambushments and forsayings) charged them with their promises, and set them in such a heat, That the Æquians could no longer abide their violence. Then slew they the enemies in the chase every one, and made havock of them as they fled, more like men that do things a in fury and rage then by plain valour. And presently from the Tidings from *Tusculum* (which put the city in a vain & causeless fright) there came from *Posthumius* letters, dight with lawrell; importing news, that the Romans had the victory, and the Æquians the overthrow.

Because as yet the actions and sutes aforesaid of the Tribuns of the Commons could come to no end: but the Commons laboured to continue the Tribuneship in them that were the maintainers of the law preferred, and also the Nobles endeavoured to make those rulers again that had oppose themselves against the same law. But as the Commons in their own Election prevailed and had the better: so the Nobles were revenged of them againe for this griefe they tooke, by an Act of the Senat, that Consuls (hated Magistrates of the Commons) should be created. Thus after fifteen yeares were Consuls reelected, *L. Lucretius Flavus*, *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*.

In the beginning of this year, when as the Tribunes of the Commons bestirred themselves stoutly to go through with their law, for that none of their brotherhood was about to deny and nip the fame: and whiles the Consuls for that very cause resisted them as earnestly, and the whole city was here-about amused: the Æquians won *Vitelia*, a Colony of the Romans, seated within their own country. Most part of the Coloners (because the town being by night betraied and won, yeelding unto them free passage to escape away on the back side) fled safe to *Rome*. So that service befell unto *L. Lucretius* the Consul; Who went with a power and vanquished the enemies in fight, and with victory returned to *Rome* to a greater conflict a good deal. *Aulus Virginius*, and *Quintus Pomponius*, two Tribunes of the Commons the two years past, were accused: for whose defence it was for the Credit of the Senat, That the Nobles should agree and stick close together. For no man laid to their charge either dishonest behaviour in life, or corrupt carriage of themselves in their office, but only this, that to please and gratifie the Nobles, they had set themselves against the Tribunes law. Howbeit the anger of the Commons went beyond the favour of the Senat, and (that which was a most shamefull precedent) they (guiltlesse men) had fine set on their heads of * ten thousand pound of brasse coin; Whereat the Nobles took great displeasure. *Camillus* openly blamed the Commons for this their wicked part: who now setting themselves against "their own pattons, perceived not that by a perverse proceeding in judgement against their Tribunes, they had lost their liberty of opposing themselves with their negative voice: and take that away once, and farewell all authority of the Tribunes for ever. For where as they hoped "that the Nobles would endure the unbridled and licentious liberty of that office, they were much "deceived: for if these hard courses of the Tribunes might not be restrained by help of the same "Tribunes, the Nobility would find some other weapon to fight withall. He rebuked the "Consuls also, for that they suffered those Tribunes to faile of their protection and safe conduct, "who had done and said nothing but by the authority and warrant of the Senat. Whiles openly he used to make these and such orations to the people, he thrust himself daily more and more into mens anger and displeasure. But to stir up the Senat against the foresaid law, he ceased not still: willing them, that when the day came of proposing the law, they should come into the Common Hall, with no other mind but this, to remember they were to fight for god and country

* 2 lib. 5. fo. 1. *Camillus* rebuketh the Commons.

Camillus his speech in the Senat.

try, for the temples of the gods, and the very soile wherein they were born. And as for his own self privately, if it were lawful for him amidst these civil troubles of his native country, to "think upon and respect his own proper glory, it were right honourable for him, to have the city "which he had won, peopled and resorted unto: and daily to behold and enjoy the memorable "monument of his own glory: to see before his eies the very City, whereof the counterfeit was "born in the pomp of triumph: and that all men else should tread in the steps of his noble acts. "But he thought it a shamefull and abominable thing, that a City left and forsaken of the immortall gods, should be inhabited: and that the people of *Rome* should dwel in captive soil, and to "make this exchange, to leave a naturall country which hath conquered, for it that hath been conqueredWith these perswasions & exhortations were the chief rulers excited, the Nobles old and young, came in multitudes, (when as the law should be propounded) into the Hall. And as they were dispersed and sorted into Tribes, every one taking hold of those of his own tribe, began to beseech them even with tears, not to forsake that Country now, in the quarrell whereof they and their fathers had fought most valiantly and happily: shewing herewith ever and anon the Capitoll, the Temple of *Vesta*, and other Temples thereabout of the gods: that they should not therefore drive the people of *Rome*, as exiled and banished out of their native soil from their own home and housegods, into their enemies City, nor bring the matter thus about, that it had been better that *Veii* had not been won, rather then *Rome* should be abandoned. Because their dealing was nothing but by way of prairer and perswasion, and in their praiers much mention and naming of the gods, the most part of them were touched in conscience: so as more Tribes nipped that one law forgoing forward, than gave their voices to approve it. Which victory was so joyfull to the Nobles, that the morrow after, by the motion of the Consul a decree was made, That amongst the Commons should be a division of seven acres for a man out of the Veientian lands: and not for householders only, but that confideration and reckoning should be had also in every house of all free born persons: to the end, that they should be willing to breed up children to the like proof, and for the hope of like commodity. When the Commons by this bountifull gift and liberality, were well pacified and stilled, there was no stir at all to hinder the election of the Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Lu. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius*, who afterwards was surnamed *Capitolinus*.

These Consuls set out the great solemn games and plaies, which *M. Furius*, the Dictator had vowed in the Veientian war. In the same year the Temple of *Juno Regina* vowed by the same Dictator and in the same war, was dedicated. And it is reported, that the dedication thereof was celebrated with exceeding great resort and forward endeavour of the dames of *Rome*. War there was (but not greatly to be spoken of) *Algidum* with the Æquians, for that the enemies were in a maner discomfited before that they joyned battel. *Valerius* because he followed still and killed the enemies in chase, was allowed by decree to triumph at full: and *Manlius*, that he should enter into the city only Ovant, in petty triumph. The same year arose a new war with the Volscians: against whom by reason of a famine and pestilence that grew about *Rome* upon exceeding drought and heat, an army could not be led forth. For which cause the Volscinians puffed up with pride, joyning unto them the Salpenates, invaded first the country about *Rome*. Whereupon war was proclamed against both nations. *C. Julius* the Censor departed this life. In whose room *M. Cornelius* was substituted. Which after bred some scruple of Religion, for that *Rome* in that five years space was taken. So that never after that is there any Censor chosen into the place of the deceased: And the Consuls also being sick and thereby disabled to govern, it was thought good to take new counsell & advice of auspices or tokens of birds, by an Interreign. When as therfore by an act of the Senat, the Consuls had resigned their office, *M. Furius Camillus* was created Interregent. Who named after him *P. Cornelius Scipio*: and he afterwards *Lu. Valerius Potitus* to be Interrex. By whom were made six Tribunes Military with Consuls authority: that in case any of them should be sick and crasie, yet the Common-wealth should have governours enough. The first day of July entred they into their office: namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *M. Aemylius*, *Lu. Furius Medullinus* the seventh time, *Agrippa Furius*, *C. Aemylius* the second time. Of these *L. Lucretius* and *C. Aemylius* had in commission to go against the Volscians: but *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpitius* against the Salpinates. And first were the Volscians fought withall. A great war in respect of the number of enemies: but for the conflict and battell, nothing fierce and sharp. For their army at the first encounter was put to flight, and eight thousand souldiers were by the Roman horsemen environed, whereupon they threw their weapons away and yeelded. The tidings of this war caused the Salpenates not to adventure upon fight: but they kept themselves armed within the wals, and stood upon their gaurd. The Romans then all abroad drave booties both out of the Salpinats Country, and the Volscians, and no man withstood their violence: so long until the Volscians wearied with war, and truce granted unto them for twenty years, upon this condition, to make restitution again to the Romans of their goods, and to pay the souldiers for that year their wages.

The same year one *M. Caditius* a commoner, gave notice to the Tribunes that in the new Causey, where now there standeth a Chappel above the Temple of *Vesta*, there was in the still time of the night a voice heard, louder than any mans, willing that the governours might have intelligence, that the Gauls were coming. This, by reason of the baseness of the author (as commonly it is seen) was not credited: besides, they were a nation far remote, and therefore less known and of small accompt. Thus were not only the advertisements of the gods despised, when as their fatal time of destruction

struction was toward: but also the help of man (which rested only in *Furius Camillus*) they rid out of the City. Who being arested to appear at a day by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the Commons, and to make answer for the sacage of *Veii*, and having buried about the same time his son, a towardly young Gentleman, sent for home to his house, those of his own tribe, his skinfolk and followers, wherof a great part were of the Commons. And when he had sounded their minds, and received this answer from them, That they would defray and lay down so much, as he should be condemned in: but as to acquit him, that they could not possibly. Hereupon he departed in exile: praying to the immortall gods, that as he was guiltlesse and wrongfully deale withall, so they would with all speed, cause that unthankful City to stand in need, and to have a misse of him. In his absence condemned he was in * fifteen thousand pounds of brasse coine. When this citizen was thus expulsed, who if he had tarried still, (so far as we may make reckoning of any earthly security) *Rome* could never have been wonne: behold, embassadors came come from the Clusines, requesting aid against the Gaules.

M. Furius Camillus goeth into the exile.

* 39 *lib. 7. fo. 6 after.*

This nation (as it is reported) allured with the sweetnesse of corn and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those daies) passed over the *Alps*, and possessed those countries which had been aforetime by the Tuscans inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one *Arruns* a Clusine, who had brought wine into Gaul, to entise that people withall, upon an anger and displeasure that his wife had been defloured by one *Lucumo* (whose guardian *Arruns* himselfe had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom *Arruns* could not chastise and bridle, without assistance of forrein forces: This man was the Gauls guide in passing over the *Alps*, and the principal instrument to set them a work for to assault *Clusium*. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to *Clusium* by *Arruns* or some other Clusine: but most certain it is, that they who assaulted *Clusium*, were not the first that passed the *Alps*. For the Gauls two hundred years before they assaulted *Clusium* and won the City of *Rome*, came over into *Italy*. Neither fought the Gauls first with this nation of the Tuscans, but long afore, and that oftentimes, with those that dwell between *Apeninnus* and the *Alps*. For, the Tuscans had all soveraign command, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and nether sea, wherewith *Italy* is compassed about, as it were an Island, may be a sufficient proof, how great and puissant they were: seeing, that the one is by the generall name of the Nation, called of Italians, the Tuscan sea: & the other the Adriatick, of a town of colony or the Tuscans called *Adria*. The Greeks do call the self same seas that (*a*) *Tyrrhene* and the Adriaticke seas. These Tuscans bending to both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of twelve Cities: having sent before on this side *Apennine*, toward the nether sea, and afterwards beyond the (*b*) *Apennine*, as many Colonies in number according to the Princes at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the *Po* unto the *Alps*, except that Angle only of the Venetians, that are seated about the gulf of the Adriatick sea. And doubtlesse, the Nations about the *Alps*, especially the Rhetians, had their beginning thus: whom the very country it self made savage, so they as retained nothing of old, but the sound of their language, and the same broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into *Italy*, thus much we have learned. In the daies of *Priscus Tarquinius* King of *Rome*, the (*c*) *Celtes* which are a third part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the (*d*) *Bituriges* who chose a King over the Celtes, named *Ambigatus*, a great potentat and mighty, both in regard of valour and vertue, and also of his own privat wealth and publick weal: for that under his regiment, Gaul was so fertile of corn, and grew so populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disburthen his Realm of that pestering multitude, declared that he would send *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus* his sisters sons (two forward young men) to seek adventures, into what lands soever the gods and goddesses should by their token direct them: giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to *Sigovesus* lot, for to enter the forrest and woodland country of *Hercinia*. *Bellovesus* his fortune was a good deal better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto *Italy*: and he leivied of the *Bituriges*, (*e*) *Averni* (*f*) *Senones* (*g*) *Hedui* (*h*) *Ambarri* (*i*) *Carnutes* and (*k*) *Aulerci*, those that might be spared out of those Countries: and setting forward with a mighty power of footmen & horsmen, came unto the (*i*) *Tricastides*. Now stood the *Alps* full against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought & insuperable impassable, as having not as yet any way made over them, (so far as any constant record maketh date) unlesse we list to beleeve the tales of *Hercules*. Now when as the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on every side with those high montains, and that they looked every way about them, how they might get over those high hils reaching up to the heavens, and so passe (as one would say) into an other world; they were staied there and went no further. upon scruple of conscience, for that it was reported, that certain strangers seeking land to inhabite, were by the people of (*m*) *Sallies* set upon and assailed. These strangers were the (*n*) *Massiliani*, who sailed from *Phocis*. This the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate presage of their successe helped them forward, and took part with them: so as what place first they gat after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad forrests. They themselves passed through the Country of (*o*) *Taurini*, and over the straights of the *Alps*, called (*p*) *Iulia*: and having vanquished the Tuscans in fight not far from the river (*q*) *Ticinus*, hearing that the Country wherin they abode and setled, was called *Insubrium* (after the name of a territory and shire of the Heduans) they following and imbracing the lucky name of that place, so conformable to the other of their own, builded

a Mar. Tosco or Mar. de Mar seilles

b Monte Fiscello.

c Languedoc Provence, and Daulphen.

d Berry at this day.

e Auvergne.

f Sens.

g Bugognions.

h Charrolois.

i Chartres or Chartrame.

k Eureanx.

l Entre eastaux.

m Solier.

n Ot Marseilles

o Piemont.

p Iuliu.

q Tecino.

A builded a City and called it (*r*) *Mediolanum*. Afterwards another power of Germans with their captain *Elitovius*, following the steps of the former Gauls, by the same streights (with good leave and favour of *Bellovesus*) passed over the *Alps*, and remained there: and where now (*s*) *Brixia* and (*t*) *Verona* two towns stand (the (*u*) *Libui* than inhabited those parts) made their abode. After these, the *Saluvii* passed over, who expelled all the Ligurians that dwelt on this side the river *Ticinus*, but only the *Levi*, an ancient nation. After them the (*x*) *Boii* and (*y*) *Lingones* passed over the hill (*z*) *Penninus*, dispossessed the Tuscans & the Umbrians of their territorie, yet so as they kept them within *Appenninus*. Then the *Senones* which were the last commers of these strangers, inhabited the country from the river (*a*) *Vsens* unto (*b*) *Athesis*. This

B nation I find to have come to (*c*) *Clusium*, and afterwards from thence to *Rome*; marry it is not certaine whether this nation alone came, or that they were aided by all the Gauls, that dwelt on this side the *Alps*.

r Millaine.

s Brescia

t Verona.

u About La vezzo.

x Burbonois.

y Lunkba.

z S. Bernardi

a Ausente.

b Ladice.

c ebiusi.

The Clusines terrified with this new war, advising well both their number and the unaccustomed looks, and visages of the men, which they had not seen afore, and the strange armour withall: & hearing besides that the legion of the Tuscans both on this side the *Po* and beyond, had been oftentimes by them discomfited: Albeit in the Romans they had no interest at all in regard of any league or amity, only this, that they had not maintained their kinsfolk the Veientes against the Romans, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, to crave aid of the Senat. Aid they obtained none: Embassadors there were sent three, the sonnes of *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who in the name of the Senat and people of *Rome* should treat with the Gauls and perswade with them, not to set upon the con-

C "federats and friends of the people of *Rome* namely, such as at whose hands they had received no wrong: saying moreover, that if they would put the Romans to it, The Romans were to defend "Gauls by war, howbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the "them a new-come nation should grow into knowledge and accquaintance, rather by peacethan "by war. The embassage was mild and mideſt enough, but the Embassadors themselves were over "fierce & hatty, and more like Gauls than Romans: Who having done their message in the assem-

The answer of the Gaulsto the Embassadors of *Rome*.

D bly of the Gauls, were thus again answered. "Although the name of the Romans was but of late "heard of, yet they, yet they were perswaded that they were hardy men, at whose hands the Clusines in their fear, sought and requested succour. And whereas they choose rather to defend their allies by way of embassage, than by open war, they likewise neither disdained nor refus'd peace "which they offered: If the Clusines would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) "a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and ac-"cupy: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer whiles the "Romans were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the "Romans face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other "men in valour & chivalry. And when as the Romans demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interrest or title had the Gauls in Tus-

E cany? They again stoutly made answer; that they carried their right in their swords point, and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides so set on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the Tuscans. Then against all law of nations (a thing that hastned the destruction of the Roman City) the Embassadours took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known; For even before the ensignes of the Tuscans, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the Romans for to fight: so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the Clusines. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battell on horseback charged his lance upon the captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the ensignes and battel of the Tuscans, ran him through and slue him: and as he rifled and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an Embassadour of the Romans. So, leaving their quarrell against the Clusines, they sounded the retreat, and threatned the Romans.

F There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to *Rome*: but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the *Fabii* should be yeelded unto them. When as the Gaul Embassadours had declared their message according to their commission, the Senat nothing liked of the *Fabians* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. How beit suit of friends and privat respects, would not permit to make an act of that, in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requisit. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them & they blamed, if peradventure any foil or overthrow should hap unto them, by waring with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. At which the

G Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three *Fabii*, *P. Sulpitius*, *Longus*, *Quintus Servilius*, the fourth time, and *P. Servilius Malugineusis*. When as now so great danger was towards and neer at hand (see how fortune blinded mens eies, when as she will have her sway and not be hindred) that City which against the Fidenat & Veient enemy & other nations bordering therby, tried the utmost help, and oftentimes made a Dictator: now being threatned with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Occan sea, & the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more then ordinary. Even those Tribuns by whose rash deal-

dealing that war was first caused, had the managing of all: and made no more choise, nor mustring of souldiers than usually had been in common wars: making but a light matter of it and of no consequence, & setting little by, and elevating the rumour of the war. The Gauls in the mean time (having heard, how on set purpose those breakers of human law were soon advanced to honour, & how their embassage was deluded and dallied with, all on fire, as they are a nation that way impatient and in anger outragious) pluckt up their standards forthwith and marched with all expedition on their voiage. At whose noise and hurliburly (as they passed by in such hast) when as the towns thereby were put in fear, and ran to their weapons, and the country peasants fled away: they with open mouth gave out and signified, that they went to *Rome*. All the way as they journied, what with horse and men, both in length and breadth, they took up a mighty room in their march. But what with the fame that went before, and the messengers of the Clusines and of other people that followed one at the heels of another, this speedy coming of the enemies brought right great fear and terrour to *Rome*. For notwithstanding, that they went with a power of men in all hast suddenly mustered, hardly met they them at eleven miles end, where as the river *Allia* running down from the hils of *Crustuminum*, with a very deep channell (not much beneath the highway) discharged it self into the *Tyber*. And now by this time the whole country before them, and all the coasts about were overspread with the enemies. And (as they are a nation naturally given to vain tumults and therein born and bred) with an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a black Santus) they filled also about with a fearfull and horrible noise. There the Tribunes Military without getting aforehand a convenient place to pitch their tents in, without fortifying the same with any trench or rampiers, whereunto they might safely betake themselves, even without any regard of God, whom at least wise they should have been mindfull of, if they had forgotten man, without Auspices and bird-tokens, without reconciliation to God by sacrifice, full unhappily and in an ill hour, ranged their battels divided into wings, for fear of being compast'd with multitude of enemies. Yet might not the vanguard answer the breadth of the enemies, not withstanding they made their ranks and files so thin, that the middle ward of the battell was weak, & scant joyning close together. On the right hand there was a little higher ground, where they thought to bestow men for supply, which as it gave the first occasion of fear and running away, so was it the only safety of them that fled. For *Brennus* the Duke or Prince of the Gauls, fearing exceedingly in that small number of the Romans, some stratagem, and supposing that the higher ground was for this purpose kept, That when the Gauls should have encountred with the forefront of the legions, then the rescues would charge them both upon their backs and their flanks, displaied and advanced his standards against those in rescue: nothing doubting but if he had once driven them from their hold upon went them. See how the Barbarians had not only luck, but policy also on their sides! Contrariwise, the Romans in their camp were nothing like themselves, either for captains or souldiers, Their minds were so possessed with fear and thinking of running away, and so forgetfull besides, that the greater part of them chose rather to flie to *Veii*, (their enemies City) although the *Tyber* were full in their way, then to take the streight course to *Rome*, to their wives and children. For a while, the advantage of the ground defended those that were for rescue: but in the rest of the host, so soon as they that were next, heard the shout from the sides, and those that were farthest off from behind, before any stroke strucken, and before they were once touched, they fled from their unknown enemie, in a manner before they saw him. And so far off they were from trying fight, that they answered them not so much as with a counter shout again. So as there were not any slain in fight. But they were killed behind at their backs, even by occasion of their own selves, who with their hurrying hindred one another in their flight. About the bank of *Tyber*, whereunto the whole left wing was fled down, and had flung away their weapons, there was a great slaughter; For many of them that could not swim, and were weak by reason of their weighty corselets and other harnesse, were drowned and swallowed up of the surging whirlpools. Howbeit, the most part escaped safe to *Veii*. From whence they came to *Rome*, not only no succour to guard the City, but not so much as a messenger to bring news of this their overthrow. But from the right wing which kept farther from the river, and the more under the hill, they all went to *Rome*. And finding not to much as the gates of the City shut, they all fled into the Castle. The very Gauls themselves astonied at so wonderfull and sudden victory, stood still at the first in a great amaze, as who knew not what had hapned, and wist not what to make of it. Afterwards they feared some ambush, and at length fell to gathering the spoils of them that were slain, and to lay all their armor and harnesse upon heaps, as their maner is. At last, seeing no enemy nor shew of hostility, they put themselves in their journy forward, a little before sunsetting, and marched to the City of *Rome*. Where, upon word brought by the foreriders, that the gates were not shut, nor any ward kept afore the gates, nor armed men upon the wals, they stood in the like amaze as before, upon so strange and wondrous a thing. But fearing the night and the situation of a City unknown, they set them down, and rested between *Rome* and *Anio*, having sent their espials and scouts about the wals and gates, to understand what their enemies meant to doe in so desperat a state. The Romans, for that a greater part had taken their way to *Veii*, then to *Rome*, and weening that there was none left alive, but those that were fled back to *Rome*; bewailing and bidding adue, both to those that were deand those alive, set the whole City almost a weeping and lamenting. But afterwards the publick fear astonied them, and took all sense away of their privat sorrows, when they heard once

A once that the enemies were come. And within a while, as these barbarous people coasted and ranged about the walls by troups, they might hear their yelling, their houting, and uncouth, confused hideous cries. So were they held all the time in suspence of mind, untill the second day after: one while thinking, that at their first coming they would have surprised the City, for unless they had so meant, they would have tarried (they thought) at *Allia* still again, a little before sun-setting (because the day was well-nigh done) they supposed they would enter upon them before night. But anon they feared that they deferred this enterprise untill night was come, to the end they might strike a greater fear & terror amongst them. And last of all, the day light approaching, astonied them clean: so as they were in a continual agony, even until the mischief came indeed which they so long
B doubted. & that now the bloudy banners of their enemies were displaied before their gates. Howbeit neither that night nor the day following, was the City in the like fear, as when they fled so fearfully at * *Allia*. For being past hope, that the City could be defended with so small power as remained, they determined that with their wives & children, all their serviceable youth, such as were meet to bear arms; yea, and the more able men, and strength of the Senat should retire themselves into the Castle & Capitol: and after they had thither brought their armor and corn, from thence as from a defensible place to protect their gods, their men, and the Roman name: to save from fire and sword (so far as they could) the Flamin of *Jupiter*, the vestal Nuns, and sacred images, and holy reliques of the City: and not to abandon the worship and due solemnity unto them, so long as any were left alive, to do them honour and worship. For thus they conceived, That if the Castle & Ca-
C pitol, being the seat of their gods, if the Senat, which is the head & chief of their publike counsel, if the hardy and fighting yong men remained after that imminent ruin and fall of the City, the less would be the loss of the aged folk, a number, (God wot) left behind of purpose in the City, no otherwise like but to perish. And to the end that the multitude of the common sort might bear this more patiently, the elders that had triumphed aforetime, and been Consuls, openly gave out and said, That they would live and die together with them. Neither would they with those bodies of theirs which were unmeet to bear armour, and to defend the City, surcharge and pester the company of able and armed men, in this their penury & want of victuals. These and such like were the consolations and comforts of the ancients among themselves, now resolute to end their lives. After which, they turned their exhortations to the companies of the young and lusty men, whom
D they followed into the Castle and Capitol, recommending unto their manhood and to their youthful courage, all the estate remaining of that City, which for the space of three hundred and threescore years, had in all their wars been victorious, and gotten great conquests. Now when they, in whom rested all hope and help were departed, and had taken their leave of them, that resolved fully not to survive the winning and destruction of their City: as the very thing in it self, and the sight thereof was a lamentable and woful spectacle unto them, so the pitious weeping of women, and their uncertain running up and down, following now after one, and now after another, and asking their husbands and children, to what end, to what fatal destiny they should them, was as dolorous a pageant, as could happen to any earthly creature. Nevertheless, a great sort of them accompanied their friends into the Castle, and no man either bad or forbad them. For al-
E though it was good and commodious for the besieged, namely, to diminish the number, and discharge themselves of the feeble multitude, yet it seemed unto them an inhuman and unkind part. The rest of the common people especially, whom so small an hill was not able to receive, and could not possibly be kept in so great scarcity of corn & victuals, departed by heaps out of the City: and marching as it were in one company together in a row, took their way to *Janiculum*. From thence they divided themselves sundry waies. Some slipt into the fields and country, some to the next Cities there bordering, without any Captain, without any common consent: every one following his own hope, his own head and wit now that all publike counsel was in despair, and past remedy. In this mean while, the Flamin of *Quirinus*, and the religious Vestal virgins leaving the regard of their own private affairs, consulted with themselves what sacred Images to carry with them, and
F (seeing their strength would not serve to rid away and save all) what to leave behind them, and what place was meetest to bestow and lay them up most safely. They agreed at length and thought it best, to put them in small barrels or rundlets, & within the ground to bury them in a little chappell, standing next to the Flamins house: which place for very devotion unto this day, may not for any thing be spit upon. All the rest they parted amongst themselves. And every one carrying her own burden, took the way, which over the wooden bridge leadeth to *Janiculum*. Upon the ascent or rise of that hill, when *L. Albinus* (a Commoner of *Rome*) saw them going, as he among other company (which unmeet for war, departed out of the City) carried his wife & children in a wain: he making even then in that hard calamity, a difference yet between divine and humane things, and thinking it an impious part, and void of all religion, that the publike Priests with the sacred
G Images of the people of *Rome* should go on foot, whiles he and his were seen riding at ease in a wagon, caused his wife and children to alight and come forth, and set the Nuns with their holy Images in their room, and brought them to *Cære*, to which place they minded to go. All things now being set at *Rome* (as in such a time could be) in order sufficiently, for the defence of the Castle: the aged persons above said being returned to their houses, waited for the comming of the enemy, with hearts prepared and resolved to die. Such of them as had born offices of the chair, to the intent, that they might end their daies in the ornaments & robes of their former estate and

honour,

* *cominate vel Rio de Mossio. Leandro.*

honour, and according to their vertue and deserts: in their most stately garments and habiliments, H which they wear when they carried their sacred chariots upon festival daies, or wherein they rode in triumph, now sat upon their ivory chairs in the very midst and entry of their houses. There be that write, how they willingly devoted and bequeathed themselves to die for their Country and Citizens of *Rome*: and that *M. Fabius* the High Priest read and pronounced unto them a certain hymn and prescript form of prayer to that purpose. The Gauls both for that now they had rested from fight a whole night, and so their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not in any place fought a bloudy and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time won the City by any assault or force, entred the morrow after into the City, without anger and heat of furious rage, by the gate *Collina*, standing wide open, and so passed forward to the common place of I assemblies, casting their eyes about them towards the Temples of the gods, and to the castle, which only presented some shew of war. And there leaving a sufficient guard, lest haply from the Castle and Capitol they should be violently assaulted, after they were once asunder parted, they fell to ransack and rifle: and meeting none at all in the void streets, some rush by heaps into the houses next hand, others go to those that were furthest off, supposing them at leastwise to be untouched, full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence again (as frighted by reason of such desolation, and fearing lest haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they wandred one from another) they returned round in a ring together, into the market place, and the places near thereto. Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fast shut to & locked, and contrariwise the stately palaces of the Noblemen and chief Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doubted more in a manner to enter upon the open places than the shut. And they beheld as it were with capping and crouching after a reverend manner, certain ancient personages sitting in the porches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel, above the ordinary estate of men, for a certain majesty which they carried in their countenance and gravity of visage, resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, & stood looking upon them, as if they had been Idols and sacred Images, *M. Papyrius*, one of them, when a Gaul began to stroke his beard (which then they used all to wear long) with his ivory staffe (as they say) gave him a rap on the pate, and moved his patience. Whereupon he was the first that was murdered, and so the rest were all killed as they sat in their chairs of state. After this massacre of these honourable personages of the Nobility, they fell upon all the rest, and spared no creature: they rabsacked their houses, and L when they were empty, set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them desirous to destroy the City utterly, or that it was the mind of the Leaders and chief of the Gauls, that for a terrour there should be seen some scarefires (if haply for the love of their houses, they that were besieged, might be induced to yield themselves:) or that all their houses were not burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the City might be as a pawn and pledge to mollifie their enemies, and make their hearts to relent; howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the first day (as usually in Cities forced and won) spread not all abroad every where, to make a generall havock. The Romans from the Castle, seeing the City full of enemies, and in every street running up and down, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another, were not able to conceive the same in mind and spirit, no, nor so much as to have the right use M of their ear: and eyes. For to what place soever the shouts and noise of the enemies, the howling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire, and the rating and cracking downfals of houses turned them aside in exceeding fear, thither they bent their minds, their faces, and eyes, as men by fortune set up aloft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruin of their Country: reserved to save nothing of all their wealth and substance, but only their own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pitifull above all others that ever were besieged, in that being shut out from their native Country and City, they were besieged and beheld it; and all that they had, in the enemies hands. Neither as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better night. Yea & when after this troublesome night the like morrow was come, there was no time but minisired still some heavy object: and one spectacle or other of new and fresh calamities. And N albeit they were loaden and over-whelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall or abated their courages, but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired, all ruinate and laid even with the ground, manfully to defend that poor naked little hill which they held, and was their only hope left them to recover their freedom. And now seeing the same desolations daily happen they were so inured to misery, that past all sense and feeling of their own state and private fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs, and swords in their hands, as the only remnants and reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certain daies, had made war with the poor houses only of the City, and all to no purpose: and when they perceived in all this burning and ruins of the City, so conquered, nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not, for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their minds once enclined to yeeld without fur- O ther force and violence were used; they determine to try the utmost, and to make an assault upon the fortress. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumpet, all the whole multitude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an out-cry and shout, under a fence of targets, over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whom the Romans behaved themselves, neither unadvisedly, nor fearfully, strengthning their wards and quarters, with a good *Corps de guard* against all Advenues: and whereas they saw the banners displayed, that

A that way they opposed their strongest guards: and suffered the enemies to climb up the hill, supposing that the higher they were got up, so much the easilier they might be beaten down. And being come up to the midst of the cliff, there they staied: and thence from the higher ground, which of it self in manner bare out against the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, overturned them, and sent them down headlong: so as never after that, e'ther any part of them, or all together would attempt that kind of service. Being therefore past hope to get up by force and arms, they make preparation for long siege: whereof until that time they had no mind: both for that the corn which was within, they had consumed in burning of the City, and in the mean space, that which was in the country about, was carried and brought to *Veii*. Whereupon they divided B their Army, purposing with one part thereof, to forrage and drive booties all about the nations thereby adjoyning, and with the other to invest the Castle: to the end, that the forragers abroad might bring in corn to serve them that lay at the siege. Now as those Gauls departed from the City, it was their hap and fortune to come to *Ardea* (where *Camillus* abode in exile) there to make triall of the Romans valour. This *Camillus* being more pensive in the behalf of the publike calamity, than carefull of his own: spending his spirits and wasting his body with crying out upon gods and men: thus fretting and chasing with himself, and wondring what was become of those valiant and hardy men, who under his conduct won *Veii* and *Faleria*, and who had fought other wars more valiantly alwaies than fortunately: of a sudden he heard that the Army of the Gauls approached, and that the Ardeates in great fear, fell to consultation thereabout what to do: and C even as if he had been inspired from God above, he put himself forward and entred into the midst of the people assembled, who heretofore, had abstained and forborn such publike meetings and consultations. And thus he said: "You my Masters of *Ardea*, mine old friends sometime, The Oration, "and now my new neighbours and fellow-Citizens, for so it is fallen out by your kindness & de- of *Camillus* in "serts, and by mine own fortune and condition: let no man think, that I, forgetfull of mine own the Assembly "estate, am come forth hither into this audience. But the present object and publike danger for- of the Ar- "ceth every man to utter and bring forth in so fearfull a time and business as this is, what help he deates. "can. And when shall I ever be thankful unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I stand "still and do nothing? Or where shall I ever stand you in stead, if not in war? By my skill herein, "I flourished in my Country, and being in war invincible, was in peace by unthankfull neigh- D "bours and unkind Citizens banished. And now have ye good occasion offered, and opportu- "nity (O ye Ardeates) both to make recompence, for those so great pleasures and curtesies in "times past received of the people of *Rome*, as your selves do well remember, (and therefore be "it spoken without upbraiding and reproaching of any mindfull persons) and also to win great "honour of war, unto this City, by defeating a common enemy unto both. This nation, which "thus cometh towards us with a dissolute and disordered army, are those to whom God and na- "ture hath given bodies more big and corpulent than strong and able, hearts more stout and cou- "ragious than constant and resolute: whereby they bring with them alwaies into the field more "shew of terrour, than true valour and execution. Whereof, the late foil and discomfiture of the "Romans may be a sufficient proof and triall. They won the City when the gates stood open unto E "them: a small power from the Castle and Capitoll was able to withstand and repell them. And "weary already of the tediousness of siege, they are fain to depart, straggling up and down, and "wandring along the country. Their manner is when they have filled their bellies with wine and "good victuals, (which they devour full greedily and hastily wheresoever they can come by it:) "so soon as night cometh on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward to lay them- "selves along like bruit beasts, here and there by the waters sides. And now upon their good suc- "cess, are they more secure and retchless, than they were wont to be. If ye be disposed to defend "your wals, & not all to turn French, gather your selves together & at the first watch of the night "arm, and to your weapons: Follow me to a massacre, and not to a skirmish: for if I do not deliver "them unto your hands fast asleep to be hewn in pieces like sheep and oxen, I refuse not to see the F "same end of mine estate at Ardea, that I have found already at *Rome*. There was not one there, howsoever affected he was, friend or foe to *Camillus*, but was perswaded that the like warrior was not in those daies to be found again. The assembly being broken up, they refresh their bodies, ready to fight so soon as ever the Signall should be propounded. Which being put forth, in the beginning and first watch of the night, they were ready with *Camillus* at the gates. And gone they were not far from the town, but they found (as it was foretold them) the Gauls camp without *Corps de guard*, neglected on every side: and it with a mighty cry they assail. There was in no place fight, but killing, every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay fast asleep) were hacked and cut in pieces. Howbeit, some of those that were furthest off, being scared out of their couches, not knowing what violence or from whence it was, took to their heels and fled: other-some stumbled at una- G wares upon the very enemy. A great part of them being come into the territory of *Ardea*, were by the townsmen, who sallied out upon them as they were dispersed, environed and slain. The like slaughter to this there was of the Tuscans in the Country of *Veii*: who had so little pity and compassion, to see a City which well near for four hundred years space bordering upon them, was now surprised by a strange enemy not heard of afore, that even at that very time they made rodes into the Territory of *Rome*, and laden with booty from thence, purposed to assail even *Veii* also and the garrison, being the only place and means of rescue, and the last hope of the Roman name.

The Roman souldiers that lay in garrison there, had espied these Tuscans ranging about the coun- H try, and gathered together in a body to drive booties afore them: and withall they descried their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Where, at first they pitted their own estate, but after, they fell into an indignation and anger that the Tuscans also, from whom they had diverted the Gauls war upon themselves, should in their calamities thus scorn them and have them in derision: so as they could scarcely temper themselves and forbear, but presently set upon them. But being staied perforce by Captain *Coeditus*, a Centurion whom they themselves had made their Ruler, they put off this exploit until night; Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with *Camillus*: else all the service was atchieved in the same order, and with as good speed and happy success. Over and besides, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained unslain I over-night, they went forward as far as *Saline*, to another power of the Tuscans, and in the night following, upon a sudden they made a greater havock and slaughter of them, and so in joyous manner with double conquest they return to *Veii*. At *Rome* in this mean time, the siege for the most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whiles the Gauls regarded and looked to this only, That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At what time a certain valiant yong Roman behaved himself so, as his own countrimen and enemies too had him in great admiration. There was a set sacrifice or solemnity to be celebrated by the house and linage of *Fabii*, in the Mount *Quirinalis*. For the accomplishment whereof, *Caius Fabius Dorsuo* in his holy robes, after the Gabins fashion, bearing in his hand the holy complements K thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the midst of the enemies *corps de guard*, and nothing moved whatsoever was done or said to terrifie him, went on forth right to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, returning the same way with like constant countenance and comly pace, hoping assuredly, that the gods would be mercifull and gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear of death: he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were astonied at his wondrous boldness, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent regard of Religion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At *Veii* in the mean while, they gathered not only heart every day more than other, but strength and forces also; for that not only Romans thither repaired out of the country, such as either in discomfiture of the battell, or for the calamity of the City now taken, had been scattered: but also out of *Latium* divers of their own accord L had flocked thither, to have their share in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return to their country again, and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was strong enough, but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of *Camillus*, and a great part of the souldiers were such as had atchieved prosperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And *Coeditius* gave out plainly, that no god or man should make him give over his government, but would himself as mindfull of his own place, call for a General. So by general consent it was agreed, that *Camillus* should be sent for from *Ardea*, but with the advice before of the Senat which was at *Rome*. So modest were they in all their carriage, and so precisely observed they (even in their desperate case) the due respect and regard of every action. Now to pass through the wards of their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Cominius*, a valorous young man, promised his service. Who bearing himself upon a bark or corke under M him, hulled along the *Tyber* down the water to the City; and so the next way from the strand, over a steep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he passeth through the Capitoll, and being brought to the Magistrates, declareth there his message from the Army. When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: *Imprimis*, That *Camillus* should be called back again out of exile by a Ward-leet, or the suffrages of the *Curiae*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he should be created Dictator out of hand: and that the souldiers might have for their Generall whom they desired: the messenger returned the same way back again to *Veii*. And Embassadours were sent to *Camillus* at *Ardea*, who conducted him to *Veii*. But I would rather beleeve that he departed not from *Ardea*, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senate. N And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereto he was confined, nor unless he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army; there passed an Act of all the Wards, and Dictator was he declared in his absence. Whiles these things were a doing at *Veii*, the Castle of *Rome* and the Capitoll was in very great danger. For the Gauls, either having found out a mans footing, that way as the messenger went from *Veii*, or espied at the cliff of *Carmentis*, an easie place to climb up: in a clear night sent a man before unarmed to assay the passage, & then gave him up his armour, and where it was steep, one helped, lifted up, and drew up another, as the difficulty of the place required. So as they got up to the top with such silence, that not only the Sentinels were not aware of them, but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at every noise in the night) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not so escape the geese, O which were consecrated unto *Juno*, and for all the scarcity of victuals, were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius* who three years before had been Consul, a right hardy and noble warrior, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take arms. And whiles all else made hast in a great fright, he stroke the Gaul who now stood upon the top, with the boss and pike of his buckler, and turned him down. The fall of whom overturned them that were

The adventure of *Pontius Cominius*.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

A were next. Then slew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the stones where to they clinged close. By which time, the rest being come together, some slinging darts, others casting down stones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them lost their sure footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeased the rest of the night (so far forth as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger, past disquieted them) they gave themselves to sleep. When day was come, the souldiers by sound of Trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well-doing and mis-doing: *Manlius* first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but also by consent of all the souldiers. Upon whom, B they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home to his house (which stood upon the Castle hill) wheat-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that scarcity this might be an argument of their love and affection, when every man beguiled his own belly, pluckt from himself and the necessities of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appear the sentinels of that place where the enemy climed up undescried. And when as *P. Sulpitius* a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exercise martial law upon them all, the souldiers cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for fear of a mutiny he spared all the rest: and with their generall consent and approbation, he caused that undoubted guilty person to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect C in their watch, both amongst the Gauls (because it was commonly noised that there passed messengers to and fro between *Veii* and *Rome*: and also amongst the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries that follow war and siege, the famine was sore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tents in a place lying between two hils; exceeding hot by reason of the fires, and full of smoak, carrying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which be things that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smothered with heat, and therewith stifled and choaked again, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheep. And now for idleness that they would not bury them severally one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and so burnt them: and made that place famous and no- D table by the name of *Busta Gallica*, *i.e.* Gaulbury. Hereupon, they grew to make some truce with the Romans, and emparled together by sufferance of the Generals. In which parlies, when as the Gauls very often alledged the famine, and upon that extremity perswaded them to yeeld: it is said, that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitol flung out loaves of bread into the very stations and *corps de guard* of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled, nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whiles the Dictator mustereth a power at *Ardea* by himself, he commandeth the Generall of horsemen, *L. Valerius*, to have away the Army from *Veii*: and maketh so good preparation, and furnisheth himself so, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean season, the army of the Capitol wearied out with watching and warding, having surmounted all humane miseries besides E hunger, which only of all others, nature would not suffer to be overcome: looking day by day for succour from the Dictator now at last when not only their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weakness, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yield or to ransome themselves upon any condition, they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls also gave forth plainly, and said, they might be entreated for a smal consideration to give over siege. Then the Senat went together, and gave Commission to the Tribunes Military, to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between *P. Sulpitius* Tribune Military, and *Brennus* the Duke of the Gauls, a conclusion was made, and that people, who within a short time should be Lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a * thousand pound weight of Gold. This in it self was † 36000 lib. F a most odious and shameful thing, but there was adjoyned thereunto a foul indignity. For English. the Gauls brought forth false weights and uneven ballances. And when the Tribune refused them, behold, the insolent and proud Gaul would needs have his sword weighed too for vantage, adding this speech moreover, (which was intolerable for the Romans to hear) *Woe worth men conquered, and down with them still.* But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to live ransomed. For by good hap, before that shameful sum of money by composition was paid, before (I say) that upon some wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitulation and bargain, he again replieth, and saith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after he was made G Dictator, had been by an inferiour Magistrate concluded, without his commandment & warrant: and withall warneth the Gauls to prepare themselves to fight: commanding his own souldiers to cast all their bag and baggage down on a heap, to put on their harnels, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of steel, and not by weight of sword to redeem their Country, having in sight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the soil whereon the City stood (deformed now with miseries of war) and all things else which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalled his battell as the

ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruinate and lying along, and with- H
all of it self naturally uneven. Forecasting and providing for all things with special choice and pre-
paration to serve his souldiers turn, as far as martiall skill could possibly reach. The Gauls affright-
ted at this so strange an occurrent, betook them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger rat-
ther than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romans. Now had Fortune turned
her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy assisted the Romans. Therefore at the first encoun-
ter the Gauls were discomfited with as little difficulty, as they themselves had atchieved the
victory at *Allia*. Afterwards also, in another more set battell in the way of *Gabes*, about eight
miles from *Rome* (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and lea-
ding of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken, and not I
so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus delivered his
Country out of the enemies hand, returneth again with triumph into the City. And in all the
sports and pleasant ditties which the souldiers rudely after their manner devised, he was stiled *Ro-
mulus* the father of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of
commendation.

When he had saved his Country thus in war, he preserved it afterwards again undoubtedly in
time of peace, namely in gainsaying their transmigration to *Veii*: whiles both the Tribunes enforc-
ced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of them-
selves were more enclined thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph
he resigned not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the City in so K
doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and formost (as he was evermore a most precise devout
man and religious) he proposed those things which concerned the immortall gods: and causeth
an act of the Senat to be made. *Imprimis*, that all the Temples (for that the enemies had held and
possessed them) should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of
cleansing them should be searched out of the books of *Sybilla* by the Duumvirs. Moreover, that
with the inhabitants of *Care*, there should be made a league of publike and mutual hospitality,
for receiving the sacred Images and Priests of the people of *Rome*: by the means and favour of
which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelet and discontinued.
Item, That there should be set out the Plaies called *Capitolini*, for that *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*
had still defended and preserved his own seat, and the Refuge of the people of *Rome*, in that fearful L
time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, or fraternity out of those that dwelt
in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plaies. Finally, to the end there should be also
some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the fore-messenger and
warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected,
a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new causey to *Aius Locutius*. The
Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in
that fearful hurly-burly, was brought into the chancel or chappel of *Jupiter*, because they could
not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all
judged holy and sacred to *Jupiter*; and order taken, that it should be bestowed and laid up under
his shrine. And how devout the City was, appeared before in this, That when there was not gold M
enough in the common chest, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon be-
tween them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of *Rome* contributed,
and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Matrons were therefore thanked,
and this honour besides done unto them, That after their death they as well as their husbands,
should be openly praised in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accompli-
shed which appertained to the Gods, and all that belonged to the Senate for to do: then and not
afore, upon the stirs that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches
in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City, and to remove with all they
had to *Veii*, a town readily furnished to their hand: then (I say) and not before, *Camillus* accom-
panied with the whole Senat, came up into the common place of audience, and there before the N
people spake in this wise. "So grievous to me, O *Quirites*, is all contention and variance with the
The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome*. "Tribunes of the Commons, that while I lived at *Ardea* I found no other comfort and solace, in
"that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this, That I was far enough off from those
"debates and jars. In regard whereof, I would never have come again, I assure you, but that you
"called me back, both by act of Senat, and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me
"any change of mind, but your calamity and distressed estate, that hath forced me to return again
"unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely, that our country might con-
"tinue still and keep her ancient place: and not I wis, that I should remain and dwell therein a-
"gain. And even now verily, would I be still and keep silence willingly, but that this quarrel also
"is in the behalf of my foresaid country: the which to fail (so long as life doth last) for others O
"might be a shamefull reproach, but for *Camillus* it were most impious & abominable. For to what
"end have we returned to it again? To what purpose, when it was besieged have we delivered it
"out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave the
"same? And when as the gods and men of *Rome* kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the ca-
"stle, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords, and possessed of the whole City, is it possible that
"both Castle and Capitol, after the City is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the
"Roman

A "Roman victors? And shal our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater desolation to our
"City, than adversity hath? Verily, if it were so, that we made no reckoning of that religion and di-
"vine solemn service, instituted even with the foundation of our City: & that we counted all va-
"nities that have been delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet so evident a power
"of God hath assisted the Romans, that I must needs think, that men can now no longer neglect
"the worship of God. For consider with me I pray you, either the prosperity or the adversity of
"these years late past, one after another: ye shall find, that as long as we served God and followed
"his will so long we prospered & went forward: and all the while that we despised the same, we
"ever went backward and fell to decay. And first and formost the Veient war (reccunt I beseech
B "you) how many years lasted it? how troublesome and painful was it? And ended it was not, be-
"fore that by the direction and advertisement of the gods, the water was let out of the Albane
"pool? What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City? Began it (and say truth)
"before that voice which came from heaven was made so light of, concerning the coming of the
"Gauls? before the law of nations was by our Embassadours broken? and before that through the
"same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have
"been punished and revenged? This was the cause that we were vanquished, made captive, put to
"our ransome, and suffered such condign punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we
"are made an example and amazement to the whole world. Then our adversity and affliction put
"us in mind of our religion, and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol to the gods, even
C "to the very seat of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our own privat estate went to havock,
"the sacred monuments yet and holy Images, some we hid in the earth, some we conveyed away
"into the neighbour Towns, and removed them out of our enemies sight. And albeit we were
"forlorn and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor discontinued the ser-
"vice of the gods. And therefore gave they us our country again, they gave us victory, and the
"ancient honour of war which we had lost: and upon our enemies heads, who (blinded with co-
"vetousness) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity, they have turned all fear-
"fulness, all flight & slaughter. Considering then, O Quirites, by these so great and apparent signs,
"& testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, & what it is to dishonor him,
"perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge our selves into, being scarcely got forth
D "and escaped out of the shipwrack and perill of our former sin and calamity? A City we have
"founded and built, by the will of God and due observation of Augury and Auspices, no corner
"therein, but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are set daies
"when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed wherein they ought to be perfor-
"med. And are ye about then, O Quirites, to leave all these gods both publike & privat? how for-
"teth this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was seen with no less
"admiration of our enemies, than our own selves in that Noble young Gentleman *C. Fabius*?
"when through the pikes of the Gauls, he departed out of the Castle, and performed a solemn
"duty of the house of *Fabius*, even upon the mount Quirinal? What, can ye allow and like that
"the sacred ceremonies of privat families, should not so much as in time of war be intermitted:
E "and suffer now the publike sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and
"the City abandoned? That our High Priests and Flamins should be less curious and precise in
"the publike service of God, than a private Citizen was in the Anniversary feast of his family
"and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at *Veii*, or we will send
"from thence our Priests hither, for to execute that ministry. Neither of which can be done, sa-
"ving the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in general of all other holy
"daies, and of all the gods besides; In that one high feast and solemn dinner of *Jupiter*, can a Pul-
"vinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and furnished in any place, but in the Capitol?
"What should I speak of the eternal fires of *Vesta*? and of that Image, which as a pawn and secu-
"rity of our imperial state, is kept within the safegard of that Temple? What should I speak of
F "those your *Ancilia* and Scutcheons? O *Mars Gradivus*, and thou father *Quirinus*: are ye well
"contented that all these festivall and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the Ci-
"ty, yea, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City, should be forsa-
"ken in a profane place: But see what ods there is between us and our ancestors? They left un-
"to us certain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Alban mountain and in *Lavini-
"um*. Was it then a matter of conscience and religion, that some festival solemnities were brought
"unto us from our enemies Cities to *Rome*? And shall we translate the same from hence to our e-
"nemies City *Veii*, without a great and hainous offence, that would require expiation? Do but call
"to mind I pray you, how often our feasts and sacrifices have been renewed and reformed clean,
"for that some one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or for want of taking heed, hath
G "been over-slipt and left out. And even of late, what was it else that (after the strange miracle of
"the Alban Pool) relieved our Common-weal so distressed with the Veient war, but the reforma-
"tion of our divine service, and renewing of our Auspices? And more than this, we as it were in
"remembrance of antient religion and devotion, have both brought unto *Rome* forrain gods,
"and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festival day was that (in regard of
"the exceeding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons) upon which Queen *Juno* late tran-
"slated from *Veii*, was dedicated in *Aventine*? And to *Aius Locutius*, for a voice from heaven
heard

" heard in the new cauſey, we cauſed a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we ad-
" ded to other ſolemn feaſts, & thereto we have ordained and founded a newguild or fraternity,
" even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we ſhould have done any of theſe
" things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of *Rome*? If we abode not in
" the Capitol (ſo many months while we were beſieged) willingly and without conſtraint? And
" if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elſewhither? Thus much of our feſtival
" daies and temples. But what ſhall become now, I pray you of our Prieſts? Never think ye once
" of it, what a unfull deed you are about? As for the Veſtall Votaries and Nuns, it is certain, this
" is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.
" The Flamin of *Jupiter* may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make theſe Prieſts I
" of Romans to become Veientians? And ſhall thy virgins indeed, O *Veſta*, leave thee now? and
" ſhall the Flamin dwelling in a ſtrange place, for every night he is abſent, taint with ſo great im-
" piety, both himſelf and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great ſo-
" lemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomery or compaſs of the
" City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-leet or aſſembly of the *Curiæ* for
" matters of war: alſo the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuſe your Conſuls and Military Tri-
" bunes, where can they be held (if we reſpect the will of the gods and regard the Auſpices) but in
" the places accuſtomed? Shall we remove all theſe to *Veii*? or ſhall the people repair hither from
" thence with ſo great trouble and inconvenience, to a deſolate City, forſaken of God and man,
" whenſoever they would hold thoſe aſſemblies? But the preſent neceſſity (they will ſay) forceth us K
" to leave a town that is waſted with fire, and wholly ruinate, and to go to *Veii*, where all ſtands
" ſafe and ſound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toile and charge of new building. That
" this is a pretence and cauſe rather deviſed, than meant in earneſt, if I ſhould ſay nothing, I think
" appeareth manifeſtly unto you already, O Quirites, who remember that before the coming of
" the French men, whiles your publike buildings and privat houſes were whole, and whiles the
" City ſtood upright on foot, this ſelf-ſame motion was made and debated, as touching the remo-
" ving to *Veii*. Conſider now ye Tribunes what difference there is between mine opinion and
" yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verily it were
" good and requiſit: I contrariwiſe (but marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will ſay) am
" of opinion, that albeit we might have then gone, whiles our whole City flouriſhed, yet now we L
" were not to leave it thus ruinate & decayed. For at that time we had ſome cauſe to remove into
" a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to our ſelves and our poſterity: but this re-
" moving now, were reproachfull and ſhamefull to our ſelves, but glorious and honourable to the
" Gauls. For we ſhall not be thought to have left our country as conquerours, but to have loſt it as
" conquered. And ſhall it be ſaid, that our running away at *Allia*, the winning of our City, the be-
" ſieging of the Capitoll hath impoſed this neceſſity upon us, as to leave our houſe and home and
" to make ſhifts, to ſeek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to
" defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and raſe that City of *Rome*, which the
" Romans ſhal not be thought able to reedifie and ſet up again? What remaineth now in caſe they
" ſhould come upon us afreſh, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is M
" incredible) & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered & by you abandoned;
" but that ye gently permit and ſuffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies
" the Æquians and the Volſcians would remove and come to *Rome*, would you be willing to have
" them become Romans and your ſelves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this deſert and
" waſt ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot ſee,
" I aſſure you, whether of the twain, were more to be deteſted. And becauſe (forſooth) ye are loath
" to ſal to building, are ye reſolved to abide theſe miſchiefs & theſe ſhamful reproaches? If through-
" out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or ſtately houſe, than is that
" cottage there of our founder, were it not better to dwel in cottages like ſhepherds & peaſants, ſo
" it be among your ſacred monuments and houſhold gods, than all at once generally to go into N
" exile? Our anceſtors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries, and no other than herd-
" men, finding in theſe parts nothing but woods and bogs, in a ſhort time built a new City out of
" the ground: and are we loath, having yet our Capitol, our caſtle ſafe, the Temples of our gods
" ſtanding ſtill, to reedifie it now that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if
" our houſes had been fired, refuſe we altogether to do in the common ſcarefire of the City? Give
" me leave a little, What & if by ſome villany, or by miſchance there ſhould be a ſcarefire at *Veii* &
" by reaſon of the wind (as it is often ſeen) the flame ſpred & catch, and ſo conſume a great part of
" the City, ſhall we go from thence by and by, and ſeek to *Fidenæ* or *Gabii*, or ſome other City
" near at hand to remove unto? Is the very native ſoil of our country, and this ground which we
" call our mother, of no power at all to keep us here, but doth the whole love and affection of O
" our country, reſt in the ſuperficial outſide, and in the timber and rafters of our houſes? Verily,
" confeſs I will unto you (although I take leſs pleaſure to remember the wrongs you did me, than
" the calamity which I endured) when I was abſent and in exile, ſo often as I thought of my coun-
" try, all theſe things ran in my mind: the hils, the plain, the *Tyber*, the coaſts all about, which was
" my daily proſpect, and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which, O Quirites,
" let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to tarry ſtil in this your habitation,
than

A " than diſquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and miſs of them, when you have
" once left and forgone them. Not without good cauſe both God and man choſe this place for
" the building of this City: moſt healthy and wholſome hils: a very convenient and commodi-
" ous river; to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive proviſion and o-
" ther victuals from the ſea-coaſts: the ſea it ſelf near enough for commodities, and not expoſed
" and open by too much neerneſs to the dangers of forrain navies: the very heart and centre of
" all *Italy*, a place as a man would ſay, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encreaſe
" in. And that doth the very largeneſs and greatneſs of a City ſo newly founded, plainly prove.
" It is now three hundred threeſcore and four years, and not above, ſince the foundation there-
B " of, O *Quirites*. Amongſt ſo many Nations of greateſt antiquity, thus long ye have made war:
" and all this while (to ſay nothing of particular Cities) neither the Volſcians together with the
" Æquians peopling ſo many towns, and thoſe ſo ſtrong, nor all *Hetruria* ſo mighty by ſea and
" land, and containing the whole breadth between the two ſeas, are in war to you comparable.
" Which being ſo, what reaſon have you (in the devils name) when ye have had ſufficient proof
" already of it, to try again new experiments? conſidering now, that albeit your valour and vertue
" may go with you elſewhither, yet ſurely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never de-
" part and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where ſometimes upon the finding of a
" mans head, anſwer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place ſhould be the
" head of all puiſſance, and the imperiall ſeat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Ca-
C " pitoll, by the direction of the Augurs ſhould be voided and cleared of all other Chappels, Lady
" *Juventus*, and god *Terminus*, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not ſuffer themſelves to
" be ſtirred out of their place. Here are the fires of *Veſta*, here be the Scutcheons come down from
" heaven, here are all the gods, favourable & gracious ſtil unto you, ſo long as here ye make abode
" and remain. *Camillus* in all his Oration throughout moved them much: but that part thereof
" touching religion (by report) was moſt effectuall. But that which ſtruck it dead, and put all out
" of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be ſpoken fitly to the purpoſe. For at what time as
" the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court *Hoſtilia*, to debate about theſe things
" and certain companies of ſouldiers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time
" to march through the market place, one Captain hapned to ſpeak in the *Comitium*, and ſaid,
D " *Pitch down thy enſign ſtandard bearer, herewill be our beſt abode.* Which voice was not ſo ſoon
" heard, but both the Senat being come out of the Council Houſe, cried with one accord, That
" they took that omen for good luck, and happy preſage: and alſo the Commons all gathered
" thereabout, approved the ſame. After this, when the foreſaid Act of tranſmigration was once
" clean daſhed and aboliſhed, the City began to be built confuſedly, and without order. Tile was
" allowed at the common charges: to dig either ſtone, or hew timber, every man had liberty
" where he could, putting in ſureties, that within the compaſs of that year they would finiſh their
" buildings. The haſte they made, cauſed them to have no regard of drawing out the ſtreets di-
" rectly, whiles every man built in the void places without reſpect of his own or other mens
" ground. Which is the cauſe that the out-ſinks and vaults which firſt were conveyed through
E " the common ſtreets, now run every where under mens houſes; and the form of the City ſeemeth
" as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himſelf) rather than diſtinct-
" ly ranged, and ſet out in good order unto them.

The Sixth Book

Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

F

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Sixth Book.

It containeth the fortunate wars againſt the Æquians, the Volſcians, and Tuſcans. Four Tribes were added to the former. Stellatina, Sabbatina, Promentina, Arnienſis. M. Manlius, who had defended the Capitoll from the Gauls, whiles he diſcharged the debs of thoſe that were in danger of their creditors, and releaſed ſuch as were then impriſoned, was convicted of aſpiring to be King, and thrown down from the cliff Tarpeia. *In whoſe reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that none of the houſe of Man-*
G *lius ſhould be ſurnamed* Marcus. *C. Licinius, and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the Commons, propoſed a law, that Conſuls alſo might be choſen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the Nobles only. And albeit the Senators withſtood them with earneſt endeavour, yet by reaſon that for five years ſpace the ſame Tribune continued the only Magiſtrates of the City, they went through with that law and got it enacted. And L. Sextius was created the firſt Conſul that ever was of Commoners. A ſecond Law there paſſed likewiſe, That no man might poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land.*

What

The Sixth Book of T. Livius.

The Recapitulation of the former five Books.

WHat acts from the building of the City of *Rome* unto the taking of the same, the Romans have atchieved, first, under the government of Kings, afterwards of Consuls and dictators, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home: I have in five books declared. Matters obscure, both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that a far off hardly be discerned:) and also for that in those daies there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithfull safegard, and true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registred in the Commentaries of the Priests, and in other publike or privat records, the same for the most part, when the City was burned, perished withall. But now from henceforward, their civill affairs of policy, and martiall exploits in war, ensuing after a second beginning of the City (as springing again with more fresh shoots and fruitfull sprouts from the root of the old stock) shall be delivered in more plain and certain manner.

Camillus bare the Dictatorship a whole year, which otherwise was limited within six months.

And to begin withall, look by whom the state first was underpropped and set upright, upon him (as chief and principall) it still bare and rested, and that was *M. Furius*: whom the Romans would not suffer to give up his Dictatorship before one year was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whose government the City was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interreign. Now while the City was busie in continuall work and labour, about reedifying and repairing their buildings, *Q. Fabius* so soon as he was out of his office, was by *C. Martius*, a Tribune of the Commons, arrested to make his answer at a day appointed. Who laid to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had fought against the Gauls, unto whom he was sent in embassage, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judiciall triall, by his death: and died so just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then *P. Cornelius Scipio* first entred upon the Interreign: and after him *M. Furius Camillus* the second time. He created Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, *A. Valerius Publicola* the second time, *L. Virginius, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Æmylius*, and *L. Posthumius*. These men presently after the Interreign, were not so soon entred into office, but before all other things, they consulted with the Senat in matters concerning Religion and conscience. And first of all they commanded, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws also (& those were the twelve tables, & certain Statutes made by the Kings) should be sought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but such as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Prelates suppressed: especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the dismal daies.

Q. Fabius cadited.

Dismal daies. † 18 of *July*.

And the fifteenth day before the * Calends of *August*, so notorious for a twofold loss and overthrow; upon which day at *Cremera* the *Fabii* were all slain, and after at *Allia* an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruin and desolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortune, *Alliensis*: and set this unlucky mark upon it, That it should be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any business as well publike as private. Some think, because upon the next day following the * Ides of *July*, *Sulpitius* the Tribune Military could not by sacrifice find any tokens of happy speed, nor obtain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Roman host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commanded to forbear and abstain from doing sacrifice: and thereupon likewise, the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and dismall as the other.

† 16 of *July*.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of means to reform the Common-weal, and set it upright again after so grievous and dangerous a fall. For of the one side, the Volscians, their old enemies, took arms, intending the finall destruction of the Roman name. On the other side, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of *Hetruria* were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of *Voltumna*, to make war upon them. Besides a fresh and new fear came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernicks, who after the battell at the pool *Regillus*, for the space almost of an hundred years, had continued fast in loyall league and amity with the people of *Rome*. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on every side, that all the world might see apparently that the State of *Rome* was not only hated of her enemies but despised also of her allies: it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-wealth should now be maintained and defended, O by whose conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that *M. Furius Camillus* should be created Dictator. He being declared Dictator, named *Q. Servilius Hala* for Generall of the Horsemen. And having proclaimed a law-steed (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took muster of all the younger sort and serviceable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service. Unto whom he likewise ministred the military oath of Alleageance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster book. When he had

had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against *Hetruria* in the Country of *Veij*: another he commanded to lie encamped before the City. Over these *A. Manlius* a Tribune military was made Captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had *L. Æmylius* for their Commander, A third part he himself led against the Volscians: and not far from *Lanuvium* (the place is called *Ad-Metium*) he began to assault their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornful contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of *Rome*, was by the French clean spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that *Camillus* was the Lord General, it stroke such a fear and terrour among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when *Camillus* perceived, he gave order to set on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour likewise and smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amated & astonied the enemies, that the Romans had less ado to pass the trench and pallisado, into the Camp of the Volscians, than in getting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire. Having thus defeated and slain his enemies, and won withall the Camp in the same brunt, the Dictator gave the whole spoile unto the souldiers: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they less hoped for it at their General his hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards. After this he followed them that fled, in chace, wasted and forraged their whole country, and at length (in the seventieth year of the war) he wholy subdued the Volscians, and forced them to yield subjection. After this conquest, he departed from thence against the Æquians, who likewise made preparations for war. Their forces he surprised and defeated at *Bola*, and assailed not only their Camp, but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But whiles fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camillus* went, as being the only stay of the Roman state: so on another side the fear of peril greatly encreased. For the Tuscans well near all up in arms, lay before *Sutrium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of *Rome*. Whose Embassadours came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distres, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should rescue the Sutrines. But being so straightly beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsmen, who were but few in number, were over-wearied with working, watching, and bloudy fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by composition to surrender up the City to the enemies: and being disarmed and sent away with a single suite of apparrel (after a piteous sort all a-row) departed the town, & left their dwelling places. But see, it fortuned that *Camillus* at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whose feet the multitude all sorrowful lay prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity fell to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with woful tears and lamentations. But he willed the Sutrines to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull moan: saying that he brought the Tuscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then caused he his souldiers to lay down their packs and load, the Sutrines likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus marched he forward with his Army lightly appointed for ready expedition, and advanced before *Sutrium*. Where; according to his expectation, he found the enemies all careless and secure (as commonly it falleth out upon a prosperous success.) No warders, no *corps de guard* quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, the Conquerours here and there sacking, rifling and slinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was *Sutrium* in one day twice won. The Tuscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in peeces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no time to cast themselves round, nor gather together into one place, no, nor to take weapon in hand: whiles every man for life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for so the Dictator had given order afore-hand. Hereupon some betook themselves to their weapons: others (namely such as hapned to be armed when this sudden tumult surprised them) fell to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotly fought, had not the Criers and Trumpets which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but those that were found in arms. Upon this, even they who in that extremity and despair were fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands flung away their weapons: and thus disarmed as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were bestowed in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was delivered again unto the Sutrines, safe and sound without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but surrendred upon composition. *Camillus* then returned with triumph into the City of *Rome*, victor at one voyage in three sundry wars. The greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuscans: whom he sold, in port-sale at the spear, and raised such a sum of mony, that when he had

Sutrium twice won in one day.

had out of it repaid the dames [of *Rome*] to the worth of their gold, there were of the surplusage H
thereof three bouls made of massie gold: which with the title and inscription of *Camillus* his
name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be seen in the chappell of *Jupiter* set
up and bestowed at the feet of *Juno*.

The same year, there were enfranchised and made Citizens of *Rome*, such Veientians, Capenates and Falisciens, as in the time of those wars were fled to the Romans: and for these new Citizens were certain lands set out. Those also, who for idleness loath to build at *Rome*, were gone to *Veii*, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the first, grumbled & refused to obey: but after that a day was set them, & they threatned upon pain of death to return again to *Rome*; as stout as they were, and obstinate all of them I together now for fear every one became obedient. As *Rome* now increased in number of inhabitants, and became well peopled: so on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices: whiles the Common-wealth somewhat eased them of charges, and the Ædiles by vertue of their office called hard upon them, hastning them forward as to a publike work: yea, and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his own house. So as within the year the City was new built and stood on foot again.

Rome new built.

At the years end was the great Election held for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. Wherein were created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas* the fifth time, *Julius Tullus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Ser. Sulpitius Rufus*. One army they set out and led against the Æquians, not to war with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon K meer spight and deadly hatred, to waste all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprise any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of *Tarquinii*. Where, two towns of the Tuscans, *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, were by assault won and rased. At *Cortuosa* was no resistance made. For the Romans surprised them on a sudden, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it: The town was sacked and burned. As for *Contenebra*, it endured the assault for some few daies: but the continual labour, slacking neither day nor night overcharged them: whereas the Roman Army divided into six parts, fought six hours in their several turns round one after the other. And the townsmen being but few, and those overtoiled, were fain without any supply, still to maintain fresh skirmishes. Whereupon at last they retreated back & yielded, giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the L spoil should be confiscat and go to the common treasury: but the commandment and proclamation was more slack than their purpose on that behalf. For whileft they lingred and protracted time, the souldiers already had seised in their prizes: and taken from them again without much offence and hatred, the booty could not be. In the same year, because the City should not flourish in private buildings only, the Capitol was also built of squared ashler stone: A piece of work even in this so glorious estate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whiles the City was busied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws *Agraria* (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to set forward their hope, they presented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, so pre- M sently upon the subduing and subversion of the Volscians by *Camillus*, was, no doubt, the rightfull possession of the people of *Rome*. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the Volscians. For they, so long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inrodes thither: but the Noblemen forcibly entred and made havock in the possessions of the common lands: and unless (before they had set sure footing there, and got all into their hands) a division were made, the Commons should never enjoy one foot of ground there. These Remonstrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons, both because few of them resorted to the common place of assemblies, whiles they plied their building: and also for that money was away, and their purses so emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding those lands, which to store N and stock they were not able.

The Capitoll built of square stone.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat superstitious upon their late calamity: Insomuch as they minded to renew the Auspicia [or the solemnity of presages taken by bird-flight] for some errour supposed therein: and therefore they agreed that the government should return to an Interreign. So there were Interregents one after another, *M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus, Valerius* at length held the assembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, and created *L. Papirius, Cn. Sergius, L. Æmylius* the second time, *L. Licinius, T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. These presently after the Interreign, began their government. That year, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintius*, a Duumvir deputed for the executing of holy duties. O

The Temple of *Mars* dedicated.

Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoyned, *Stellatina, Pomatina, Sabbatina, Arnienfis*. and these made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now *L. Sicinius* a Tribune of the Commons, was in hand with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more enclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senat house, to make war upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reason of preparation for a greater war, because

Four new Tribes adjoyned to *Rome*.

A *Hetruria* was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon *Camillus* his shoulders, who was made Tribun Military with Consuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joyned unto him *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas* the sixth time, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus, P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned clean away from the careful regard they had of the Tuscan war, by reason that a number of people that fled out of the Pomptine country, came all of a sudden in great hast to the City, and brought word, that the Antiates were up in arms, that the nations of the Latins had sent their able youth to that war closely underhand, thereby disavowing it to be any action of the State and standing upon this point, that by the covenant there was no proviso, but that voluntary souldiers might serve B in what wars soever they would. Now had the Romans been well taught, and learned, to set light no more by any wars. The Senat therefore thanked the Gods, that *Camillus* was in place of government, who if he had been a privat person, was no doubt to have been nominated and created Dictator: yea, and his companions in office confessed frankly that he was the only man to have the soveraign and absolute Regiment of all, in case there were any fearful and dangerous war toward: and were fully resolved, to yeeld up all their interest in government unto him, thinking it no disparagement at all unto them, nor any loss of their own honour and reputation, in conferring the same upon the Majesty of so worthy a person. The Senat highly commended the Tribuns, and *Camillus* was much abashed in his mind, howbeit he gave them hearty thanks, and spake in this wise. "A weighty burthen (quoth he) I see is imposed upon me by the people of C "*Rome*, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time: a greater "charge is enjoyned me by the Senat; the whole state and body of which order, hath delivered to "singular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heaviest load of all is laid upon me by the "exceeding kindness and obsequious benignity of these my honourable brethren and collegues. "If any painful travel of mine therefore, and watchful care may be redoubled, I wil earnestly endeavour, I wil strain and strive to answer thereunto: that the opinion which the City with so "great consent hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be "perpetual. As to that war of the Antiats, there are more brags and threats than any danger "and peril from thence. But as I would counsel and advise you to be afraid of no war, so I would "not have you to be careless and secure of any. The City of *Rome* is beset on every side: partly D "envied, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more Captains, and "also of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-weal. I think it good therefore "(quoth he) O *Valerius*, that you assist me in government and counsel, and have the leading together with me of certain legions against the Antiat enemies. That you *Q. Servilius*, with an- "other army wel appointed, and in readiness, lye encamped hard by the City side, having an "eye and good regard, lest either *Hetruria* in the mean while, (as of late dayes) or the Latins and "Hernicks (who trouble us now afresh) break out and make some rising. Assured I am, that you "wil behave your self, and quit you in this service so worthily, as may answer the famous me- "mory of such a father and grandfire as you have had, may beseem your own honourable per- "son, and those six Tribunships which you have already performed. As for *L. Quintius*, let E "him leavy a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of sickness or otherwise "excused for warfare, and are above the ordinary age for military service, to be in stead of a gari- "son for defence of the City and the Walls. Let *L. Horatius* provide harness, weapons, corn, and "other necessaries for war, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, O *Sergius Cornelius*, we your fel- "low Tribuns, ordain you President of this publick Councel, the *Custos* and keeper of Religion "and Church-matters, of general assemblies, of the Laws and all other civil affairs of policy what- "soever. Now when they had all made promise, and that most willingly to do their endeavour in performing their several charges, *Valerius* whom he had joyned with himself in commission, added moreover and said, That as he would rake *M. Furius* to be Dictator, so would he be unto him again in stead of his Coronel of Horsemen. And turning to the Lords of the Se- F nat, exhorted them, that what opinion they had of one only Soveraign General, the same hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senators hereat took great joy and contentment, giving out willingly with one accord, that they hoped exceeding wel of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither shall the Common-weal (say they) ever stand in need of Dictator, so long as such Magistrats be in place, so jointly agreeing in one mind together, so indifferent and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yeelding their proper praise to the honour of the Common-weal, than dismembring and plucking from it to their private glory and reputation.

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to his companions in government.

After a Vacation or Law-steed proclaimed, and the Musters taken and past: *Furius* and *V. Ierius* set forward to *Satricum*: whither the Antiats had not only sent the flour of all the Volsci, G the choice youth out of a fresh fry and new generation; but also had raised a mighty power of Latins and Hernicks, out of those Nations that by long peace were most fresh and lusty. These new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Roman souldier, and made him to startle. Which when the Centurions reported to *Camillus*, as he was Marshalling and setting his battels in array: and that in these terms; to wit, that the hearts of his souldiers were disquieted and dismayed, that they took themselves but slowly to their weapons, made staying and idling when they should come forth of their tents, yea, and that there were some of them overheard to say, that, They must fight one to an hundred, and that so great a multitude of

their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountred, much less, being so well armed and appointed: he mounted presently upon Horseback, and rode before the ensigns, and then turning himself afront his army, traversing between the ranks and arraies; "What heavinesse is "this my souldiers (quoth he) what means this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? "Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own selves? The enemy, "what is he else but the perpetual matter and subject of your valour and glory? And ye again are "the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of *Falerii* and *Veii*, and of the "slaughter of the Gauls Legions, put to the sword by us, even when our native City was by them "taken, and they masters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon "a triple victory, over the same Volscians, Æquians and people of *Hetruria*. What, do ye not I "agnize and accept me for your General, because not as Dictator, but as Tribun, I gave you the "watchword, and put out the banner of battel? For mine own part, I stand not much upon ab- "solute and soveraign command over you: no more likewise should ye regard ought else in me, "but mine own self. For never yet did my Dictatorship make me haury and set me up aloft, no "more than my banishment abated my courage and cast me down. We are the same men still all "of us: and since we are come to this war, furnished with the same means that we carried with "us unto the former, let us look for the same event of our service, and no worse. So soon as ye "shall encounter and joyn battel with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught "and wonted to: the journey surely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after "he had sounded the battel, he alighteth from his Horse, and caught the ensign-bearer that stood next him, with his hand, haled him forward against the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud, On afore with thy banner, Port-ensign, and advance forward, souldier. When they saw that *Camillus* in person, a man well stept in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily strength, put himself forth against the enemy: all at once they pressed forward, set up an outcry and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for shame. Over and besides, some say that by the commandment of *Camillus*, there was an ensign flung into the very battel among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, bestirred themselves lustily to recover it again. And thereby were the Antiates first discomfited, and the fear not only came upon them in the vanguard, but entred also and reached as far as the rereward, that stood ready for supply. And as the violent force of the souldiers, provoked by the presence of their Captain, much troubled the enemy: so nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very sight of *Camillus* himself, when they chanced to espie him. So surely carried he the victory with him, which way soever he went! And that appeared most evidently in this, That when he saw the left wing at the point to give back and run away, he took himself in all hast to his Horse, rode thither with his light footmans buckler, and with his only presence renewed the fight, shewing unto them how the rest of the battel had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worst, and the victory enclined to a side. But their multitude both hindred themselves in their flight: and also a long peece of work the wearied souldiers of the Romans had to put so great a number, all to the sword. But behold, there fell a great tempest of rain all of a sudden, which powred down with so mighty winds and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of assured victory, than parted any battel or stayed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was sounded: and the night ensuing, whiles the Romans were at rest, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks forsook the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprise was bad. The Volscians seeing themselves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whose trust and confidence they had rebelled) quit the camp and field, and put themselves within the walls of *Satricum*: whom *Camillus* at first began to besiege, casting a trench and rampier about them, raising bastillons and plat-forms against the Town. And seeing his munitions and fabricks by no sallying forth of the enemies impeached, he supposed there was no such courage in them, that he should need to stand so long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themselves out in a tedious and toilsul piece of service, as if they lay at the siege of *Veii*: assuring them that the victory was in their hands already: and so with exceeding cheerfulness of his souldiers, he set ladders upon every side, scaled the walls, and entred the Town. Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yeelded themselves.

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to his souldiers.

Satricum won.

But the General his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of *Antium*, being the seat Town of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the last war arose. Howbeit, because so strong a City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordinance & engins of battery, leaving his collegue behind him with the army, he went himself to *Rome*, to perswade with the Senat, for to destroy and raze *Antium* utterly. And whiles he was emparling with them (such was the will of God I believe, that *Antium* should stand still & continue longer) there came Embassadors from *Nepet* and *Sutrium*, craving aid against the Tuscans, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were succoured and relieved. Upon which occasion it fell out, that *Camillus* was withdrawn thither from *Antium*. For seeing that those two Towns stood even against *Hetruria*, as it were the very keyes and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured to gain them afore-hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars; & the Romans also held it a matter of great consequence, to rescue and defend those frontier Towns. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave *Antium*, and to undertake the war with the Tuscans. The City-legions under General *Quintius*, were appointed unto him. And

A And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volscians Country, and which he had good tryal of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: only he required to have *Valerius* his associat still, and joyned with him in commission. So *Quintius* and *Horatius* were sent to succeed *Valerius* in the Volscian war. *Furius* and *Valerius* took their voyage from the City to *Sutrium*, and found the one side of the Town possessed already by the Tuscans. On the other side, the Townsmen, for that the enemy had stopped all passages between, hardly able to repel the force of the assailants. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the name besides of *Camillus*, (to highly renowned as well amongst the enemies as Allies) both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and stick to it still that B were before at the point to give over: and also gained time and respit to come in with fresh supplies and succours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his collegue, for to bring about his power; to that side which the enemies held, and there to make an assault: not so much for any hope he had by scaling the walls to win the City; as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to ease the Townsmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with assaults) but also to get himself some opportunity and vantage, to enter the City without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuscanes beset with a two-fold fear round about, seeing the walls assailed most fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: flung out at one gate (which as it hapned was not beset) and in great hast all together sought to escape C away. But as they fled, they were slain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the walls by *Furius* his souldiers. *Valerius* his men were more ready and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution until the night came, that they could not see and discern them.

Sutrium recovered.

When *Sutrium* was thus recovered and restored again to their allies they led forward the army to *Nepet*: which Town the Tuscans held wholly, as surrendred already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a busie peece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the Nepesins, by treason had yeelded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principal citizens, that they should sever themselves from the Tuscans, and perform on their behalf trusty and faithful loyalty, D like as they had craved and besought at the Romans hands their friendly help and protection. From whom they received this answer again, That it lay not now in them to do any thing at all, for that the Tuscans kept the walls, and warded the gates. Whereupon they first terrified and scared the Townsmen with foraging and spoiling their territory: after that, seeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately surrendred, than observing the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded; they provided themselves out of the fields of a number of faggots, of brush wood, and such like trouss, and so approached the City with the army, filled up the ditches close to the walls, set ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given, the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the Nepesines should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarma- E ed, should be spared. But the Tuscans, as well armed as unarmed, were put to the sword every one. As for the chief authors that perswaded the Nepesines to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmless multitude had their goods restored, and so the Town was left with a garrison. Thus the two Tribuns (Consular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederat Cities, returned in great glory to *Rome* with their victorious army.

Nepet taken.

The same year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cause demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had set forth no souldiers to the Romans wars. Answer from both Nations in their solemn Councels was returned: "That neither the fault was general, "nor proceeding from counsel of the State, in case some of their youth served under the Volscians: F "and yet themselves had well payd already for their lewd and rash projects, in that not one of "them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of souldiers, the cause was, for "that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volscians: which noisome plague (as it "were) sticking so close unto their sides, unless they could be rid of, notwithstanding so many "wars one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought so well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quarrel and occasion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

The excuse of the Latins and Hernicks.

In the year following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Lucius Quintius*, both *Capitolini*, and *L. Papirius Cursor* the second time, were Tribuns Consular, there arose a grievous war G abroad, and a more dangerous sedition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volscians, banded with the Latins and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The sedition (where it was least feared) from a personage of noble linage descended, of great name and reputation, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too lofty and haury a minde, despised all other of the Nobility, and envied one above the rest, *M. Furius*, so singular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his worthy parts and commendable vertues. He could not brook and endure, that he only should ever be Lord General in the field: who now was exalted so high above others, that even those who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as

The discontentments of *M. Manlius* intending sedition.

his peers and fellows, but employed as his Ministers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if H
"men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered
"his Country from the siege of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Castle cliff been saved by
"me afore. *Camillus* set upon the Gauls, when they were amused in receiving their gold, when
"they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my self chased them
"away whiles they were in arms, and at the point to win the Castle Hill. In that exploit of *Ca-*
"*millus* the souldiers, had each one his share proportionably of the glory, who together with
"him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and
"partner with me. With these conceits he fed his own humour, and puffed up his proud spirit,
being withal by corrupt disposition of nature, hot and hasty, arrogant and insolent. Discontented I
besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his
own judgement they deserved: first, of a Senator he became popular, and began to break his mind,
and impart his designs unto the Magistrats of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and
complaining of them: solliciting and inveigling the Commons, to cast a liking and favour toward
himself: carried away with the vain gale of the peoples opinion: not guided by sage counsel and
discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest re-
port. And not contenting himself to deal in the Laws *Agrarie*, about the division of Lands,
which had always ministred to the Tribuns of the Commons matter enough of mutinies and se-
ditions; he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all
keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are sharp goads, and prick shrewdly: threatning K
not only poverty and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprisonment,
little ease, and Irons. Now there were exceeding many far in debt (a thing most dangerous and
hurtful to mens state) even of the richer sort, by reason of their great expenses destrayed in buil-
ding. The war therefore of the Volscians, which was it self of great importance, but much
more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in shew pretended, as a cause
to seek for to have a more soveraign and absolute power to govern the State: but in truth, these
new designments and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the war, forced the Senat to creat a Dicta-
tor. And *A. Cornelius Cossus* being created, nominated for his General of Horse, *T. Quintius Ca-*
pitolinus. The Dictator, albeit he saw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad, yet
(were it that the war required some speedy expedition, or because by victory and triumph, he L
thought to make his Dictatorship more mighty and powerful) he took musters, and set forward
into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the Volscians had proclaim-
ed their forces, to repair.

A digression of the author.

I doubt not, but they that read in so many books already, of these continual wars fought with the Volscians, besides their tedious satiety of reading, will muse also at this (which to my self was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived neer about the times of these acts) how these Volscians and Æquians, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnished with supply of souldiers to maintain their wars. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpassed with silence, what should I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath liberty to put in for himself? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars (as now M we see in the Roman musters) they used to breed up one supply under another, of the younger sort, to the maintenance and renuing so oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not al-wayes levied out of the same States, albeit the wars go under the name of one and the self-same na-tion: or that those countries yeelded in those dayes an infinit number of freemen, which now are well near wast and desart, but for some Roman slaves, which keep those parts yet from being void and dispeopled, as having but a very small seminary, or none at all, left, of serviceable souldiers.

Certainly, the Volscians army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late dayes by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were sore weakned, and their strength much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, some of the Circeians, and other Coloners from *Velitræ*. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and N the next morrow come abroad with happy tokens of good speed from the Birds: having also slain a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner shew-ed himself unto his souldiers: who according as they were commanded, were ready early in the

The Oration of *A. Cornelius Cossus* Dictator to his souldiers.

morning, by break of day in arms, attending the sound of Trumpet for battel. The day is ours (quoth he) my valorous souldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can foretel future events. "Therefore as resolut men of assured hope, and such as shall encounter with far meaner than our "selves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I "have you to run out of the main battel, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, to "stand stedfast, and abide the first shock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of "shot in vain, and shall with full force come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, O "and let them glitter in their eyes, and think every man of the Gods, that they will help the Ro-"mans. The Gods I say, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have "sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O *Quintinus*, keep your Horsemen close to-"gether, marking advisedly the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battels "buckle together pell-mell, and come to hand-strokes, whiles they are busied and occupied one way, fright them another way with your Horsemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and break their arraies. Thus fought both Horse and Foot according to his direction. And as

A as the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more missed the Captain of happy speed. The multitude of the enemies trusting upon nothing but their own number, which they measured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, rashly gave battel, and as rashly gave over again. In shout only and shot shewing themselves hot and eager at the first encounter: but were not able to abide the sword-fight, the closing together foot to foot, and the firy countenance of their enemies, which for the very heat of their courage, shined and glistered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put back, a fear came upon them likewise, that stood behind for supply, and withal, the Horsemen for their parts set to and fought most terribly. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in sundry places were broken, and all set out of
B order, so as their battalions seemed to flote and wave up and down to and fro, in suspence whether to fight or flye. Afterwards, when they saw the formost smitten down and slain, and every one thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed, they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward still and chased them. And so long as they went their way armed and thick hudled together, it was the footmens work to pursue them: but when it was perceived once, that they flung away their weapons on all hands, and that the enemies army fled dispersed all abroad in the fields: then were the troops of Horsemen set out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no stay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and so to give the main multitude of them in the mean while sufficient respit to escape: but that they should content themselves, only to let flye some shot amongst them, and by scaring them to hinder their running: and when
C they were ridden beyond, to cross upon them and stay them, until the footmen might overtake them, slay them down right and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chase until night. The very same day was the Volscians camp taken and ransacked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the souldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners were Hernicks and Latins: and those not of the common sort, and such as might be thought to have served for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the Volscian enemies had aid from thence by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known also to be among them some of the Circeians; yea, and certain of the Veliterne colony likewise. All of them were sent to *Rome*. Where being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confessed every one in plain terms, the re-
D volting of their own Nation, like as they had before bewrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator still kept his forces together within the standing camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of *Rome* would determine to war upon those countries.

The Volscians defeated.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which arose at home, caused him to be sent for to *Rome*, by occasion of a sedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more feared than any usually had been afore time. For now by this, had *M. Manlius* not by speeches only, but by plain deeds also, (which in outward shew seemed popular and plausible) shewed evidently upon what troublesome and tumultuous spirit all proceeded. For seeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his service in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to prison:
E he in the mids of the *Forum*, came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and after he had given out some words aloud touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the usurers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and present distress of the party; Marry then (quoth he) I have I done a great deed, to no purpose, in saving the Capitol and the Castle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to see my fellow souldier (as if he were taken prisoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up fast in gyves and fetters. And therewith openly in sight of all the people paid the whole debt downright on the nail, unto the creditor: and so after the usual and solemn ceremony by a brasen peece of coin and the ballance, he set him at liberty out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large; "Who prayed hear-
F "tily to God and man, for to requite accordingly *M. Manlius* his only deliverer, and the very "patron and protector of the Commons of *Rome*. And when he was once got into that unruly "and seditious throng, he presently himself fet all a madding, shewing the scars of his wounds "received in the Veientians and Gauls wars, and in other services one after another: saying, "That whiles he thus followed souldiery, and rebuilded his house that was destroyed, he became "indebted, and that so deeply (by reason that the interest alwayes overgrew the principal, which "he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the usurers book, "but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only good-"nesse of *M. Manlius*, I have the liberty again to see the light of the Sun, to behold the Com-"mon place, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge
G "to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me: unto him I vow what-"soever in me is left, and in his quarrel to spend that little life and blood which remaineth in my "body: and in one word look what priviledge I may injoy in right of my country, and in the "communion of the Gods, publick or private, the same do I impart and communicate with that "one man. By these speeches the Commons were set on and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one person; and who but *Manlius* now in every mans mouth? And presently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quite, and to set every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of *Veii*, which was the chief and capital

The mutinous speeches of a Centurion.

Manor of his inheritance, even the faireſt flower of his garland, he ſet upon ſale, cauſing it openly to be cryed: and ſaid withal, I will not O *Quirites*, ſo long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing elſe left, ſee one of you condemned and upon execution carryed to priſon. This ſet them ſo a ſtote, that they were ready, as it ſeemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Beſides, at home in his own houſe, he ſpared not to caſt out ſlandrous ſpeeches againſt the Senators, as if he had been at the open Croſs, making Orations. Amongſt which, without all regard whether he ſpake true or falſe, he let fall theſe words, "That the Senators kept in ſecret certain hid-"den treaſures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in poſſeſſion the com-"mon grounds, but they would alſo embezle the treaſure publick, which if it came abroad, the "Commons might ſoon be acquit and diſcharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be ſure) an unworthy indignity, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it then ſhould be gathered by a general contribution of all: and the ſame gold, now recovered from the enemies, ſhould be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed inſtantly upon him and were very earneſt to know, where ſo great a maſſe of money and ſtoln good was hidden. But when he poſted them off, and ſaid he would in due time diſcloſe all: they were not content, but ſetting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this buſineſs, and nothing elſe. So as it plainly appeared that neither he ſhould reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, not incur a ſmall offence and diſpleaſure, in caſe he told a falſe tale.

Things hanging thus in theſe doubtful terms, the Dictator who was ſent for, returned from the army into the City. The next day he aſſembled the Senat: and after he had throughly ſounded and felt the minds of them, that were there met, he commanded the Senators not to depart from him: and aſſiſted as he was with that company, he cauſed the Ivory chair of eſtate to be ſet in the *Comitium* or common Hall, and ſent a ſerjeant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily ſummoned by the Dictators expreſs commandment, gave warning by a token to his complices and favourits, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty retinue of his followers, he preſented himſelf before the Tribunal. On the one ſide, ſtood the Senators, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pight field ready to joyn battel.

The ſpeech of *A. Cornelius Coſſus* Dictator to *M. Manlius*.

Then after ſilence made, "Would to God (quoth the Dictator unto *Manlius*) I and the Sena-"tors of *Rome*, might in all other things ſort as well with the Commons, as I am aſſured, we ſhall "agree all together about thee, and the matter which I ſhall ask and demand of thee. I ſee thou "haſt put the City in ſome good hope, that by the Gauls treaſure which the principal and chief "of the Senators detain with them ſecretly hidden all men may keep their credit, and fully pay and "diſcharge their debts. Which I for my part, ſo God me help, am ſo far from hindring, that con-"trary-wiſe I would exhort thee, O *M. Manlius*, to eaſe the Commons of *Rome* of the uſurers "book: to diſcover theſe fellows and make them known, that gape ſo greedily after the common "treaſure, and to diſappoint them, and turn them out of this their privy booty. Which if thou "do not effect, either for that thy ſelf wouldſt have a fleece with them, or elſe becauſe it is but "a forged tale that thou haſt made of thine own fingers ends, I will not fail, but commit thee "to ward, and ſuffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be

The anſwer of *Manlius* to the Dictator.

"abuſed and diſquieted. To this, *Manlius* made anſwer and ſaid. "I was nothing deceived but "wiſt well enough, that a Dictator was created not againſt the Volſcians, who are enemies (for-"ſooth) ſo oft as our great Maſters think it for their purpoſe: nor againſt the Latins and Hernicks, "whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by falſe and forged ſurmiſes: but againſt my ſelf and "the Commons of *Rome*. For now I ſee well, that the Dictator profeſſeth to maintain and bear "out the Uſurers againſt the Commons: and that againſt my ſelf, for the favour that the multi-"tude beareth unto me, there is matter deviſed to charge me withal, and to procure my utter "ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O *A.Cornelius*, and you my Lords "of the Senat, that the people thus ſtand about me on every ſide? Why do not ye every man for "his part, by your good deſerts divide aſunder this company, and draw them away with you from "me? Namely, by your mediation and interceſſion, by giving your word for them, by ridding "out of gyves and priſon your fellow citizens, by ſaving them that are condemned, from being "awarded to the thraldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and ſuperfluity of your own "living and goods by relieving their preſent need, and ſupplying their neceſſities? But what mean "I to perſwade you to forgo any thing of your own, and beſtow it upon them? Take another "courſe with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that "which hath been payd, for conſideration of the loan; you ſhall ſoon ſee that my retinue will "make no greater ſhew, than any other mans elſe. But why am I the only man ſo careful of the "citizens and people? Certainly, I can make no better anſwer hereunto, than if one ſhould ask me, "wherefore I alone ſaved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yeelded my helping hand to all in "general, ſo will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treaſure "of the Gauls: the thing in it ſelf being eaſy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult. "For what need you ask me that which you know already your ſelves? Why lay you not that "open which is in your ſecret boſom, rather than to have it ſifted and bolted out? but that there "is ſome privy jugling, ſome cunning practiſe and packing therein? The more ye would ſeem to "have your leiger demain to be ſought into and deteſted: ſo much the more, I fear me, ye will

"hide it even from the eyes of thoſe that are watchful and quickſighted. And therefore am not "I to be forced to reveal and ſhew where your ſtoln goods are: but you would be made, if you "were well ſerved, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At theſe words, the Di-ctator commanded him to leave off theſe fooliſh vapourings and trifling ſhifts: urging him either to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not juſtify it, to confeſs that he had falſely ſlandred and wrongfully charged the Senat, and ſought to bring upon them the ill will and hatred of men, for a vain ſurmiſe and ſuſpition of Theevery. But as he ſtoutly inferred and replied again, that he would not ſpeak at the pleaſure of his enemies, nor owed them any ſuch ſervice: he commanded him to be had away to priſon and kept in bonds. And as he was apprehended by the Officer, "O *Jupiter* (quoth he) *Optimus Maximus*, O *Juno* Queen of heaven, "O *Minerva*, with other gods and goddeſſes, that inhabit the Capitol and the Caſtle: Suffer ye "your Knight and Defender, to be thus tugged, miſuſed, and evil entreated by his adverſaries? "And ſhall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gauls, and drave them from your Chap-"pels and ſhrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that ſaw and heard him, who could indure this indignity. But this City, as moſt patient of all other Cities to abide any juſt, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magiſtrate, contained her ſelf and was content in ſome caſes to be overruled: ſo far forth, that againſt the authority and abſolute power of the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themſelves, durſt either caſt up their eyes to look awry, or once open their mouths. But after *Manlius* was committed, it was for certain known, that a great ſort of the Commoners, changed their weed and put on their worſt apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow long; yea, and a number of them with ſad and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Goal-dore.

M. Manlius apprehended.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volſcians, his triumph bred him more hatred and diſpleaſure than honor and glory: for it is commonly ſpoken, that he got it at home and not abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (ſay they) to make up his pride to the full, that *Manlius* was not led before his chariot. Whereupon there was like to grow much ſcandal and very ſedition. For the appeaſing and mitigation whereof, the Senat upon a ſudden, without any motion made, of themſelves became bountiful, and aſſigned 2000. citizens of *Rome* to be ſent to *Satricum* to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was ſet out two acres and an half of Land apiece. Which the Commoners conſtrued to be a matter of nothing, a ſmall boon beſtowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying *Manlius*. So that this proved a miſchief for a remedy: and by this ſalve, the ſore rather feſtered and rancled, than healed up, and the ſedition thereby fretted more and more. For now the crew of *Manlius* his followers made ſhew of greater mourning and heavineſs; in their vile clothes and ſad countenance, after the guiſe of perſons accuſed during the time of their troubles. And when the fear and terrour was once overblown, by reaſon that the Dictator after his triumph reſigned up his authority, then folks hearts were ſet at liberty, and their tongues walked at will. Some were heard in open audience to upbraid the multitude and caſt in their teeth, "That it was their fa-"ſhions alwayes to lift up and advance their Protectors and Defenders into high places, and "afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfal, to forſake and leave them deſti-"tute. Thus was *Sp. Caſſius* ſerved, that ſollicited the Commons to the diviſion of Lands: thus "was *Sp. Melius* overthrown, that put his hand to his purſe, and at his own proper charges kept "extream famine from the hungry jawes of the poor citizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endea-"vouring to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and "to enlarge them and ſet them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed unto his deadly "enemies: ſo that the Commons do feed and frank up, even for the ſhambles and butchers knife "the fautors and maintainers of their weal and liberty. And ought indeed (ſay they) a Noble "man, that ſometimes had been Conſul, thus to be miſuſed, if he anſwered not to the good liking "and pleaſure of the Dictator? Suppoſe, he had over-reached and made a lie afore, and ſo had "not a preſent and ready anſwer at the time: was there ever any ſervant and ſlave, for leaſing caſt "in priſon and laid up in Irons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have "been the laſt night that ever the Romans ſhould have ſeen: that fatal night of their final deſtru-"ction for ever? Or how could they chuſe, but have ſtill in their eye the army of the Gauls, clim-"bing up the Cliff *Tarpeia*? and how *M. Manlius* in perſon, ſo bravely beſeen in his armour, "all ſweating, all bleeding, reſcued and ſaved *Jupiter* himſelf in a manner out of the enemies hands? "What? Did they think that with half-pound meaſures of wheat meal, they had ſufficiently re-"compenſed the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized amongſt "the holy hallows of Heaven, or at leaſt-wiſe by his new addition of * ſurname made equal to "*Jupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to ſuffer him, impriſoned in chains, lying in a dark dungeon, "to draw his lively breath at the pleaſure of the Hangman? Was he alone able to ſuccour you all, "and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus ceaſed not the multitude to exclaim and make their plaints, and would not depart from that place, no, not all the night long, but threatned to break the priſon by force; until ſuch time as they got that remitted, which otherwiſe they would have wreſted, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senat was releaſed out of priſon and enlarged. Whereby the mutiny was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the Sedition.

Satricum made a Colony, and peopled with Romans.

The ſeditious ſpeeches of the multitude in the behalf of *M. Manlius*.

* *Capitolinus*; becauſe he ſaved the Capitol.

About

About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony *Circeia*, and they of *Velitre*, who came to excuse themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entred into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) were warned and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speed out of the City; from the sight and presence of the people of *Rome*: for fear lest the priviledge of Embassage, provided for the security and safe conduct of forrainers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was set once or again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrats: wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority *Serg. Cornelius Malugineñsis* the second time, *P. Valerius Potitus* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time. *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus* the second time, *C. Papirius Crassus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forrain nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Commons. For the Com, in this regard, that being not called away by any musters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of usury. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, and to make either a shak or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com. to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of stomack, anger and gall he was now a good deal than aforetime. Netled he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproach and contumely. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict. durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintius* had extended upon *Sp. Melius*: and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict, sought to wind himself out, and in resigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very Senat was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up and galled too, he failed not withal to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. "How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ignorant, and not know what "ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature it self would not have so much as "the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number your "selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would "think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to set up their "Lordship. For, look how many favourits ye have been, following and courting one patron, so "many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. "Let them see you once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yeeld and part "with their right: Either ye must adventure, all joyntly together to do some what, or else make "account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon "me? I for my part, surely, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fail "not me. I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine "enemies) taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you saw him led to prison, who saved "every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more "spight, Where am I then? and what were I best to trust unto? Should I look for that end that "*Cassius* and *Melius* came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the presage, and "wish the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not "that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they must "give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both "in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from "proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (so mighty a people otherwise) as to think "it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help "against your enemies; and to know no other scuffling with your adversaries (the Senators) but "wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This baseness cometh not to you "by kind. By use and custome only, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the "cause ye are so couragious against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule "and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to "strive for soveraignty, whereas against these ye have been used rather, to make some slight proof "and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your best, and to put your selves forth "for to maintain it and extend it to the most. And yet what manner of captains soever ye have "met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves, obtained ye have hi-"therto all things that ye shot at, were they never so great: Such was your might, or such was "your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. "Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy "experience

The seditious Oration of *M. Manlius* to the Commons of *Rome*.

"experience of already: with less ado shall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the "Senators, than ye have been hitherto of those, that were to resist only their imperious govern-"ment. Down we must with these Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them level with "the ground: that the commonalty of *Rome* may once be aloft, and bear up the head. Bestir "your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder process and course of law for actions of debt. "I profess my self a Patron of the Commons, which name my care over you, my faithfulness to "you, hath indued me with. And if you please to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more glorious * stile of honour and Majesty, ye shall find it more potent and available to effect that which you long for and desire. And so from that time forward, began some practise to set up the Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms these plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other side, the Senators sat in Counsel, and debated about the Secession and secret meeting of the Commons in the privat house of *Manlius*, and that house, which stood (as it fell out) upon the Castle Hill: likewise of that imminent engine and fabrick, devised for the overthrow of the present liberty. Many were of opinion, and spake it aloud, That there was need of a *Servilius Hala*, who not by commanding a publick enemy of the State to prison, would provoke him and make him more eager; but by dispatching of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off, might end this intestine and civil war. But they came down at length, and grew to a resolution, in words milder, yet indeed and effect all one, *That the Magistrates should have a careful eye, that by these mischievous plots and practises of* M. Manlius, *the Common-weal incurred no damnage and hurt*. Then the Tribuns in Consuls authority, and the other Tribuns of the Commons (for even they also seeing, that in the losse of the publick liberty of all, their power likewise should come to an end, had yeelded to be advised and ruled by the Senat) laid all their heads together, and consulted what course was best to be taken. When as no man could bethink of any way, but plain violence and bloudshed (a peece of work in all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then *M. Menenius*, and *Q. Publius*, two Tribuns of the Commons stepped forth and said. "What mean we to make that, a quarrel be-"tween the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City, indeed should un-"dertake against so dangerous and pestilent a member? Why trouble we our selves to set upon "him and the Commons with him, whom by the means of the very Commons themselves it were "the safer course, and lesse offensive to assail? that being surcharged and overweighed with his "own power whereupon he presumeth, he may fall down and take his overthrow. We are "fully minded to arrest him, to convent him judicially, and call him to his answer. Nothing is "lesse popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The "multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they "shall become his competent Judges, and pass upon him, who now are his Advocats: also, that "his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand at "the bar, and the inditement framed, upon the crime of usurping the Kingdom: but (be ye sure "of it) they will tender and favour the fair looks and person of no man, before the cause of their "own free estate. When all the house liked well, and allowed of this advise and overture, they made no more ado, but served *Manlius* with process to answer at a day appointed. Which was not so soon done, but the Commons at the very first, began to storm and be enraged, especially when they saw the accused man, during his trouble so rufully arraied, accompanied with none of the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and affinity, no, nor his very brethren *Au.* and *T. Manlius*. A thing before that day never seen nor known, but that in so great a danger as this was, the neerest kinsfolk in bloud, did change their weed. For even when *Ap. Claudius* his adversary, yea, and the whole linage and name of the *Claudii*, were mournfully clad, and poorly apparelled. Now surely (say they) it is a very compact amongst them all, that this popular man, so gracious and welbeloved, should be confounded and overthrown, because he was the first that ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment, I can find in no author, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to prove the crime of aspiring to a Kingdom, but only the conventicles of the multitude, certain seditious words, his overmuch largess, and his forged surmise and false information of the gold. I doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing that the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cause, but occasioned by the place only. This one thing seemeth worthy to be noted, and for all mens learning, that how notable and how great soever his honors, worship, and commendable parts were; the foul and cursed desire of tyrannical rule, made not only unpleasant and without grace, but also odious and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, welneer four hundred men, whom he had laid out mony for *gratis*, and without any interest or consideration: those whose goods he saved from port-sale, and kept from the bondage of their creditors, after they were condemned. Over and besides, he not only reckoned up, but shewed also in open sight, the honorable testimonies of his service in the wars: as the spoils of his enemies by him slain and disarmed, to the number of 30. gifts bestowed upon him by Generals in way of reward 40. amongst which were two goodly * mural garlands for scaling and entring upon the walls first: eight * civick coronets for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he presented there in place, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the enemies hands: and amongst them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that instant General of the Horsemen, and now absent,

A form of commission granted in great dangers of the State.

On overture to the overthrow of *Manlius*.

M. Manlius arraigned, and answereth for himself.

* i. of King. *M. Manlius* affecteth to a Kingdom.

* Fashioned in form of the battlements of a wall.

* Made of olive branches.

absent. And when he had rehearsed his noble feats of arms, and amplified them according to the height of their worth in a most glorious and eloquent Oration, as one whose words were suitable and answerable to his deeds: at the last he stript his breast bare, and shewed the scars there remaining of wounds received in the wars: and ever and anon looking to the Capitol, very often he called aloud upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods, to help him now in this extremity and peril of his state: and prayed that the same mind which they had given him to defend the Capitol cliff, and even to the safegard of the people of *Rome*, they would vouchsafe the same people, in this distress of his woful calamity: beseeching them both all and some, to look up to the cliff, and to the Capitol, to turn themselves toward the Gods there, and so to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cited and called by their Centuries, and the prisoner stretched forth his hands, and converted his prayers from men to the Gods: the Tribuns evidently saw that unless they freed the eyes of the people from beholding the memorial of so great a desert, it would never be that so long as their minds were thus foresталled and possessed with that benefit of his, they would find the enditement, were it never so true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were summoned to assemble in the grove *Petelinus*, without the gate *Flumentana*, from whence they might not have a sight of the Capitol. There the accusation prevailed more than compassion, and the matter went against him: and so with hard and obdurat hearts, they pronounced a heavy and dolorous sentence, and which the very judges themselves had in horror. Some there be that say there were Duumvirs ordained for the purpose, to make inquisition and sit upon this treason against the State. Thus being condemned the Tribuns caused him to be thrown headlong down the rock *Tarpeia*. Which place was the self same that yeelded to that one man a monument and memorial both of singular glory, and also of extream punishment and ignominious death. After his death there remained two infamous marks behind him of shame: the one publick, occasioned by his dwelling house. For whereas it was situate, where now the chappel and work-house, or mint-house of *Moneta* standeth, an Act was proposed unto the people, That none of the Senators linage should dwell on the cliff or Capitol Mount. The other proceeding more properly from his own line and kinred: For that by a general decree of the house of *Manlii* it was provided, That none of that family and race should ever after bear the name of *M. Manlius*. This was the end of him, who, but that he was born in a free City, had been a right worthy and renowned man.

But the people being now past all danger from him, calling to mind and considering without all affection, his vertues as they were, found a misse of him shortly after. Yea, and for the pestilence also which ensued soon upon, for that there could be no causes known of so great mortality, was imagined of many a man, to have grown upon the execution of *Manlius*: arguing thus, That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of the Saviour thereof: and the Gods took no delight and pleasure to have (as it were) presented unto their eyes, the punishment of that man, by whose means their Temples had been delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this plague and scarcity of corn withal, and the common brute that spread abroad both of the one and the other, there ensued the year following many wars, when as *L. Valerius* the fourth time, *A. Manlius* the third time, *Ser. Sulpitius* the third time, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmylius* the third time, and *M. Trebonius* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority. For besides the Volscians, who by destinie were appointed for ever in a manner to busy and keep occupied the Roman souldiers; besides the Colonies *Circeia* and *Velitre*, which a long time were about to rebel; besides *Latium*, that stood in doubtful terms and was suspected, the Lanuvines also, who had been a most fast and loyal City, all of a sudden rose and became new enemies. The LL. of the Senat supposing all this grew upon contempt, for that the revolting of the Veliterns, who were their natural citizens, had so long time escaped punishment, decreed with all speed to move the people to denounce and proclaim open war against them. And to the end that the Commons might be more forward in this Military service, they created certain *Quinqueviri* for the division of the Pomptine Lands: and *Triumviri* for the planting of a colony at *Neper*. Then they propounded unto the people, that they would appoint and determine of the war to be made. And notwithstanding the Tribuns of the Com. laboured earnestly, but all in vain, to dissuade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voyces for war. All that year passed in preparations only, but no army set forth by reason of the plague: which protracting of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies respit to sue unto the Senat for peace. Many of them were inclined and stood thus affected, to send a solemn embassage with humble supplication to *Rome*: but that (as commonly it falleth out) the publick peril was entangled and interessed with the jeopardy of some privat persons: and the authors of the backsliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing lest they alone should bear all the blame, and be delivered up as a sacrifice to satisfy the wrath of the Romans, turned away clean and alienated the Colonies from all consultation of seeking for peace. And not only in their Councel-House was this Embassage then crossed, but many of the Commons also they excited to invade the territories of *Rome*, to drive booties, and make spoil. This new wrong by them offered, clean put them by all hope of peace. In that year was the first rumour raised concerning the Rebellion also of the Prenestines. And when the Tusculans, Gabines, and Lavicanes, into whose marches they had made inrodes, complained unto the Senat, and laid much matter against them they received at their hands so calm and cold an answer, that it seemed they gave less credit to their complaints, because these were not willing they should prove true.

Five officers called *Quinqueviri* created.

The

The year following, *Sp.* and *L. Papirius*, new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, led the legions to *Velitre*, whose four Collegues, *Ser. Cornelius Malugmensis* the fourth time, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *L. Æmylius* the fourth time, were left Tribuns behind for defence of the City; and for fear lest they should hear some intelligence of new and fresh stirs out of *Hetruria*, where they suspected all would be naught. At *Velitre* they had the better hand of their enemies: there they found more Prenestins well neer, that came to succour, than the very Coloners themselves. For the City was so neer at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to flye the sooner, and yeelded them the only place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribuns forbare to assault the Town, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also for that they thought it not good to hold fight to the utter destruction of that Colony. Letters were dispatched to *Rome* with tidings of victory, implying more sharp informations against the Prenestins than the Veliterns. So by an Act of the Senat and assent of the people there was proclaimed war against the Prenestins: who in the year following joyned with the Volscians, and by force wan *Satricum* a Colony of the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding it was manfully and valiantly defended by the Townsmen even to the last: where most beastly and cruelly they exercised their victory upon those that they took prisoners, and put them to the sword. The Romans took this in a very ill part: and elected *M. Furius Camillus* Tribun Military the seventh time: who had for his companions in office, *A.* and *Lucius Posthumius Regillensis*, *L. Furius* and *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

The cruelty of the Prænestins.

The Volscian war was appointed to *Camillus* extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to *L. Furius* his lot, one of the State-Tribuns, not so much for the good of the Common-weal, as to minister unto his fellow all matter of honour and renown: as well in publick, (for that he set all upright again, which by the rashness of *Lucius* was fain down) as also in private, for that out of his errour and misdoing *Marcus Furius*, rather sought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vain glory to himself. *Camillus* was now far grown and stept in years and very aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual form of oath, for to excuse his feeble and crasy body, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he caried a lively spirit and lusty courage with him still: his senses were all fresh and sound: and the late civil affairs had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a power of four legions, consisting of 4000. apiece, and made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate *Esquilina*, and then he put himself in his journy to *Satricum*. The enemy who had won the Colony, nothing dismaid therat, and trusting in the number of his souldiers, wherein he had the better by ods, expected and stayd his coming there. And so soon as he understood that the Romans approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and try it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romans General, were he never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would little or naught avail, in regard they were so few in number. The Roman army was as hot as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the fortune of a battel, but for the policy and rule of one man; who by holding off, and protracting time of fight, sought so to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more sharp set: so as now he not only ranged his men before his own camp in battel array, but also set forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himself with ensigns displayed, neer unto the trench and rampier of his enemies, made a proud bravado and shew of his strength, wereupon he bare himself so confidently. This could the Roman souldiers hardly endure: and *L. Furius* one of the Tribuns Military, had more ado by far to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a venturous Knight he was, both by reason of his youthful years and natural disposition: and also puffed up with hope of the multitude, which commonly taketh heart, and presumeth upon smal-left grounds, and buildeth upon greatest uncertainties. And the souldiers being of themselves already hot enough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the only thing that he could alledge: giving out ever and anon, "That wars were for young-men, that mens hearts flourished and faded as their "bodies did: which was seen in *Camillus*, who of a most valorous and forward warrior, was "now become a draw-back and a temporiser, and one that would take his leisure: and he that "was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win Forts and strong Towns, "now within his mures and rampier sat still and trifled out the time. And what hopes had he? "Dreameth he, that either his own power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease? "What occasion, what opportunity of time, what place of vantage for ambush laid he for? "Tush, these policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and dull, God wot. In faith, "*Camillus*, as he hath lived long enough, so hath he gained glory enough. To what purpose then "(quoth he) should we suffer the whole puissance of a City, which ought indeed to be immortal, for to age and wax old with the body of one man, whom all men see to be but mortal. With these and such like words he had drawn away the whole camp after him: and when from all parts thereof, they called hard, and cryed for battel; "We are not able (quoth he) *M. Furius*, to "keep in and repress any longer the violence of our souldiers: and as for the pride of the enemy, "whose courage by our delayes we have encreased and who insulteth over us, it is intolerable. "Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us all. Suffer your self to be over-

L. Furius to his souldiers.

L. Furius to *M. Furius*.

"come

"come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hereunto
"*Camillus* made answer again: What wars soever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine
"own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of *Rome*
M. Furius his answer to *L. Furius*, and the souldiers. "deny, but that in them you never repented, either of my policy or happy success. Now I know
"full well, that I have a companion joyned with me, in government & rule of equal commission;
"for the prime and lustiness of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have
"indeed been used ever to command, and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authori-
"ty, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Common-
"weal, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may
"not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do I
"in war, therein surely I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the im-
"mortal Gods, that some notable mishap befal not, to make my former counsel good and praise-
"worthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advise so profitable and wholesome, nor the
Gods vouchsafe to hear his prayers so holy and devout. Then *Lucius Furius*, the author and prin-
cipal perswader of battel, fetteth the vangard in array. *Camillus* he fortifieth the Regiments and
Squadrons for supply in the rereward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp,
Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mans
counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they rustled and made a noise with their ar-
mour, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gave footing and lost ground. Now,
there was behind them on their back a prety rising of an Hill, between their camp and the battel: K
and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain
strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction, that whiles both armies were
hard in fight, and when their enemies should come neer their trench and rampier, they might sally
out on a sudden upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they re-
treated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity
unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed vi-
ctors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the fall and descent of the
Hill: and forced the battel of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from
out of the camp, and were fresh and lusty, pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though
they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans souldiers forgetting now both their late lusti- L
ness, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plain turned their
M. Furius Camillus to his souldiers, flying away. backs on all sides, fled amain by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereat *Camillus*
being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Courser, and with all the
speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rereward against the enemy: "Is this (quoth
"he) the fight, you souldiers, that ye so called for? what God, what man can ye lay the weight
"on now? It was your rashness and fool-hardiness afore: and it is your dastardly cowardise
"now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General,
"Follow *Camillus* now a while: and as ye have been always wont by my leading, once more
"win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is no coming thither,
"there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were ashamed, and M
stayd themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw once the ensigns wheel about, and
the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy amain. And the General
himself, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so reverenced, even
amongst the formost ensigns, amid the greatest perils, and most distresses, advanced forth in per-
son. Hereupon every one for his part, set the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and
encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Nei-
ther was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Collegue unto the
Horsemen (whiles he in the mean time marshalled again the Foomen in order) not by way of
chiding (for what might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?)
but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all and N
some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes
L. Furius to his souldiers. work. "Indeed (quoth he) when my brother *Camillus* would not agree thereto, but expressly
"forbad, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashness of all, than the wisdome and
"sage advise of one. *Camillus* (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the
"glory will be his: but I, unless the battel be revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most mi-
"serable and pitious case) but the shame will redound and light upon my head and none else.
Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to bestow them among
the waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go
both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And
in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there wanted neither in the Generals O
nor in the souldiers courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seen by the
happy event, that valorous endeavours speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that
erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeit fear, now fled in good sadness
The Volscians defeated. as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slain. As
for the rest that remained in the camp, which presently at one brunt was won, more of them
were taken prisoners than killed. In the view & account taken of the captives, there were some of
them known to be Tusculans, who were severed apart from the rest, and brought before the
State-

A State-Tribuns. And upon examination, confessed flatly, that they served by the publick warrant
of the City. *Camillus* herewith disquieted, for fear of war from so neer neighbors, said he would
forth with have those prisoners with him to *Rome*, that the Lords of the Senat might not be ig-
norant how the Tusculans were revolted from their society. In the mean while, his brother
Tribun might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the leaguer and the host. That days work
had taught him now, not to prefer his own ways before the better counsel of another. And yet
neither he himselfe, nor any man else in the army, thought that *Camillus* would quietly digest this
fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of
downfal. And as wel in the host, as allo at *Rome*, it was rife and currant in every mans mouth:
B that whereas the fight with the Volscians was variable, and the service doubtful: for the ill speed,
the discomfiture, and the running away, *L. Furius* was all in fault: but for the good success, *Ca-
millus* only had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Councel House, and the Lords of the Senat were of
opinion and determined war against the Tusculans, and had laid the charge thereof upon *Camil-
lus*, he requested to have an assistant joined with him in Commission: and being left to his own
choice to take whom he would of all his Companions in office, contrary to all mens expectation,
he chose *L. Furius*. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himself, he both
delayed the infamy of his Collegue, and wan himself great glory and commendation. Yet for all
this, proceeded not they to any war with the Tusculans. For they by their constant observation
C of peace, kept off the violence of the Romans, which by force of arms they had not been able.
When the Romans entred and invaded their territory, they went not so much as out of those
places that lay neer the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forlet not the tilling of their
grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gowns to
meet with the LL. Generals in the way, and brought victuals right courteously to serve the army,
as well out of the City as Country. *Camillus* having pitched down his tents before the gates, and
desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of peace within the wals, as bare shew
abroad in the Country, entred the City: and seeing the doors standing open, the shop-windows
up, all kind of wares set out to sale upon the bulks: the Craftsmen and Artisans busily every one
occupied at his work: the Grammar schools ringing again with a chirm of scholars, learning and
D saying their lessons; the streets full of women and children amongst the other common people
going to and fro about their business: he could perceive no where about him any thing that carri-
ed a resemblance of fearful men, no, nor so much as of those that made any wonder at their co-
ming in that warlike order. Thus cast he his eyes into every corner, seeking where this war should
be. For there was not so much as any token to be seen, either of ought removed out of the way,
or brought in place, upon this present occasion; but all in so setled quietness and peace, as if they
had scarcely heard any inkling or rumor of hostility. Being therefore overcome with this pati-
ence and sufferance of the enemies, he caused their Senat to assemble, unto whom he spake in this
wise: "Ye alone to this day of all that I know, O Tusculans, have found the only armor of *Camillus* to the Senat of *Tus-culum*.
"proof, and the forcible sense indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romans ire,
E "Go your ways to *Rome* unto the Senat there. The Lords of the Council will weigh and consider,
"whether ye deserved more punishment before, then pardon now. I will not forestal and pick my
"self a private thank for a publick benefit. At my hands ye shal have this favour and liberty, to
"speak for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat shal think good, so shal you speed
"of your suit. After that the Tusculans were come to *Rome*, and their Senat (who but a while a-
fore had been faithful Allies and kept their allegeance) seen to stand waiting with heavy cheer,
and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Councel Chamber: the Lords of the
Roman Senat, were presently moved thereat, and caused them forthwith to be called in, and re-
ceived by way of hospitality, more like then hostility. Then the Dictator of *Tusculum* made this
speech and said: "Right honorable Senators, we against whom ye have proclamed and made war, The Dictator of *Tusculum* to the Senat of *Rome*.
F "came forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed as ye see us at this
"present standing in the porch of your Councel House. This was our array, this was the habit of
"our Commons, and always shal be, unless at any time we shal put on arms for you and in your
"quarrel. Thanks we yeeld to your Captains and to your Armies, that they have beleeved rather
"their eyes than their ears: and where they saw no hostility at all, there they offered none them-
"selves. That peace which we have shewed and observed, the same crave we humbly still at the
"hands of your clemency. Turn we beseech you from us your forces thither, where war is to be
"found. And if we must needs make trial (by suffering ought) of your puissance and power bent a-
"gainst us, we will try it surely without armor. This is our full resolution, God grant it prove
"as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a single heart. As for the trespasses, where-
G "upon ye were moved to denounce war against us: although it be bootless and to no purpose to
"disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely, were they never so true,
"we think verily, that without prejudice to our selves, we may safely confess the same, since that
"we have so evidently repented thereof. And for you, so long as you be worthy to have so full
"satisfaction made, it skilleth not what default or transgression be committed against you. Thus
much in effect spake the Tusculans. At the very instant they obtained peace: and not long after, the
right of free burgeosie, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. So the Legions were withdrawn back again
from *Tusculum*. Thus *Camillus* having won great honor by his policy and valour both, in the Vol-

scian war: by his happy succes in the journey of *Tusculum*: by his singular patience and carriage of himself, toward his companion in government, as well in the one place as the other, went out of his Magistracy: there being created Tribuns Military for the next year, *L. Valerius* the fifth time, and *Pub. Valerius* the third time, *C. Servilius* the third time, *Licinius Menenius* the second time, *P. Papirius, Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

There was this year need of Censors also, by reason especially of the doubtful rumors that ran concerning debts: whiles of the one side the Tribuns of the Commons did aggravate the greatness thereof, and made it seem an odious matter: and they again of the other side, did elevate and made little of the same, for whom it was good and beneficial, that the lent mony should be thought abroad, in danger of being lost: for that (say they) the debtors cautelously rather would not, than I for ability could not, keep their credit and make paiment. So there were created Censors, *C. Sulpitius Camerinus, Sp. Posthumius Regillensis*. And this matter now already commenced, was broken off by the death of *Posthumius*, because it would have bred a scruple to chuse another Censor in the room of him deceased. When *Sulpitius* therefore had resigned up his place, it fell out so that other new Censors upon some error committed in their creation; exercised not their office: and to chuse a third time they made a scruple, so tender conscienced were they, as if the gods were not well pleased with that office for that year. But the Tribuns would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intollerable: saying, "That the Senat sought to avoid "the exhibiting of publick records and books, which gave testimony of the valuation of every "mans substance to the worth: because they would not have the sums of debts to be seen and K "known: which might be wray and plainly shew, that one part of the City was even eaten up and "devoured of the other: and in the mean time the poor Commons so deeply engaged, were pack- "ed away, and sent forth against these enemies and those: and now without all regard and dis- "cretion, they sought occasions to quarrel and make war in every place. From *Antium* to *Satri- "cum*, from *Satricum* to *Velitre*, from thence to *Tusculum* have your Legions been posted. And "now, forsooth, there is war intended against the Latins, Hernicks and Prenestins: for hatred "rather of the Citizens here at home, then of the enemies abroad: and all to wear out the "Commons with continual wars, and to afford them no breathing while within the City: that "in time of rest, they might remember and think upon their freedom, keep their rooms in com- "mon assembly, where they might at the length hear their Tribuns voice pleading for the ease- I "ment of usury, and for a final end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and "carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their ancestors liberty, they would suf- "fer neither any Citizen of *Rome* to be awarded to bondage for debt, nor any musters for to be ta- "ken, until a view were made and just accompt had, of every man his debts, and some course ta- "ken for abating the same: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what "remained of his own: whether his body were left free, or at the mercy of his creditor, to lie in "cold iron and baleful prison. This hire and salary of sedition, this reward once propounded a- forehand, stirred up (you may be sure) a mutiny soon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their Creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be believed, for the bruit and rumor that went of the Prenestin wars: both matters began to be hindred for M taking any effect, as well by the Tribuns help as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribuns suffer those that were condemned to be led to prison: nor yet the younger sort of the Commons, enter their names in the Muster-master his book. And the Senators for the present, less minded the execution of judgement for the Creditors behoof, then the mustering. For why? News came already, that the enemies had put themselves in their journey from *Prenestе*, and were encamped in the Sabins country: And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickned and provoked the Tribuns of the Commons to the broil that was begun, than frighted them any jot from it. Neither would any thing serve to quench the sedition in the City, until the war was come in manner to the very walls. For the Prenestins had intelligence given them, that in *Rome* there was no army gathered, no General certainly known: the Senators and Commons N at jar and together by the ears. Their Captains hereupon, taking this advantage and opportunity, with a running camp invaded, spoiled and wasted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners displayed before the gate *Cullina*. Great fear was in the City, every man cried Alarm, ran up to the walls to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the last they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* Dictator. He appointed for his General of horsemen, *A. Sempronius Atronius*. This was not so soon voiced abroad, (so great a terror went always with that magistrate) but the enemies withal dislodged and departed from the walls: and the younger sort of the Romans, without any trifling and drawing back, upon the proclamation, gathered together. Whiles forces were thus arising at *Rome*, the enemies pitched their camp not far from the River *Allia*: and as they forraged the O Country all about, they bragged and vaunted among themselves, that they had got that very plot of ground, which was ever fatal to the destruction of the City of *Rome*, "Here wil be (say they) the "like fight, from hence wil they fly, no doubt, as some times they did before in the Gauls war. For "if the Romans feared that dismal and unlucky day, noted with the infamous name of this place; "how much more wil they dread the river *Allia* it self, in memorial of their so great overthrow, "than the only bare day *Alliensis*? Certainly, when they are come hither, they will think they see "again the grim looks, and hear the hideous voices of those savage Gauls. Thus rolling & tossing with

The Tribuns of the Commons against the Senat.

The Prenestins invade the territory of *Rome*.

A with themselves these toyish conceits, rising of as vain and foolish presumptions, they rested wholly and reposed their full hope in the lucky persuasion only of the place. The Romans contrariwise knew full well, that their enemies the Latins, were (wheresoever they were) the very same men still, and no other, whom for the space of one hundred years they held peaceably and quietly as their devoted vasals in subjection. And as for the place noted indeed, for the memorial of that late defeat and loss sustained, it might rather stir them up and set an edge upon them to abolish and cancel the remembrance of that shameful disgrace, then put them in fear, that any ground should be so unfortunat, as to be a bar unto their victory. Nay, if the very Gauls themselves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they B did at *Rome*, in the recovery of their country: as they did the morrow after at *Gabii*: when they bare themselves so valiantly, that no one enemy that entred within the walls of *Rome*, went ever home again to tell news how they sped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being resolute, and courageously bent, they met at *Allia*. The Roman Dictator discovering the enemies arranged in battel array, within sight, "See you not (quoth he) O *A. Sempronius*, how they have stayed at *Allia*, "presuming upon the luckiness of the place? No surer confidence, no greater help may they have, "I pray God. But you, with trusty armor, keen weapons, and doughty courage set spurs to horse, "gallop amongst the thikest of their main battel with your horsemen. I, with the legions on foot "will advance mine Ensigns, and display them, in their faces, and charge them hotly when they "are disbanded once, and put in fear. Assist us now, and aid us, O ye gods (the witnesses of our C "league) and punish them duly for their deserts, both in dishonouring your divine Majesty, and "deceiving us in your name, whom they called solemnly to witness. Neither horsemen nor footmen could the Prenestins abide, but at the very first shout and shock were the ranks broken. And seeing their Battailions in no place whole and kept together, they fled: and amazed as they were in that confused fear, and carryed away beyond their own camp, they stayed not running for life, until by good footmanship they were come within the sight of *Prenestе*. There, all such as had been scattered in the flight, met together, and chose a plot of ground, to fortifie in that haste as well as they could: lest peradventure, if they had put themselves within the town, forthwith their villages should have been fired, and after all consumed and spoiled, the town also might fortune to be besieged. But when the Roman Conqueror after the rising of their camp at *Allia*, was D once come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that Fort also, and gat within the town *Prenestе*, thinking themselves scarce safe enough within the walls thereof. Eight towns besides there were under the seignory of the Prenestins, against which the Dictator warred round: and having won them all, one after another without much ado, he brought his army against *Velitre*, and got that town also by assault. Then came he to the principal head and very seat town of the war, *Prenestе*, which was not by force won, but by surrender yeelded up into his hands. And *T. Quintius* thus having obtained one victory in a pight field, won two camps and holds of the enemies, conquered by force nine towns, and regained *Prenestе* surrendered unto him, returned home again to *Rome*. In his triumph he carried aloft the Image of *Jupiter*, surnamed Emperor, which he brought from *Prenestе*, and set it up in the Capitol, where it was placed and dedicated be- E tween the shrines of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*: and in a table of brass fixed under it, was the monument of this noble exploit recorded and engraven in these or such like words: [*T. Quintius Dictator, by the gracious help of* Jupiter, *and all the rest of the gods, won nine Towns.*] So on the 20. day after his creation, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

Then was the assembly holden for electing of Tribuns Military with Consul authority, who were equally chosen from out of the Nobility and the Com. Of Nobles were created, *P.* and *C. Manlius*, with *L. Julius*. The Commons yeelded *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. Upon the two *Manlii*, for that in blood and degree they were above the Commoners, and for favour more gracious then *Julius*, the province of the Volscians was best owed extraordinarily, without casting lots or parting together by agreement of the Collegues amongst themselves. Which both they them- F selves rued, and the Senators also (that would have it so) repented afterwards. For without any espials, sent out aforehand to scour the coasts, they had set forth certain cohorts or companies (of footmen) a forraging, and when upon a false alarm that those were beset & intrapped, they marched themselves apace after, to their rescue & convoy, & kept not with them still, the reporter of these tidings (who being indeed a Latin and an enemy, but disguised in the habit of a Roman souldier, had deceived them) they fel headlong into a train and ambushment laid of purpose for them. And whiles they made resistance with main force only in a ground of great disadvantage (giving & taking the like measure) they were killed & slain on either side. But in the mean time their enemies from another quarter entred the camp of the Romans lying open in the plain. Thus in both places, things went but badly and untowardly, & all through the rashness and unskilfulness of the leaders. G And what remained unfoiled for the fortune of the people of *Rome*, that was preserved by the hardy and resolute valor of the Roman souldiers only, without the help of general and commander. Upon which news reported at *Rome*, at the first it was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but afterwards, when tidings came, that all was whole & the Volscians quiet, and that it was well seen they knew not how to use victory when they had it, nor to take the opportunity of the time, whiles it offered it self: both the Generals & the army were sent for home from thence, & so for the Volscians they were at rest afterwards. Only in the very end of the year, there arose some new stir & sudden tumult, by reason that the Prenestins having sollicited the people of the Latins, entred into

rebellion again. In the same year the men of *Setia* made moan of themselves for want of people, H and thither new Coloners were assigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans sped but badly in wars, yet the quietness at home was some comfort; which the Tribuns Military chosen from out of the Commons had procured, by reason that they were so gracious and reverenced among those of their own coat and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the first on a light fire with hot discord and mutiny, when *Sp. Furius*, *Quintius Servilius* the second time, *Licinius Menenius* the third time, *P. Cloelius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganius* were Tribuns Military with Consuls authority. The matter and cause of which seditious broils, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition whereof, and to know to what sums they amounted, *Sp. Servilius Priscus*, and *Cloelius Siculus* were made Censors, but stopped I they were for doing any thing, by occasion of wars. For first, fearful messengers in all haste brought word, and after, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volscians were entred into the confines, and fell to spoiling every where the territory about *Rome*. Notwithstanding which fear and forraign terror, so little were the civil discords appeased, that contrariwise the Tribuns of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of souldiers, until they had indented and capitulated with the Senators, that so long as the wars lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any impost, or be sued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this easement and liberty, the musters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into the Volscians Country. So *Furius* and *M. Horatius*, went on the right hand along the sea coast to *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and K *L. Geganius* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to *Ecetra*. But on neither side met they with the enemy. Whereupon they fell to forraging the Country, not here and there in scattering wise, as the Volscians had done, after the manner of robbers, at starts upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power and army of men and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the fouler work they made. For the Volscians standing in fear, left in the mean while they should be encountred with a power from *Rome*, had made roads only into the utmost frontiers; But contrariwise, the Romans made stay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish houses and granges, and some villages L also, and left behind them no fruitful tree standing, nor the sown corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattel, which they could light on without the walls; they reduced their armies of both sides home again to *Rome*. In this mean while the debtors had some little respit to breath themselves in. But so soon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a fresh to be sued and troubled by their creditors at home. And so small hope they had to be released of their old usury, that they fell into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Censors had set out to be made of square Ashler stone. To yeeld unto this imposition and burden, the Commons were driven, because there was no muster for the Tribuns of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribuns military, all of the Nobility, to wit, *L. Æmylius*, *P. Valerius* the M fourth time, *C. Veturius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *L.* and *C. Quintii Cincinnati*.

By the same strong hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger sort took the military oath, so that they levied three armies against the Latins and Volscians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themselves at *Satricum*. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be set out against all sudden wars, if haply elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the conduct of *P. Valerius*, and *L. Æmylius*, led to *Satricum*. Where, finding the enemies embattelled in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in sight, and were but only in some good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain so poured down with huge storms and tempests, that it parted both hosts asunder. N The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins especially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, stood to it as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romans. At length, the Roman horsemen that road in among st them, brake their ranks; and when they were once disarrayed, the footmen displayed their ensigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans battel set forward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to faint in their fight, than the violence of the Romans was intollerable. Thus the enemies were discomfited and scattered: and flying not toward their camp, but to *Satricum*, which was two miles off; they were by the horsemen especially beaten down, trod under foot and slain. Their tents were taken and rifled. From *Satricum* they dislodged, the next night after the battel was fought and marched in great haste (as if O they fled) to *Antium*. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heeles, yet their footmanship served them better in their fear, than it did the Romans, for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their rereward, or force them to stay. All be his, some days were spent in wasting the Country. For neither were the Romans sufficiently provided with warlike engins of battery and artillery to assail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide battel in plain field. Then arose some discord within the town, between the Latins and the Antiats. The

A Antiats, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised, even to their old age, were of mind to yeeld. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after so long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their own designments, without being hindered one of another, their strife was soon ended. So the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, so unhonest & dishonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their own quarrels. But the Antiats being well rid of these Councellors of their, so crost unto all wholsome courses, tending to their good and safety, yeelded up their town and country to the Romans. But B the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, nor keep the Volscians still in arms, brake out thus far, that they fired the City *Satricum*, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy fight. Neither left they any house in that City standing, but set fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: onely the Church of Dame *Matuta* they spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a fearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, unless they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiously. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to *Tusculum* they go: for very spight that they forsaking the general counsel of the Latins, had not onely yeelded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate Citizens C with them. And coming upon them on a sudden, while their gates were open, at the first shout the whole Town, all but the Castle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were thither fled: and sent messengers to *Rome* with certificat to the Senat of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of *Rome*) an army was led to *Tusculum*: whereof *L. Quintius* and *Servius Sulpitius*, had the conduct. At *Tusculum* they found the gates fast shut against them, and the Latins, as men both besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the walls, on the other side assaulted the Castle, at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the coming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tusculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the D Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortress out of hand, as being masters already of the town, had but small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tusculans they set up a great shout from the Castle: and answered it was again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tusculans running down the hill upon them, nor to put by and keep off the Romans, coming hard under the walls, and assaying to break the bars of the gates. First, they scaled the walls and and gat upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that pressed sore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies, every mothers son. So when *Tusculum* was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was E brought back again to *Rome*.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more encreased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make paiment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfie their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the consideration. Wherenpon, not only the meanest of the Commons, but also the very chief, began now to let fall their hearts and stoop so low, that there was not a witty and nimble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Tribun Military, in F concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had so earnestly shot at and laboured for) no, nor so much as to bear and sue for any offices of the Commons. So as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons of late, for some few years, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this order side might not joy too much hereat, a small occurrent happed between which (as it falleth out most commonly) gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprize of much importance.

M. Fabius Ambustus a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as also with the Commons, whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servius Sulpitius*: the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and reckoning, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* disG daining not this alliance and affinity, wan himself much love and favour among the Commons. Now it fell out so, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servius Sulpitius*, then Trib. Military: and as they passed the time away (as the manner is) in much good talk, discoursing one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Verger of *Sulpitius*, at what time as he was coming home from the *Forum* or common hal, rapped as the order was, with his rod at the door. When the younger *Fabia* not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wonder at her ignorance, laught her to scorn: But that laughter (as womens minds, got wot, are soon kindled with a litle) set her a work & hammered in her head.

Besides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance, ready to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose she thought her sister happily wedded, and repented her own marriage; upon an ill and sinister judgment, whereby every man repineth that his neighbor and neereſt of kin especially, should go beyond him and do better then he. Upon this discontentment and freſh heart-burning of hers, her father haply seeing her dismaid, asked her whether all was well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grief another way, (for that it stood neither with her love and kindness towards her sister, to envy her estate; nor yet with the reverent honor that she was to yeeld unto her husband, to find fault with her own) he with mild questioning came about her so, that he drew from her the truth: so as she confeſſed her grief to arise upon this, that she was disparaged; and namely, married not according to her quality, but into an house uncapable both of worship and favour. Then *Ambuſtus*, comforting his daughter, willed her to be of good cheer, and said, That ere it were long, she should see the same state, the same advancement and dignity at home, which she had seen already in her sisters house. Hereupon began he to plot with his son in law, joyning also unto them, *L. Sextius*, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion and opportunity they seemed to have of compaſſing some alteration in the State, by reason of the exceſſive debts that men were grown into: for the redreſſing and easing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the soveraign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to addreſs themselves to the execution of these designments, conſidering that by endeavor and industry, the Commoners were climbed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce and put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the higheſt, and might be equal with the Nobles, as well in honour as in vertue and proweſſe. And for the preſent, it was thought good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* and *L. Sex.* propoſed laws, all tending to abate the power and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was defaulked and deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use and interest, the reſidue should be discharged by even portions in 3. years. A second, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands, That no man might hold in poſſeſſion above 500. acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no election of Trib. Military, but of Coſſ. provided always, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and conſequence, and such as without exceeding ſtrife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. Thus when all those things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazzard to be loſt, which the whole world unmeaſurably covereth and longeth after, to wit, land, money, and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to ſtartle. And laying their heads together both in publik conſultation and privat conference, they could deviſe no other remedy, but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the ſtepping between and negative voice of some of the Tribuns. And so, to croſs those bills aforeſaid put up by these two Tribuns, they had wrought and made to their purpoſe certain of their own brotherhood. Who so soon as they saw the wards and tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their ſuffrages, being well backed and guarded with the aſſiſtance of the Senators, would ſuffer neither those laws to be read, nor any other besides (as yearly they uſed) to paſs by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribuns aforeſaid, having oftentimes (but ever in vain) aſſembled the people together, and seeing their laws ſtill nipped, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; "It is very well (quoth *Sextius*) and ſince ye like so well that these inhibitions may prevail so much: "we will likewiſe defend the Commons with the ſame weapon and no other. Go to now my "Maſters of the Nobility, proclaime an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make "it row, that this word [** Veto*] ſhall do your ſelves no good at all: howſoever now ye take so "great pleaſure to hear our brethren keep that note ſtill, and evermore ſing that ſweet concent of "muſick. And ſurely, those threats proved indeed to good earneſt and took effect. For there was no election at all but of Ædiles and Tribuns, and those both of the Commons. For *Licinius* and *Sextius* being chosen Tribuns again, ſuffered no Magiſtrates of the Chair, or of State, to be created. Which deſect and deſolation of soveraign Magiſtracy continued in the City for the ſpace of five years: whiles the Commons for their part chose the ſame two Tribuns ſtill, and they again ever laid a bar and put in a caveat againſt the election of Tribuns Military.

The Laws of *Licinius* and *Sextius*.

* *I forbid.* It was the negative voice of Tribuns.

All other wars, as good hap was, were aſleep for the time. The Coloners only of *Velitre*, upon so long reſt and quietneſs began to be luſty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of the Romans ſtirring abroad, they not only made inrodes ſundry times into the territory of *Rome*, but alſo aſſailed the town *Tuſculum*. And when the Tuſculans, the ancient Allies and new enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome* craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved eſpecially for very ſhame to ſuccour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yeelded at length, and permitted an aſſembly for election, to be holden by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were created, *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A.* and *C. Valerii*: Who found not the Commons ſo tractable in the muſtering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army, and ſet forward on their journey: drave the enemies not from *Tuſculum* only, but forced them within their own walls: beſieged *Velitre* more ſtraighely a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than *Tuſculum* had been by them.

Howbeit

Howbeit, they that began the ſiege were not able to win the town. For before that time, were new Tribuns Military choſen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A.* and *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quintius*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at *Velitre*, But the State at home ſtood in more dangerous terms than before. For beſides that *Sextius* and *Licinius*, the publiſhers of those laws aforeſaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again, *Fabius* alſo a Tribun Military, *Stole* his wives father, was ſeen openly in the action, to ſet forward and perſwade for the ſame laws, which in very deed himſelf had deviſed. And whereas at the firſt, eight of the Colledge or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had croſſed the proceeding of them: now there were but five left that ſhewed themſelves, and those (as commonly they uſe to do that diſband from their own faction) like men bereaved of their wits and amazed, being indeed the tongues and trunks that others ſpake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were ſchooled and taught their leſſons at home: (to wit) That a great ſort of the Commons were in the army at *Velitre* and abſent, and that the ſolemn Seſſion or Aſſembly for enacting laws, ought to be adjourned until the return home of the ſouldiers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commodity and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribuns, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribuns Military, being their own craftſmaſters, knew well enough by ſo many years experience, how to manage and handle the minds of the Commons: and plied the chief of the Senators (produced forth before the people) ſo hard with interrogatories of every particular that was propoſed, that they wearied and tired them out: Demanding, "how they could require to be allowed themſelves to poſſeſs more then 500. acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongſt "them? Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands, well neer, of 300. "Citizens: and a Commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a neceſſary houſe "upon, and to ſerve for a place to bury his dead? Alſo, whether their will and pleaſure was, that "the Commons oppreſſed with uſury, ſhould yeeld their bodies to bear irons and ſuffer torment, "unleſs they paid the intereſt before the principal? And that daily by whol companies they ſhould "be had away from the bar, condemned to thraldom; and Noble mens houſes to become goals, "filled and peſtered with priſoners? And wherſoever a Patritian dwelt, there ſhould be a privat "priſon? These indignities and piteous matters to be heard, when they had with a loud voice charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like meaſure themſelves; with more indignation and diſdain of all that heard them, than they themſelves ſhewed in the uttering and delivery: "But these Senators ſay they (and that they redoubled) will never make an end either "of getting more land ſtill into their hands; or ſpoiling and undoing the Commons with uſury, "until the Commons make once out of their body one Conſul, for to be the maintainer and pro"tector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, they were now juſt nothing ſet by: "as who by their privilege of Inhibitions and negative voices, ſpoiled themſelves and overthrew their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal courſe taken, ſo long "as the Nobles keep the ſoveraign place of command, and the ſword to ſtrike whiles the poor "Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unleſs the government be parted "between both alike, the Commons ſhall never have their due and equal portion in the Com"mon-weal. Neither is it reaſon that any man ſhould ſtand contented with this only, that in the "Election of Conſuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in caſe, it be not "concluded abſolutely, that one Conſul at the leaſt ſhould be of neceſſity a Commoner, there will "never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (ſay they) that notwithſtanding an Act made, That "there ſhould be Tribuns Military created rather then Conſuls, for this intent that Commoners "might aſpire and reach unto the chief place of honor: yet for all that in 44. years ſpace, there "was not ſo much as one of the Commoners choſen Tribun Military? And will any man beleeve "that they will of their own accord conſer upon the Commons (when otherwiſe they may chuſe) "that dignity in the diſpoſing only of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribun "Military, to take up eight rooms all wholly to themſelves? And will they allow them a way "unto the Conſulſhip, who thus long have held the (Conſular) Tribunſhip ſo guarded as no man "might have acceſs thither but themſelves? Nay, it muſt be got by a poſitive law, which in their "Aſſemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Conſuls rooms "muſt be ſet aſide, paſt all peradventure and queſtion, and that for a Commoner, to enter into: "For as much as if it ſtand ſtill upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the game "clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and ſay, That the Commons afforded not ſufficient and able men to beat the offices of the chair and of ſtate: that, now cannot "be truely objected. For was the Common-weal, I pray you more ſlackly and negligently govern"ed upon the (Conſular) Tribunſhip of *P. Licinius Calvus* (who was the firſt Commoner that ever was made Tribun Military) than it was ruled for thoſe years ſpace, in which there was not "a Tribun Military but of the Nobility? Nay, on the contrary ſide it will be juſtified that ſome of "the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribunſhip; and not one of the Commoners. And whereas not many years paſt, we began to make Queſtors or Treaſurers out of the Commons, like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of *Rome* repented never of the choice of "any one of them. It remaineth now, that the Commoners bear the office of Conſuls too; That "were a fortreſs of their liberty: that were a ſtrength and ſure hold to truſt unto. If they were "once come and ſtept to that degree, then may the people of *Rome* think aſſuredly and be perſwaded

Stextius and *Licinius* againſt the Senators for the common people.

"swaded, that the KK. are banished indeed out of the City, and their freedom fully establish-H
"ed for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be partakers of all those
"things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, soveraign rule and authority, martial
"renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doubtless, unto themselves to enjoy here in
"this life: but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and Posterity. These and
such like Orations when they saw to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new
Statute, That in stead of the two Duumvirs for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church,
there might be chosen ten Decemvirs: Provided always, that one part of them should be cre-
ated forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Session for enacting of all
those Laws, they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the siege before I
Velitre.

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that means the whole business about these new Laws, hung still in suspence, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, the Commonalty chose the same again, even those twain who had been the proposers of those Laws. And the Tribuns Military were these, *T. Quintius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpitius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius.* Presently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the jump and final trial what should become of those Laws. And when as the Tribes were called, and none of the Tribuns Collegues stepped between to stop the proceeding of the Law-givers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helps, to wit, the highest and absolute office, and the greatest man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictator. And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who elected unto him *L. Æmylius* for General of the horse. The Law-makers likewise for their part, against so great preparation of their adversaries, armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomack and couragious heart. And having assembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wards to give their voices. At what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frowns, took his place and set him down. And after the matter was canvassed first by the ordinary conflict of the Tribuns among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gainsaid the Law with their negatives voices; and that by how much in right the prohibition was the stronger, so much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the Laws and Law-L
givers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice (* *Interrogatis*) affirmatively: then *Camillus*, For as much as (quoth he) O *Quirites*, ye are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times past ye obtained the priviledge of a negative voice and Intercession by your departure and Secession, so now ye make it void and nothing worth, even by the same force that ye got it by: I, chosen Dictator as well for your sake as for the whole Common-wealth, will assist your priviledge of Intercession, and by mine absolute authority maintain this your help and succour, now reversed and overthrown. If therefore *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office: I will not in a meeting and assembly of the Commons, once intermeddle, nor bring in the authority, of a Magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all prohibition) to M
impose and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conquest of the enemy, I will not suffer the Tribuns power by their own selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big words notwithstanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a tush thereat, and went never the less forward with their enterprize, then *Camillus* throughly angred indeed, sent his Lictors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatning withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people, and lead an army presently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but it set their Captains and Ring-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courages one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was some error in his creation (as some have written) or because the Tribuns of the N
Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dictator) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round fine set on his head of 500000 * Asses, I know not certainly. But I beleeve that he was terrified upon some unlucky signs of the birds, rather then with any such strange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man so well given and of so good conscience, and also for that *P. Manlius* was immediately named Dictator in his stead. For to what end should *Manlius* have been created Dictator for that broil and stir, wherein *M. Furius* had taken the soil before? Again, seeing the same *M. Furius* was Dictator the next year following, doubtless, he would never for shame have resumed that office, wherein the year before he had received the foil and disgrace, to be so overruled. Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was O
supposed to have been preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withstood it too, (whereby he saw himself to be bridled) or else he had not been able to have hindred so much as those, for which this also was proposed. Finally, it was never seen to this day wherein we live, so long as the Tribuns and Consuls with their factions and parts-taking have been at variance and debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled them all, and put them down.

Between the former Dictatorship of *Camillus* now resigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accepted

* (As ye propound) The form of an Affirmative voice in their scrutinies.

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites.

* *Intercession* signifieth here the priviledge of the Tribuns of the Commons to deny and stop any Act, that it pass not.

* 1150. *l* sterl.

A red and begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it were of a vacancy or Interreign: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen, which of the laws proposed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that concerned usury and land, they granted to pass, but that other of a Commoner to be Consul, they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had been dispatched fully and established at once, but that the Tribuns said directly, that they required the Commons, to give their voices and speak to all three directly together. After this, *P. Manlius* the Dictator favoured somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his General of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators B stormed hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictator was wont to excuse the matter unto them, alledging for himself the neer affinity and kindred that was between him and *Licinius*: saying also, that the dignity of the General of horsemen was no greater then of a Tribun Consular. Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sextius* so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue in the office, they set the Commons on to be most earnest and hotly bent for that, which they under colour of refusal, desired and sought for. They seemed, forsooth, to alledge and say, "That for these nine years they had stood, as it were, in battel array, and affronted the States "and Nobles of the City, to the right great peril of themselves in privat, and to no good effect "at all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws proposed, and the whole strength C "of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were crossed "by the interceding of their brethren Tribuns: afterwards by packing away the youth of the Ci-"ty to the Velitern war: and last of all, the Dictators lightning flashed in their faces, and their "thunderbolts shot against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withstood "them, nor forraign wars hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath "given a good fore-tokening and presage of a Consul Commoner, in electing his General of "horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt them-"selves, and delay their own goods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their "common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yea, and their grounds re-"covered again from the unjust Land-lord; Which benefits and liberties, when are they like D "to weigh and esteem with thankful minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are to ac-"cept the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and "honour, from the publishers and proposers thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of "the people of *Rome*, to require to be eased themselves of Usury, and to be set in possession again "of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave those old "Trib. by whose means they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not "only without honor, but also without all hope of honor. Let them first therefore set down with "themselves, and resolve, what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Trib. de-"clare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly "as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chuse the same Trib. again: and then "would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their wil was to "accept of that and no more than which served each privat mans turn, then there was smal need "or none at all to have them stil in office, with the envy and grudging of so many. And to be short, "neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have "those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were "struck into their dumps and blank, for the very indignity to seethings thus go: At the last, one *Appius Claudius Crassus* (the nephew or sons son of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir) upon a malicious mind and fell stomack, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to dissuade the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that so stout and peremptory speech of the Tri-buns, in this manner. "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, O Quirites, if that "which hath been the only thing at all times objected by seditious Tribuns against our house, I "also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and linage of *Claudii*, have ever "from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common-weal, than the Majesty and "honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always set and opposed themselves against the good "and well-fare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny "and disavow: namely, that we, since the first time that we were enfranchised Citizens, and ther-"with at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavoured and strained our selves, that "it might be said and that truely, that the honor and dignity of that state and degree, into which "it was your good pleasure we should be incorporate, and graced with, was by us augmented, "rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine own behalf, "and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, O Quirites, that (unless a man would "think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as "if they were meer aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, witting "and willing, either whiles we lived privat, or during the time we bare office, prejudicial to "commonalty: and that neither in deed nor word we can be justly charged to have wrought and "contrived any thing contrary to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out "cross against your will and mind. But were I not a *Claudius*, and of that family, nor descended "of noble blood, but some one of the Burgesses or Citizens: and knew my self to be but free

The Oration of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribuns of the Commons.

born,

"borr, both by father and mother, and to live in a free City: could I (think ye) hold my tongue? H
"but frankly speak and say, that these perpetual Tribuns (God save all) *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licini-*
"*us* I mean, have for nine years (for so long they have played *Rex*) taken so much upon them, and
"been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies
"for elections, nor in Sessions and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining Laws? Upon condi-
"tion (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribuns again the tenth time. What is this else but
"to say? That, which other sue for, we so scorn and disdain, that accept of it we will not, with-
"out good hire and recompence. And what reward and consideration is this, good Sirs, for which
"we may have your Worships, our ever-Tribuns? Marry (quoth he) that ye will accept jointly
"together and at once, all our laws, whether they like you or dislike you: whether they be good I
"and wholsom, or bad and noisom. Now I beseech you good *Tarquins* (Tribuns of the Com-
"mons I would have said) imagin I were one of the ordinary Citizens, and should from out of
"the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleaseth it your good grace, Sir, that out of these
"laws propounded, we may chuse those that we think good and wholsom for us, and refuse and
"disanul the rest. (O (quoth he) that may not be. Thou mayst allow, belike, and ordain, concer-
Appius speaketh in the person of *Sextius* or *Licinius*, within these marks [] "ning usury, concerning lands, which tend to the commodity of you all. But now beware of bugs.
"This monstrous and portentous wonder must in no case be permitted in *Rome*, that thou shoul-
"dest see *L. Sextius*, and this perillous fellow *C. Licinius* to be Consuls, which thy heart riseth at,
"and which goeth against thy stomack, Nay, nay, either accept of all, or I will propound none at
"all.] This is all one, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and ready to starve, poyson I
"and meat together: and bid him either forbear the wholsom food to preserve his life, or else
Now speaketh *Appius* in his own person. "to take the deadly bane to hasten his death. But if this were a free State indeed, would not ma-
"ny a one have cried out and said, Avant you and your Tribunships, out upon you with your
"laws. What Sir? How if your Mastership will not put up and preier that which is commodi-
"ous and profitable for the people to accept: is there none, think you besides, that will propound
"it? If any Nobleman, or if any *Claudius* (which they take to be more odious) should thus
"say, *Either take all, or I will propose none at all.* Which of you, Quirites, would endure it? why?
"will ye never regard the substance more then the person; the matter rather then the man? But
"all is well taken and heard quickly, which that magistrate shal say. And wil ye always hear with
"the wrong or deaf ear, whatsoever any of us shal hap to speak? Wel, the words are naught, I
"it is, that they storm so at, because by you it is rejected. In good faith, O Quirites, much like
"unto their language. This I require (quoth he) that it might not be lawful for you to make
"Coss. whom ye wil. For what else demandeth he, who would have it enacted by expres tearms,
"that one at least of the Coss. must be a Commoner of Necessity, and leaveth it not unto your
"choice to make two Noblemen Coss. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the Tuscan
"war was, when *Porsina* was master of the *Janicle* and kept that piece against us; or such as the
"Gauls war of late days was, when the enemies were LL. and possessed of all the City here, but
"the Capitol and fortress only; set case, that *L. Sextius* should be prickt and propounded ei-
"ther with this *M. Furius* here in place, or with any one other of the Nobles, and stand to be Cos. I
"would ye abide that *Sextius* should be undoubtedly Coss. and *Camillus* at devotion and in ha-
"zard to take repulse? Is this indeed to bestow your dignities indifferently with even and equal
"hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Consuls, and not two likewise of
"the Nobles? And that one of them must needs perforce be created out of the Com. and in the
"election of both, the Nobles may be overslipt? What society is this, what community and par-
"ticipation? Wil not this serve thy turn and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor
"interest afore, thou shouldst now have thy part: unless in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck
"all unto thy self? I fear me (quoth he) if both Consuls might be made of the Nobility, ye
"would chuse none at all of the Commonalty. What is this else but to say? Because willingly of
"your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I will bind you therefore of ne- N
"cessity, to elect those whom otherwise ye would pass by. And what followeth hereupon but
"this, that the Commoner who standeth with two *Patritii*, may plainly say, and that truly, he is
"not by voices chosen, but by vertue of a law, and so acknowledg no benefit received of the peo-
"ple, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seek they means to wring
"your dignities from you, and not the way to sue for them: and would so obtain the greatest, as
"that they might not be obliged & bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and
"offices by advantage taking and cunning sleights, then by their own vertue, desert, and wor-
"thiness. But there is some one that scorneth to be pried and looked into, and to be considered
"as he deserveth: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that contest
"and stand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himself to your O
"censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntary to be constrained: of free to be thrall and
"servil. I speak not of *Licinius* and *Sextius*: whose years of their continual government ye reckon
"upon, and mark up in the Capitol, as they used sometime, to count the years of the Kings
"reign. But what is he this day in the City, of so base, so abject and low condition, that by the ad-
"vantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consulship than we and our children
"have? As for us truly, ye may sometime mits of chusing us, would you never so fain: but for them
"ye must needs, yea, though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignity and

A "and unworthiness of the thing; For, dignity and worthiness, I take, to be matters properly to
"men pertaining. What shall I speak now of Religions, and of the solemnity of the Auspices,
"which imply a meer contempt and injury done to the immortal gods? Who knoweth not,
"that by the approbation of the gods, retained by flight of birds, this City was first founded?
"that by the same Auspices, all hath been ordered and directed, as well in war abroad, as in peace
"at home? And who be they that have to do with these tokens and presages, by ancient custom
"and tradition from our forefathers? Forsooth even the Nobles and none else. As for the Magi-
"strates of the Commons, none are chosen with regard of flight, sight, and feeding of the birds.
"But to us, they do so properly belong, that not only those Magistrates of the Nobles, which
B "the people create, they do not otherwise elect but by observation of the birds; but we also our
"selves, without the assent and voice of the people, do nominate an Interrex by means of the
"birds: yea, and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which these
"Commons use not in their very offices. What then meaneth he else, but to take these *Auspicia*
"out of the City, who by creating Commoners to be Consuls, depriveth the Nobles thereof, who
"only may have and use them? Now let them mock on and scoff at our religions. Let them deride
"our Ceremonies. What makes matter (say they) if those pullets peck or eat not? What if they
"come somewhat late out of their coop or cage? What if a bird sing auk or crow cros and con-
"trary? How then? A great piece of matter surely. Small things, I confess they be: but as
"small as they are, our ancestors by not contemning them, have brought this C. W. to a flou-
C "rishing state. And we now adays, as if we stood not in need of the grace and favour of God,
"poliute all holy rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our prelats and high Priests, our Au-
"gurs, and King at sacrifices be created (it skilleth not how) even out of the common multitude:
"Let us set upon any mans head (it matters not whose, so he come in likeness of a man) the Mitre
"of *Jupiter* his Flamin. Let us commit the keeping of the Anciles or heavenly shields, and the
"secret sanctuaries: let us commit the gods themselves and the charge of their holy service to
"those, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impiety. Let no lawes be published nor
"Magistrates created solemnly, with regard of birds at all, and of the wil of the gods. Nor in the
"Centuriate assemblies holden by degrees, and Curiat-meetings by the wards and parishes: let
"not the Senators be Presidents and have their authority and royal assent. Let *Sexcius* and *Lici-*
D "*nius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius* raign together, as fellow KK. in the City of *Rome*, because they
"give away so freely, the monies, lands and territories from others. So sweet and savory it is to
"prey upon other mens goods. Never consider they, nor look so far into the matter, that by one
"of these goodly laws, our fields will be desart and waste, by ejecting and dispossessing the right-
"ful land-lords: and by the other, all credit in borrowing and lending, in taking and putting
"forth of money shal be abolished. And then farewel all humane society, commerce and inter-
"course whatsoever. In these respects therefore, thus I conclude, and would counsel you, in any
"wise to stop, frustrate and disanul the overture and proceeding of these laws: and in so doing,
"I pray God bless and speed you wel. This Oration of *Appius* thus far only prevailed, that the
time of publication of these Acts, was cut off and deferred. But the same Tribuns *Sextius* and *Li-*
E *cinius*, being chosen again the tenth time, propounded this law and had it enacted, That of the The Decem-
Decemvirs for divine service and Church matters, some should be created of the Commons: So, virs created.
five of them were of the Nobles, and five of the Commoners: whereby they seemed to have gai-
ned already one good step onward unto the Consulship.

The Commons contenting themselves with this victory, yeelded unto the Senators, that for the present without any mentioning of Consuls, there should be elected Tribuns Military. So there were created *A.* and *M. Cornelii* the second time, *M. Geganius*, *P. Manlius*, *L. Veturius* and *P. Valerius* the sixth time. At what time, when as (but for the siege of *Velitre*, which was like to be for service a long piece of work, rather then for issue, doubtful in the end) the Romans were at rest for any forraign troubles, the sudden and unlooked-for news of the Gauls war, drave the Ci-
F ty to chuse *M. Furius* Dictator the fifth time: who took unto him for his General of the horse-men, *T. Quintius Pennus*. *Claudius* writeth, that this year the Gauls were fought with, about the river *Anio*: and that there was that noble combat upon the bridge, in which, *T. Manlius* in the fight of both armies slew in single fight a Gaul that had challenged him and given defiance, and despoiled him of his coller of gold. But there be more writers that induce me to believe, that this exploit was performed ten years after: and that in this year the Gauls had a battel given them by *M. Furius* Dictator, in the Aibans land: where the Romans had neither doubtful nor dangerous victory, although the French made them afraid at first in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thousands of this barbarous nation were slain in field, many also fell upon the sword in their camp after it was won. Some were scattered and fled, and those most (who took the way to
G *Apulia*) saved themselves from the enemy, both by flying so far, and also for that upon fear they were so distracted and parted one from another. The Senators and Commons agreed and made a decree, that the Dictator should triumph. Who scarcely had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the City. For after many sharp bickerings and contentions the Dictator and Senat both, were overmatched and o-
L. Sextius, the first Commoner that was chosen Consul. vercome, yea, and forced to accept the Tribuns laws aforesaid. And also in despite of the Nobility and do what they could, there was an assembly held for election of Consuls: in which *L. Sextius* was created Consul, the first Commoner that ever sat in Consuls chair. But the broils staid

ſtaid not there. For, by reaſon that the Nobles denied to approve & give aſſent thereto, the matter was like to grow unto a Seceſſion and general departure of the Commons, yea, and to other fearful tearms and perilous threats of civil wars and inteſtin troubles. Howbeit, by means of the Dictator, the flames were quenched and the diſcords appeaſed, upon theſe capitulations. *Imprimis*, that the Nobility ſhould accord unto the Commons, to have one Conſul from among themſelves. *Item*, that the common people ſhould be content that the Nobles might out of the *Patritii* create a Pretor or Lord chief Juſtice for *oyer* and *determiner* in cauſes within the City. Thus when after long anger the two ſtates of the City were grown to unity and concord, the Senat thinking it a worthy matter, (& good cauſe they had verily as every any time before) willingly determined, for the honour of the immortal gods, to ſet out thoſe moſt ſtately [Roman] playes. And whereas before they had continued but three daies, to add one more, and to celebrate them full four. And when the Ædiles of the Commons refuſed that charge & excuſed themſelves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobility cried all with one voice, That they would moſt gladly do that ſervice and honor to the immortal gods, ſo as they might be made Ædiles for that purpoſe. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senat made a decree, That the Dictator ſhould propoſe unto the people, that two men of the Nobility might be Ædiles, and that in all the Aſſemblies and Elections for that year, whatſoever paſſed, ſhould be ratified by the ſoveraign aſſent of the Senators.

The Seventh Book

Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Seventh Book.

TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorſhip and Ædileſhip of the Chair; were adjoined to the reſt. The City was ſore viſited with the peſtilence: which was more noted by reaſon of Furius Camillus who died therein. The remedy and end whereof, whiles they ſought to procure by bringing in new and ſtrange Religions, at length they deviſed ſtage-playes, which then firſt were ſet forth. M. Pomponius a Tribun of the Commons, arreſted L. Manlius for his exceeding rigour in taking muſter of ſouldiers: and for confining and hardly intreating his own ſon, T. Manlius, for no crime or hainous offence. And the young man himſelf, whoſe confining and miſuſage was laid unto his fathers charge, entred the bed-chamber of the ſaid Tribun, drew his Skean and forced him to ſwear unto him, that he would let fall his ſuit and proceed no further. Then all miſchiefs intended, were laid apart and had an end. Curtius armed at all pieces, mounted upon a Courſer, rode headlong into the wide gaping chink or gulf within the City of Rome, and ſo it preſently filled up again. The ſame young Manlius, who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribun, entred into combat with a French-man, that challenged any one of the Roman Souldiers to ſingle fight, ſlew him, took from him his collar of Gold, which he ware about his neck afterwards himſelfe, and thereof was called Torquatus. Two Tribes more were added, Pontina and Publicia. Licinius Stolo was condemned by a law of his own making, becauſe he held in poſſeſſion more then five hundred Acres of ground. M. Valerius a Colonel of one thouſand foot, killed a Gaul, who challenged him to fight: and that, by the means and help of a Raven that ſetled upon his Morion, and with tallons and bill annoyed his enemy, and thereupon was hee named Corvinus. For which vertue and valorous Act, he was the year next following created Conſul, being not full three and twenty years old. Amity was concluded with the Carthaginians. The Campanes being warred upon by the Samnites, craved aid of the Senat againſt them: and when they could not ſpeed, yeelded their City and Territory to the people of Rome. Whereupon it was thought good, ſeeing both they and theirs, were now become proprietary to the people of Rome, that they ſhould be defended by force of arms againſt the Samnites. When A. Cornelius the Conſul, had led his hoſt into a place of diſvantage and was in great peril, he was by the induſtrious ſervice of P. Decius a Colonel ſaved: who having gained the hill top, which commanded the ridge, whereon the Samnites lay encamped, gave the Conſul opportunity to eſcape and paſs into a plain ground: and himſelf, notwithſtanding he was environed by the enemy, brake through them, and gat away. The Roman ſouldiers left in garriſon at Capua, having conſpired to keep the City to their own behoof, were detected and their plot diſcloſed: and for fear of puniſhment, revolted from the people of Rome contrary to their allegeance: but by the policy and wiſdom of M. Corvinus, they were reclaimed from their outrage, and reſtored again to their countrey. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate wars againſt the Hernicks, Gauls, Tyburts, Priverniats, Tarquinians, Samnites, and Volſcians.

The

The ſeventh Book of T. Livius.

HEre enſueth a year of eſpecial note and mark, for the Conſulſhip of a man newly riſen: alſo for two new offices, the Pretorſhip and Ædileſhip of the Chair. Both which dignities, they of the Nobility purchaſed to themſelves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Conſuls. The Commons beſtowed the Conſulſhip upon *L. Sextius* for his good ſervice, in propounding the law, whereby that promotion was firſt obtained. The Nobles conferred the Pretorſhip upon *Sp. Furius Camillus* the ſon of *Marcus*: and the Ædileſhip upon *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, perſonages of their own order and degree: So gratious were they with the people in *Marsfield*. *L. Sextius* had companion with him in government, *L. Æmilius Mamercus* one of the Senators. In the beginning of the year, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gauls, who at the firſt ranged abroad over all * *Apulia*, and were now (as the report went) gathered together: as alſo concerning the Rebellion of the Hernicks. But all matters being put off on purpoſe, until a further time, becauſe nothing ſhould be done by this new Conſul a Commoner, all things were ſtill and quiet, as if it had been vacation or *Non-term*: this only excepted, that the Tribuns muttered and could not endure with patience, that for one Conſul of the Commons, the Nobility had got to themſelves three Magiſtrats, all of the Patritii, ſitting like Conſuls, with their purfled and purpled long Robes in Ivory chairs of eſtate, And as for the Pretor beſides, as L. chief Juſtice to hear and decide cauſes, he was fellow with the Conſuls, and with the ſame Auſpices and authority created. Hereupon the Senat was abaſhed to be inſtant and to enforce that Ædiles of the chair ſhould be choſen out of the Nobility. And firſt it was agreed amongſt them, that every ſecond year they ſhould be elected forth of the Commons: Afterwards, indifferently one with another in common, without that regard. Now when *L. Genutius* and *Q. Servilius* were Coſſ. and all at good reſt for any home-ſedition or forrain war: behold, leſt they ſhould at any time be void of care and danger, there began a great plague; In which died, as men ſay, one Cenſor, one Ædible Curule, three Tribuns of the Commons: beſides, many a dead corps from among the multitude, was carried forth, proportionable to the reſt. But above all, the bitter death of *Camillus* and much lamented (notwithſtanding the long and goodly time he had in this life) cauſed this peſtilence to be much ſpoken of and remembred. For he was (in truth) the only perſon in all fortune both of proſperity and adverſity, as well in peace as war: a rare and ſingular man before his baniſhment, and during the ſame more famous and renowned: either in regard that the City had a miſs of him, and being taken by the enemy in his abſence ſought unto him for his help; or in reſpect of his happineſs, in that together with his own reſtitution home, he therewith reſtored his natural country. And after this, for 25 years ſpace (for ſo long he lived afterwards) he bare himſelf anſwerable to the title of ſo great glory: accounted worthy to be ſurnamed and reputed a ſecond founder after *Romulus*, of the City of *Rome*. All this year long and the next which followed, when *T. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *C. Licinius Stolo* were Conſuls, the ſickneſs continued. By reaſon whereof, nothing was done worth remembrance, but that for to obtain the mercy and grace of the Gods, there was a Lectiſtern ſolemnized, which was the third ſince the City was firſt founded. But when by no device of man, nor help of the Gods, the violence of the ſickneſs aſſwaged; their minds and conſciences were ſo poſſeſſed with ſuperſtition, that among other pacifications and appeaſings of the heavenly ire, the ſtage-playes (a ſtrange and new device for a warlike and martial people, who afore time uſed only to behold the ſolemn games and feats of ſtrength and activity, in the great Lifts or Race called *Circus*) were (as men ſay) firſt begun and ordained. But (as all beginnings lightly are) a ſmall thing (God wot) it was at firſt: without ſong and metre, without geſture and action ſutable unto ſong and verſe, and the ſame alſo meer outlandiſh. For the players, who were ſent for out of *Hetruria*, as they danced the meaſures to the minſtrel and ſound of flute, geſtured not undecently withal, after the Tuſcan faſhion. But in proceſs of time the youth began to imitate and counterfeit them, jeſting pleaſantly beſides one with another, and ſinging in rude rimes and diſordered metre: and their geſture was ſorting with their jeſts and ditties. Thus was this thing firſt taken up, and thus with much uſe and often exerciſe, practiſed. And hereupon our own Country Actors and artificial profeſſors of this ſeat, were called *Hiſtriones*, of *Hiſter* a Tuſcan word, which ſignifieth a player or dancer. But theſe uttered not (as they uſed afore time) in their turns one after another, diſordred, confuſed, and rude verſes, like to the looſe and baudy Feſcenine rimes: but went through and rehearſed out, whole Satyrs, full of muſical meaſures, with a ſet concent of ſong alſo, to the inſtrument of the minſtrel: and with geſture agreeable thereunto. Certain years after, *Livius*, who was the firſt that after the uſe of Satyrs, ventured to ſet forth an Enterlude, of ſome one argument and uniform matter, is reported to have been himſelf (as they were all no doubt in thoſe dayes) the Author and Actor both, of his own verſes and ſongs: But being ſo often called on by the people to play, that he became hoarſe again, and loſt his voyce, he gat leave to ſet a boy to ſing before the minſtrels. And ſo being ſilent himſelf, he acted the ſong with more agility and nimblenes of motion a good deal: for, not employing his voyce, he had no hindrance of liberty in geſture. Then began the players to have others to ſing, and they themſelves uſed their voyces only in acting their parts in Comedies dialoguewiſe.

* *Puglia.*

The death of *M. Furius Camillus.*

Stage-playes firſt at *Rome* inſtituted.

[Andronicus]

wise. After that, by this order taken and Law of Playes, they came from laughter and pleasant conceited Mirth, and that this pastime and sport turned by litle and litle to a methodical Art and profession: Then the youth leaving to Comœdians, the acting of parts in Enterludes, began after the old manner to let flye, one at another, merry scoffs and jests, interlaced within their rime and meeter, which thereupon were afterwards called *Exodia*, and were inserted commonly in the Atellan Comedies. Which kind of sport the youth learned first of the *Osci*: and having once taken it up, they held it still, and would not suffer it to be distayned and dishonested by common players. And hereof cometh it, that the Actors in the Atellane Interludes were neither displaced out of their own tribe, nor made *Ærarii*, but served in the wars, and have the Cities pay, as if they were not base Comœdians, and Professors of infamous players craft. Thus have I thought good, among the small beginnings of other things, to set down the Original of Stage-players also: that it may appear, that the thing arising from a considerate entrance, is grown now to this foolery and excessive sumptuousness, as hardly can be defrayed by most rich and wealthy Kingdoms. And yet these players at first, employed about a religious business, neither rid mens minds of scruple and superstition, nor eased their bodies one jot of sickness. But rather, when by occasion of an overflow and inundation of the *Tyber*, the *Circus* or Theatre was drowned, and their playes in the very midst hindred and interrupted, this occurrent mightily troubled and affrighted them, as if the Gods had turned away their face and countenance, and rejected all their endeavours in these appeasings of their wrath and indignation. Therefore in the time that *Cn. Genutius*, and *Æmylius Mamercus* were Consuls the second time, when mens minds were busied and troubled more in seeking means to pacify the wrath of the Gods, than their bodies vexed with diseases: the elder sort and grand signiors called to mind that in old time there was a plague asswaged and gave over, by the driving and fastning of a spike or great nail by the Dictator. The Senat upon a religious devotion perswaded herewith, caused a Dictator to be created, for to fasten the nail aforesaid. And there being chosen *L. Manlius Imperiosus*, he nominated for his General of Horsemen, *L. Pinarius*. There is an old law written with ancient letters, and in antique words, *That the chief Prætor for the time being, should in the * Ides of September drive a spike or nail*. Well, a nail was driven, and stuck fast on the right side of the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, on that hand where as *Minervas* Chappel standeth. That nail, because in those dayes there was but little writing shewed, as they say, the number of the years. And thereupon that Law was set up in *Minerva's* Church, for that *Minerva* was the inventress of numbring. And *Cintius* a diligent writer of such monuments, and a studious Antiquary, affirmeth, That at *Volsinii* there stuck such spikes to be seen in the Temple of *Nortia*, a goddess among the Tuscans, to quote and represent the number of the years. Now, as concerning the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, *M. Horatius* the Consul (by an act in that behalf provided) dedicated it, the year next ensuing the expulsion of the Kings. Afterwards, the solemn manner and custome of fastning a nail, was transferred from the Consuls to the Dictators, as to the greater and more absolute Magistracy. And in process of time, this custome being discontinued, it was thought a thing in it self worthy, for which a Dictator should be created.

The superstitious driving of a nail.

*13 of Septem.

L. Manlius being elected [as is above said] for this cause, as if he had been called to that dignity for some war, and not to free the people from their scruple of conscience: and intending himself war against the Hernicks, plagued the youth with a grievous muster: until at length all the Tribuns of the Commons taking against him, opposed themselves: and were it by force, or for very shame he relented, and resigned up his room. Nevertheless, in the entrance of the year next following, when *Q. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Genutius* the second time were Consuls, *M. Pomponius* a Tribun of the Commons arrested *Manlius*. His cruelty in taking of the musters was odious, not only for the loss and dammage that the citizens sustained thereby, but also for rearing and mangling their bodies partly by scourging them with rods, who answered not to their name, and partly clapping irons upon them in prison. But above all, his own cruel disposition by nature was hateful, and the surname *(Imperiosus)* offensive, especially to a free City. This name he got by his plain shew of his cruelty, exercised no less upon his neerest friends and kinsfolk, yea, and his very own bloud, than upon strangers. For amongst other matters, the Tribun laid sore to his charge, that having a young man to his son, detected of no lewdness and dishonest life, him he had banished (as it were) out of the City, from his house and home, debarred from the common Hall and open sight of men from the company of his mates and companions, set him to drudgery and servil work, and betaken him as it were, into a prison and house of correction: where, a Dictator his son a young Gentleman highly descended by this daily misery of his, was taught to know, that he had indeed a Lordly and imperious Sir, to his father. "And for what great offence, I "pray you? Because he was not so fair spoken, nor all the readiest with his tongue. Which in- "firmity and defect of nature, ought not a father to have born with al and cloaked (if there had "been any goodness, any common humanity in him) rather than to punish it, and by rough "handling, and sharp usage, to make it more known and notorious? Why? even the very brute "beasts, if it chance that any of their breed or young ones prove but untowardly, feed and cherish them still nevertheless. But as for this *L. Manlius*, he augmenteth one inconvenience and "default in his son, with another: whom being but soft and slow of nature, he keepeth down the "more: and that litle life and small metal that is in him, he goeth about to quench and dull at "once by this peasants life and rustical usage, and conversing amongst the cattel and beasts. These

L. Manlius Imperiosus.

The complaints of *M. Pomponius*, a Tribune of the Com. against *L. Manlius*.

These bitter complaints and accusations moved the patience, and stirred the stomacks of every man else, sooner than the young man himself. Who contrary-wise was grieved in his mind, that he should be a cause of his fathers troubles, thus to incur the ill will and obloquy of the people. And that all the World, both Heaven and Earth might know, that he desired rather to succour and help his father, than to assist his adversaries and foes, he entereth into a course beseeming and bewraying (I must needs say) a rude and rustical mind. Which, although it say our nothing of Civility, yet for his kindness and dutiful piety to his father, deserveth commendation. One morning betimes he gets him up, and unknown to every one of the house, with a good skein close by his side, to the City he goes: and from the gate streight wayes directly to *M. Pomponius* the Tribun his house. He telleth the Porter, that he must needs speak with his Master out of hand, willing him to let him understand, that *T. Manlius* the son of *Lucius*, was there. And being immediately let in, (for the Tribun hoped, that the son was throughly engred with his father, and brought new complaints, and one matter or other against him, or some devise and overture, how to proceed in the commenced Action) and salutations passed to and fro between the Tribun and him, he said, that he was to talk with him apart out of all mens hearing. So the room being voided, and all commanded to depart far enough out of the way, he draweth out his skein: and leaping aloft upon the bed, stood there, and held it full bent against him, and threatned presently to give him the stab, unless he would swear the oath he should tender unto him, namely, never to call an Assembly or Hall of the Commons together about his fathers inditement, or impanel a Jury against him. The Tribun affrighted (seeing the naked weapon glittering before his face, himself all alone and unarmed, the other a tall and lusty young fellow, and, that which was as much to be feared as the rest, fool-hardy, and presuming upon his strength) took the oath in that form as he put it unto him. And afterwards he gave it out plainly and confessed (for his excuse) that by this means he was forced in spight of his heart, to surcease his suit, and give over his enterprise. But the Commons were not so much offended at the son, for giving such an adventure in his fathers quarrel: but they could have been more contented and better pleased, that it had lien in their power to have passed their voyces, for the condemnation of so cruel and proud a prisoner, as they had under their hands. And the more praise-worthy was this design of the son, because so great rigor of the father, wrought no alienation at all in his heart, from the affection at duty that he owed unto him. So not only the father escaped his arraignment, but this action of the young man turned to his own honour and preferment. For whereas, this year it was first ordained, that the * Tribuns or Colonels should be chosen by voyces of the legionary souldiers (for aforetime, as at this day, the Generals themselves made them, whom they call *Ruffuli*) in six places (for so many were elected) he obtained the second room: and that, in regard of no desert otherwise, either at home or abroad, which might win him this favour, as who had spent his youth in the country altogether, far from the civil society of men.

The kindness of *T. Manlius* to his father.

* A Tribun in a Legion, called *Chiliarchus*, i. a Colonel or leader of a 1000 [footmen].

The same year, by earth-quake or some other forcible violence, the common place called *Forum*, clave and opened wide, welneer in the mids, and sunk down to an exceeding depth: neither could that chink or pit be filled up, by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most puissance and greatness of the people of *Rome* consisted. (For the wisards prophesied, That if they would have the state of *Rome* to remain sure for ever, they should dedicate and offer it, whatsoever it was, unto that place.) And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that *M. Curtius*, a right hardy knight and martial young Gentleman, rebuked them therefore, because they doubted whether the Romans had any earthly thing better than armour and valor? Herewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes, and beheld the Temples of the immortal Gods, scituat neer to the *Forum*, and the Capitol likewise; and stretching forth his hands, one while toward Heaven, another while to the gaping chinks and gulf in the earth, toward the infernal spirits beneath, he offered and devoted himself to assured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly trapped and set out, as possibly he could devise, armed as he was at all pieces, he leapt Horse and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, threw in after him sundry gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plenty. The place was after called *Curtius Lacus*, of his name, and not of that *Curtius Metius* in the old time, who was a souldier under *Titus Tatius*. If I could by any means search out the truth, I would not spare for any pains in that behalf. But now seeing that by reason of antiquity the certainty is not fully known, we must go by the common voyce and report of men. And verily the name of the lake is more renowned and noble by occasion of this later and fresher tale, than the other.

M. Curtius his valor and resolution.

Curtius Lacus.

After the expiation of so great and prodigious a wonder, much consultation there was in the Senate that year, as concerning the Hernicks: for having sent their Heralds unto them for restoration of harms done, but to no effect, they determined with all convenient speed to propose unto the people, for to proclaim war against the Hernicks, and bid them defiance. The people generally with one voyce liked thereof, and approved it. The charge of that service and exploit fell to *L. Genutius* his lot, to undertake. Now for that he was the first Consul of the Commons that by his own auspices and conduct should manage war, the City was in great expectation of the sequel and issue: and according to the event that should fall out, good or bad in this journey, they were to judge, whether they had done well or amiss to communicat these dignities with the Commons.

L. Genutius Consul slain.

But it fortuned so, that *Genutius* being with great preparation and power set forth against the enemies, was entrapped by an Ambuscado, his legions upon a sudden fear unlooked for defeated, himself (the Consul) environed round about, and slain by them, that wilt not whom they slew. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, the Senators were not so pensive and sorrowful for the common calamity, as they fumed and took on most infolently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of the Commoner Consul: and muttered in all places these and such like speeches: "Now let them "go and create Consuls again out of the commonalty, and translate the *Auspicia* whither they "ought not. What? Because the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dis- "possessed of their dignities, could so inauspicate and irreligious a law prevail likewise against the "Gods immortal? Who now themselves have taken the matter into their own hands, and main- "tained their power, their deity and Auspices: which were not so soon medled withal, and pol- "luted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title, but both the whole army, and Captain "also, were vanquished and overthrown; to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their "solemn Elections of Magistrats confusedly, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble "houses. These speeches both Councel-House and common place rung again withal. So the Consul *Servilius* with consent of the Nobles, named for Dictator *Appius Claudius*, who had afore-time in an Oration before the whole assembly of the Commons, dissuaded the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authority blamed the mishap of that counsel, which was by him misliked and reproved. A muster was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dictator and these new enrolled legions were gone as far as the Hernicks confines, the other army under the leading of *C. Sulpitius* the Lieutenant, by occasion of an occurrent that fell out there, got a good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the Hernicks advanced in scornful and contemptuous manner, close under the camp of the Romans, with a full hope to be masters of the same; behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignity, wherewith the souldiers stomacks were full, they made a sally out against them. Whereupon the Hernicks came so far short of their accompt, that they had no hope to assail, no, nor approach the rampier: and so in disarray they dismarched and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictator with a fresh power, the old army was reenforced double. The Dictator in a solemn audience, having prailed the Lieutenant and his souldiers for defending their tents so manfully, both encouraged them that heard themselves so highly commended according to their deserts, and also whetted on the rest to perform the like valorous service. The enemies on the other side were nothing slack to prepare themselves to fight again: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, encreased their own power also. For the whole Nation of the Hernicks, even as many as were able to draw sword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisting of four hundred in a band were enrolled, even the most able and choice men of all others. This elect and especial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the more to this service, because they had taken order they should have double pay. Freed they were besides from all other labour and Military toil, that being thus reserved to intend the fight and nothing else, they should make reckoning and know, that they were to indeavour and strain themselves above the ordinary carriage of souldiers. Placed also they were in the battel, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and manhood might be more seen and marked. Between both camps of the Romans and Hernicks, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. First, the fight was doubtful on both sides, whiles the Roman Horsemen charged and recharged again, but ever in vain, to see if they could break their battailons. Thus when the service on Horseback, proved less in effect than in attempt, they asked the advise and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their Horses, and with a mighty shout, ran forth before the ensigns, and renewed the battel afresh. Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that those extraordinary bands opposed themselves, and received them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what slaughter there was by common hazard of war, as well of the one side as of the other, the loss was greater for the quality of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the common souldiers, as if they had shilted from themselves the whole conflict; and betaken it to the vanguards only, reposed their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was smitten down and dyed in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. "At last, those "Horsemen that dismounted, fell to call and rebuke one another, asking what hope remained else "besides? If neither on horseback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force "them to give ground and remove them, what third kind of service looked they for? Why leapt "they out so lustily and bravely into the forefront before the ensigns? and fought in the place of "others? With these words provoking one another, they pluckt up their hearts, and with a fresh shout set foot forward and gave a new charge. First, they compelled the enemies to retreat and lose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run away. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferently matched as they were, what it was that turned the ballance and gave the victory: unless it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts of the other. The Romans had the Hernicks in chase, all the way long, so far as to their camp: but because

A because it was far in the evening, they staid from assailing it. For by reason that it was long ere the Dictator could by sacrifice gather any assured token of Gods favour, he sounded not the battel before noon: whereby it continued until night. The morrow after, were the Hernicks fled and their camp abandoned: only some hurt and wounded souldiers were found left behind. But one troup of them that forsook their ensigns (when as neer unto their walls and forts their banners were discovered, slenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was scattered abroad over the fields, and in great fear straggled all about, and shamefully fled away. And yet this victory of the Romans cost them well the setting on, and spent some blood: for they lost a fourth part of their men: and that which was no small dammage unto them, some of the Roman Horsemen also were B slain.

The next year following, when *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius Calvus* the Consuls, were gone with a power against the Hernicks, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force won *Forentinum* a Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the Tyburts kept their gates shut against them. And after many complaints and unkindnesses ripped up between them: this last quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their Heralds (after restitution and amends demanded) to send defiance, and proclaim war against the people of *Tybur*. That *Titus Quintius Panus* was Dictator that year, and *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* General of his Horsemen, it is agreed upon by all authors. *Macer Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for Election of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul *Licinius*: because when his fellow Consul made hast C to have the Election before the war, thereby to continue his own Consulship, it was thought good to withstand and meet with his naughty desire in that behalf. But *Licinius* [*Macer*] in usurping to his name and family, that praise and commendation, maketh himself to be of less credit in writing of the rest: especially, seeing that in none of the old records, I find mention of any such matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the Gauls tumultuous war. For certainly that year they encamped themselves three miles from *Rome*, beyond the bridge of * *Anio*, in the way *Salaria*. The Dictator having proclaimed a Vacation, because of these troubles of the Gauls, received the Military oath of all the younger sort: and with a puissant army departed the City, and upon the very banck on this side of *Anio* pitched his tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they D would not break down on either part, lest they should be thought fearful cowards. But about the seizing and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmish: and judged it could not be, considering the equal forces of both sides, who should be masters of it. Then advanced forward unto the bridge (void of all guards) a mighty tall and big Frenchman, and as loud as ever he could set out a throat, maketh this challenge: Now (quoth he) let the braveſt gallant that *Rome* hath, come forth and spare not, to combat if he dare, that the event of us twain may shew whether nation is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youths of *Rome*; held their peace a good while, both abashed to refuse the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of a single fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, even he who released his father from the Tribuns troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. "Without your leave and expres E "commandment (quoth he) O Noble Soveraign, I would never presume to fight out of my ranck "and standing, no, not if I should see assured victory before mine eyes: but if it will please your "Excellency to give me licence, I will shew unto that beast yonder (that so proudly and lustily is "come forth leaping before the enemies ensigns, and braving as you see) that I am descended of "that house and race, that gave the whole army of the Gauls the foil, and turned them down the "Cliff *Tarpeia*. Then said the Dictator unto him, God blesse thee *T. Manlius*: On forth a Gods Name, in this thy dutiful mind and zeal that thou carriest both to father and Country: Go on I say, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows and companions help to arme the young Gentleman. A light footmans shield he takes unto him, and a Spanish blade by his side, more handsome to fight short and close. Being thus armed F and set out, they bring him forth against this vainglorious Gaul, set all upon joy ful foolishly, and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) scornfully lolling and blaring out his tongue. Then the rest departed every man to his own quarter and ward: and the two armed Champions were left in the midst, more like a festival spectacle and pageant to behold, than any fight in field, suiting to the manner, guise, and law of combat, considering they were not equally matched, if a man should judge by the eye and outward view. The one of them of personage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour of sundry colours and gay, his harness glittering and all damasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of a middle * stature of Souldiers, no great shew of armor, and that rather fit and handsome, than gaudy to behold: without any hooping, singing, and joyous vaunting of himself, without vain-flourishes G and shaking of his weapons in the air: but he had an heart full of resolute courage, stomack, and close anger within, reserving all his fierceness and eagerness unto the very combat and cryal of fight. As they stood thus between the two armies, and so many men all about looking on, in doubtful suspence between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been a huge mountain aloft over the other, ready to fall upon him, held forth his target with the left hand to bear off the sword of his enemy coming against him, and let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that it rebounded again upon his shield, and did no harm at all. The Roman bearing his own sword with the point upward, and with his shield having smitten the nether part of his enemies targer,

Tevetion.

T. Manlius to the L. General.

The combat between T. Manlius and a mighty big Gaul.

**Six foot high, or five foot and ten inches.*

and turned it aside, got with his whole body close within him, and without the danger of being hurt: and when he had wound himself between his enemies body and his swords point, he redoubled one or two soins, and thrust him up into the belly at the groin, and so overthrew him. There lay the Gaul along, and took up a great ground in length. When he was down, without any further mangling and tormenting his carcass, he despoiled him only of his colar of gold, which embrued asit was with blood, he did about his own neck. The Gauls with fear and admiration of this fight were astonied. The Romans with great cheerfulness came forth of their wards and quarters to meet their champion, and with great praise and congratulation brought him before the Dictator. And as they merily cast forth (as the manner of souldiers is) certain pleasant ditties, ballad-wise, but without artificial skill of poetry, they were heard to surname him **Torquatus*: which afterwards was taken up and commonly used, and became an honorable name to his posterity, and the whole house besides. Besides all this, the Dictator bestowed upon him a coronet of gold for a reward, and openly before the whole audience of the army, highly and wonderfully commended that fight of his. And certainly, that combat was of such consequence, and made so much to the event of the whole war, that the night next following, the host of the Gauls, fearfully abandoning their tents, departed into the Tyburtin country: and being drawn into a society of war with the inhabitants of **Tybur*, and liberally by them relieved with victuals, they passed within a while into *Campania*. Which was the cause that the next year, *C. Petilius Balbus* the Consul (when his fellow *M. Fabius Ambustus* was by lot, sent with commission against the Hernicks) led an army, by the appointment of the people, against the Tyburtins. To the aid of whom, when the French were returned out of *Campania*; there was foul spoil and havock made in the Lavican, Tusculan, and Alban territories, by the leading and conduct, no doubt of the Tyburtins. And whereas the State stood well contented that the Consul should be the General commander, against these enemies the Tyburtins; this new trouble and tumult of the Gauls, caused a Dictator for to be created. And that was *Q. Servilius Hala*, who named for his General of Horsemen, *T. Quintius*. And by the authority and assent of the Senators, he vowed to set out the great games, in case he sped well in this war. The Dictator having commanded the Consul with his army to tarry still, that by his own conduct of war he might keep in the Tyburtins, took the oath of all the younger people: and there was not one refused to go to the war. Not far from the gate *Collina* was this battel fought, in the sight of their Parents, Wives and Children. Great incouragements, doubtless, to cheer up and animate men, absent and far off: but now before their eyes, partly, for shame, and partly, for pitty and compassion, they set the souldiers all on fire. After much blood-shed on both sides, at the last the army of the Gauls turn back: and being put to flight, they made hast to *Tybur*; the very strength and fort of the Gauls war. But as they fled stragling one from another, they were encountred by the Consul *Petilius* not far from *Tybur*. And when the Tyburtins issued forth to succour them, they with the rest were beaten into the Town. Likewise the other Consul *Fabius*, first in small skirmishes, and at last in one notable pight field, vanquished the Hernicks, at what time as his enemies charged upon him with all their forces and whole puissance. The Dictator having highly commended the Consuls, both in the Senat-house and also in a publick assembly of all the people, and attributed the whole honour of his own Acts unto them, gave up the Dictatorship. *Petilius*, obtained a double triumph, over the Gauls and the Tiburts. For *Fabius* it was thought sufficient, that he should enter into the City Ovant, in a petty triumph. The Tyburtins scoffed and made good game at the triumph of *Petilius*. For, "where "was it (say they) that they encountred and joyned battel with us? There went forth indeed our "of the City gates a few of us to behold the slight and fright of the Gauls: but seeing our selves "also to be set upon, and killed one with another as we came in the way, we retired back, and "and got the City over our heads. And was that such a doughty deed, that the Romans should "think, it deserved a triumph? But that they may not deem it still, so noble and so wondrous an "Act, to make some stir, and raise a tumult in the enemies gates: they should themselves see short-"ly greater fearfulness, even under their own walls. Hereupon, the year following, when *M. Popilius Lenas*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, at the first watch of the night, they came from *Tybur* in warlike manner to the City of *Rome*. This sudden occurrent, happning so fearfully in the night season, stroke a mighty terrour into them, that hastily awakened out of sleep. Besides, many there were that wist not, either what enemies they were, or from whence they came. Howbeit they cryed Alarm with all speed, on every side. The gates were fortified with warders, the walls manned with strong guards. When as early in the morning, they were descried to be but a mean number of enemies before the Town, and those none other but Tyburtins; the Consuls sallied out at two gates, and assailed both wayes their forces, as they were now come under the walls ready to scale. Then was it seen that they were thither come presuming rather on the vantage of the time, than trusting in valour and manhood: so little were they able to abide the first brunt and charge given by the Romans. Furthermore, it was well known, that this their comming turned to the Romans good: for, the discord that was now breeding between the Senators and the Com, for fear of this so neer danger was quite staied. But in the next war that ensued the enemies came after another sort, and were more terrible to the fields and country, than to the City. For the Tarquinians over-ran all the marches of the Roman pale, wasting and spoiling all those parts, especially that border upon *Hetruria*. And after restitution & amends demanded, but to no effect, the new Coss. *C. Fabius* & *C. Plautius*, by the ordinance of the people proclaimed war against them. The rumors also

* Wearing a colar, or Carquan.

* Tivoli.

A also of the Gauls war began to be rise. But amid these manifold and fearful troubles, this was their comfort, that the Latins had peace granted unto them, upon their own sute: and from thence a great power was received, according to the ancient league, which for many years space, they had set pass and discontinued. The Roman forces by this aid well strengthned, made a lighter matter of it, when they heard that the Gauls were arrived already at *Preneste*, and were set down and encamped about *Pedum*. It was thought good, that *C. Sulpitius* should be chosen Dictator, named by *C. Plautius*, sent for to the same purpose. Unto whom *M. Valerius* was appointed for Commander of his Horsemen. These marched against the Gauls with the choice souldiers of two Consular armies. This was a lingring war and protracted longer a great deal, than both parties liked of. At the
B first, the Gauls only were sharp set and eager of battel: but afterwards the Roman souldiers, by rushing into fight and skirmish, exceeded far the fierceness and forwardness of the French. The Dictator was nothing pleased herewith, to put all upon the hazard of fortune, when there was no need at all, especially having to deal with that enemy, whom tract of time and disadvantage of the place, made daily worse and worse: being unprovided besides of victuals and making long abroad without any fenced fort: moreover, of that stomack and constitution of body, as served wholly for expedition and quick service, and by small delayes waxed feeble and faint. Upon these considerations the Dictator held off still and drew the war on length, and had proclaimed a grievous punishment, if any without his expres commandment should fight with the enemy. The souldiers could not well brook this: but first within their wards and watches began among themselves to carp at
C the Dictator: and otherwhiles they let flie at the LL. of the Senate in general, blaming them for their direction, in that the Consuls had not the managing of this war. They have chosen indeed (say they) a singular General on set purpose, a Captain alone, who thinks whiles he sitteth still and doth nothing, the victory will fall from Heaven, or flie into his very lap. After this they began openly abroad, and in the day time, to cast out the same, yea, and worse speeches too and more malepart: namely, that they would either fight, and ask the Dictator no leave, or go along in order of battel to *Rome*. The Centurions also joyned themselves to the souldiers: and not only in conventicles and knots together, there was whispering and grumbling: but in the very * *Principia*, yea, and within the quarter of the L. General his pavilion, were heard confused speeches together in one accord. So as the multitude began now to grow to a full assembly, and from all
D parts to call and cry aloud, to go presently to the Dictator: and that *Sex. Tullius* should in the name of the whole army speak unto him, as beseemed his vertue and courage. This *Tullius* now had been seven times already a primipilar or principal Centurion: neither was there in the whole army, of all those that served on foot, a man more renowned for feats of arms. He going before the army of footmen, stepped to the Tribunal. And when as *Sulpitius* marvailed not so much to see that company, as the leader of the company *Tullius*, who of all the souldiers had ever been in best order and most obedient. "This is the matter (quoth he) O Noble Dictator and nothing
E "else, The whole army in general, supposing themselves by you condemned of cowardice, and in a "manner to their utter shame abandoned, and disarmed, have intreated me to plead their cause "before your Majesty. And I for my part, I assure you, in case we might be charged to have lost "ground any where, in case we had turned our backs upon the enemy, in case we had lost our en-"signs shamefully, would think it yet a reasonable suit to be obtained at your hands, that you "would give us leave to amend that which is amiss, to correct our former fault with hardiness and "valour, and by some fresh and glorious exploit, to cancel the remembrance of so foul a foil and "shameful dishonor. Even those very Legions that were defeated and put to flight at *Allia*, after-"wards in their return from *Veii*, recovered the same country of theirs by valour, which they had "once before lost through cowardice. But we by the goodnes of God, through the felicity of your
F "self and the people of *Rome*, have hitherto kept both the army unfoiled, & honor unstained. And "yet I scarce dare say, honour; if so be, that not only our enemies may with all reproachful tearms "scorn and flout us, as if we were women pent in & mewed up close within our rampier: but also "you our General (the more is our grief) deem us your army to be heartless, handless & armour-"less: and before any tryal of us made, to despair of us, as if you took your self to be a Commander "& Leader of a sort of maimed & feeble persons. For what else may we think of it, that you, an old "experienced Captain and a most valiant warrior, should sit, as they say, with one hand in another, "doing nothing? for howsoever the truth is indeed, more meet it is, that you should be thought to "doubt of our valor, than we of yours. But if this be not a device of your own setting, but a publick "plot laid: and some matter agreed upon among the Senators at home, rather than any war of the "Gauls, keepeth us away from thence, confined as it were from the City & our own houses: then
G "I beseech you, what soever I shall say, you would think it as spoken not by the souldiers to their "Lord General, but by the Commons to the rulers and Senators. Whom say thus reply, that as ye "have your policies and counsels, so will they have their designs & wayes of their own likewise. "For who would think I pray you, that we are your souldiers, and not your slaves: sent to war, and "not into banishment? If any set out the banner of war unto us, lead us forth into the field, and "sound the battel, ready we are to fight like men, and like Romans: but if there be no need of war, "we will rather sit still at home than in the camp. And thus much, suppose as spoken to the Lords "of the Senat. But we thy souldiers, O worthy General beseech thee first to give us leave to fight, "then desirous are we to conquer and under thy standard and conduct to conquer: to present thee "with a glorious garland of lawrel, and in triumph to enter with thee into the City: and after thy

c "chariot

* A place in the camp.

The Oration of *Sex. Tullius* unto the Dictator.

"chariot to go up with joy and mirth to the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. This Oration H
of *Tullius*, the multitude seconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the General on every
side, to sound the alarm, and command them to arm. The Dictator, albeit he thought the mat-
ter in it self good, but not handled in good manner; and for example sake not to be allowed: yet
promised to satisfy the souldiers desire. "And calling *Tullius* secretly apart, questioned with him
"what this matter meant, what precedent or custom they had for their warrant? *Tullius* earnestly
"besought the Dictator, not to think him to have forgotten either military Discipline, or his own
"place, nor yet the Majesty of his Soveraign. And whereas he had not withdrawn himself away
"from the multitude being in a mutiny, nor refused to be their speaker (who lightly resemble
"those that are their ring-leaders) it was only for fear left some other should have kept in place, I
"such as the unruly people in mutinies are wont to set up for their Captains. As for himself, do
"nothing he would, without the pleasure of the General. Howbeit, he would advise him to look
"well about him, and carefully to see to it, that he keep his army in order, government, and obe-
"dience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For considering their hearts were
"kindled already, and their blood up, they would be their own carvers, and chuse themselves
"both time and place, if the General would not grant it them the sooner. Whiles they were
thus in sad communication, there hapned two Roman souldiers to take perforce from a Gaul cer-
tain sumpter Horses, which feeding without the camp, he was driving away. At whom, the Gauls
let flye stones good store. And thereupon rose an alarm from the Roman *Corps de guard*, and run-
ning out there was apace, on both sides. So as now they had grown to a full skirmish and battel K.
indeed, had not the Centurions speedily stickled them, and ended the fray. Upon which occur-
rent, the credit of *Tullius* with the Dictator was confirmed: and seeing the case would abide no
delayes, he proclaimed battel against the morrow. The Dictator notwithstanding he had yeelded
to fight a field, as presuming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces: began to de-
vise with himself, and cast about every way, how by some stratagem he might strike a terrour a-
mong the enemies. And having a subtle wit and nimble head of his own, this new policy he
thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our own country, and of others also,
The stratagem of *C. Sulpitius* the Dictator. yea, and some even in our time, have used and put in practise. He gave order, that the mules
sumpters should be taken off their backs, leaving only two courie twillies or coverings upon them,
and setteth the muletors aloft thereon, furnished with the armour of certain captives, and sick L
and diseased persons. Of these he made wel-neer one thousand, and joyned unto them one hun-
dred good Horsemen. All these, he chargeth in the night time to get above the camp into the hills,
and among the Furs and woods, to bestow themselves close: and not to stir from thence, before
that he gave them a signal. Himself, so soon as it was day light, began with great wariness and
considerate care to embattel and arrange his army in length along the very foot of the mountains:
to the end, that the enemy might have the hills full against him. Thus having set out and directed
these counterfeit cornets of Horse, to scare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good
in a manner, than the other forces indeed: at the first the vanguard of the Gauls thought that the
Romans would not come down on even ground: but afterwards, when they saw them upon a
sudden descended, they also, as desirous of fight, ran on forward presently to joyn battel, and be- M
gan the fight before the Captains had sounded. The Gauls charged the right wing more fiercely,
so that hardly they might have been abidden, had not by good hap the Dictator been there in per-
son. "Who called upon *Sextus Tullius* by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether he had
"given his word unto him, that the souldiers should in that sort fight? What is become (quoth
"he) of these, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battel? Where are those threats
"now, that they would begin to fight a field without commandment of the General? Lo, your
"General himself calleth upon you as loud as he can, to fall to your business, and goeth armed be-
"fore the ensigns in the vanguard: will any now follow after that erewhile would needs lead the
"way afore? Fierce (I see well) in camp fearful in the field. And no fable it was that they heard
"him speak. Whereupon for very shame they were so pricked forward, that without casting any N
perils, or minding present danger, they ran upon the darts and shot of their enemies. This vio-
lence of theirs, as if they had been welneer out of their right wits, at the very first troubled and dis-
ordered the enemies. The Horsemen that were sent out hard after them, forced them to turn back,
when they were once in disarray. The Dictator himself seeing the battel of one side to shrink, ad-
vanced forward with the ensigns against the left wing, unto which he saw the main multitude to
resort and gather together, and withal he gave the sign to them that were within the hills, accor-
ding as it was before agreed. And when from thence also a new shout arose, and that they were
seen to march side-long overthwart the hill, toward the Gauls camp: then for fear left they should
be shut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heaps to their camp. Where
M. Valerius the General of the Horsemen encountred and affronted them. For he seeing the right O
wing discomfited had set a compass about, and ridden to the fortifications and munitions of the
enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountains and the woods. Most of them were received by
the counterfeit shew of Horsemen, and by the muletors caught up, and came short home: but as
many of them as fear drave through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battel was past)
cruelly slain and hewn in pieces. Neither was there any one, setting *M. Furius* aside, that triumphed
more worthily over the Gauls, than did *C. Sulpitius*. He consecrated also in the Capitol a good
weighty mass of gold, got out of the Gauls spoil, and compassed it within an enclosure of square
stone.

A stone. The same year, the Consuls likewise warred, but with diverse fortune and success. For by
C. Plautius, the Hernicks were vanquished and subdued. But his companion *Fabius* fought rash-y
and unadvisedly against the Tarquinians. The loss in the battel received, was not so much, but
that the Tarquinians sacrificed three hundred and seven Roman souldiers, whom they took pri-
soners. This foul and shameful execution, caused the ignominy of the Roman defeat afore to be
much more notable, and talked of abroad. Besides this loss, was the Roman territory much
wasted (to help the matter withal) by the Privernats, and after them by the Veliterns, who made
sudden inrodes into the Country. The same year also were two more Tribes added, *Pomptina*
and *Publicia*. The votive solemn playes or games likewise, which *Marcus Furius* the Dictator
B had vowed, were then set forth and performed.

Then and never before was the first law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribun of the A law against ambitious seeking for offices of government.
Commons, and that by the consent and approbation of the Senators, against the excessive suit and
ambitious standing for dignities. By which law men supposed, that the ambition principally of
certain persons new risen and of the first head, who were wont to haunt fairs and places of great
resort for that intent, was repressed and kept under. But the year ensuing, when *C. Martius* and
Cn. Manlius were Consuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Menenius* two Tribuns of the Commons, went
through with a law and got it enacted, which was not so well liked of the Senators, to wit, con-
cerning Usury of one in the hundred. But the Commons were so much the more forward and A law against usury.
better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and besides those new wars the year before intend-
C ed, the Falisci were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended against them;
One, for that their youth had served against the Romans under the Tarquinians: the other, be-
cause they had not delivered again those Romans which fled unto *Falerii*, after their defeat and
unlucky fight, notwithstanding the Heralds had made claim unto them and demanded them.
This Province fell to *Cn. Manlius*. But *Martius* had the leading of an army into the Land of the
Privernats, which by reason of long peace was unfoiled yet, and in very good state, and thereby
enriched his souldiers with good prizes. For, to the plenty and store that there was found, he
added his own bounty and liberality; in that he set out nothing for the common Treasury, but
favoured the souldiers, and gave them leave to better their own private estate. The Privernats
lay strongly encamped before their own City: and when he had assembled all his souldiers toge-
D ther; "Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies camp and their City for a booty, so you
"will promise me to quit your selves like men, and to be as ready to fight as to spoil. Hereupon,
with a great cry they call for the Signal of battel: and so advancing forward and exalting them-
selves bravely and couragiously, with assured hope of victory, to battel they go. There, even
before the ensigns in the vanguard, *Sextus Tullius*, of whom we spake before, cryed out aloud,
Behold, Noble General (quoth he) how thine army performeth their word given unto thee:
and therewith laying down his Javelin, with drawn sword confronteth the enemy. Then fol-
low after *Tullius*, all they that fought in the vanguard before the Standards, and at the first shock
put the enemies to flight, followed the chase and drave them into the Town. And as they were
scaling the Walls, the Town was rendred up into their hands. So he triumphed over the Pri-
E vernats. By the other Consul there was no worthy exploit done, but that as he lay encamped
before *Suessium*, he proposed a law to pass by the Tribes, (a course never taken before, and with-
out example) concerning a twentith part or vicesime, to be levied of their goods that were made
free. The Lords of the Senat (because by that Act there accrewed no small revenue to the Exche-
quer, that was now wasted) allowed thereof and gave their assent. But the Tribuns of the Com.
moved not so much at the quality of the law in it self, as at the dangerous precedent given, or-
dained under pain of death, That no man ever after should in making of laws withdraw the peo-
ple apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never so per-
nicious to the people, but it might be enacted by souldiers, that have sworn to their Consuls al-
legeance, and were at his devotion. The same year was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the suit of *M. Popi-*
F *lius Lenas*, condemned upon his own statute in * 10000 Asses, for that he together with his son, * 26 lib. 13 sh.
was possessed of a thousand acres of Land, and under colour of freeing his son, he had deluded
the statute in that case provided.

After this, the two Consuls *M. Fabius Ambustus* the second time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the
second time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the Tyburtins was performed with
ease and facility. For having driven the enemies into the Town, he forraged their fields. But in
the other war, the Falisci and the Tarquinians, discomfited in the first battel the other Consul.
Their greatest fear arose upon this occasion. For, their Priests carrying afore them light burn-
ing torches, and snakes besides, went after a lunatick and frantick manner, and with so strange
and uncouth a shew troubled and disordered the Roman souldiers. And therewithal, at that ve-
G ry instant the souldiers, as if they had been distracted, besides themselves, and astonied, dismar-
ched fearfully and stumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their camp: But after,
when as the Consul, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rated them, for being scared like
children with these vain bugbears: for shame suddenly they took heart again, and like blind
men ran upon those very same things, that before they had fled from. And so after they had dis-
patched this vain devise and preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed,
discomfited their whole army and put them to flight: and being the same day masters of their
camp, with a rich booty returned victors, both recounting in their military merry ditties and
songs,

songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their own fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the Tuscans arose, having for their leaders the Tarquinians and the Falisci, and came as far as *Sallinæ*. Against which fearful danger, was *C. Martius Rutilius* chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commoners: who named for his General of the Horsemen a Commoner likewise *C. Plantius*. But the Senators thought this a shameful indignity, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in common: and did all they could possibly to hinder, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But so much the sooner, and with more readiness, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the City, and marched on both sides of the *Tyber* (transporting his army in boats and planks fastned together) to what place soever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many forragers of them, as they wandred and straggled one from another, in the fields. He set upon their camp also, and won it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slain or chased all the rest out of the Roman pale: he triumphed, by the suffrages of the people only, without the approbation and assent of the Senators. And for asmuch as they would not in any case have an assembly for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictator a Commoner, or by the Consul: and because the other Consul *Fabius* was busied abroad in the wars, and not returned; therefore, the matter fell again to an Interreign. So there were Interregents one after another, *Q. Servilius Hala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *L. Æmylius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. During the second Interreign, there arose some variance, for that both Consuls were *Patritii*, *i.* of the Nobles. And when the Tribuns interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, *Fabius* the Interregent, alledged a Law out of the twelve tables in these terms, *That whatsoever the people ordained or granted last, the same should be good, and stand firm and ratified*: and in suffrages and voyces of the people, were comprised their grant and ordinance. But when the Tribuns, for all their gainsaying and stepping between, could privail no more, but to prorogue the * Comices for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*: who the same day they were chosen, entred into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons lost the Consulship again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Consuls of the *Patritii*, upon the Interreign, began to govern, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*. The same year was *Empulum* won from the Tyburtins, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the war was managed, as some have written: or that about the same time the Tarquinians Country was by the Consul *Sulpitius* over-run and wasted, whiles *Valerius* led forth a power against the Tyburts. But more ado had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribuns. The Consuls thought now, it concerned them in trust and credit, as well as in vertue and valour, that as they, being *Patritii* both of them, had received the Consulship, so they should make over the same again to twain of the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if so be the Consulship should now become a Commoners dignity: or else to keep it wholly in their possession, whereof they were first seized intirely, in right of their ancestours. On the other side, the Commons fumed and stormed in these and such like terms. "What should we live any "longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In case, that which was first got by the vertue "and power of two only persons, *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius*, we cannot now all of us together "hold and keep? Certainly, better we were to endure the KK. and Decemvirs again, or any o- "ther heavier and more fearful name of absolute and Lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of "the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part setled in "the place of rule for ever, should think us, the Commons, born for nothing else but to obey and "serve. The Tribuns themselves were nothing behind to set forward these troublesome mutinies. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly seen above the rest in the action. And when as they were come down into *Mars* field sundry times to assembly, but ever to no purpose and effect, and that many Comitial dayes of assembly were passed over, only in seditious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the stiffness and obstinacy of the Consuls, took the matter so grievously to the heart, that when the Tribuns brake forth into these speeches; "Now farewel freedom for ever: now are we driven, "not only to forbear coming into *Mars* field, but also to abandon and forsake the City, taken "captive and oppressed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles, and therewithal departed: the Commons "with sorrowful cheer did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus left destitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobility both, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, and *T. Quintius*. In some annals or yearly records, I find Coss. *M. Popilius*, instead of *T. Quintius*.

In that year, were two wars performed with prosperous success. And the Tyburtins were fought withal until they yeelded. From them was the City *Sassula* won by force: and other Towns had tasted of the same fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercy. He triumphed over the Tyburtins: otherwise the conquest was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution. But the Tarquinians were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them slain in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof

C Martius Rutilius first Dictator of the Commons.

* *i.* The assembly of the people.

XVII

XIX

A whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to *Rome*. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither sped they better at the peoples hands that were sent to *Rome*. For in the mids of the *Forum*, were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, for sacrificing the Romans in the market place of the Tarquinians. This good success in war caused the Samnits also to seek for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senat, and so upon covenants they were received into society. But the Commons sped not so well at home in the City, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the Usury was well eased by bringing it down from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were overcharged with the payment of the
B very principal, and became bond and thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Com. in regard of their privat streights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consuls of the Nobles, nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publick affairs. Still the two Consulships remained among the *Patritii*. And created there were Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola* the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amused upon the Tuscan war, by reason that the news went, how that the people of *Cære*, for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of consanguinity, took part with the Tarquinians: behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the Volscians. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them en-
C ter the territory of *Rome*, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to neglect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to cast lots for their several Provinces and charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the Tuscan war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpitius* the Consul his letters, whose commission was against *Tarquinii*, that the countrey was wasted and spoiled all about the Roman-*Salina*, [or Salt-pits] and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the Cærits: and that the youth of that people were doubtless employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the Volscians, and encamped in the marches of *Tusculum*, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator. Who named *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, and he taking to him *A. Cornelius Cossus* for his General of
D the Horsemen, contenting himself with his Consular army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed war against the Cærits, and sent them defiance. Then were the Cerits afraid of war indeed, and not afore, as though there had been more force in their enemies bare words, to denounce and signify war, than in their own deeds, who by spoiling and plundering, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were overmatched and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wast and spoil, cursing the Tarquinians for soliciting them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespass and offence. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they besought the Gods, whose
E sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished, That the Romans now in their flourishing estate, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distress. And turning to the chappels of *Vesta*, they called upon the Flamins and Vestal Virgins, sometime their guests, whom they so chastly and religiously had received and given intertainment unto, saying in this wise. "Would "any man believe we had deserved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be re- "puted enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat smelling of hostility, would any man impute "it rather to deliberat counsel, than to some fit of heat and folly? And that we would blemish and "mar our own good deserts, especially conferred and bestowed upon so thankful persons, with "new misdeeds and shrewd turns? and chuse to make the people of *Rome* their enemies now in
F "their wealthy and flourishing State, and in their most happy felicity of war: whose friendship in "their adversity we had embraced? Beseeching them not to term that considerate advise, which "rather were to be called force and necessity. For the Tarquinians, say they, passing with a cruel and "puissant army through our country & requesting nothing but away, had drawn with them some "of our rustical Peasants, to assist them only in serching of that booty, which now so heavily is "laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yeelded, we are ready to deliver them: if "to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their City *Cære*, the very "sanctuary of the people of *Rome*, the harbour and habitation of their Priests, the place of receit "for the Roman sacred images and reliques, they would grant unto them safe from the calamity of "war, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the professed vestal Virgins sake,
G "so kindly intertained, and for the love of the Gods, by them so devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present cause, as for their old deserts and good turns to forget, rather the harm sustained than the good received. Whereupon, the people of *Cære* were pardoned: & agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be registred among the Acts of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the Falisci, who were tainted likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found. They wasted therfore all over their confines: & forbare to assail their Towns. So they withdrew their legions to *Rome*. The rest of the year was employed in repairing their wals & Towers: and the Temple of *Apollo* was dedicated.

XX

The Embassadors of *Cære*, to the people of *Rome*.

dicated, In the very end of the year, the contention between the Senators and the Commons, brake off the Election of the Consuls: whiles the Tribuns stifly denied to suffer any assembly therefore to be holden, unless it were according to the Law *Licinia*. And the Dictator again was as stoutly and stifly bent, to abolish wholly out of the City the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobility and common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictator left his office, and the matter grew to an Interreign. And the Interregents, finding ever the Commons maliciously set against the Senators, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interregent: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribuns they called on hard for the maintenance of the Law *Licinia*. The Commons, they had an inward grief that stuck neerer to them, upon the excessive usury that still increased: and each mans privat care and grievance, brake out in their publick contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senat weary of these troubles, commanded *L. Cornelius Scipio* the Interregent for the time being, for concord and unity sake, in the Election of Consuls to observe the Law *Licinia*. So *P. Valerius Publicola*, had joyned with him in fellowship of government, *Caius Martius Rutilus*, one of the Commons.

Now whiles mens minds were enclined once to concord, the new Consuls labouring to ease also this matter of usury, the only spill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the general agreement; took order publickly for the payment of debts, by creating five officers or *Quinquevirs*, whom of the dispensing and disposing of the publick monies, they called *Mensarii*. And surely, for their equity and careful diligence, they deserved in all monuments and records to be remembred and renowned. And these they were, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Publius*, and *T. Æmylius*; who underwent and managed this matter, so intricat and difficult to be dealt in: so grievous and combersome to both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least. Which they performed both with indifferent moderation otherwise, and also with some cost and defray of charge, rather than any loss and dammage to the State. For the long debts and more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slackness and negligence, than their want of ability, either the City out of the common stock crossed out of the book, by setting up certain counters or tables with ready coin in the publick Hall (provided, that there were good security unto the City by sureties and cautions put in aforehand) or else the goods of men valued at indifferent and reasonable prices discharged. So as not only without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mighty deal of debts was satisfied and paid.

Five bankers instituted, called *Mensarii*.

All debts cleared in *Rome*.

After all this, a vain fear of the Tuscan war, upon a false Alarm given, that their twelve Nations conspired and were confederate together, caused a Dictator to be chosen. So *C. Julius* was named in the camp: for thither to the Coss, was the patent of the Senats decree sent. And to him was joyned as General of the Horsemen, *L. Æmylius*. But all was quiet without the City: Within the City the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patritii: which brought the government for the time to an Interreign. And the two Interregents that were in that while (*to wit*) *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Fabius*, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vain: namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobility: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the fresh benefit received, in the easement and satisfying of their debts. So there were chosen *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, he, who was the former of the twain that gave over the Interreign, and *T. Quintius Pænus*. Some there be that give to *Quintius* the addition of *Caso* for his surname [and of *Caius* for his forename.] Both of them went forth to war; *Quintius* against the Falisci, and *Sulpitius* against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made war with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingring continuance, as it were of a languishing consumption, the stubbornnes of both Nations was so wel tamed, that they made petition first to the Consuls, and by their permission after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the same for the term of forty years. Thus the care was laid aside of the two wars, which seemed so neer at hand. And whiles there was some rest from Arms, it was thought good because the payment of debts above said, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there should be held a general Sessing of the citizens. But, when there was an assembly summoned for the chusing of Censors, *C. Martius Rutilus* professing himself to stand for a Censorship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unity of the States of the City. This he went about (as it seemed) in a very undue and unseasonable time. For, both Consuls were then of the Nobility, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admit him to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. Howbeit, both he by earnest perseverance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribuns with all their might endeavouring to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, set to their helping hand. And as the countenance and Majesty of the man himself, seemed worthy of the highest type of honor: so the Commons were right willing, that by the same man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Censorship also should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with *Manlius Nevius*, *Martius* should be created Censor. This year likewise had a Dictator, *M. Fabius*, not for any fear of war, but because the Law *Licinia*, for the choice of Consuls, should not be revived and observed. The General of the Horsemen unto the Dictator was *Q. Servilius*. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls

C. Martius Rutilus a Commoner, chosen one of the Censors.

A Consuls no more force then it was in the chusing of the Censors. For *Popilius Lenas* was Consul, of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And the commoner Consull, by good fortune, proved more famous of the twain. For when upon tidings brought, that a mighty army of the Gauls were encamped in the Latine country, this Gauls war was laid extraordinary upon *Popilius*, because *Scipio* lay grievously sick. Who having soon levied an army, and commanded all the younger men, to meet him in their armour at *Mars* his Church, without the gate *Capena*, and that the Questors should bring thither the Standards and ensignes out of the *Aerarium*. [City chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully four Legions, he delivered all the residue of souldiers unto *P. Valerius Publicola*, the Pretor: and moved the LL. of the Senat to enroll another army to be in readiness, against all uncertain occurrents of war, what need soever the City

B should have. And now himself being at all points throughly furnished, setting forward to meet the the enemie. Whose power because he would know, before he had triall therof with the uttermost hazard, he began to cast a trench and raise a rampier upon the next hill unto the Gauls camp, that he could come unto. The Gauls, a fierce kind of people and by nature eager of fight, having discovered afar of the Roman ensignes, embattelled themselves forthwith, as ready to bid battel. But when they saw the Roman army not brought forth into the plain and even ground, but that they were strongly defended, not only by the height of the place, but also with a ditch and palisado, and supposing them to be smitten with fear, and the fitter therefore to be assailed, for that they were at that instance busily occupied about their other fortifications; with an hideous noise and horrible shout, gave the charge upon them. The Romans gave over their work never the C sooner (they were the Triarii of the rereward that made their fortifications) but the spearmen or javelineers of the vanguard, and the *Principes* of the middle ward, who stood ready armed in guard for the defence of the pioners, made head and received them with fight. Besides their valour, the higher ground was their vantage: so as all their darts and spears light not in vain (as commonly they do that are flung and lanced on levell ground) but stuck all fast as being poised with their own weight: so that the Gauls being surcharged with darts either sticking through their bodies, or fast set in their shields, and so weighing them down; having also run themselves upon the hil; first, as doubtfull what to do, made stay, afterwards, when protracting of time had discouraged themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven back and fell one upon another; and in that confusion made greater havock and worse, then the slaughter was by the enemy: and crush-

D ed they were to death, more in that croud and thrust, then were slain by sword. Yet were not the Romans sure of victory: for when they were come down into the plain, there was a new piece of work to begin, and a fresh trouble behind. For the Gauls, by reason of their number, little feeling such a losse (as if a new army had started up in fight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh souldiers and unfoiled, against the enemy in his victory. Whereupon the Romans made a stand and staied their eagernesse: both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new conflict: and all for that the Consul, whiles he laid about him with the formost, without regard of his own person, was wounded well neer the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while was departed out of the battell. By occasion of which lingring, the victory had like to have been lost again: but that the Consul when his wounds were dressed and bound up, came back again

E with speed to the formost ensigns, and said: Why stand you still sirs? ye have not to deal now, with the Latins or Sabins your enemies, whom after ye have conquered by the sword, ye may make of enemies friends and confederats: but upon very savage beasts we have drawn sword. Either we must have their blood, or they ours. From the camp ye have driven them back: chased ye have them headlong down the hill side: over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: fill the plain "also with their dead carkases, as ye have done the hils already: and never look that they will "flie, so long as ye stand still. You must advance your ensigns, and charge the enemy afresh. With these exhortations they fell to it the second time, and forced the former rankes and files of the Gauls to lose ground: and then with pointed close battalions of footmen, they brake through into the heart of the main battell. Whereupon the barbarous people being distracted, such as had

M. Popilius Lenas, the Consul exhorteth his souldiers to fight.

F neither certain directions to follow, nor Captains to command, turned their force upon their fellows, were scattered here and there about the plains, fled in this pursuit beyond their tents, and made toward the fort of *Alba*; which among many hils that stood of even height, they espied mounting above the rest. The Cos. followed the chase no farther than their camp: both because his hurt made himself unwieldie, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired army to a new labour, considering the enemy had gained the hils tops, and so rested from farther pursuit. And when he had given the whole pillage of the camp to his souldiers, he brought back to *Rome* his army with victory, and inriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The Consul his wound staid his triumph, which was a cause also that the Senat wished and longed for a Dictatour, to hold the assembly for

G for the Election of Consuls, whiles the other were sick. *L. Furius Camillus* being chosen Dictator, had joyned unto him *P. Cornelius Scipio* for his Generall of the horsmen. He restored again to the Senators their ancient possessing of the Consulship: and for this good turn, was himself with exceeding affection of them all, created Consull. And for his companion he chose unto him *App. Claudius Crassus*. But before the new Consuls entred unto their office, *Popilius* with great love and favour of the Commons triumphed over the Gauls: who mumbling and muttering among themselves, would often ask one another, whether there were any repented of a Commoner Consul: rating withall at the Dictator, who despising

Papilius a Commoner triumpheth.

the law *Licinia*, had got for his reward a Conſulſhip; which was more ſhamefull and infamous, H
in regard of his privat ſeeking for it, (for being Dictator he had made himſelf Conſul:) then for any
publick harm and injury. This year for many and ſundry troubles was very famous. The Gauls from
the Alban woods (for that they were not able then to endure the cold of winter) ranged all over
the Champian and ſea-coaſts, and waſted the country. The ſeas likewiſe were dangerous by rea-
ſon of the Greeks navy. Alſo all the tract along *Antium*, and the river of *Laurentum*, even to the
very mouth of *Tyber*. So as the rovers and men of war by ſea, and the land robbers of the
French, met both together, and ſtrück once for all a dangerous battell: and then departed aſun-
der, the French unto their ſtanding camp, the Greeks back unto their ſhips: both doubtfull, whe-
ther they had won or loſt. Amid theſe troubles, the greateſt fear by far, aroſe from this, that the I
Latine Nation held certain Diets and Councels at the grove of *Ferentina*; and when the Romans
demanded ſouldiers from them, flat anſwer was made, That they muſt no more think to command
"them whoſe aid they ſtood need of. And as for the Latins, they were reſolved rather to bear
"arms in defence of their own liberty, then fight for the maintenance of the dominions of ſtran-
"gers. The Senat being grieved and perplexed as well for theſe two forrain wars, as alſo for the
revolt of their confederats, ſeeing no other way, but to keep them in by fear, whom loialty
would not reſtrain, commanded their Conſuls in their muſtring, to extend and ſtrain to the ut-
moſt the whole ſtrength of the State: for now that their Allies failed them, they were to truſt up-
on their City forces onely. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the country, as
within the City were taken up, and ten legions (as men ſay) were enrolled of ſouldiers, amounting K
to 4200. foot and 300. horſe in a legion. Which puiſſant army, if now at this day any forrain
wars were toward, theſe mighty forces of the people of *Rome*, which the whole world is hardly
able to contain, if they were united and brought into one together, would not eaſily make again:
ſo great are we grown in wealth only and ſuperfluous delights, to which we ſtrive and apply our
minds.

Among other heavy occurrents of that year, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Conſuls, in the very
preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved upo
on *Camillus*. To which ſole Conſul, either for his quality and worthineſſe otherwiſe (not meet to
be controlled by the abſolut command of a Dictator) or for the lucky preſage of his name ſo for-
tunate in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and L
convenient that there ſhould be a Dictatour adjoyned. The Conſuls having ordeined and appoin-
ted two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Pinarius*,
bearing in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himſelf, without caſt-
ing lots therefore: commanding the *Pretor* to keep the ſea-coaſts; and to put the Greeks back
from landing on the ſhore. He went himſelf down into the country of *Pomptinum*, and becauſe
he was not willing to give battell in the champian, unforced thereunto; and thought the enemy
might be wearied out well enough by keeping him ſhort, for forraging and fetching in booties,
who of neceſſity was driven to live of prey, choſe a convenient place for a ſtanding camp. Where,
as they paſſed the time quietly in their wards, as a ſetled Garriſon: there cometh forth a mighty
Gaul in perſon tall and beg, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his ſhield and M
ſpear together, and thereby making ſilence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter
The combat between a Gaul and *Valerius* ſurnamed thereupon *Corvinus*. the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Colonell of footmen, and a
very young man, who thinking himſelf nothing leſs worthy of that honour than *T. Manlius*, having
firſt known the Conſul his pleaſure, advanced himſelf forth apart from the reſt, armed at all points.
But this conflict (as touching the proweſs of themen) was leſs notable than the other, by reaſon that
the hand of God came between & took a part. For as the Roman was ready to joyn and grope, be-
hold ſuddenly a raven ſetled upon the creſt his of morion, even ful in the face of his enemie. Which
at the very firſt, the Colonell took joyfully as a token of good luck ſent from heaven. Afterwards
he praied devoutly, that the God or goddeſſe whoſoever, that ſent unto him from above
that augurall foul, to preſage and foreſignifie the future event, would be favourable and gracious N
unto him. And lo, (a wonder to be ſpoken) the bird not only held the place ſtill, which it firſt
light upon, but alſo, as often as the champions buckled and cloſed together, mounting up with the
wings made at the eies and the face of the enemie, with beak and claws both, ſo long, until *Valerius*
killeth him. For the Gaul being affrighted at this ſo ſtrange & wondrous a fight, both his eies dazzle-
ed, and his mind was mightily troubled. Then the raven took his rife, flew on high quite out of
ſight towards the Eaſt. All the while the camp on both ſides was quiet hitherto. But after that
the Colonel began to riſle and diſarme the Body of the ſlain enemy, neither could the French
keep themſelves within their Stations, nor the Romans contein, but run with more ſpeed unto
their Conquerour champion. And ſo about the bodie of the Gaul that lay along dead, began
ſome skirmiſh, and thereof grew a ſharp and cruell battel: for now not only the companies O
of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but alſo the whole legions on both ſides, came a-
broad and fought. *Camillus* commanded the ſouldiers, joyous for the victory of the Colonell,
joyous alſo for the gods, ſo favourable and ready to help, for to go to battell: and ſhewing very
often unto them the Colonell, ſet out bravely and enriched with the ſpoiles of his enemie,
"Follow this brave gentleman, good ſouldiers (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the
"Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the help of God
and manevidently: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtfull conflict: both
armies

armies had ſo conceived and deeply imprinted before hand in their mind, the future event of theſe
two ſouldiers that had fought together. Between the formoſt, whoſe concurſe had raiſed others,
there was a ſharp conflict: but the reſt of the multitude, turned back before they came to the
volley of darts. And firſt they were ſcattered along the Volſcian and Falern countries: but after-
ward they took their waies toward *Apulia* and the lower Adriatick ſea.

The Conſul having aſſembled the ſouldiers to an audience, ſolemnly before them all, commen-
ded the Colonell, and rewarded him with ten oxen and a coronet of gold. Himſelf, by direction
from the Senat, to attend the war by ſea, joyned camp with the Pretor. And there, becauſe through
the cowardize of the Greeks that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long
B and lingring, he nominated, by the authority of the *Senat*, *T. Manlius Torquatus* for the Dicta-
tour, to hold the Election of Conſuls. The Dictatour having named for his Generall of horſmen,
A. Cornelius Coſſus, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for
Conſul one like himſelf, and tracing the ſteps of his own vertue and glory, *M. Valerius Corvi-
nus* (for that was his ſurname afterwards) in his abſence: a young man, I ſay, three and twenty
years old. *To Corvinus* was adjoyned companion in government a Commoner, *M. Poplius Lenas*
the fourth time. *Camillus* performed no memorable exploit with the Greeks: for neither were the
Greeks good ſouldiers on land, nor the Romans at ſea. At the laſt being kept from landing; and
failing, beſides other neceſſaries, of freſh water, they left *Italy*. Of what people, or of what nation
in Greece this fleet conſiſted, is not certainly known. I would think verily, that they were the Ty-
C rants or potentats of Sicily, above all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and
toiled out with civill wars, much feared the greatneſſe of the Macedonians. After the armies were XXVII
diſcharged, and that both abroad there was peace, as alſo at home quietneſſe, through the unity
of the States (leſt they ſhould be glutted with too much joy, behold a peſtilence aroſe in the City
and conſtrained the Senat to command the Decemvirs, to overlook the books of *Sibylla*: and by
direction thereof, was a *Lectiſternie* celebrated. The ſame year there was a Colony drawn out
of the Antiats, to people *Satricum*, and the town was repaired for them, which the Latins had
deſtroied. Alſo there was at *Rome* a league concluded with the Carthaginian Embaſſadours, who
came of purpoſe to ſue for ſociety and amity. The ſame reſt continued ſtill both at home and a-
D broad, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plautius* the ſecond time were Conſuls. The uſury
which was before after one in the hundred, became now but half ſo much. The paiment of debts
was diſpenſed & ordered into three years by even portions, ſo as a fourth part ſhould be paid out
of hand. And albeit ſome of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senat
had more regard to ſee credit kept with the chamber of the City, then of the difficulties of pri-
vat perſons. The greateſt matters were well eaſed, in that they forbare to collect the tribute and to
muſter ſouldiers.

The third year after that *Satricum* was reedified by the Volſcians, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the
ſecond time Conſul with *C. Petilius*, upon news of *Latium*, that Embaſſadors from *Antium*
went about to the nations of the *Latins*, ſoliciting them to riſe up in arms, was commanded to
make war upon the Volſcians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put himſelf on his
E journey with a fierce at my toward *Satricum*. Whither when as the Antiats and other Volſcians
were come to meet him, with a power provided aforehand, againſt any preparations from *Romé*,
preſently without any ſtay they joyned battel, as being through a deep ſetled and long hatred, ma-
litiouſly bent one againſt the other. The Volſcians, a nation more haſty to rebell, than hardy to
fight, being defeated in a battel, fled amain and highed apace to put themſelves within the wals of
Satricum. But when the wals were not able to ſave them, for that the town being environed and
inveſted round with ſouldiers, was ready to be taken by ſcaling, there were upon 4000. of them,
beſides the common ſort not meet for ſervice, that yeelded themſelves. The town was raſed down
and burnt; only they ſpared the firing of *Matutas* church. And the whole ſaccage and ſpoil was
beſtowed upon the ſouldiers. But there were not compriſed within this booty, the 4000 that
F yeelded. Thoſe the Conſul in his triumph cauſed to be led bound before his chariot: and after that
ſold them, & brought a round ſum of money into the treaſury. Some write, that this number of cap-
tives, were bondſlaves. And that is more like to be true, than that they ſhould be ſold, who yeel-
ded themſelves. After this followed Conſuls, *M. Fabius Dorſuo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*. XXVIII
Then began the Auruncan war upon a ſudden invaſion that they made. And for fear left the
action of that one State and City, had been the reſolution of the whole Latine nation and by their
maintenance, there was created Dictatour (as if it had been againſt all *Latium* already up in arms)
L. Furius Camillus: who choſe for his General of horſmen, *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus*. And (as the
uſe had been in time of great troubles and ſudden tumults) he muſtered without any reſpect of im-
munity and Exemption, and therewith proclamed a Ceſſation of all courts of law: and the legions
G of plundeters rather then of warriors. So that in the firſt battel, that war was diſpatched. Howbeit
the Dictator, becauſe they not only made the quarrel and warred firſt, but alſo offered fight without
any drawing back, ſuppoſing there were ſome need of Gods help withall from heaven, had vowed a
temple to *Juno Moneta*: and after he had obtained that he vowed for, and therby was charged to
perform his vow, ſo ſoon as he was returned home to *Rome* with victory, gave up his Dictatorſhip. The temple of *Juno Moneta.*
The Senat commanded two officers called Duumvirs to be created for the edifying of that temple,
according to the magnificence of the people of *Rome*. The place was appointed and ſet out on the

[Capitoll] hill, even the very plot of ground, where sometime before stood the dwelling house of H
M. Manlius Capitolinus. The Cosl. having imployed the Dictatour his army in the Volscian war,
surprised at unwares the town *Sora* out of the enemies hands. The Temple of *Moneta* was dedi-
cated the year after it had been vowed, when *C. Martius Rutilus* the third time, and *T. Manlius*
Torquatus the second time, were Consuls. Immediately upon the dedication of that church, there en-
sued a strange wonder, like unto that old marvel of the hil *Albanus*; For it rained stones, and in the
day time it seemed to be dark night. And the books of *Sibylla* being perused (for that the City now
was mightily given to superstition) the Senat ordeined, that there should be a Dictator named for I
the ordeining of certain feasts and holy daies. So *P. Valerius Publicola* was chosen, and with him,
Q. Fabius Ambustus Generall of the horsmen. Order was given, that not only the Tribes should
go in solemn procession with their praiers and Letanies, but also the nations that bordered upon
them: with a precise direction unto them, upon what daies every one shall make supplication. That
year (as it is reported) there passed heavy judgments and the Sentences of the people against the
Viurers, with whom the Ædiles had commenced suit. And without any notable cause to be remem-
bered, they grew to an Interreign. Upon which, that something might be thought thereby done,
both Consuls were made c f the Nobles, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Cossus.*

XXIX Now from hence-forth will we treat of greater wars, both for the puissance of the enemies,
and also for their far distance: as well for their spacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of
The begin- ning of the Samnit war. time that they continued. For this year began the Romans to bear arms against the Samnits, a
nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both sides with alter- K
native fortune, there succeeded *Pyrrhus* their enemy, and after *Pyrrhus* the Carthaginians. To see
(good Lord) the wonderfull stirs and troubles, and how often the Romans fell into extremities of
perils, that their Dominion and Empire might arise unto this greatness and high state, which hath
much ado to hold its own, and stand maintained. But the cause of the Romans war with the *Sam-
* *Abruzzo* and the Duchie of *Benovente*, as far as *Naples*. nites, being in society and amity linked together, arose first from others, and not upon any quarrel
between themselves. At what time as the Samnits warred unjustly (as being more mighty) upon
the * Sidicins: they as the weaker and forced to flie for succour unto the richer, banded with the
Campains. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid and assist their
Allies, & flowing in riot and superfluous delights, hapned in the country of the Sidicins to be foiled L
* The Inhabi- tants of *Sidici- num*, other- wise called *Ty- anum* or *Thra- no*. &defeated by the other, who had been inured and hardened by continual use of arms: and so after-
wards drew upon their own heads, the whole violence and poise of the wars. For the Samnits
letting the Sidicins alone, went to the head, and set upon the Campains, as it were the very for-
tresse and castle of defence for al the borderers. For wel they wist that there they might win victo-
ry as easily: but riches & honour at their hands they were to atchieve much more. And when they
had gained and held with a strong garrison, the hils called * *Tifata*, that were adjoyning, and com-
manded the City *Capua*; From thence they descended with a fourfquare ranged battell into the
plain that lyeth between *Capua* and *Tifata*: where a second field was fought: In which the Cam-
panies had the overthrow, and were beaten within their wals. Having therfore no hope neer
hand, and seeing the strength of their youth greatly decased, they were constrained to seek for aid
of the Romans. Whose Embassadors being admitted into the Senat, and having audience given M
them, spake much what to this effect. "The people of *Capua*, most noble Senators, hath sent us in
* *Monte* di *Capua*. "ambassy unto you, to crave at your hands friendship for ever, and succour for the present. Which
"amity if we had requested in our prosperity, well might it sooner have begun, but knit had it been
with a weaker bond and not so durable. For then, remembring our selves to have entred league
and society on even ground, and in equall estate with you; friends haply we should have been as
we now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in case by your
"commiseration and pity we be gained and won, and in our distresse, by your aid, helped and re-
XXX The Embas- dors of the Campains in the Senat at *Rome*. "lieved; we must needs affectionately embrace a benefit from you received, unlesse we would be
"thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthy of any help either of God or man. And albeit the
"Samnits, have been before us intertained in friendship and confederacy, yet we think that no N
"sufficient bar, but that we may also be received into the same. Only thus much it ought to make
"for them, as to be preferred before us in antiquity of time, and degree of honour. For in that
alliance between you and the Samnits, there is no expresse clause, no caveat or proviso contained,
"against the making of any new confederacie. And surely, al waies heretofore ye have thought
"it cause good enough of your friendship, if the party who sought the same, were but willing
"and desirous to be your friend. We Campains (albeit our present condition suffereth us not
"to speak magnifically) giving place to no nation but your selves, either for the stately port of
"our City, or goodnesse, and fruitfulnesse, of our soil, in entring into your acquaintance, shall
"not a little, I suppose increase and better your good estate. And first for the Æquians and
"Volscians, those eternall and perpetual enemies of this City, they shall not so soon at any time O
"stir and put out their heads, but we will be streight upon their jacks. And look what ye first
"shall find in your hearts to doe for our safety, the same will we alwaies do for your Empire
"and honour. And when those nations be once subdued that are between you and us (which your
"vertue and fortunat felicity, promiteth will be shortly) then shall your dominions reach all the
"way in a continued train, as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable case it is, that our present for-
"tune urgeth us to confesse; To this exigent and hard terms of extremity are we Campains dri-
"ven (right honourable) that subject we must be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye defend

A defend us, yours will we be; forsake us once, we must be the Samnits. Consult ye now therefore
"deliberately, whether ye had rather, that *Capua* and all the territorie of *Capua*, should be annexed
"unto your power and State, or added to the Samnits Seignory. your mercy your succour, O No-
"ble Romans, ought in equity to extend unto all men, but especially unto those, who by yeelding
"their relief and helping hand (even above their power) unto others, that inplored and humbly
"besought succour, are now themselves fallen all into the fame streights of necessity. And yet,
"to say the truth, we fought in shew and semblance of word for the Sidicins; but in very deed
"and effect for own selves. For considering a neighbour nation, bordering even upon us, to be
"robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnits; we well foresaw, that when the Sidicins
B "were once set a burning, the same fire would soon be driven and reach unto us. For now are not
"the Samnits come to assail us, as discontented for any injury received: but, as well pleased that
"they have cause of quarrell offered and presented unto them. For if it had been but a revenge
"only of anger upon some pretended wrong, and not a mean and occasion, to satisfie their greedy
"appetite: had it not been enough for them, that they had vanquished and put to the sword our
"Legions once in the Sidicine country, and a second time in Campain it self our own territory?
"what a cankered and a mortall malice is this, which bloodshed and maisacres in two battels can
"not satiate or aswage? besides the wasting of our fields, the driving away of booties, as well of
"people as cattell, the firing of villages, the ruin and havock they made; and in every place no-
C "thing but fire and sword. Could not their anger and wrath have been satisfied with all this? But it
"is their greedy and unsatiable covetousnes and nothing else that must be filled. That is it which
"carrieth them, that haleth and draggeth them to the alsault of *Capua*. At it their teeth water, that
"most goodly and beautifull City will they either destroy, or be LL. thereof themselves. But may
"it please you Romans, to gain it afore by your own benefit and good desert: rather then suffer
"them to seiz upon it, by wrong and mischief. I speak not this before a people that useth to make
"it strange and goodly to undertake any rightful and just wars. If ye but shew a copy of your coun-
"tenance, as if ye would aid and succour us, I suppose ye shall have no need at all of further
"war. The Samnits overweening of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to us only,
"further it proceedeth not. So that under the very shaddow of your assistance, O Romans, we
D "may be safely covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter gain thereby, what-
"soever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we are worth) ready are we to acknowledge it
"all yours. For your sake shall the Campain ground be tilled: for your behoof shall the City *Ca-*
"*pua* be resorted unto and frequented: and accounted shall ye be of us, no less than founders, pa-
"rents, yea, and as the immortall gods. There shall be a borrough or Colony of yours, that
"shall go beyond us in obsequious dutifulnes towards you. Do but afford unto us Campains, O
"Noble Senators, a token of your gracious countenance, yeeld us your invincible name as a
"powerfull deity, and bid us hope assuredly, that *Capua* shall remaine still and continue in safe-
E "ty. What a number think ye of all sorts and degrees of people, followed and accompanied
"us, when we came from thence? How left we all places filled with their vows, their praiers
"and tears? In what expectation now, do the Senat and of people *Capua*, our wives and chil-
"dren, attend our return? Assured I am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking
"toward the high port-way that leadeth from hence thither, waiting to know what news, ex-
"pecting what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from you unto them;
"so carefull, so heavy, so perplexed. One word presenteth unto them safety, victory, life and
"liberty: the other, I dread to presage what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of
"us, either as of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithfull Allies; or else such
XXXI "as must be worse then nothing. After that the Embassadors were withdrawn aside, and the Se-
nat fell to counsell: although a good part of them were of opinion, that the greatest and wealthiest
City of all *Italy*, the most plenteous country and near to the sea, might be as it were the garner
and storehouse, whatsoever variable changes of corn and victuals might happen: yet they set
F more by keeping their faith and promise, then of that great commodity that might accrew unto
them: and thus by direction of the Senat made the Consul answer. "The Senat judgeth you O The answer of the Consul to the Embassa- dors. Campains worthy of aid: but meet it is that we entertain your amity, so, as a more ancient so-
ciety and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnits are in league, and confede-
rat with us. We must needs therefore debar you from making that war against the Samnits,
which should sooner dishonour the gods then hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equity and
reason doth require, we will to our Allies and friends send our Embassadours, to intreat them to
offer no violence unto you. To this answer the chief man of the Embassage (according as he had
commission from home) replied and said. "For as much as ye are not willing to defend our right
"and cause, by just and lawfull power against violence and injury: your own yet, I am sure ye
"will maintain. Therefore my LL. of the Senat, here we yeeld up in your hands, and to the
G Seignory of the people of *Rome*, the whole nation of the Campains, the City *Capua*, our lands and The Citizens of *Capua* surren- der to the Ro- mans their Ci- ty and territo- ry. possessions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things else both holy and profane. And what-
soever from henceforth we shall suffer and abide, we will sustain as it your liegement and subjects,
wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the Con-
suls, shed tears plenteously, and fell down upon their knees in the very entry of the Councell
house. The Senat moved with consideration of the changeable course and turn of human for-
tune, in the world, to see so great and mighty a people of puissance, so pompous for superflu-

ous abundance and magnificence (at whose hands but a while before, the nations bordering had craved and begged their aid) to carry with them now so base and broken hearts, as of their own accord, to submit themselves and all they had in the whole world, to the power and devotion of others: were perswaded now it was a matter of trust and faithfullnesse, not to abandon and see betrayed, those that thus were reduced under their protection. Neither thought they, that the people of *Samnium* could in any equity or colour of Justice, invade that land, or assault that City, which was surrendred and annexed to the imperiall State of *Rome*. Whereupon presently they agreed to dispatch Embassadors unto the Samnits, who had incharge and commission to make declaration unto them; First, of the Campains petitions: secondly, of the answer of the Senat returned unto them, implying the remembrance of the Samnits amity: last of all, of the Campains surrender. Then to requestt and desire them in regard of their mutuall society and friendship, to spare and forbear those, that were their vassals, and not with any hostility to invade that territory, which was become subject to the people of *Rome*. If by this courteous dealing they could do no good, then, to command the Samnits in the name of the people and Senat of *Rome*, to abstain from the City *Capua* and the country of the Campains When these Embassadours debated these matters in the Councel House of the Samnits, they returned so stout and arrogant an answer again, not in these terms only, That they would go forward in the war began; but (that which more was) the rulers coming forth of their Councell House, even whiles the Embassadors there stood, called to the captains of the cohorts, and with a loud voice commanded them forthwith to make a rode into the Campain country, for to spoil and fetch booties. This Embassage being returned home again to *Rome*, the Senators setting aside the care of all other matters, sent their heralds to demand restitution: and for default therof, after the solemn maner to proclaim open war. Whereupon they decreed with all speed possible to propound this matter to the people and by the consent of the people, both Cons. with two armies departed the City, *Valerius* into *Campania*, *Cornelius* into *Samnium*: and pitched their tents, *Valerius* at the foot of the hil *Gaurus*, and the other at *Saticula*. The Samnit legions presented themselves first to *Valerius* (for that way they suppoted all the forces would be bent for indignation also, against the Campains, because they were so ready one while with their own succours, & another while in sending for the aid of others against them. And so soon as they discovered the Romans camp, in all hast (every one for his part) called lustily to their captains for to strike up and sound the battell: assuring themselves, and laying plainly, that the Romans should speed as well in succouring the Campains, as the Campains had done before them in aiding the Sidicins. *Valerius*, after he had amused the enemies not many daies together, with some light skirmishes, only to make triall of them what they could do, put forth the * signall of battell at the last, but first exhorted his souldiers in a short speech in this wise, "That neither this new war nor new enemy should terrifie them: for as much as the farther they warred from the City, the more cowardly Nations they were and lesse warlike still to whom they went. That they should not esteem the valour of the Samnits by the late losses & defeats of the Sidicins or Campains: For whosoever they be that contend & fight together, one side or other cannot chuse, but go to the wals. The Campains, doubtlesse, had the overthrow rather through their own effeminat tenderneſſe, as flowing too much in excesse and superfluity of pleasures, than by their enemies hardinesse and valour. And what were two only fortunat battells of the Samnits, in so many ages, to be set against so many honourable victories of the people of *Rome*? Who, from the first foundation of their City, may number more Triumphs well neer than years: who have by war subdued all Nations about them, the Sabines, *Hetruria*, the Latins, Hernicks, Æquians, Volscians, and Auruncans. And as they ought to go into the field, every man presuming & trusting upon his own manhood and glorious warfare: so should they have an eye, and consider, under whose leading and regiment they were to enter into battell. Whether he were a man that in the hearing of his souldiers, could only make goodly and magnificall Orations, fierce in brave words, void of Military works: or he who himself knew how to handle his weapon, to advance before the standards, yea, and to be employed even in the midle of all the battell. I would have you (quoth he) my souldiers, to follow my deeds and not my words, and of me to learn, not only discipline, but also good example. I have not by bribing and factions, nor yet by courting and Orations (usuall matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand of mine, attained unto three Consulships, and to the highest honour. The time had been indeed, when a man might have said thus unto me: No marvell, For why? You were a gentleman of noble blood, descended from those that were the deliverers of their country: & in the same year that the City had first a Consul, this house of yours had the Consulship. But now the case is altered, the way unto a Consulship, is as open to you Commoners, as to us of the Nobility. Now is it not the guerdon of birth and gentry, as afore time: but the reward and recompence of vertue and valour. And therefore my souldiers, shoot at the highest dignities, and aim at soveraign honour. And although ye that are men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given unto me this new addition of surname [*Corvinus*] yet have not I forgot the antient name of the *Publicolas*, appropriat unto our family. I love and ever will (as alwaies I have done) the Commons of *Rome*, at all times alike, both abroad in wars, and also at home in peace, as well a private person, as in my offices, were they little, or were they much: whiles I was Tribune, whiles I was Consul; and no change ing have I bee throughout all my Consulships, one after another. Now for this present enterprise which we are about, with the help of God, & in his name, have a cast with me

Defiance given by the Romans to the Samnits

A cost of arms of purple or scarlet colour hanging forth at the Generall his pavilion.

The exhortation of *Valerius Corvinus* to his souldiers.

A "me for a new and fresh Triumph over the Samnits. Never was there a Generall more familiar with his souldiers: as willing as the meanest of them, to lay his hand upon any base offices that that were to be done; yea, and in the very training and exercises of the souldiers, at what time as equals try masteries of activity and strength, one with another, gently would he otherwhiles take the foil, as well as the victory, and ever keep one countenance still: not rejecting or refusing any one whosoever would offer to match him, or be his mate. For deed, benigne and bounteous to his power, and as occasion required: in his words, no lesse mindfull of the freedom of others, than respective of his own place and dignity: and (than which, there is nothing more popular) look by what vertuous demeanour & carriage of himself, he fought to attain unto honours and promotions, with the same he bare them, and went through with them. Therefore the whole army with incredible cheerfulnesse accepting this exhortation of their captain, issued forth of the camp into the field. Never was there battell fought more indifferently on both sides. Their hope was like, their forces equall, with full trust and confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The Samnits, for to whet their courage, presumed upon their fresh and late atchieved acts, and their double victory but few daies before. The Romans on the contrary side, stood upon their honour and reputation for the space of four hundred years, and their conquests every since the foundation of their City. Yet they were troubled, both the one and the other, to deal with a new and unknown enemy. The manner of their fight shewed what stomacks they carried. For the conflict was such, as for a good while they seemed on neither part to yeeld one foot. C Then the Consul, seeing they could not by mere force be caused to retreat, thought to set a sudden fear among them: and therefore assaieth, by sending in the horsmen upon the formost ensignes, to break their ranckes, and put them in disarray. But when he saw, that in so small room of ground they toiled themselves in vain, and could not well manage their troops and cornets, nor break in upon the enemies, he rode back again to the van and, forefront of the Legions, and dismounted from horsback, "We that are footmen (quoth he) when all is done, must do the deed I see well. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which way soever I go) by dint of sword to make "way and entrance into the enemies battell: so every man for himself, down with him that "stands next in his way. Straightwaies shall ye see, that where as now their spears and pikes "stand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their slain carcases. He D had not so soon spoken these words, but the horsmen at the Consuls commandment, ran upon both the wings and points, and made way for the footmen to enter the main battell. First and formost the Consul in person chargeth the enemy, and whomsoever he hapned to encounter, him he killeth in the place. This goodly sight set the rest on fire: and then every man did his best, laid about him manfully, and carried it afore him right worthily. The Samnits stood to it still and moved not, albeit they got more knocks and wounds then they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithstanding much bloody slaughter about the Samnits ensignes: yet no flying was there on any side: so resolut were they, by death only to be vanquished. Whereupon the Romans feeling their own strength for wearinesse decaied and spent, and but little day left, inflamed with anger, gave a fresh charge all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) began they to shrink and give ground, and incline to flight: Then were the Samnits taken prisoners E and slain thick. Few or none had escaped alive, but that the night came so fast upon them, that it interrupted the victory, rather then ended the battell. Both the Romans themselves confessed, they never fought with a more stubborn and obstinate enemy: and the Samnits also being demanded the primitive cause, which forced them (so stifly bent as they were) to run away at the last, said, that the Romans seemed to have burning fire in their eies, and to carry in their faces and visages the furious rage of mad and frantick persons: and thereat first began they to be affrighted, more then at any thing else. Which fearfulnesse of theirs, they bewraied not only by the present event of the battell, but also by their dislodging and departure away in the night. The morrow after the Romans were masters of their empty and naked camp: unto which all the whole multitude of the Campaines came running in number to rejoice and congratulate their victory. F

But this joy had like to have been fouly blemished with an overthrow and defeat in *Samnium*. For *Cornelius* the Consul being departed from *Saticula*, had engaged his army unadvisedly within a forest, through which went an hollow valley or lawn, forsaid on both sides with an ambush: neither discovered he his enemies over his head, before such time as he could not retire with his ensignes into a place of safe receit. But whiles the Samnits staied only untill he had brought his army fully down into the bottom of the vale, *P. Decius*, a Colonell of footmen, espied in the forrest one little high hill, which commanded the place where the enemies lay encamped: and as it was for an army heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to be got up unto: so for them, that were lightly appointed and burdened, nothing difficult. He perceiving the Consul troubled G in mind and affrighted: See you not (quoth he) O *Anlus Cornelius* yonder hill top above the enemie? That is the very fortresse of our hope and safety, if so be that we can gaine the same lustily, as the Samnits have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let me have the *Principes* and speare men of one only Legion. And when with them I have once seized the top thereof, let forward you from hence and fear not, neither make doubt to save your self and the army. For the enemie being under us, and lying open to all our shot, cannot stir without great losse and present mischief. As for us, either the fortune of the people of *Rome*, or our own manhood shall work

our

'The familiarity of *Corvinus* with his souldiers, and his other good parts.

A cruell battell between the Romans and Samnits.

The policy and valour of P. Decius.

our evasion. Being commended by the Consul, and having received that troop and guard which he demanded, he marcheth close through the woody pass, and was not descried by the enemie before he approached the place that he went to get. And whiles they all were amased thereat and wondred, and wholly turned their eies to himward, he both gained the Consul some time to withdraw his army into a more convenient and open ground, and possessed himself of the hill top, and there rested. The Samnits, whiles they turn their ensignes to and fro, (as men that lost the vantage of both sides) could neither make after the Consul, but through the same valley, wherein a while before they had him under their shot, nor yet erect their squadrons, and march up that hill, which *Decius* over them had already gained, But being more angry with those, that thus had disappointed them of the fair means they had of a brave exploit, and considering withall the neerneſse of the place, and their small number which were gotten thither, they were one while of mind to environ the hill round with armed men, and to keep *Decius* from the Consul; another while, to make them way, that when they were come down into the valley, they might set upon them. Thus whiles they were in doubt what to do, the night overtook them. *Decius* at the first, was in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they mounted up against the hill: but afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they were disappointed and put by that purpose, through disadvantage of the ground, fortified themselves with trench and rampier, and other pioners work. Then calling the Centurions unto him; "what unskilfulneſse (quoth he) of military service, what supine slackneſse and sloth is this? and "how got these lozels the victory of the Sidicins and Campains? Ye see their ensigns waving hither "and thither: one while hudled they are in one together, another while advanced and displaied at "length. As for munitions & fortifications, no man beginneth any: and by this time we might have "been entrenched round about. But if we stay here longer then for our vantage, we might be "counted lazy lubbers like them. Come on then, go with me, that whiles day light serveth, we may "see in what places they quarter their guards, and what way we may get from hence and escape.

P. Decius to his under captains.

All this went he to espie and discover himself in person, clad in a common souldiers jacker, leading with him the other captains in the habit of their souldiers; to the end that the enemies might not take mark of the Generall himself, how he went about to view them. After this, when he had disposed the sentinels and *corps de guard*, to all the rest he commanded a watchword to be given, that when the trumpet sounded the second watch, they should come all unto him armed, and make no noiſe at all. When they were thither assembled with silence, as he had commanded, "This stilneſse my fellow souldiers (quoth he) must ye keep whiles ye hear me speak, and forbear all giving assent by uttering your voices (as souldiers use to do) When I shall have delivered my mind to you, let as many as like thereof, go softly on the right hand, and not speak a word: and look what "side is greater, that course shall stand and take place. And now listen what my conceit is, and what I would have done. The enemy hath not invested you here, as men either fled away for "fear, or lagging behind for sloth and idleneſse. The place have ye won by manhood: by manhood must ye from thence escape. In coming hither, ye have already saved a brave army of the "people of *Rome*: and now by breaking out from hence, save your own selves. Worthy you are "that being but a few, have succoured many, ye should not stand in need your selves of any "mans help. With that enemy ye have to deal, who yesterday through their senſeleſſe sloth, overslipped their happy opportunity to defeat our whole army; who were so blind, that they saw "not this hill of so great importance even over their heads, before it was by us gained: who being "so many thousands, could neither debar us from climbing up, as few as we were, nor when we "had got the place, compasse us about with a trench, having so much day as they had. These ene"mies, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whiles they were awake, and had their eie-sight, "ye are to deceive when they are fast asleep, nay, you must doe so indeed, there is no other reme"dy. For at that passe we are now, that I am rather to shew you, in what terms of extremity ye "stand, then to advise you to the execution of any good counsell. It is no consulting at this time "whether ye should here stay, or depart hence; sith that besides your weapons, and hearts setting "up rest upon their weapons, fortune hath left you nothing at all. And die we must without "doubt for hunger and thirst, if we dread the swords point more than befitteth hardy men, and "valorous Romans. One way there is therefore, and but one way of safety, even to make a brave "sally through and away. This must we do, either by day or by night. And that doubt is soon "cleared. If we look for the morrow day, what hope have we, but that the enemy will cast a "ditch and bank even round about us: who already as ye see lying under this little rising, have "compassed it with their very bodies. Now, if so be that the night be a convenient and favourable "time for irruptions and sallies, as in truth it is: then, this hour of the night certainly, is of all other the fittest. At the second watches sound ye are come hither, at which time all men are in "their most sound and dead sleep. Amid their bodies being fast asleep, shall ye go. Either by silence deceive them unawares, or if they perceive you, affright them with a sudden outcry. Do "but follow me, as ye have done already, I will follow the same fortune that guided me hither. "Now as many of you that think this good counsel, and a course like to speed well, make no more "ado but pass on my right hand. So they all passed, and followed after *Decius* as he went through the quarters void of watchmen and warders. Now were they escaped the mids of the camp, when a souldier, as he clambered over the watchmens bodies, lying heavy asleep, chanced to stumble at a shield, which gave a sound again. Wherat the watchman being awakened, raised his next fellow

low; and they being ſtart up, call up other, not knowing whether they were enemies or fellows, whether the garison of *Decius* on the hill was broken forth, or the Consul had surprised the camp. *Decius* then, seeing his souldiers could not passe clear and undescried, commanded them to set up a shout. And therewith he amased them with a new fright, who were already drowned in drowsineſs; so as they could neither take weapons readily, nor make heed against them, nor yet pursue after them. Whiles the Samnits were thus amazed and in confusion, the Roman garison had by this time slain the warders whom they met, & were marching towards the Consul his camp; as yet was somewhat of the night to come: but now they seemed to be safe, and past all danger. Then (quoth *Decius* on forward in this courage of yours, O hardy Romans; This your passage and return to and fro, all ages shall extoll and praise. But for the full fight and view of so great valour, we had need of broad day light: for ye deserve better, than that the ſtil night should hide you in so "glorious a return of yours into the camp. Let us here rest, and wait for day. His words were obeied; and so soon as the day brake, he dispatched a messenger afore unto the Consul: and so with exceeding joy they made speed to the camp. And when it was known in the camp by the privy watchmen, that they who had put their lives in most dangerous hazard for the safty of them all, were themselves returned safe: then every one came forth to meet them as fast as they could, with praises and commendations, calling them both all & some, their saviours: praising the immortall gods, and giving thanks, yea, and extolling *Decius* to the skie. This was the triumph of *Decius* in the camp, as he marcheth through the midſt thereof with his armed garriſon, whiles every man cast his eies upon him, and made him a Coronell, equall to the Consul in all kind of honour. When he was come to the *Pretorium*, the Consul by sound of trumpet, called all the army to an audience, and as he entred into a discourse of the deserved praises of *Decius*, *Decius* himself interrupteth him, and cutteth off his speech. Whereupon the Consul put off the Oration. *Decius* then perswadeth the Consul, to set aside all other things, and whiles the occasion and opportunity was offred, he urged him effectually, to give an alarm to the enemies, both while they were amazed with this feare by night, and also lay scattering about the hill, as it were in their severall sconces. Besides, he thought verily that some were sent out after him to make fresh suit, and wandred astray in the forreſt. So the Legions were commanded to arm, and being departed out of the camp, and by means of the espials better acquainted with the foreſt, they were conducted by a wider and more open way toward the enemy, whom suddenly they surprised & charged, unawares and unprovided as he was. And for as much as the Samnit souldiers were straggling abroad, and most unarmed, and could neither rally themselves and take arms, nor retire into their trench, they drave them at first with fear into their camp: after, whiles the guards about it were disordered and troubled, they were masters thereof also. The noiſe was heard all about the hill, and caused every man to flie out of his hold. So a great part of them took their heeles before the enemy could come. But so many as for fear were driven within the trench (& those were some 30000) were all slain: and the camp rifled & spoiled. The Consul having atchieved this exploit, called an assembly; and not only finished the praises of *Decius*, as he before began, but also amplified them with freſh commendation of this new service. And besides other military gifts, he rewarded him with a crown of gold, a hundred oxen, and one speciall white one, fat and fair above the reſt with guilded horns. The souldiers who together with him held the hill aforsaid, had given unto them for ever after, a double proportion of corn, and for the present one oxe a piece, and two single liveries. After the Consul his reward was bestowed, the Legionary souldiers themselves put upon *Decius* his head a wreath of green grasse, in token of a delivery from siege, and with notable shouts and loud cries approved this gift. Another chaplet or garland, also, in token of like honour, did his own band and company set upon him. And thus being adorned with these ornaments of honour, he sacrificed that chosen white oxe unto *Mars*; and bestowed his hundred oxen among those his souldiers, who had accompanyed him in that exploit and service. To the same souldiers the legions gave a pound measure of wheat meal, and a * sextar of wine, a piece. All these particulars were performed and done with great cheerfulneſs, and seconded with shouting and acclamation of the souldiers, to signifie their good liking and generall assent.

P. Decius to his souldiers.

P. Decius ſolemnly praised and rewarded.

The souldiers also recompenſed.

Agarland called *Obſidionalis*

*Sextarius much about our wine measure called a quart.

A third battel was fought at *Sueſſula*: wherin by *M. Valerius*, was put to flight the host of the Samnits. Whereupon, the whole manhood and flower of their youth that remained at home were sent for and assembled, determining to fight it out and trie their fortune once for all. Fearfull news hereof came from *Sueſſula* to *Capua*: and from thence carriers and posts were dispatched to *Valerius* the Consul, for aid. Forthwith he advanced the standards, and leaving the cariages belonging to the camp, with a strong guard, he marched forward in great hast: and not far from the enemie, took a little plot of ground to encamp in; as having besides their horses of service, no beasts at all for cariage, nor a rabble of slaves and varlets that follow the camp. The Samnits (as if without further delay they were to fight) embattelled themselves. But seeing none to encounter them, they came with banner displaied to the very camp of the enemies. And there so soon as they beheld the souldiers upon the rampier, and understood by them that were sent out of purpose to view the circuit of the camp, in how smal compasse they had fortified, guessing therby how few their enemies were; there ran a noiſe throughout the army, to make no more adoe but to fill up the ditches, to cut through the banks, and so presently to break into the camp. And even in that raſonesse had the war been decided and dispatched, but that the captaines held in the violence of the souldiers. But for as much as their own number so great, required good store of victuals

victuals, and was both by their lying before *Suessula*, and also by their long stay there without fight brought to scarcity well-neer of all things: it was thought good, that whiles the enemies kept within their hold as affrighted, the souldiers should be sent about the country a foraging. In which mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise, would have spent all, who were thither come lightly appointed, and had brought no more corn with them then they could carry on their shoulders, besides their armour. The Consul having espied the enemies straggling over the country, and their guards slenderly manned, after a brief exhortation to his souldiers, led them forth to give an assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onset, and killed more of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampier; he caused the ensignes that he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two legions, for a guard and defence, with a straight charge, that untill he came again, they should forbear to

A notable defeat of the Samnit. rifle and make spoil, he went forward in order of battell. And when the horsmen which he made out afore, had like hunters driven the scattred Samnits, as it were, within net and toil, he fell upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. For frighted as they were, they knew neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed to the camp, or flie further away. But so great was their fright and slight both, that there were brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain: besides 170 ensigns, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returned he unto the enemies tents, and bestowed the whole pillage there, upon the souldiers. And such was the happy successe of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to sue unto the Senat, for a league: and also turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to wage war upon the Peligni. Neither rested the fame of this so fortunate a victory within the marches of *Italy*: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, with gratulation, and a present of a golden crown weighing * twenty five pounds, to be set up in *Jupiters* Temple within the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnits: and *Decius* followed after, all goodly to be seen, with his gifts and worthy praises: whiles the souldiers, as their manner was, with merry jests and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell no less than the Consuls.

After this the Embassadours of the Campains and the Suessians had a day of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnits. But *Capua*, even then no good place for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the souldiers there: who having once got a taste, and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their own naturall country. For they of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get *Capua* from the Campains: even by the same wicked practise, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient possessors and inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their own "precedent lewd example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campains, "not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be LL. of the most plentiful "country of *Italy*, and of a City answerable and correspondent thereunto, rather then the victorious army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnits from them? And "was it any reason, that they who had yeelded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitfull "and pleasant tract, while they themselves wearied with fighting, struggled still and wrestled in a "pestilent air, and dry barren soil, about the City of *Rome*, and within that City, indured the fet-"led, inveterat and intestin mischief & plague of usury, that surcharged them daily more and more?

A Mutiny and conspiracy of the garrison souldiers at *Capua*.

Whiles these projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, *C. Martius Rutilus* came in place: whose lot it was to be L. Deputy of the province *Campania*, having his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those designes: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the fourth time, and withal had been Censor and Dictator) thought it best to dissemble the matter, and to make void and frustrat the present heat and outrage of the souldiers, by deferring and prolonging their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whensoever they pleased. He raiseth therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter again the year following. [For divided they were into sundry Cities of *Campania*: & the web begun at *Capua*, was spred from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good respit to bethink themselves and advise of these matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Consuls then led forth the souldiers into the summer places of abode and repose, and purpose while he had the Samnits in quietness to cleanse the army by the easheiring & discharging those busie bodies and troublesome spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served already so long as the law required, others were well now stept in years, or waxen feeble and their strength decaied. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first one by one singled out, afterwards, certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and substance. Under a pretence and colour also of military services and imploiments, whiles to me were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept still at *Rome*; devising this cause, and that, of delaies and abiding behind. And verily at first, they being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that neither

The singular policy of *M. Rutilius* the Consul.

neither they who were dismissed first, returned again unto their colours, nor any in a manner discharged else, but such as had lien in winter garrison at *Capua*: and those especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracy; first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that their complots were revealed and come to light, and that now presently, they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one, and suffer the insolent lordlinesse, and cruell tyranny of Consuls and Senatours over them. These and such like speeches sow they and whisper secretly, that were in the camp, when they saw the principall authors of the mutiny, who were the sinews and strength thereof, by the wily policy of the Consul to be dismembered from them. One cohort of them, being not far from *Anxur* (at them down ot *Lautulæ*, in a narrow passe or wood between the sea and the mountains, to intercept and stay, whomsoever the Consul sent about this or that pretended businesse as is abovesaid. Soon were there gathered together a right strong power: and nothing wanted to make shew of a full army, but only a head and Captain. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the hill of long *Alba* they encamp themselves within a trench and rampier. Which work being finished, they spend the rest of the day in consultation about chusing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (say they) could be sent for as far as from *Rome*? What Senator or Commoner was there, that either wittingly would venture upon so great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom the cause of an army, enraged upon an injury received, might safely be committed? The next morrow, whiles they reasoned still about this point, and sadly debated the matter, some of the wandring and vagrant forragers of the Country thereabout, bring certain intelligence, that *Titus Quintius* imployed himself in husbandry, and held a farme in *Tusculanum*, minding neither the City, nor dignities of state and Common weal. This man was come of noble lineage, and having served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was lame of a leg, and gave over souldiery, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, sequestred far from all courting and ambitious suing for civill offices. They had not so soon heard his name, but presently they took knowledge of the man, and (that which might turn to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be sent for. Small hope there was that he would willingly do any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to it by fear. So, in the dead time of the night, they that were sent thereto, entred the farm house, and finding *Quintius* found and fast asleep, they awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else pre ent death: and no mean between, in case he made stay and refused to go with them: and so they haled and brought him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted L. Generall at his first coming. And when the man was affrighted at this sudden and wonderful occurrent, they endue him with the ornaments and enfigns to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City of *Rome*. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon any advise or counsell of their captain, they march in warlike maner with an army toward *Rome*, within eight miles of the City, upon the causey or street way, now called *Appia Via*: and had approached immediatly in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, and a Dictatour created to withstand them, to wit *M. Valerius Corvinus*, together with *L. Æmylius Mamercus* General of horsmen. So soon as they were come in enterview one of another, and took knowledge of the armor and ensigns: the remembrance of their native country wrought with them straightwaies a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardy, as to shed civill blood: neither had they knowledge of any other wars but forrein: and the uttermost rage and maddest fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Secession and departure away from their own countrymen. And therfore both captains and souldiers on either side sought means to meet together, and draw to imparle. *Quintius* for his part, who having had already his hands full of wars in defence of his country, could worse brook taking arms against the same: *Corvinus* likewise for himself, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow-citizens, but the souldiers especially, and above al others those of his own army that fought under his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no lesse reverence done of unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his own men. The immortall gods (quoth he) O souldiers as well those which are common to you all, as mine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in this wise, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not of a victory over you, but of procuring concord and unity among you. Occasions there "have been, and will be enow else where, to win glory and warlike renown: from "hence, peace onely is to be sought. And even that which among my vowes that I made "I besought so devoutly of the immortall gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe "but call to minde that neither in *Samnium*, nor among the Volcians yee are encamped, but upon Roman ground: that those hils which yee behold, are the hils of "your native soile: this army which yee see, are of your own Countrymen and fellow "Citizens: and my selfe your Consull, under whose conduct and Auspice, yee have "the yeare past twise defeated the Samnite legions, twise by mere force woon their "campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, sirs, that *M. Valerius Corvinus*, whose

A mutiny and sedition of the garrison souldiers of *Campania*.

T. Quintius surprised by the rebels and made their leader against his will.

The Oration of *Valerius Corvinus* to the Rebels

"noblenesse yee have had triall of; not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on H
"your part received. Authour have I been of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat
"against you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my
"selfe than severe to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of
"Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertue and valour, of majesty and high calling of
"honourable dignities; of such progenitors am I descended, such proofe of prowesse have I
"given: at that age attained I to Consular honour, and being three and twenty years old,
"I was able to have been feared and dread, not of Commons onely, but also of the Sena-
"tors. But what deed or word hath passed from me in your knowledge, more grievous
"and odious when I was once Consul, then all the time I was but a Colonel? the same course held
"I still during my two Consulships ensuing: and such shall my carriage be, and none other, I
"whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gratious to these here about
"me that are mine and my countries souldiers, then to your selves affronting; who are,
"I tremble to speake it forth, mine enemies. Ye shall therefore draw sword upon me, before
"I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence shall begin sound, the shouting from thence
"shall arise, the charge from thence shall be given first, if we must needs go to it and
"fight. Now, find in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your fathers nor
"grandfathers before you ever could: no, nor they who went away and departed unto
"the mount *Sacer*, nor those who afterwards held and kept the *Aventine*. Expect, untill
"your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City
"to meet with you one by one, as sometimes they did to *Coriolanus*. Then, the Volscian K
"legions were quieted and pacified, because they had one Roman for their leader: will
"not yee then, being a whole army, all of the Romanes, surcease this unkind and im-
"pious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howsoever thou art come there to stand, whe-
"ther with or against thy will; in case there be no remedy, but fight wee must, retire thy selfe
"amongst the hindermost: nay, with more honesty flie thou shalt, and shew thy naturall coun-
"trimen a fair paire of heeles, then fight against thy country. But stand still hardly with ho-
"nour and credit among the formost to make attonement: thou shalt be a truce-maker in this our
"parley and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reasonable and indifferent con-
T. Quintius to his souldiers. "ditions: although in truth we were better to yeeld unto hard and unequall capitulations,
"than wickedly and ungodly, one to fight with another. *T. Quintius* with teares gush- L
"ing out at his eies, turning to his owne companies: "And even me also (quoth he)
"O souldiers (if need there be at all of mee) yee have a much better captaine for peace than
"warre. As for him who even now uttered those words in your hearing, was neither
"Volscian nor Samnit, but a Romane, even your owne Consull sometime, souldiers, and
"your own Generall heretofore: whose Auspicate conduct, you having tried for you,
"and in your defence; doe not prove now against your selves to your perdition. Others
"had the Senate to send as captaines, who would have fought more maliciously with you: but
"they have made choice of him who above all others, could beare with you, yea, and for-
"bear you that have been his souldiers: whom you of all others especially might trust, as ha-
"ing been your Generall. Peace, yee see, even they desire that are to get the victory. M
"And what is it then we ought and should desire? Why then set we not anger and
"hope aside, two false motives, two deceitfull guides and counsellers; and betake
"our selves and all wee have to a man of approved trust and fidelity? These words being
"liked well of all (as appeared by a Generall shout) *T. Quintius* went forth before the
T. Quintius to his Dictator. ensignes in the forfront, and pronounced that the souldiers should be at the Dictatour his
devotion and pleasure: beseeching him to consider and undertake the cause of poor and
wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintaine and protect the same, ac-
cording to that faithfulnesse wherewith hee used to governe the Commonweale. As for
"himselfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne security: neither repoled
"he hope in any things else but innocency. The souldiers indeed were to be capitulate, as N
"once heretofore the Commons, and a fecond time the legions had done with the
"Senatours: namely, that this their revolt and petty rebellion might not be laid un-
"to their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictatour, after hee
had first commended *Quintius*, and willed the selfe to be content and of good cheer, rode
poft to the City, and by the advise of the Senatours, preferred a bill unto the people
in the grove *Petelinus*: *That the mutiny and insurrection should turn no man to fear*
Military ordinances enacted. *and danger.* He besought the *Quirites* also of this much favour besides, *That nei-*
ther in jeft nor earneft, this should be laid in no mans difh. The same time there was
proposed besides, *That* sacred military law under pain of death, *That no souldiers name*
once entred into the musters after his booke, should be rased out against his will: With O
this branch annexed ever and besides, *That no man who had been aforetime a co-*
lonell or Tribune, should after have the leading of bands, and be a Corporall. This was fol-
lowed hard and urged by those of the conspiracy, in regard of one P. *Salonius*, who in manor
* The next degree to a Colonel. each other year had been either a Colonel, or a chief * Centurion, whom now they call *Pri-*
mipili. Him the souldiers spighted much, and were maliciously set against, because he had alwaies
opposed

A posed himself against their conspiracies and innovations, and took not part with them who fled from *Lantule*. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat, for the favour they bare to *Salonius*: then *Salonius* himself beseought the Senators that they would not regard his honour more than the concord of the whole City: and so at length it also was granted and enacted. As unreasonable a demand was this also, *That of horsemens pay*, (and that was triple at that time) *some Asses should be deducted, for that they also had withstood the conspiracy.* Over and besides, I find in some writers, that *L. Genutius*, a Tribune of the Commons, published this Law unto the people, *That Usury might be made altogether unlawfull.* Likewise in other Acts of the Commons it was provided, *That no man within ten years space should be capable of the same Office twice: nor in*
B *one year bear two Offices: and that both Consuls might be of the Commons.* Which if they all were granted to the Commons, it appeareth that this insurrection carried some sway and force with it. In other Chronicles it is recorded, that neither *Valerius* was chosen Dictator, but that all this businesse was by the Consuls managed: nor so great a multitude of Conspirators rose, before they came to *Rome*, but even in *Rome* took arms: nor yet that they came by night, in forcible manner into *T. Quintius* farm-house, but in the dwelling house of *C. Manlius*: and that he was taken up by the rebels to be their General, and from thence went as far as four miles end, and there encampled in a fortified place: that the motion of Concord arose not from the Captains, but that of a sudden when both Armies stood aranged in order of battel they fell to greeting one another: and that the souldiers began to take one another by the hands and embrace with teares: and that the
C Consuls seeing the souldiers so backward from fight, were forced to move the Senat for an attonement. So as among ancient writers, there is no certainty set down but that a sedition there was, and the same appeased. But the rumor thereof and the cruel war which the Samnits begun withdrew certain nations from the Romans society and alliance. For besides the faithlesnes and untrustie Leagne (a long time) of the Latines: the Privernates also with sudden rodes, invaded and wasted *Norba* and *Setia* two Colonies of the Romans near bordering and adjoyning.

The Eighth Book

D

Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Eighth Book.

THE *Latines, together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having ſent their Embaſſadors to the Senat (of* Rome) *offered and preſented peace, upon this condition only, that they would create*
E *one of their Conſuls out of them. This Embaſſie thus declared,* Annius *their Prætor, who had audience in the Capitoll as going down from thence, took ſuch a fall, that he died in the place.* T. Manlius *cauſed his own ſon to loſe his head, becauſe, contrary to his expreſs commandment, he had fought againſt the Latines, notwithſtanding his good ſucceſs in that combate. At what time as the Romans were greatly diſtreſſed, and like to loſe the field.* P. Decius *then Conſ. with* Manlius *devoted and offered himſelf to preſent death, for to ſave the Army: and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, rode into the midſt of the enemies battell: where he was ſlain and by his death recovered victory to the Romans. The Latines yielded and rendred themſelves. When* T. Manlius *returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and do him honour.* Minutia, *a profeſſ. d Veſtall Virgin, was condemned for her inceſt, or incontinent life. The Auſonians being ſubdued, a Colony was planted in* Cales, *and another like wiſe in*
F Fregellæ. *Many Roman dames were detected of practiſing poyſon: and moſt of them were forced to drink of their own empoyſoned cup: firſt, whereof they d ed preſently. Whereupon was the firſt Law then ordained againſt poyſoning. The Privernates, when they rebelled were vanquiſhed and afterwards endowed with the Burgeſſie of the City of* Rome. *The Palæpolitans were defeated in battell firſt, and after ſi ge ſurrendred upon Compoſition.* Quintius Publilius, *who blocked them within their walls, was the firſt man that had his Commiſſion renued, and conti ued ſtill in government, when the ordinary time was expired: and by means of the Conſuls had a triumph grant d unto him. The common people were delivered from the*
danger of their oved tors, by occaſion of the filthy luſt of one of them, Lu. Papirius *who would have forced and againſt nature abuſed* C. Publius, *a debtor of his. When* L. Papirius *the Dictator was returned*
G *from his Army into the City for to take the Auſpices anew, by reaſon of ſome errour ſuppoſed in the former,* Q. Fabius *the General of the horſemen, having in his abſence eſpied the opportunity and advantage of performing a worthy exploit gave battell contrary to his Edict, and put the Samnites to the worſe. For which cauſe when the Dictator would ſeem to puniſh him accordingly* Fabius *made an eſcape and fled to* Rome. *And when his ca ſe would not bear him out, he had his pardon at the earneſt ſute and prayers of the people. This book conteineth alſo the fortunate exploits againſt the Samnites.*

H

The Eighth Book of T. Livius.

NOw was *C. Plautius* Consul the second time, with *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, when as the Setines and Norbans brought tidings to *Rome* of the Privernats revolt, with complaints of harms sustained at their hands. News came likewise, that an Army of Volscians, under the conduct of the Antiats, were encamped at *Satricum*. Both these wars fell by lot to *Plautius*. Who taking his journey first to *Privernum*, forthwith bad them battel: and with no great conflict gave his enemies the overthrow. The Town was won and restored again to I the Privernats, with a strong garrison therein placed, but two parts of their Lands were taken from them. The Army thus having obtained victory, was conducted thence to *Satricum* against the Antiats. Where was a cruel battel fought with much bloudshed on both sides: and when as the tempestuous and stormy weather parted them asunder, before that either side enclined to victory, the Romans no whit wearied with that conflict so doubtful, addressed themselves to fight against the morrow. But the Volscians having taken a view and account what men they had lost in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard again: and therefore as vanquished men they dislodged by night in disorder, and fearfully took their way to *Antium*, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great store of armour was there found, both upon and among the slain bodies of the enemies, and also within the Camp: Which the Con- K sul promised to dedicate to dame *Luna*, and so he forraged and spoiled the confines of the enemies, The goddess *Luna*. even as far as the sea coast. But against the other Consul *Æmylius*, who was entred into the Sabellian land, neither were the Samnits encamped, nor their Legions opposed any where. Whiles therefore with fire and sword he wasted their Countrey, the Samnits Embassadours came unto him, craving peace: but being by him posted off to the Senate, after they had audience given, they let fall their stout stomacks, and requested peace for themselves with the Romans, and liberty to make war against the Sidicins: which petition they enforced with more reason and equity. "First, in that they had entred into amity with the people of *Rome*, during their prospe- "rity, and not as the Campains in their adversity: again, they were to take arms against the Si- "dicines, enemies alwaies to themselves, and never freinds to the people of *Rome*: who also, I "neither in peace (as the Samnits) sued for friendship and alliance, nor in time of war (as the "Campains) sought for aid and succour: and finally, were neither under the protection of the "people of *Rome*, nor yet their vassals and subjects. When as *T. Æmylius* the Prætor had consul- "ted with the Senate, about these points demanded by the Samnits, and that the LL. thought good that the league with them should be renewed; the Prætor in the name of the rest, made answer to the Samnits, "That neither the fault was in the people of *Rome*, that the confederacy between "them was not perpetual; neither gainsaied they, but forasmuch as they were weary themselves "first, and repented of the war commenced through their own default, the league might yet be "newly made again. Touching the Sidicins, they would be no hinderance, but that the Samnite "people, might use their liberty and do what they thought best, either for war or peace. The M League being thus concluded and confirmed, and they returned home, presently the Roman Army was brought from thence upon receit of a years pay, and corn for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Consul, in consideration of a truce granted, untill their Embassadors were returned.

The Samnits, with the same forces which they had employed to withstand the Roman war, went forth against the Sidicins with undoubted hope, speedily to win the City of their enemies. Then, had the Sidicines before made an offer to yield themselves unto the Romans, but seeing the Nobles to reject them as coming too late, and wrested as it were perforce from them in their last extremity, they tendred the same to the Latines, who were already of their own accord risen up and had taken arms. The Campains likewise (so ready and forward were they to bear in mind N an injury of the Samnits, rather than a good turn of the Romans) forbare not to joyn in this quarrel. Thus was there raised a mighty power of so many Nations banded together, under the conduct of the Latines, and invaded the borders of the Samnits, where more hurt was received by rodes than skirmishes. And albeit the Latines in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for avoiding so many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies country. Which gave the Samnits leisure to send Embassadors to *Rome*, who before the Senat complaining, that they endured the same measure still, being now associats, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: besought most humbly, "that the Romans would be satisfied with that victory of the "Campains and Sidicins, their enemies, which they had got out of the Samnits hands, and not "suffer them to be trodden under foot by those Nations, the most dastards and cowards of all O "others: requesting moreover, if so be the Latines and Campains were under the dominion of "the people of *Rome*, that they would command them by vertue of their authority to forbear the "Samnits country: and if they refused to obey, then to chastise and keep them in by force of war. To these demands they framed a doubtful answer, as being loath and abashed of the one side to confess, that the Latines were not at their devotion, and fearing again on the other side by reproving and provoking them to turn away their hearts, and lose them for ever. And this was the answer. "As touching the Campains, their case was otherwise, who were not by covenants and conditions

A "ditions in forme of League, but by voluntary and simple submission under their protection; and "therefore they should be quiet whether they would or no: but as for the Latines, by any capi- "tulation compriséd in their accord, they were not prohibited to levy war with whom they list. Which answer, as it sent the Samnits away, in doubt what to think what the Romans would do; so it estranged and alienated the Campains for fear: and made the Latines more stout, as supposing the Romans now would give them the head, & yield any thing unto them. And therefore under a colour of preparing war against the Samnits, they summoned and held many Councils one after another: and in all their meetings and consultations, their Princes and chief men secretly amongst themselves did nothing but plot and practice war with the Romans. In which conspiracy also, the
B Campains had their hand as deep as the rest, even to bear arms against those who had been their Protectors. But although they did what they could to keep all close of purpose, and were desirous before the Romans should stir, to be secured from the Samnits, (an enemy pressing hard upon their backs) yet nevertheless this complot was discovered, and intelligence thereof given at *Rome*, by means of certain persons linked to the Romans in privat acquaintance and mutuall hospitality. Hereupon were the Consuls commanded to resign their Magistracy before the ordinary time, that so much the sooner there might be new created against so great a danger and preparation of war. But here rose a scruple of conscience, that the assembly for Election should be holden by them, whose government was thus shortned and abridged. Whereupon they proceeded to an Interreign. And two Interregents there were one after another, *M. Valerius* and *M. Fabius*: who crea-
C ted Consuls, *T. Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*.

In that year, it is recorded for certain, that *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, arrived in *Italy* with a Navy: who, no doubt if he had sped well at his first entrance, would have proceeded farther and warred upon the Romans. In this age flourished *Alexander* the Great in glorious conquests, who being this man his sisters son, and a warrior invincible, whiles he atchieved feats of arms in another part of the world, hapned to die in his best time and prime of his youth. But to proceed forward. The Romans although there was no doubt but that their associats, and namely, the Latines were revolted: yet, as though they were carefully busied about the Samnits only, and nothing intended them; they sent for to *Rome* ten of their chief Peers, pretending to give them in charge what their pleasure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Prætors or Provosts, *L.*
D *Annius* of *Setia*, and *L. Numitius* of *Circeia*, both Roman Colonies. By whose means, besides *Signia* and *Velitre*, being also Colonies of *Rome*, the Volscians were sollicited likewise to take arms. And thought good it was, that those Latine Prætors by name, should be cited with the rest. No man was ignorant for what intent they were sent for. The Prætors therefore, called a Council before they went, and there declared how they were convented by the Senat of *Rome*, demanding their advice what answer to make as touching those matters, wherewith, as they supposed, they should be charged. When some were of this opinion, some of that: then *Annius* spake and said: The speech of *Annius* in the Council of Latium.
"Although I my self have moved you to resolve upon an answer, yet I think, it concerneth us more "in our main estate, to determine what to do, than what to say. And when we are grown to a re- "solution once of our affairs, and what course to take, an easie matter will it be to frame words fit
E "for the purpose. For if even now already under a shadow and pretence of an indifferent league, "we can abide and find in our hearts to endure bondage, what standeth in the way, but that ha- "ving abandoned and betraied the Sidicines, we be obedient not only to the Romans command- "ment, but also to the Samnits? and answer the Romans in these plain terms, That at their beck "only, and if they do but nod their head, we will presently lay down all arms? But if at length, the "desire and longing after liberty do touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our spirits: if there "be a league between us: and if confederacy ought to be nothing else but a society and equal frui- "tion of liberty and priviledges: if, I say, we may now glory and vaunt, whereof sometimes we "were ashamed, that we are of kin to the Romans, and of their bloud: if they have an Army of as- "sociats, by the addition whereof they redouble their forces, and which the Consuls in leaving or
F "levying their proper wars, will not part and sever from their own: why is there not equality in "all things else? Why is not one of the Consuls a Latine? Look where is part of power and for- "ces, there also is part of rule and command. And certainly even this in it self is not a matter of so "great honour unto us, as who have granted and confessed *Rome* to be the head of *Latium*: yet by "long patience and continual sufferance only, we have brought to pass that it might seem honou- "rable. But if ever ye wished to see the day wherein ye might participate in government and re- "cover your liberties again, lo, that time is now come presented unto you by your own valour, and "the gracious goodness of the immortal gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying soul diers: "who doubted not but that they were in a great choler and angry at the heart, when we brake a "custome of two hundred years prescription and above: yet nevertheless this grief have they put
G "up, and given us not one foul word. We warred upon the Peligninns in our own name and quar- "rel: and they, who aforetimes allowed not us the liberty so much as to defend our own mar- "ches of our selves, nothing gainsaid and crossed it. That the Sidicins were taken to our mercy and "protection, that the Campains revolted from them and sided with us, that we levied an army a- "gainst the Samnits their confederats, they heard and knew well enough: and yet they stirred not "once forth of their City. How come they to be so calm and quiet, but upon a privity and know- "ledge, both of our puissance and of their own weakness? I am able to avouch by the report of "men of good credit, that when the Samnits complained themselves of us, they had such an an-

Alexander the Great.

* Stezza.

"swer again of the Senat of *Rome*, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to H
"require that *Latium* should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay
"claim unto that which they secretly yield unto you themselves,and repossess it at your pleasure.
"Now if any man be affraid to be the speaker,Lo,here am I, who profess to be the man,and to
"say thus much not only in the audience of the people and Senat of *Rome*,but also of *Jupiter* him-
"self,who is resiant in the Capitol,namely,That if they will have us to be of the League and con-
"federacy,they shall admit from among us one of the Consuls,yea,and a part of the Senat. As he
with great spirit and boldness, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were
present with a general applause and assent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought
expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they re-I
posed in him. So soon as he was come to *Rome*(with other Embassadors)he was admitted into the
Senat,and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul,by the autho-
rity and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the
Samnits their confederats: *Annius* raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms
the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the
The Oration of *Annius* in the Senat of *Rome*. protection of the Law of Nations, began in this sort: "The time required (quoth he) now at
"length, O *T. Manlius* and ye Senators of *Rome*, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by
"way of authority and commandment, namely, when you saw *Latium* by the favour of the gods
"to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition,as having subdued the Samnits, confederate
"with the Sidicins and Campains,and now also combined with the Volscians: and besides,even K
"your own Colonies and townships too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines
"rather than the Romans,But forasmuch as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves,nor see
"how to make an end of your proud and outragious Lordship and tyranny; We, albeit we are a-
"ble to restore *Latium* unto her ancient freedom by force of arms,yet for kindred sake wil be con-
"tent to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased
"the immortal gods,that we are equal unto you in power and puissance. *Imprimis*,there is no re-
"medy now,but your two Consuls,must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: *Item*,that the
"number of Senators be elected as well out of the one nation as the other. *Item*,that we become
"one people incorporate, and one Common-wealth. And to the end that there may be one im-
"perial seat,and one name of all,and therefore we or you must needs yield,we are content a Gods L
"name(and to the good of both nations may it prove)that this City and State of yours be coun-
"red the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it
The Oration of *T. Manlius*. fo fell out,that the Romans also had for their Consul *T. Manlius* to match him; one as stout and
hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer,but openly said, "That if the Sena-
"tors were so far overseen and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would
"come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine soever he saw there in
"counsil,he would not fail but slay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning
"to the Image of *Jupiter*: Hearken(quoth he)O good god *Jupiter*,Hear this wickedness and in-
"dignity: hear O Justice:and piety to Godward, Wilt thou abide to see,O *Jupiter*,in this thy ho-
"ly and sacred temple wilt thou endure: as taken captive and troden under foot to see Consuls of M
"aliens & a Senat of forreiners? Are these the covenants,O ye Latines,which *Tullus* King of *Rome*
"made with the Albans your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinius* after him,concluded with you?
"Remember ye not the battel at the lake *Regillus*? Have ye so forgotten indeed, both your
"own calamities and overthrows of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our
"hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators,
it is recorded,that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated
their names oftentimes. *Annius* in mockery of those protestations, was over-heard to despise and
scorn the power and godhead of the Roman *Jupiter*. But this is certain,that as he in heat of anger
stepped hastily to the entry or porch of the temple,and went apace,he fell down the stairs,and so
hurt his head that dashed against the bottom stair,that he swooned withall,and lay for dead. But N
because all writers agree not,that he yielded up his last breath thereupon,I also will leave it doubt-
ful. as I find it: as also this,that in the very charging of him with breach of covenants,there pour-
red down a tempestuous storm,with many mighty thunderclaps. For,as these and such like things
may be very true,so they may be prettily devised and invented on set purpose to represent & shew
the wrath and vengeance of God. *Torquatus* being sent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their
dispatch seeing *Annius* there to lie along,cried out aloud,in the hearing both of the Senat and the
people and said, "No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and bless, O ye immortal
"gods our just and rightful war. Surely there is a God above,there is a power divine and deity
"in heaven,thou art no feigned and imaginary god O mighty *Jupiter* & not in vain have we hal-
"lowed thee in this place,as the father both of gods and men. Why stay ye then,O Roman Qui-O
"rites,ye likewise my LL. of the Senat to take arms in the name of the gods,having them already
"as you see to be your Leaders? I for my part shall soon so overthrow and lay the Legions of the
"Latines along on the earth as ye now see their Embassador, lying here at the stairs foot. The
words of the Consul,received with so great applause of the people, animated and enkindled them
in such sort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrates been more (who by command-
ment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary safe conduct
of the Law of Nations,they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude.

The

A The Senat also gave their assent to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the country of the Marsians and Pelignians, and joyned unto them the Samnits power,encamped themselves before *Capua*, whither the Latines with their associats, were alreadycome together. There,as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a visi-on: and there appeared unto them,one and the same shape of a mans personage,much greater and more stately than the ordinary port of men, who should deliver these words unto them, "That "of the two armies embattelled and affronting one another, the one was appointed as a due tri-"bute to the infernal spirits,and to Mother Earth: and of the other,the chief General only. And "look of whether army the said soveraign General should devote and offer unto those infernal
B "spirits,and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his own person withall, that part "and that Nation shall have the victory. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these night-visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certain sacrifices should be slain, and also if the same shewed in their inwards, as appeared in their sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfil the destinies, and accomplish fatal appointment. When as the answers of the Soothsaiers agreed also to that secret religion which was now entred and setled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants and Colonels to a Council,and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods,(to the end, that the wilful and voluntary death of one of the Consuls,might not fright his army in the field) they agree between themselves,that of whether side the Roman battallons began first to give back
C and retreat the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of *Rome* and the Quirites. It was debated also in that assembly,that if ever at any time before there had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should now be revived and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalf was the greater and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, suting altogether to them in language,fashions,armour,and especially above all,in the orders and laws of warfare. For, many a time,in these two armies souldier with souldier, Centurion with Centurion,Colonel with Colonel,had sorted and conversed together, as collegues and compeers in the same garrisons, yea, and under the same colours and ensigns. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no errour the souldiers should be mistaken or deceived,the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no
D man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It fortuned now, that among other Captains and Corners of horsemen, which were sent out every way as scouts and espials to discover the coasts, *T. Manlius* the Consul his son,together with the rest of his Cornet and Troup, was passed above the enemies Camp,so near, as he was within an arrow shot of their next *Corps de guard*. In which was quartered the cavalry of *Tusculum*, under the leading of *Geminius Metius* a Knight,both for birth, and also for his noble feats of arms highly esteemed in his country. He espying the Roman horse,and knowing the Consul son, advancing before them,and of especiall mark above the rest(for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough known one to another.) What,will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Cornet of horse fight with the Latines and their confederats? What shall your Consuls,what shall two Consular armies do
E the mean while? Marry (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them *Jupiter* himself, a witness of league and covenants by you broken. *Jupiter* I say,who only can do more than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the pool *Regillus*,have given you fighting your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, *Geminius*, riding forth as he was on horseback, a little from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) till that day come wherein ye mean with so great a do to set forward your armies to a general set field, break a staff with me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear, how far the Latine men of arms, surpass the Roman? The young man his blood and courage was soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God
F would so have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his fathers commandment,and the express Edict of the Consuls, he returneth on head and rashly, to a single fight: wherein it skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at tilt: in the void place of the plain field that lay between, they ran their horses in full carreer one against the other, with sharp and deadly spear in rest. *Manlius* with his lance aloft giddy over and raised the Morion of his enemy,and *Metius* with his spear lightly touched,and passed by the horse neck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled the push,that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the smart of which wound the
G horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cast his rider, And as he bare his spear and shield,to raise himself from his grievous fal, *Manlius* ran him through at the throat,so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs,and nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & despoiled him rode back to his own troop: and both together with exceeding joy hastned to the Camp,and so to the Generals Pavilion, even to his father; full little knowing his fatall destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or incurred danger of punishment. That all the world,quoth he,(O father)may be perswaded and report truly that I am descended indeed of your blood,and your undoubted son. Lo here I am,who being

defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the spoils of him slain and dead. Which so soon as the Cos. heard, presently he could not abide to look on his son, but turned away, and by sound of trumpet, commanded the host to a publike audience. Which being assembled in great number. "Forasmuch (quoth he) as thou, *T. Manlius*, with-
"out regard of Coss. authority, or dread of thy fathers majesty and power over thee, against our E-
"dict and express commandment, hast fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and
"place: and as much as lay in thee, hast broken the discipline of war, whereby to this day the State
"of *Rome* hath stood maintained, and hast brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must
"forget either the Common-weal, or else mine own self and mine, we will abide rather the pu-
"nishment and smart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state, to her so great prejudice and da-
"mage, should pay for our folly and transgression. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford:
"but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily, both the inbred love and
"affection of all fathers to their children, and also this shew and proof of thy valour and knight-
"hood (although seduced with deceitful apparance and vain resemblance of honour) moveth
"me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Coss. commands must be established, or by
"impunity of thy disobedience for ever disanulled, I would not wish thee to refuse (if there be any
"of my bloud in thee) but by thy punishment to restore and set up again the military discipline
"which this day by thy default is fain down and ruinate. Go serjeant, and bind him to a stake. At
this so cruel a sentence, they were all amazed and in an extasie, that were present: and as if they had seen the edge bent against themselves, for fear more than for any modesty or reverence, they were quiet. So when they were come again to themselves, as if their spirits had been recovered after some deep impression of a wonder which had astonied them, they stood still with silence: but so soon as the poor wretch his head was chopt off, and his bloud seen to gush and spin out, then began they all of a sudden to speak freely and complain with open mouth, so as they forbare neither lamentations nor curses: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious spoils, they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, set it on fire, and burnt him accordingly; and so with as great love and affection as souldiers could shew, performed their last duty unto him, and solemnized his obsequies. Thus the commandments of *Manlius* were not only dreadful for the present, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the future, to all soveraign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this punishment made the souldiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels, and the set *corps de guard*. were every where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in the very hazard and extremity also of the battel afterward, that austere severity did much good. For their fight was much like unto a civill war. So little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the Latines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Manlius executed by his own father.

Aforetime they used Roman long large shields, covering their whole bodies: but in process of time, after that they became Stipendaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And whereas aforetime they had their battallons thick and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalanges, afterwards they began to range their battel into bands more loosely and distinctly, and last of all, they were divided into thinner orders and squadrons: every such order or squadron contained threescore souldiers, two Centurions, and one Port ensign. The forefront of the vanguard ware javelineers called *Hastati*, in fifteen squadrons, distant some little way one from another: such a squadron had twenty souldiers lightly armed, and all the rest a sort of Targeteers. And those were called light-armed, who carried only a spear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as apprentices to war-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or squadrons, which were called *Principes*; whom there followed hard at heels, thirty squadrons, all targeteers or shield-bearers, with brave armour above all others. And this battallon of thirty companies, they called *Antepilani* [avant-darters] for that the other fifteen orders or bands were placed hard before the ensigns. And of these, every band consisted of three parts: and each of them they called *Primum pilum*, and it was composed of three banners or pannonces: and every such banner contained 186 men. The first Pannonce or banner conducted the *Triarii*, who were old souldiers of approved valour: the second, those that were called *Rorarii*, of less puissance both for age and proweſs: the third such as were named *Accensi*, who were of least account and trust, and therefore they were cast behind unto the tail of the battallon. When the Army was thus ordered in battel array into these bands & squadrons, the javelineers formost of all began the fight: if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, than they with steady footing and soft pace retired back into the void places between the squadrons of the *Principes*, who received them: then began the *Principes* to enter into the battel and to maintain fight, and were seconded by the *Hastati* or Javelinecrs. The *Triarii* remained standing all this whiles firmly, about their ensigns, setting out their left legs afore them at length, with their Targets on their shoulders, and their pikes or javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as if their battel were fortified with a Pallisado or rampier of pales and sharp stakes. Now if those *Principes* had not good success in fight, they retired themselves by little and little from the forefront to the *Triarii*. And hereupon grew the proverb, that when a thing was at a dead lift and in distress they would say, We are come to the *Triarii*. Then the *Triarii* standing up right, so soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati*, into the void place between their files, presently drew in their ranks

A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one main joint and close battallon (as if now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished, they saw a new battel of fresh men starting up, and the same increased in number.

Now were there commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and those mustered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battallons after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only ensign with ensign,
B all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, *Principes* with *Principes*, but one Centurion with another, if the arraies were not broken, were to encounter. Two *Primipili* or chief Centurions, there were amongst the *Triarii* in the one army and the other. The Roman, of body not so strong and well set, howbeit a good souldier otherwise, skilfull and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mighty, and a notable fighter of all others. Well known they were one unto the other, because at all times they had the same conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at *Rome* by the Cos. to chuse unto him an under-Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy that should hap to deal with him hand to hand. And it fortuned that the yong man by him elected, fought in the throng and got the victory of the Latine Centurion. As for the battel, it was fought
C not far from the foot of the hill *Vesuvius*, in the very way that leadeth to *Veseris*. The Roman Consuls before they came into the field killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowel-prying Soothsaier (as it is reported) shewed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for *Manlius* he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well yet (quoth *Decius*) if my collegue speed well, and have good success by his sacrifice. Their battels being to arranged, as I said before, they marched into the field, *Manlius* led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of stomack. But afterwards on the left wing, the Roman *Hastati*, not able to sustain the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the *Principes*. In which trouble and fearful disorder, *Decius* the Cos. called aloud
D to *M. Valerius*. "We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O *Valerius*. Where art thou, the publike
"high Priest of the people of *Rome*? Come and say afore me that form of words, whereby I may
"devote and betake my self for the Legions. The Priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called *Pratexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, and standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him, as follow: [*O Janus, Jupiter, father* Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, *O ye Lares and domesticall gods, ye gods* Novensiles, *and* Indigetes; *ye gods likewise, whose power extendeth over us and our enemies, and O* Manes *the infernal gods, you I invocate, you I worship and adore, your pardon I beseech and favour crave, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of* Rome *and* Quirites; *and put to fear, fright, and death, the enemies of the people of* Rome *and* Quirites. *And just as I pronounce in set*
E *words, so for the weal publike of the* Quirites, *the Army, Legions and aids of the people of* Rome, *I betake with me unto* Manes *the infernal spirits, and dame* Tellus, *the Legions and aids of the enemies, and my self after them.*] Having made this praier, he willed the Serjeants or Lictors to go to *Manlius*, and with all speed to tell him, that his collegue was devoted for the army. Himself girded after the Gabine fashion, and armed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and so rode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen to carry with him much more stately and venerable port than a man, as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath, and to turn away all plague and mischief from his own people upon the enemies. All terrour and fear he carried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensigns of the Latines in the edge and border of the battallons, and afterwards entred within into the whole army. This was noted and seen most evidently, that
F which way so ere he rode the enemies were smitten with fear, as if they had been blasted and struck with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soon as he was slain and overcharged with shot of darts, presently from that place all about, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men, fled away and avoided. And therewithal likewise the Romans, as if they had been discharged and freed from their religious fear and scruple of conscience, and as if they had but then and not before heard the sound of the trumpet to battel, began to charge and fight afresh. For both the *Rorarii* advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the *Antepilani*, and thereby re-enforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly: and the *Triarii* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Cos. gave them sometoken to arise. Afterwards in
G process of fight, when in other parts the Latines in their number prevailed, *Manlius* the Consul, having heard of the final end of his companion, and (and right as piety would) accompanied as well with plaints and tears as with due praises so worthy and memorable a death for a while doubted, whether it were yet time for the *Triarii* to arise. Afterwards thinking it better that they should be reserved in heart and fresh, unto the last push of extremity, he bidden the *Accensi* from the hindmost tail of the rereward to come forth before the standards. Who so soon as they were come in place, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like, raised their *Triarii*. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and wearied themselves, and either broken their javelins or dulled their points, and yet by meer force repulsed their enemies; thinking now all had been done,

and

and the victory atchieved as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battallons; "Then, (quoth the Consul) to the *Triarii*, rise now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful "of your country, parents, wives and children, mindful of the Consul, who for your victory hath "taken his death. The *Triarii* all hearty & unfoiled, were not so soon risen up, shewing themselves in their bright and glittering armour, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish and conflict. For they receiving the *Antepilani* between their files, set up a shout and outcry troubled & disordered the *Principia* of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, slew the principal flower and strength of their best & formost men, and passed untouched in a manner through the other bands, as if they had been disarmed: yea, and brake through their pointed and close battallons, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies I alive. The Samnits also under the foot of the hill, being seen a far off in battel array, smote a terror among the Latines. But among all either Citizens or Allies, the especial commendation of that service rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods both above and beneath, upon himself alone; the other in that battel shewed such valour and policy, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and commended it to posterity, that of whether army *T. Manlius* had the conduct, that way doubtless would the victory go. The Latines after their defeat and flight retired to *Minturnæ*: their camp presently upon the battel was won, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of *Decius* be seen, for that the night came upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mighty company of K slain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnity according to his death performed by his brother Consul were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place, namely, That it was lawful for Consul, Dictator, and Prætor, whensoever they sacrificed and betook to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withall, not themselves in any case, but any Citizen whom they would: provided always that he were one of the enrolled legion of the Romans, [*And if the man who is thus addicted and destined to death, hap to die, all is well, and as it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him seven foot high or above buried in the ground, and a purging or propitiatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but wheresoever it chanced that Image to be so interred, thither was it not Lawfull for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come. But if L a man would needs offer and vow himself to death, as* Decius *did, and die not, he shall not purely perform any sacred duty or do sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus betaken himself. If he will bequeath and offer his armour to* Vulcan, *or to some saint whomsoever he list, he it permitted and Lawfull for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as he pleaseth. As for the weapon or spear over which the Consul standing on both his feet, made his prayers and invocations, it is not lawfull the enemy to seize thereon: but if he fortune to win the same, a propitiatory sacrifice must be offered to appease* Mars, *to wit, a swine, a sheep, and a Bull.*] And albeit the records both of all divine and humane customes and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and remembrance, by reason that we prefer new and forrein ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of our own country and ancestors, yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in those very M words and terms as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I find, that the Samnits having waited to see the event of this battel, came to aid the Romans when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Lavinium* unto the Latines, but not before they had the overthrow; by reason that they spent a great time in deliberation. And when as now the formost ensigns and some part of the army was gone forth of the gates, and news came of the defeat and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their banners and returned into the City, it is said, That their Prætor or Provost, named *Millonius*, spake these words, "That so small a way as they had gone, must cost them dear, and full sweetly "would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battel, and were scattered asunder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded N themselves for safety in the City *Vescia*. Where, in their Councils and assemblies, *Numisius* (their General) averred, and assured them, that *Mars* indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other; and that the bare name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two royal pavilions of their Cos. are polluted and defiled; the one with the parricide of his own son, the other for the death of the Cos. who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner slain: their Javelineers and principals kill'ed: a bloudy slaughter committed both before and behind the Standards: and only the *Triarii* at the last upshot renewed the fight and set all upright. And albeit (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supply, either *Latium* or *Volsci* are nearer than *Rome*. And therefore if they so thought good, he would with all speed raise the lusty flower and chosen manhood both out of the Latines and the Volscians, and return again with a fresh army to *Capua*: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprise and defeat the Romans, expecting as then for nothing less, than a second battel. So by dispatching his cautelous and deceitful letters into all parts of *Latium* and the Volscian nation (by reason that they who had not been present at the battel were sooner induced to give rash credit) there was a tumultuary army in great hast levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters.

This

A This host as it marched, *Torquatus* the Consul met at *Tifanum*, a place between *Sinuessa* and *Minturnæ*. And before they could chuse out a plot of ground to encamp in, they bestowed their carriages and baggage on heaps of either side: fell to a battel presently, and made a final end and conclusion of all the war. For the enemies were brought so low that as the Consul led his victorious Army to waste their Country, all the Latines yielded themselves to him: and this their rendring the Campains likewise followed. Thus *Latium* and *Capua* forfeited and lost part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Privernats, laid thereto, and the Territory of *Falerii*, which belonged to the people of *Capua*, even as far as the river *Vulturinus*, was divided amongst the Commons of *Rome*. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a supplement of three four parts out of
B the Privernats land to make up the whole: and three acres in the Territory of *Falerii*, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, because it was so far off, were assigned for a man. The Laurentins only, of all *Latium*, and the horsemen of the Campains escaped this punishment and were exempted from the rest, because they had not revolted. And a decree passed, that the League with the Laurents should be renewed: and from that time usually every year, is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidaies. Those Campain horsmen were made free denizens of *Rome*: and for a monument and memorial thereof, they set up and fastned a brazen table at *Rome* in the Temple of *Castor*. The people of *Capua* were enjoyned to pay yearly to every one of them, (and they were a thousand and six hundred in all) 45. Deniers.

*45. Denarii amount to 28 fl. 1 d. ob. sterl.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment inflicted accor-
C ding to each mans desert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders only [for certain] went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life abhorred, and with curses detested him. The Antiats made certain rodes into the Territories of *Hostia*, *Ardea*, and *Solonæ*. And for that *Manlius* the Consul was not able himself in person to intend and manage that war, by reason of sickness, he nominated for Dictator *L. Papirius Crassus*, who as it happened was at that time Prætor: by whom was named for General of the horsemen *L. Papirius Cursor*. This Dictator, albeit he kept the field, and lay encamped certain months within the Confines, yet atchieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year this renowned for the victory of so many and so puissant nations, and withall, for the noble and famous death of the one Consul, and for the government of the other, albeit stern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned;
D there succeeded Consuls, *T. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who met not with the like subject and matter of great affairs: and they themselves were more mindful either of their own private business, and studious to maintain a side and faction in the Common-weal, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) they discomfited in the plain of *Fenecta*, drave them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whiles *Publilius* (by whose governance and conduct that victory was atchieved) received surrender of the Latines, the flower of whose youth was there all slain and killed up *Æmylius* led his Army against *Pedum*. As for the Pedans they had maintenance from *Tybur*, *Prenestæ*, and *Velitern*, who took their parts: there come also aid from *Lanuvium* and *Antium*. Where the Roman Consul, albeit he had the better hand in skirmish, yet for
E that there remained behind a new piece of service about the City it self *Pedum*, and the Camp of their Confederats which was adjoyned close to the Town: all of a sudden he gave over the war unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consul. He also himself returned to *Rome*, and called earnestly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and covetous desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied flatly; that unless he either forced *Pedum* by assault, or won it by composition he should not triumph. Hereupon *Æmylius* being discontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Consulship afterward like to the seditious Tribunes. For so long as he was Consul he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people; and his Collegue no whit gainsaid him as being himself one of the Commoners. He took occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falern Countries, were divided in
F pinching and scant measure among the Commons. And after that the Senat, desirous to abridge the time of the Consuls government, had decreed that a Dictator should be declared against the Latine rebels; *Æmylius* (whose turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named General of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reason of slanderous and accusatory Invectives made against the Nobles; and for that it enacted three Statutes, most favourable and pleasing to the Commons, and as cross and adverse to the Nobility: first, That the Acts devised and enacted by the Commons, should bind all the *Quirites* or Citizens of *Rome*: secondly, That all laws which were proposed and to pass by the suffrages of the Centuries, before the Scrutiny began, and their voices gathered, the Nobles should allow
G and approve: thirdly, That forasmuch as they were come thus far already, that both the Censors might be of the Commons, now one Censor at the least should be a Commoner of necessity. Insomuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this year by these Consuls and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Menius* were Consuls, to the end that *Æmylius* the Consul of the former year, might be more notably reproached for the quitting and letting slip of a victory that should have been atchieved in his year, the Senat began to mutter

in

in their speeches, that *Pedum* by force of arms, by valour of men, & all possible means whatsoever, H should be destroyed and raised to the ground. Whereupon the new Consuls being forced to lay aside all other affairs and to go in hand with that service, first took their journey thither. Now was *Latium* grown to those terms, as they could neither abide war nor endure peace. To maintain the wars they wanted means: and peace they could not away with nor abide to hear of, never since the loss of their lands. So they thought best to hold a middle course: to stand upon their guard, and to keep themselves within their towns: that the Romans being not provoked, should make no quarrel of war: and if there were tidings brought of any town beleaguered, there might be aid sent from all parts to the besieged. And yet for all this, were the Pedans succoured but of very few. The Tiburtins and Prænestins, whose country lay neareſt came to *Pedum*. But for the Aricins, Lanuvins, and Velitернes, who joined their forces with the Antiats and Volscians, were suddenly assailed and set upon near the river *Astura* by *Menius*, and vanquished. *Camillus* fought before *Pedum* with the Tiburtins, who came into the field with a right puissant army, and put him to much trouble and hazard: howbeit, he had as good success in the end as *Menius*. The greatest tumult and trouble was caused especially by occasion of a sudden sally of the townsmen in the very time of the conflict. Against whom, after that *Camillus* had opposed part of his forces to make head, he not only drave them within the wals, but the same day also, when he had discomfited both them and their succours, he scaled the town and was Master thereof. Then it was thought good, with greater preparation of power and couragious resolution, after the winning of that one City to go about with the victorious army from one to another, and so to subdue and tame for ever the whole nation and name of *Latium*. Neither rested they, untill partly by main force, and partly by taking one City after another by way of surrender, they had brought all *Latium* under their subjection. After this, having disposed and placed garrisons in every town which they had got, they departed to *Rome* for triumph: which was to them by a general consent of all men granted. Besides their triumph, this honour was to them done, that two statues of horsemen (a rare thing in those daies) should be erected for them in the Grand place called *Forum*.

But before that they gathered the suffrages of the people, in the assembly for Election of Coss. against the year following, *Camillus* in this wise made a speech to the Senat, touching the Latine nations. "My LL. and Senators of *Rome*, That which by war and force of arms was to be done in "*Latium*, is now by God his goodness and the valour of our souldiers brought to good pass. The L "Armies of our enemies slain before *Pedum* and *Astura*: The Latine towns all, and *Antium* a Ci- "ty of the Volscians either by force won, or rendred by composition, are now held and kept to "your behoof by your own garrisons. It remaineth now to consult (forasmuch as they trouble us "ost by rebellion) and to devise some means how to keep them quiet in continual peace. In this "consultation, the immortal gods have given you thus much power to resolve upon, that it lieth "wholly in your hands, to chuse whether *Latium* shall continue still a nation or no: and therfore "may ye for ever procure your selves repose and security from thence either by rigour & punish- "ment, or by clemency and pardon, chuse you whether. Are ye minded to proceed by way of cru- "elty against those that have yielded themselves, and are vanquished? Ye may, indeed, destroy all M "*Latium*, and make all waſt and a desart wilderness, from whence oftentimes in sundry and dan- "gerous wars of yours, ye have had the help of an army of Allies, & found them fast and valorous. "But wil ye (as your ancestors have done before you) enlarge the Roman Empire by receiving un- "to your City those whom ye have conquered? Then have ye matter & means to grow up still and "wax mighty, to your great honour and glory. Surely, that government & dominion is of all other "most strong and sure, wherein the subjects take joy in their obedience. But whatsoever you mean "to determine in this behalf, ye had need to make speed and resolve betimes. So many nations ye "ho'd in suspence of mind between fear and hope: and therefore behoofeful it is, that you both "rid and deliver your selves (as soon as you can) of the care they put you to: and also whiles their "heads are busied and minds unresolved (standing as they do amazed in doubtful expectation) "either by punishment or by benefit, to foresta and prevent them before they take heart again. N "For our part, it was hitherto our endeavour to effect and bring about; that ye might be able to "dispose of all at your pleasure, and as you would your selves: now your duty it is to determine "what is best for your selves and the Common-weal. The Lords and chief of the Senat praised this motion of the Cos. and deemed good in general. But forasmuch as the condition of the parties was divers, and their cause not all one, they said that they might resolve and determine best, according to the desert of each state, if they were specified by name, and the opinions asked in particular. So they fell to consultation of them severally as they were propounded: and set down this order and decree, *Imprimis*, that the Lanuvins be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and enjoy again their own religion and sacred ceremonies, with this proviso, that the chappel and grove of *Juno Sospita* should be common to the Burgesses of *Lanuvium* and the people of *Rome*. *Item*, that the O Aricins, Nomentans, and Pedans, shall be made denizens of *Rome*, and endued with the liberties and priviledges of the Lanuvins. *Item*, that the Tusculans retain still that freedom of their City safe, which as then they enjoyed: and the crime and attainder of rebellion, to be charged upon a few of the chief to save the common state from danger. *Item*, that there should be grievous punishment inflicted upon the Veliterns, who being ancient Roman Citizens, had notwithstanding so often taken arms and rebelled: that their wals should be dismantled and raised: their Senators from thence translated, and confined beyond *Tyberis*, there to dwell, upon pain, that whoso-

The Oration of *Camillus* to the Senat of *Rome*.

A whosoever were found on this side the water, it might be lawfull for any man to take him as his prisoner, and to ransom him at a * 1000 Asses. Provided alwaies, that he should not enlarge him, nor release him of his Irons, untill the money were fully satisfied and paid. Into the possessions and lands of those Senators, were tenants and Coloners sent to inhabit: who being once enrolled, *Velitræ* seemed again as populous as beforetime. At *Antium* was there a new Colony planted, with this proviso, that the ancient inhabitants of the Antiats should be permitted (if they themselves would) to be enrolled there, and remain still. From thence were their long Galies and war-ships had away, and the people of *Antium* wholly forbidden the sea: but the freedom of Roman Citizens to them was granted. The Tyburts and Prenestins forfeited their lands, not for their late treB pass of rebellion, common with other Latines, but because they repining and envying the good estate of the Romans had in times past joyned arms with the Frenchmen, a savage and unsociable nation. From the other Latines Cities and States, they took away the priviledge of marriage, the commerce of traffick, and entercourse of mutual intelligences, and holding counsels themselves, for ever after. To the Campain Gentlemen that served with horse aforesaid, for that they would not give consent to revolt with the Latines: to the Fundans also and Formans, through whose country they had alwaies had free, safe, and quiet passage to and fro, this honour was done, as to be made Citizens of *Rome*: but without the liberty of giving voices. *Item*, it was decreed, that the Cumans and Suessulans, should be of the same condition and state that *Capua* was. The Ships of the Antiates were part of them transported to the Arsenal at *Rome*, and the rest set on fire and C burned. With the stems, beakheads, and brazen pikes whereof it was thought good, that the pulpit of common pleas and Orations in the grand place of *Rome*, should be beautified and adorned: which publike Pulpit was thereupon called *Rostra*.

Whiles C. *Sulpitius Longus*, and P. *Ælius Petus* were Consuls, when as the Romans held peaceably under their dominion, all the countries, as well through the favour which they won by bountiful dealing as by might and strong hand, there arose war between the Sidicins and Aurunci ans. The Aurunci, who had yielded afore to *T. Manlius* Consul, and were taken into protection afterwards rebelled not: whereby they had a more just cause to request and seek for aid at the Romans hands. But before that the Consuls had led forth their power out of the City (for the Senate had commanded, that the Aurunci should be defended) tidings came, that the Aurunci for D fear had quit their town: and being fled with their wives and children, had fortified *Sinuessa*, which now at this day is called *Aurunca*: and that the ancient wals, with the town it self, were by the Sidicins destroyed. Hereat the Senate offended with the Consuls, by whose delay and lingring their allies had been betraied in time of their necessity, ordained a Dictator to be chosen. So there was elected *C. Claudius Regillensis*, who appointed for General of horsemen *C. Claudius Hortator*. But hereupon rose a scruple of conscience about the creation of the Dictator. And when the Augurs had pronounced, that they thought him not rightly created, both Dictator and General of horsemen gave over their rooms. The same year *Minutia*, a Vestal Nun, was first suspected of incontinency, for going in her apparel more trim than was decent for one of her calling and profession: and after that, brought in question and accused by a bond-servant, that informE med against her to the High Priests. First, by a decree of theirs she was awarded to abstain from divine service, to keep her house, and not to manuprise and see free any of her bond-slaves, but to have them forth coming, whensoever they were called for: and after farther examination and judgement passed, was buried quick under the ground, at the gate *Collina*, in the paved causey on the right hand, within the plain or field called *Sceleratus*, *i.e.* Execrable or polluted. I suppose, that place took the name of such * incest of filthy whoredom. The same year, *Q. Publius Philo* was elected Prætor, the first that ever was of the Commons, notwithstanding the mind of *Sulpitius* the Consul, who said, That he would not take his name to propound it for Election nor admit him among other competitors. But the Senat strived the less in impeaching this Prætorship, seeing they could not have their will in the highest rooms and dignities.

* Simple fornication or incontinency in a professed Votary was called Incest.

F The year next ensuing, under the Consulship of *L. Papirius Crassus* and *Cæso Duellius*, was notable and famous for the war of the Ausonians, in regard rather of the novelty, than the greatness and danger thereof. They were a people that inhabited a town called *Cales*, and had joyned their power with the Sidicins their next neighbours. The whole power of which two nations being discomfited in one battel, and the same not so memorable, was for the nearness of their Cities more ready to flie, and in their flight more safe and secured. Yet the Nobles of *Rome* omitted not the care of that war: for that the Sidicins so often, either had themselves moved war, or aided those that began, or else were the cause of all troubles. Whereupon they endeavoured all that they could to make Consul the fourth time, the noblest warriour in those daies, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who had for his brother in government *M. Attilius Regulus*. And lest haply some errour by chance G should be committed, unit was made to the Consuls, that extraordinarily, and without casting lot, that province might fall to *Corvinus*: who having received the Army (after the victory at *Cales*) of the former Consuls, went forth. And when at the first shout and onset he had discomfited his enemies, who in remembrance of their former late overthrow were affrighted, he assailed to assault their very wals: and so eager and hotly bent (I assure you) were the souldiers, that even at the first they would have set ladders to, as making full account to scale up to the top, and enter the town. But *Corvinus*, because that was an hard adventure, was desirous to accomplish that enterprise by the long toil of his souldiers, rather than their present perill: he raised therefore

* 52 li. 6. d. sterl.

therefore a countermure and platforms, and rolling frames, mounted against the wals: but as good H hap was by an opportunity that fell out, they had no use of these munitions and fabricks. For *M. Fabius* a Roman prisoner, taking vantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a festival holiday, and making means to break his bonds, let himself down by a long cord, fastned at one end to a pinacle or battlement of the wall, and slid by the arms, among the munitions and fabricks of the Romans: who so perswaded and prevailed with the General, that he caused him to give an assault upon the enemies, now being fast asleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meats. So that with as little ado were the Ausonians and their City surprised, as they were afore vanquished in fight. A great booty of pillage was there got: and after a garrison placed at *Cales*, the Legions were brought back to *Rome*. The Consul by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that *Atilius* should not be without his glory too, both Coss. were appointed to lead forth an Army against the Sidicins: but before they went, they appointed by a decree of the Senat, *L. Æmylius Mamercus* to be Dictator, to hold the election of Consuls. Who named *Q. Publius Philo* for his General of horsemen. I

In this Election holden by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. Who albeit there remained some part behind of the Sidicins war, yet to the intent they might gratifie the Commons by some good turn, and prevent their longing before they spake themselves; proposed an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to *Cales*: and when as the Senate had ordained that two thousand and five hundred men should be enrolled and assigned thither; they created Triumvirs for to bring them thither, and to divide the lands, namely, *Cæso Duellius*, *T. Quintius*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Consuls having received the army of the old, entred into the enemies confines, wasting all before, untill they came to the very walls of their City. Now, for that the Sidicins had assembled a puissant army, and seemed themselves fully resolute and bent upon utter despair to put all unto the last adventure, and to fight it out to the last man. Moreover, because it was noised, that all *Samnium* was risen up in arms: by authority from the Senate, the Consuls appointed *P. Cornelius Rufinus* Dictator, and *M. Antonius* was nominated General of the horse. But hereupon grew again another scruple, that there was some errour escaped in the creation: so they resigned up their places, and because there ensued also a plague hereupon (as if all their Auspices for Elections of Magistrates had been touched and infected with that errour and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interreign. Which being now entred L upon by the fifth Interregent, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, then Consuls were created, *L. Cornelius* the second time, and *Cn. Domitius*.

When all things else were at quiet, the rumour of the Gauls war was so rife and hot, that it was taken for a very * Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created. And *M. Papirius Crassus* was nominated, who had *P. Valerius Publicola* for General of the horsemen. When they had mustred the souldiers more streightly and with greater regard than would have been for wars near hand, the espials who were sent out, brought word that all was well and quiet among the Gauls. But suspected it was that *Samnium* now the second year was ready to drop out of their allegeance and seek a change. Whereupon the Roman army was not withdrawn out of the Sidicin country. Howbeit the war of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, drew the Samnits into M the Lucans country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battel, as he made rodes from *Pestus*. In which conflict, *Alexander* having got the upper hand, entred into a League and amity with the Romans: although it was much doubted, with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affairs prospered as well. The same year was a solemn Levy or Numbring of the people of *Rome* held, and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled. And therefore two Tribes were annexed, *Melia* and *Captia*: the Leviers that ordained them, were *Publ. Philo*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. The Acerrans became Roman Citizens, by an act proposed by *L. Papirius* the Prætor: by vertue whereof they were enfranchised Denizens, but without the privilege of giving voices. These were the acts for this year both at home and abroad.

* The rumour of the Gauls war, was ever taken for a Tumult (*quæ si timor multus*) and supposed more dangerous than another ordinary war.

The year next following (were it through the unkind distemperature of the air, or by some N wicked practise of man) was infamous, when *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Valerius* were Consuls. I find the surname of this Consul to vary in divers Chronicles, in some *Flaccus*, in others *Potitus*. But it matters not much whether be true. This rather I could willingly have wished (and yet all Authors do not record it) that it had been falsely recorded, That those persons by sorcery and poison were made away, whose death hath defamed that year with the note of a pestilence. But yet as the thing is left in writing, I purpose to deliver it, lest that I should seem to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chief personages of the City died upon like diseases, and after one and the same manner of symptomes, a certain chamber-maid presented herself to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being for the time an Ædile of State) and professed to bewray the cause of that publike and contagious malady, if she might be assured by faithfull promise from him, that by the O utterance thereof, she should not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* delivered this matter to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the consent of which State assurance was made accordingly unto the party aforesaid, to reveal the matter. Then she declared, that by the lewd and mischievous wickedness of women the City was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain Dames of *Rome*, even their own wives, boiled and tempered rank poisons, (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it presently they might be taken in the manner. So they went straight waies with the wench, and found some women as they were seething

A seething and preparing venomous drugs, yea and some poysoned confections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20. of those dames, with whom the poysons were found, were sent forby a Sergeant. Two of them *Cornelias* and *Sergia*, both noble women born, stoutly standing upon these tearms, and stiffly avouching, That they were soveraign medicines and wholsom for the body of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confuted, and enjoined to drink thereof, that they might disprove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised of her own fingers ends this false slander. Who took a time to commune and confer together, that the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in sight of all the World, these two Dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and B so having drunk the poysoned potion, they all perished by their own mischievous practise. Then presently were their complices apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of other Wives: of which 170. were condemned. Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor process at *Rome*, about poysoning and sorcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, besotted and bewitched, then to any seslonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and searching the old Chronicles, found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and departed the City, there was a spike or great nail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the minds of the people, which by discord had been distracted and out of their right wits, were by that ceremonial satisfaction, brought again in good tune: and therefore it was thought good, C that for the fastning or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created. So *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* General of horsemen, who so soon as the nail was fastned, gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plautius Venox*. In the beginning of which year, there came from the country of the Volscians as Embassadors to *Rome*, the Fabraterns and Lucans, making requett that they would take them into their protection; promising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the Samnits, they would become loyal and obedient subjects to the people of *Rome*: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, to give commandment to the Samnits, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of those nations. Which embassage sped well and took place; not so much for that the Samnits desired D peace, as because they were not as yet ready prepared for war. The same year began the Privernats war. The confederates whereof, were the Fundans, and their Leader likewise a Fundan, one *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a man of great name and reputation, not only in his own country, but also at *Rome*. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount *Palatine*, even the very same, which after the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscate, was called *Vacci Prata*. Against whom as he wasted and spoiled far and neer the Setin, Norban and Coran countries, *L. Papirius* went forth with a power, and rested not far from his very camp. But *Vitruvius* neither had the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter far from his fort. But having put his souldiers in battel array, before they were all well out of the gate of the camp, whiles the souldiers had more mind to flie backward, then march forward E and encounter the enemy: without either advise or confident courage he fought: and with as little ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: so by reason of the shortness of the way, and the ease retire into the camp so neer, he found no great trouble to save his souldiers from much slaughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, and not many in the press of the rout and tail of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their camp. And in the beginning of the night, the army thus discomfited, made haste to *Privernum*, there to defend themselves within a wall rather then a trench. *Plautius* the other Coss. having from *Privernum*, overrun and forraged the territory, and driven booties away, conducted his army into the Fundan country. The Senat of the Fundans as he entred into their confines met him, saying: F "They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Vitruvius*, or for those "that took his part; but for the people of the Fundans: who that they were innocent and not "culpable for this war, *Vitruvius* himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose *Pri-* "*vernum* to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the City *Fundi*, the very place of his nativi- "ty. And therefore at *Privernum* the enemies of the people of *Rome* were to be sought for and "pursued, who unmindful of both their own countries, had revolted as well from the Fundans "as the Romans. As for the Citizens of *Fundi*, they were at peace with *Rome*, nay, they were "Romans in heart, and carried thankful remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated there- "fore and besought the Consul to forbear hostility with a guiltless people: assuring him that their "Lands, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devo- "tion of the people of *Rome*. The Consul after that he had commended the Fundans, and sent letters to *Rome* that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to *Privernum*. But before he diflodged (as *Claudius* writeth) the Consul executed those that were the heads of the conspiracy, and three hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to *Rome*. But the Senat accepted it not, and were not content with that submission, as judging the Fundan people, desirous to be excused and discharged with the punishment of the needy and base sort of people. Now when as *Privernum* was besieged and invested with two Consular Armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were erected in the great race called *Circus*, the Barriers from whence the horses and their charriots are

let forth, when their prizes. But before they were well past the care of the Privernats war, there H
arrived a terrible and fearful brute of the Gauls war, which never was regarded sleightly of the
Nobles of *Rome*. Incontinently therefore the new Consuls, *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plau-*
* First of July. *tius*, on that very day, namely, on the * *Calends* of *July*, wherein they entred their offices, were
commanded to determin and agree between themselves upon their Provinces: and *Mamercus*,
who had the charge of the Gauls war, levied and enrolled an army without allowing any immu-
nity and exemption from warfare. Moreover and besides, even the poor handicrafts men and ar-
tisans, such as keep their shops, and live by sedentary occupations, a sort far unmeet for martial
service, are said to have been called forth, and prest to the wars: and a mighty army was assem-
bled and met together at *Veii*, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gauls: For it I
was thought good that they should now go farther forward, for fear lest the enemy taking ano-
ther way, might deceive them and march directly to the City of *Rome*. But a few days after,
when it was known for certain that all the trouble and fear for that time was overblown, they
diverted their forces from the Gauls, and bent all against *Privernum*. But the issue hereof is re-
ported two manner of ways, some write that the City was forced by assault, and that *Vitruvius*
came alive into their hands: others, that before the utmost extremity of assault was used, they
of their own accords, carrying before them white wands in token of peace, yeelded themselves
unto the Consul: and that *Vitruvius* by his own Country men was rendered and delivered unto
him. The Senat being moved, and their opinion asked concerning *Vitruvius* and the Privernats;
sent for the Consul *Plautius* to triumph, after that he had dismantled the walls of *Privernum*, and K
there placed a strong garrison: and they gave order in the mean time that *Vitruvius* should be kept
fast in prison until the Consuls return, then to be whipped and put to death. They appointed al-
so that his habitation in *Palatium* should be pulled down, and his goods consecrated to their I-
dol *Semon Sangus*. And look what money [of brass] was raised thereof, it served to make brasen
round Plates, which were offered and set up in the Chappel of *Sangus* towards the temple of *Qui-*
rinus. Touching the Senat of the Privernats, thus it was decreed, that every one of the Senators cal-
ling, who remained at *Privernum* after their revolting from the Romans, should in the same con-
dition and state as the Veliterns, beconfined beyond *Tybris*, and there dwell. These Acts be-
ing thus set down, there was no more talk of the Privernats until the triumph of *Plautius*. After
the triumph, the Consul having executed *Vitruvius* and his complices, supposing now that hee L
might safely propound the cause of the Privernats, to the LL. of the Senat, whiles they were
newly satisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders. "Since that (quoth he) my LL. of the
"Senat, the principal authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immor-
"tal gods, and at yours, suffered now already condigne punishment; what is your further plea-
"sure, and what shall be done with the innocent and harmless multitude? For my part verily,
"although I be rather to demand your opinions then deliver mine own: yet seeing the Priver-
"nats neer neighbors unto the Samnits, with whom we now at this time entertain a most uncer-
"tain and slippery peace, I would have as little grudge and rancor left as may be, between us and
"them. As the question in it self was doubtful and ambiguous, whiles mengave advice some to
proceed cruelly, others to deal gently, according to each man his nature and inclination: so, there M
was one of the Privernat Embassadors that made it more doubtful, and put all out of square; a
man mindful of that state wherein he was born, more than of his present need and extremity. Who
being demanded of one (that had spoken to the point, and delivered some sharp censure
and heavy sentence against them) What punishment he judged the Privernats deserved?
Marry (quoth he) that which they deserve, who deem themselves worthy of liberty and freedom.
At whose stout and arrogant answer, when the Consul saw those to be more eagerly and bitterly
bent, who before impugned the cause of the Privernats: to the end that he himself by some mild
and gentle demand might draw from the party more modest language: What (quoth he) if we
should remit and pardon your punishment; what kind of peace might we hope to have at your
hands? If (quoth he) ye offer us good peace, ye shall find it on our part loyal and perpetual: but N
if ye tender hard conditions of peace, ye shall have it last but a small while. But then one gave
out, that the Privernat began to threaten plainly: and said moreover, that such speeches were e-
nough to stir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But
the better part of the Senat drew these his answers to a better sense, and said that it was the speech
of a man, and of a man free born. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any state, nay, any par-
ticular person, would longer abide (than needs he must) that condition which he misliketh and
goeth against his stomach? There only is peace sure and like to hold, where men are contented
and willing to keep themselves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithful loyalty,
where they will impose thraldom and servitude. And to this purpose the Consul himself especially
moved and enclined their hearts, reiterating these words to the Senators that were first to give O
their opinions, and that so loud, as he might of many more be over-heard, That they above all o-
ther, and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Roman Citizens, who minded and e-
steemed nothing in the world, but their freedom. Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained
their suit: and also by the authority of the LL. a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Pri-
vernats might be enfranchised Romans.

The same year were three hundred sent as a Colony, to inhabit *Auxur*: and had two Acres
of ground a peece allowed them. The year following was memorable in no respect, either of
home

A home affairs or forraign, in the time of *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula* Coss. Only
this fell out that yeare, that in *Fregellæ* (which sometime was in the territory of the Sidicins, and
after, of the Volscians) there was a Colony planted: and unto the people there was given a dole, or
distribution of raw flesh amongst them, by *Marcus Flavius*, at the funeral of his mother. Some
there were that thought, how under a colour of honoring his mother, he defrayed and paid unto
the people a deserved hire & reward, in that when he was by the Ædiles arrested & brought to his
answer for adultery committed with a Dame or married Wife in the City, the people had by their
voices acquit him. This dole given for a favour past at his trial, was the occasion also of a dignity
following: for in the next Election, notwithstanding he were absent, he was preferred to the Tri-
B bunship of the Commons, even before those Competitors that were present in place.

There stood sometime the City *Palæpolis*, not far from thence where as now *Naples* standeth. In
those two Cities, one and the same people inhabited, descended and deriving their beginning
from *Cumes*, and the Cumans fetch their off-spring from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. With that fleet where-
in they sailed from their own country, they were able to do much at sea, and were mighty upon
those coasts where they dwelt. And first landing in the Islands *Æxaria* and *Pithecusæ*, afterwards
they adventured to seat themselves in the main and continent. This City relying and trusting in
their own power, as well as presuming upon the faithless and disloyal society of the Samnits with
the Romans, or bearing themselves bold upon the rumor that ran of a pestilence that raigned in
in the City of *Rome*, wrought much mischief and hostility against such Romans as inhabited the
C Campain and Falern Countries. Whereupon, when as (in the time of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*,
and *Quintus Publius Philo* Consuls, the second time) there were Fœcials sent to *Palæpolis*, for to
demand restitution again, and a proud answer returned back from the Greeks, a Nation more
stout and valiant in tongue then in deed and execution; by the authority of the Senat, the people
decreed, that there should be war made upon the Palæpolitans. And when as the Consuls had
divided their provinces between themselves, it fell to *Publius* his turn to war upon those Greeks.
Cornelius with another army was opposed against the Samnits if they should hap to stir any way.
For the report went, that they looking and expecting assuredly the revolt of the Campains, would
encamp neerer and join with them. There, *Cornelius* thought it best to keep a standing camp.
The Senat was certified from both Consuls, That they had small hope of peace with the Sam-
D nits. *Publius* gave intelligence, that two thousand Nolan souldiers, and four thousand Sam-
nits, were rather by the compulsion and importunity of the Nolans, than with the good will of
the Greeks, received at *Palæpolis*. At *Rome* it was for certain known, that in *Samnium* there
were new musters taken by the Magistrates direction, and that the whole country, and the peo-
ple adjoining, were raised, and out in arms. Moreover, That the Privernats, Fundans, and For-
mians were without all dissimulation sollicited and moved to rebel. Upon which causes, it was
advised by the Senat, first to send Embassadors to the Samnits, before they made war: and from
them they had an insolent answer, And they themselves made quarrel, and charged the Romans
with wrongs offered first: and nevertheless they justified themselves for any thing by them done,
and answered all objections that were laid against them full stoutly. "Namely, that the Greeks
E "were not aided by any publick counsel or order of theirs, nor yet were the Fundans and Formi-
"ans by them sollicited, as who need not be ashamed of their own power, but thought them-
"selves sufficient enough to war if they listed. Thus much moreover, they could not dissem-
"ble, but speak it out in plain tearms, That the Nation and Senat of the Samnits take it in ill
"part, that the people of *Rome* had re-edified and repaired *Fregellæ*, a town by them conquered,
"and won from the Volscians, and by them laid ruinate: and not only so, but they had placed
"a Colony also in the Samnits Country, which the inhabitants called *Fregellæ*. Which contu-
"mely and reproachful injury, unless they that were the authors thereof would do their best to
"abolish and cancel, they would with all their might and main repel it from them. And when
as the Roman Embassador made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter for to be
F decided unto the common Confederates and friends of both parties; What double and indirect
dealing is this (quoth the Samnits?) What juggling is here to no purpose? As for the quarrels
and differences between us (O ye Romans) neither the babling words of Embassador, nor yet a-
ny days-man or arbitrator, but the very Campain field, wherein we must encounter in earnest,
even dint of sword, and the spears point, and the doubtful chance of battel shall determin. And
therefore encamp we between *Capua* and *Suessula*, in the sight one of another, and let us then try
the issue, whether Samnit or Roman shall be Lord of *Italy*. The Embassadors of *Rome* made an-
swer, that they were not to go whither the enemy called them, but whither their General and
Captains led them. In this mean while *Publius* had already got a convenient piece of ground
between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*, and thereby empeached the enemies of the mutual entercourse of
G succors from the one to the other, which they had used reciprocally, as either place had need,
and was distressed. Therefore, when as the time of Election of Magistrates at *Rome* drew on a-
pace, and expedient it was not for the Common-weal that *Publius* (now approaching neer the
enemies walls, and ready to assault) should be called away from the hope which dayly he had of
winning the City; the Tribuns were dealt withal, to propose an Act unto the people, That
when the time of *Pub. Philo* his Consulship should be expired, he might in quality and name of
Proconsul, remain in government, until the war with the Greeks were fully ended. And unto
L. Cornelius were letters sent, implying thus much, That whereas it was not thought good, that

he now being entred into *Samnium*, should be called away from the chief push of the war, he should nominate a Dictator to be President of the Election of Magistrates: Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was appointed for General of horse *Sp. Posthumius*. Yet for all this, was no assembly for the said election, holden by the Dictator. For it came in question, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the Augurs being hereabout consulted with, pronounced, "That the Dictator seemed not created aright. But the Tribuns discredited and made suspicious "and infamous, by their accusatory speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That neither it was easie to know the fault and error in the creation, seeing that the Consul nominated "the Dictator in the beginning of the still night, neither had the Consul written to any man publickly or privatly thereof, nor yet was there any person could come forth and say, that he either saw or heard ought, that might mar and interrupt the Auspices, nor yet could the Augurs sitting at *Rome*, guess and divine, what error had happned to the Consul in the camp so far off. And "who saw not (say they) that the Augurs found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elect, "was a Commoner? These and other such allegations were (to no purpose) by the Tribuns given out. For the matter grew to an Interreign, and the foresaid Election being still put off and adjourned for one cause or other; at length the fourteenth Interregent, *L. Æmylius* created Consuls, *C. Petilius*, and *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Mugillanus* or *Cursor*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was founded: and that *Alexander* the King of *Epicurus* was murdered by a certain Lucan, a banished person, to verifie the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was sent for into *Italy* by the Tarentins, he had warning given him, [*To take heed of the Acherusian Water, and the City* Pandosia, *for there it was his destiny to end his days*:] and therefore, with more speed he passed over into *Italy*, to be as far off as might be, from the City *Pandosia* in *Epirus*, and the river *Acheron*; which issuing out of *Molossis* into the lower Meers and Lakes, dischargeth it self, and falleth into the Thesprotian Gulf. Howbeit (as commonly it is seen when men seek most to flie and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themselves into it) he, having oftentimes vanquished and overthrown the legions of the Brutians and Lucans; won by force *Heraclea* a Colony of the Tarentines, and *Consentia* in *Lucania*, and *Sipontum*, and also *Acerina* a Colony of the Brutians, and other Cities afterwards of the Messapians and Lucans: sent into *Epirus* three hundred Noble houses and families, whom he meant to keep as hostages: he encamped not far from *Pandosia*, a City situate neer to the Confines of the Lucans and Brutians. And there he held three hils somewhat distant asunder, from whence he might make excursions and rodes into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almost 200. banished men of the Lucans, for his sure trusty guard: who notwithstanding (as the natures are of such for the most part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortune. Now it fell out so, that the continual rains which overflowed all the fields, had foreclosed and stopped the passages three ways between his armies, so as they could not help one another: whereby those two garrisons where the King was not in person, were surprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the sword, turned their whole forces to besiege the King. From whence, there were by the Lucan exiles, messengers sent to their own countrimen: who in the name of the rest capitulated, that if they might be restored again, they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himself with an elect number of men, made a noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midst of the enemies: and encountring the chief Commander of the Lucans hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men near together, who were scattered asunder in fight, he came at length to a river, which by the fresh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had born down, shewed passage. Which as the army passed over at an unknown and blind foord, one souldier wearied with fear and travel, cursing and detesting the unlucky and abominable name of the River, fortuned to say, Thou hast not thy name * *Acheros* for naught: which word when it came once to the King his ear, he presently began to think and muse of his final end; and there stayed still in a deep suspence whether he shall pass over or no. Then *Sotimus*, one of the Kings servitors and liegemen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in so great a peril and jeopardy as he was? and shewed him withal, how the Lucans intended to play false with him, and sought opportunity to forelay and do him a mischief. With that the King looked behind him, and espied them afar off in a troop coming against him: whereupon he drew his sword, put his horse to it, took the River, and rode through the midst thereof, and when he was now so far passed that he was ready to take the land, one of those banisht Lucans lanced a dart aloof at him, and struck him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart sticking in his body, and the stream carried it down as far as to the *Corps de guard* of the enemies. Where his breathless corps was shamefully misused and mangled. For they having cut it cross the middle, sent the one half to * *Consentia*, and kept the other with themselves still, to practise a thousand villanies upon it. And as they shot and flung stones at it afar off, a certain woman being amongst this outragious multitude (raging beyond all measure of anger and malice that mans heart can devise or beleeve) after she had besought them to forbear a while, with her eyes gushing out tears said unto them, That her husband and children were prisoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings body, howsoever it were abused and martyred, to redeem them again. This stayed

* A river of anguish and pain.

* cosenza.

stayed them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body, by the means of one only woman, was burnt at *Consentia*: and his bones sent back afterwards to the enemies unto * *Metapontum*, and from thence conveighed to *Epirus*, unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and his sister *Olympias*, whereof the one was sister, the other Mother to *Alexander* the Great. Thus much concerning the woful and unhappy end of *Alexander* the King of * *Epirus*. Whose fortune albeit was such, that he came short, and was cut off before he intermedled in the Roman affair, yet because he warred in *Italy*, let it suffice that briefly by the way I have touched his story.

* Torre di Mare.

* Albania.

The same year was there a Lectistern at *Rome*, (which was the first after the foundation and building of that City) for the pacifying of the same gods as heretofore. Afterwards, the new Consuls by the ordinance and direction of the people, sent defiance and proclamed war against the Samnits. And as they themselves made greater preparation, every way than against the Greeks: so they had besides new aids, whereof (as then) they least thought of; The Lucans and the Apulians (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romans) became their liege and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by form of Covenant and league entertained and received into their amity. At the same time also the Romans had good success in the Samnits quarters: for three towns there yeelded unto them; and they became Masters thereof, to wit, *Allifæ*, *Callifæ*, *Ruffrium*: all the territory besides at the first coming of the Consul, was pilled and spoiled far and near. These exploits thus prosperously atchieved, the other enterprize also of besieging the Greeks, was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and besides, that by certain sconces and blocczues between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured also within their own walls, much more misery and calamity, than the enemy menaced and threatned without: and as if they had been captives to their own garrison souldiers, whom they had called to them for their defence, they suffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the persons as well of their wives as of their children, and even the hardest extremities, that follow upon Cities forced by the enemy. And therefore when it was noised abroad, that there were new succours coming from *Tarentum* and the Samnits: they supposed that for Samnits; there were already within their walls more of them than they would: marry, as for Tarentins they looked willingly for their help, as Greeks both the one & the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withstand, the outrages of the Samnits and Nolans, as the Romans their open and professed enemies. Last of all, of many inconveniencies that they were driven unto, the least and easiest was thought, to yeeld simply unto the Romans. *Charilaus* and *Nymphius* two great men and the chiefe personages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, so parted the matter between themselves, that the one should flie unto the Roman General, and the other stay behind, to find some opportunity, and minister ready meanes to render the City according to their designment. *Charilaus* was the man who presented himself unto *Philo*, and said unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it "said and done of the Palæpolitans and the people of *Rome*, I am determined to deliver and surrender the City into your hands: in which Action, whether I may be thought to have be-"trayed or saved my country, it resteth only in the truth and fidelity of the Romans. As for my "self privately, I am come neither to indent, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publickly in the "behalf of the City, I would rather by way of petition request, than article and capitulate, thus "much, That if this enterprise intended, speed well and take effect, the people of *Rome* would "think and consider, in what affection, endevour and jeopardy, our City returneth again into "their amity, rather than upon what folly and rashness, it brake their allegiance and revolted. Then, after he had been bidden welcom by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 3000. souldiers, to keep, surprize, and to seize that quarter of the City, where the Samnits were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and garrison, *L. Quintius* a Colonel had the conduct. During this time, *Nymphius* also did his part, and dealt so craftily under hand with the Pretor of the Samnits, that he induced and wrought him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about *Palæpolis* or in *Samnium*, he would permit him with the fleet to cast about to the Roman coasts, for that he intended to forrage and waste, not only the maritime parts, but the territories also adjoyning to the City: and the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships presently must lanch forth, and be set afloat. And to effect this more speedily, all the youth of the Samnits besides the necessary garrison of the City, was sent to the shoar. Where whiles *Nymphius* in the dark, and amongst the multitude that hindred one another purposely, spent time in setting confusedly, some to this and others to that, *Charilaus*, according to the complot set before, was by his associats received into the City: and having filled the highest places of the town with Roman souldiers, commanded to set up a shout, whereat the Greeks upon a secret token given them by their Captains, kept themselves still and quiet. The Nolans then, at the backside of the town, escaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to *Nola*. And the Samnits being excluded out of the town, as they had a more readier mean to flie for the present, so they found it, after they were past danger, a more shameful disgrace. For, they were disarmed and naked men, they had left all the good they had amongst the enemies, and returned home spoiled, poor and needy, and served for a laughing stock and derision, not only to other nations, but also to their own neighbors and countrimen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another

opinion, whereby it is given out that *Palæpolis* was by the Samnits betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein such authors, as me thinks it were hard if they should not deliver a truth; for so I am induced the rather to beleeve that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, because of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief seat of the Greeks was translated.) Unto *Publius* was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed constantly, that by his siege the enemies were tamed, and so constrained to come to a composition and surrender. Two special favours hapned to this man above all others before him, namely, the prorogation of his government, not granted to any man aforetime; and triumph after his Magistracy was expired.

Upon the tail of this war, arose another with the Greeks of the other tract or coast. For the Tarentins having born the Palæpolitans in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were possessed of their City, complained themselvs like men forsaken, and not as those who had forsaken others, much blaming the Palæpolitans, and with anger and envy raging against the Romans. Disquieted also they were, for that news came that the Lucans and Apulians (for both these nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (say they) they are well near come unto us, and shortly we shall grow to this pass, that we must acknowledge the Romans for our Lords, or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazzard of our estate, dependeth only upon the Samnits war, and the event thereof, which nation alone, and the same nothing mighty, remaineth now; since that the Lucans are gone and revolted to the Romans: who yet might be reclaimed and moved to shake off the society with the Romans, if any feat were wrought and practised to sow some discord and dissention between them. These devices and overtures took place and prevailed with such, as were desirous of change and novelty: in so much as certain of the Lucan youth (better known, than trusted and reputed honest, amongst their countrimen and fellow Citizens, hired also for a sum of money) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the assembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and said, that for presuming only to come into the Roman camp, they were by the Cons. thus scourged, & escaped narrowly the losing of their heads. The thing it self piteous and unseemly to behold, as bearing a shew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & subtil practice by them intended, stirred the people up, to force their Magistrates with their unceasant outcries to assemble a Councel. Some standing round about the Senat in councel, call hard for war against the Romans: others run up and down to raise the multitude of Peazants to take arms: and in this stir and uproar, which was able to disquiet and amaze even those that were well minded, a decree passed; that the league with Samnits should be renued, and Embassadors dispatched forthwith, to the same purpose. This was a sudden change: and as it had no colour of cause, so it carried smal credit with it amongst the Samnits, who forced the Lucanians to give hostages, and to take garrisons into their fortresses: and they, blinded with anger, and invegled with flattery, refused nothing. But shortly after began the fraud to appear and shew it self. namely, after that the authors and devisers of these false surmises and slanders, were retired to *Tarentum*: but having put themselvs out of all, and being not at liberty to dispose of their own affairs, ehey had nothing else left them, but like fools to repent in vain.

That year hapned to the Commons of *Rome* another beginning of their liberty, in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thraldom by their creditors. Which priviledg against poor debtors, was altered, by occasion of the filthy lust and notorious cruelty of one Usurer. And *L. Papirius* was the man unto whom *C. Publius* for his fathers debt, became bound, and consigned himself his prisoner: whose tender age and lovely favor which might and should have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this Usurer to unkind lust and shameful contumely: for making sul account, that the prime and flower of his youth should satisfie and pay for the interest of the debt, he first began to allure and entice unto him the youth with wanton & unchast speeches: afterwards seeing that his ears abhorred to hear such filthines, he sel to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mird of his present condition wherin he stood: but last of all, perceiving by him, that he stood more upon his honor and freedom by birth, then respected his hard estate by fortune, he caused him to be stripped naked, and whipping cheat to be presented unto him. The poor stripling thus piteously rent and torn, ran forth into the open street, complained of the filthy lust & cruelty of his creditor. Whereupon, a number of people, enkindled as well with pity and commiseration of the stripling, and indignity of the injury, as also in regard of their own case, and of their children: came running into the *Forum* or common place, and so from thence in a long train to the court of the Councel. The Consuls upon this sudden uproar were forced to call a Senat, and as the Senators entred into the Councel chamber, they lay all prostrat at their feet, as they passed by, one after another, & shewed unto them the young mans back and sides in what taking they were. And that one day, by occasion of the outragious enormity of one person, brake the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, to o that day, the creditors had their debtors, in danger unto them. For the Cons. had in charge, to propose unto the people, that from thence forward, no person whatsoever, unless he had committed some heinous fact, and until he were to suffer therefore, should be either kept in fetters and gives, or stretched upon the rack. *Item*, that for lent money, the goods of the debtor and not the body should be obliged. So, they that were in bondage, became released and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none should be imprisoned by their creditors again.

The same year, whiles the Samnits war of it self alone, besides the sudden revolt of the Lucans, together

together with the Tarentins the hatchers thereof, held the Senators of *Rome* in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all these, the Vestin people, as a surcrease to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnits. Which new occurrent, as, for that year it rather maintained this discourse amongst men in their ordinary talk every where, than minist red cause of serious debating in publick Councel: so the Consuls of the year following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Jun. Brutus Sceva*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needful to be treated of in the Senat, with the first. And albeit the thing were but new, and a breeding, yet so greatly were the LL. hereabout troubled, that they feared no leis to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubting, lest if they were let go unpunished, the neighbor nations would grow too lusty and proud: and again, if they seemed to chastise them by war, the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Marsians, the Pelignians and Marucins, were in feats of arms comparable and equal to the Samnits every way: which nations they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the Vestins, and touched them once never so little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present, seemed to carry more courage and valor, then sage advice and wisdom: but the issue and event shewed, that, Fortune favoured Fortitude. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobles, decreed war against the Vestins: the charge whereof light by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Samnium* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defence of the marches and frontiers, the enemies were impeached for joining their forces together. Howbeit the Consul *Furius Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, fortuned to fall grievously sick, and thereby could not follow the wars: who being commanded to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warriour in those days, *L. Papirius Cursor*: by whom *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* was named General of horsemen, a couple surely of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, atchieved in this their government: but yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell between them; whereby they grew well near to the utmost tearms of contesting one another in all extremity. The other Consul warred with the Vestins many and sundry ways, but evermore with like fortune and happy success. For he forraged and wasted their country: and by pilling, rifling, and burning their houses and corn, forced them against their wills into the field: and in one battel so enfeebled and abated the forces of the Vestins (but not without bloodshed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp; but also as not trusting now to their ramparts and trenches, they were constrained to steal away into their towns, minding for to save themselves, as, well by the natural scituation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made assault upon those walled Cities, purposing by force to win them. And first he gained *Cutina* by scaling, either through the exceeding courage of his souldiers, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that scarcely one escaped out of the throng and skirmish, clear & not wounded. Then he likewise took *Cingilia*: and gave the pillage of both Cities to his souldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way and keep them out. But into *Samnium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful Auspices and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof took not effect in the main event and issue of the war; (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For *Papirius* the Dictator, advised by the *Pullarius* [that had the custody and charge of the sacred Pullets] went back to *Rome* to take the *Auspicium* [or the presage by the bird-flight] again: and straightly charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battel during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictators departure, advertised by the espials that the enemies were even as careless, as loose and disordered, as if there had been no Roman in *Samnium*? whether it were, that being a stout and lusty young Gentleman, he took foul scorn and thought it an indignity, that all should seem to rest in the Dictator only: or that he was induced with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wot not:) but he went forth with an army in order of battel, to *Imbrinium*, (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnits. But such was the happy issue of this battel, that if the Dictator himself had been there in person, it could not have been better managed. For, neither Captain failed his souldiers, nor souldiers their Captain. The horsemen also under the leading of *L. Cominius* a Colonel by his place, (who sundry times charged and recharged again, and could not with force break the enemies arrays) unbridled their horses, and so ran them all on the spur: that no strength was able to abide them: such an havock, such a lane made they all about over armour and men. The footmen seconding this hot charge of the horse, advanced the ensigns against the enemies thus put in disarray: and twenty thouland men (by report) were that day slain. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictators absence he fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the most ancient writers I read but of one battel. In some Chronicles the whole matter is passed over and left out clean. The General of the horse, having gained a mighty mass of spoil, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon so great a slaughter & massacre: gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire under, & burned them: were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or (as I list rather to believe, it was a motive of *Fabius* himself, that the Dicta, should not reap the fruit of his glory, and entitle his name thereto) or in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.

More-

Moreover, the letters of this victory by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the
R Dictator, were some proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praises with
him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in so ill part, that when every man else was
joyful for this noble victory atchieved, he only shewed anger and sadness in his very countenance.
Whereupon suddenly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great hast out of the court, giving
out and often iterating these words; Then hath the master of horsemen in deed as well everted
and overthrown, both Dictators Majesty and military discipline, as defeated the Samnits legions,
if he can so go clear away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my express com-
mandment. Whereupon full of threats and indignation, he hastned to the camp, and took long
journeys: yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Vantcurriers that I
posted from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and
set upon punishment, and at every second word almost, commending the late exemplary justice of
T. Manlius. Then *Fabius* immediatly calling an audience, besought the souldiers, that with
what valour and vertue they had defended the Common-wealth from most deadly and mortal
enemies, with the same they would protect him from the outragious cruelty of the Dictatour,
The Oration of *Q. Fabius* to his fellow souldiers. himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victory. "For now,
"coming he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beside himself: for anger at an-
"other mans manhood and felicity, furious and horn-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his
"absence, forsooth, we have sped well; who wisheth rather in his heart, if he could change the
"course of fortune, that the Samnits had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is so K
"rife in his mouth, as, That his commandment was contemned; as who would say, he forbad
"not battel with the same mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For as then his
"will was good, even for very envy to hinder and suppress the prowess of another, and went a-
"bout to take weapons away from most forward souldiers, desirous of fight, that in his absence
"they might not lay hand to their sword: so now, see how he fretteth and fumeth in great cho-
"ler at this, that without *L. Papirius* the souldiers were not disarmed, dismembred as it were,
"and maimed: and for that *Q. Fabius* forgat not his place, but bare himself as General of the
"Cavalry, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, standing at receit, and waiting
"at an inch when some under Captainship would fall, that he might step into the place. What
"would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have fretted, if (as the fortune and L
"doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worse and lost the day; who
"now that the enemies be vanquished, the field so well fought, the State so well served, as by
"the most singular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me
"the General of the horse, even in the honour of my conquest? Neither is he (my masters) cru-
"elly bent and set upon mischief against the General of the horse more then against the Colonels,
"the Centiners and common Souldiers: nay, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have ra-
"ged and fared as bitterly, yea and executed his ire and furious rage upon all. But because he
"cannot, now he discharageth his gall upon me alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, fear-
"cheth and mounteth up to the highest, so runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at
"the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glory of M
"this brave service, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatsoever he
"might by law execute against a General of the Cavalry, he would attempt and extend, upon the
"simple souldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that in standing fast to me and in defence of my
"cause, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in case he shall perceive once, the same agreement of
"the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well seen in the battel, and that ye all
"have a care and regard of the life and safety of one, his stomack will come down, his heart wil
"relent and incline to clemency, and a milder sentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and
whole estate to your vertue and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cried
unto him aloud, & bade him take a good heart: for so long as the Legions of the Romans were
safe, there should no person do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently N
by sound of trumpet summoned a general assembly. And the publick Crier after an Oiez made, cal-
led by name for *Q. Fabius* General of the horse. Who so soon as he was come from a lower
place where he was, and approached neer the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand
Interrogatories tendered by the Dictator to *Q. Fabius*. "of thee *Q. Fabius*, since that the rule of the Dictator is soveraign and highest above all others,
"whereunto the Consuls endued with kingly puissance and government, do obey, yea, & Prætors
"created with the same authority that Consuls are; whether thou esteem it meet and right, that a
"General of horse should be obedient to his commandment or no? I demand likewise, whether I
"my self, knowing that I took my journey and went from home, with doubtful and uncertain *Au-*
"*spices*, ought to have put the main state of the Common-weal in hazzard against the order and
"religious observation in that behalf; and not rather, to go again to take new *Auspicia*, that I O
"might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods?
"And with al, this I demand, whether the General of the horsemen could be freed, exempt, & dis-
"charged of that scruple of conscience, which checked and stayed the Dictator from execution of
"his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? seeing that if he had departed without
"saying one word, yet thou shouldst have framed thy opinion and applied thy mind according
"to the interpretation of my wil and pleasure? Why sayest thou nothing? Answer me I say. Forbad
"I thee not expressly, to do any thing in my absence? Forbad I not thee to fight with the enemies?

How

A "How durst thou in contempt of my commandment, whiles our *Auspicia* were uncertaine,
"whiles our consciences were unresolved and with scruples troubled, against Military customs
"and statuts, against the discipline of our ancestors, and against the will and direction of the gods:
"how durst thou, I say, be so hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To these interrogatories
"make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and nothing but these, and at
"the peril of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Serjeant and do thine office the while.
To which several Articles, when *Fabius* could not readily answer point by point, one while com-
plaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life and death: other whiles
crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his
B acts: and as he justified and excused his own self, so he began again to challenge and accuse [the
Dictator.] Then *Papirius* being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General
of the horsemen to be stripped out of his cloaths and uncased, and the rods and axes to be
brought forth ready. With that, *Fabius* calling earnestly for the help of the souldiers, whiles the
officers were a tearing and renting his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himself into
the ranks of the *Triarii*, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the assembly. From
whence there arose an outcry over all the audience. Some were heard to intreat, others to threat.
They who fortuned to stand next to the Tribunal, because that being within the view and eye of
the Dictator. they might be known and noted, besought his Majesty to spare and pardon the Ge-
neral of the horse, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were farthest off
C in the skirt of the assembly, and especially that troop and company about *Fabius*, rated and cried
out upon such a rigorous and merciless Dictator. And a little thing more would have made them
mutiny: nay, within the very compass of the Tribunal all was not clear and quiet. The Lieute-
nants or Colonels of whole legions, standing about his seat or chair of state, intreated him to put
off the matter until the morrow: to give his choler some time to cool, and allow space and re-
spit to consider of it with advice and counsel: saying, "That if *Fabius* had plaid a youthful part,
"he had paid sufficiently for it already, and his victory had received disgrace and dishonour e-
"nough. Beseeching him not to proceed to these extremities of utmost execution, nor to set such
"a brand and note of ignominy and shame upon the young Gentleman himself, so rare and gal-
"lent a Knight; or on his father, a most honourable and excellent personage, not yet upon the
D "noble house and name of the *Fabii*. But when they saw how little they prevailed by their pray-
ers, and as little by any reasons they could alledge; then, they admonished him to have a re-
gard to the furious assembly of the souldiers: "and that it was not for a man of his years and wis-
"dom, thus to put more fire to the hot stomack of Souldiers enkindled already, nor to admini-
"ster more matter of mutiny: and if such a thing should happen, no man would impute the blame
"to *Q. Fabius*, who sought and humbly craved pardon of punishment, but to the Dictator: if he
"overcome with choler; should blindly so far pass himselfe in wilful peevishness, as to provoke
"the outragious multitude against himself. Finally, that he should not think, how they laboured
"thus for any affectionate favour they bare to *Q. Fabius*; but were ready to take an oath, that
"they thought it not safe for the State and Common-weal, that he should proceed at such a time,
E "to execute the rigor of Justice upon *Q. Fabius*. By these and such like remonstrances, when as
"the Lieutenants had stirred up the Dictator his blood against themselves, rather then pacified
his mood against *Fabius*, they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the
Crier had assaied to make silence all in vain, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither
the Dictator his voice, nor any of his apparitors and halberds about him, could be heard, the night
came upon them and ended the contention, as if it had been a battel in field. The General of the
horse was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avou-
ched unto him, that *Papirius* would proceed more vehemently, for that contesting of the Lieute-
nants, and that the more he was dealt withal, the worse he was: *Fabius* privily stole out of the
camp and fled to *Rome*. And by the means of his father *M. Fabius*, a man who had been already
F thrice Consul and Dictator, the Senat was called together immediatly. And as he was in the midst
of his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violence and wrong of the Dictator,
all of a sudden, there was heard before the Councel House door, a great noise and hurrying of the
Lictors, whiles they made way and voided the preis. And no marvel; for the Dictator himself se
was come with a revenging mind. For so soon as he had heard how *Fabius* was departed out of
the camp, he followed after with his light horsemen. Then began the broil to be renued afresh,
and *Papirius* caused *Fabius* to be attached. Whereupon the chief of the Nobility, and the whole
body of the Senat began to enterpose themselves by way of mediation: but all their intreaty not-
withstanding, he persisted still in his implacable anger. Then stept forth *M. Fabius* the father, "For *M. Fabius to the Dictator.*
"as much as (qd. he) neither the authority of the Senat nor mine old age, whom you seek to make
G "childless, nor yet the valor & noble courage of the General of horse, by your own self chosen and
"nominated, can prevail; nor any humble prayers, which are able to appease the fury of the ene-
"my oftentimes, yea, and to pacifie the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawful
"help of the Tribuns and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And since that you challenge
"and except against the judgement of your own army, and of the Senat, I offer and present unto
"you that judge, who only is of more force and puissance, I am sure, than your Dictatorship,
"I will see, whether you will yeeld to this appeal, whereunto the Roman King *Tull. Hostilius*
"gave place. Then out of the Councel house they went straight to the Common place of audience:

and

and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was ascended up, and the General of the Cavalry accompanied with all the whole troop of the chief of the City, *Papirius* commanded that he should come down or else be fetched from the *Rostra*, unto the lower ground. The father followed after him. "Well done (quoth he) in commanding us to be brought hither, from "whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, if we were no better then privat persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrangling and altercation. But afterwards the voice and indignation of old *Fabius*, surmounted and drowned the other noise: who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and cruelty of *Papirius*. "What man (quoth he) I have been "also a Dictator of *Rome* my self, and yet was there never so much as a poor Commoner, no Cen- "turion, nor Souldier hardly entreated or misused by me. But *Papirius* seeketh victory and tri- "umph over a Roman Grand-Captain and General, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his "enemies. See, see, what difference there is between the government in old time, and this new "pride & cruelty of late days. *Quintius Cincinnatus* a Dictator for the time, proceeded no farther in "punishment against *Minutius*, when he was fain to deliver him lying enclosed & besieged with- "in his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant in stead of Consul, in the army where of he "had charge. *M. Furius Camillus*, not only for the present tempered his choler toward *L. Furi-* "*rius*, who in contempt of his old age and authority, had fought most untowardly and with "dishonor in the end; and wrote nothing to the people or the Senat but well, of his Collegue: "but also being returned, made a special reckoning of him above all the Tribuns consular, whom "also of all his collegues, when as he had the choice granted him by the Senat, he elected to be "his coadjutor in the charge of his government. Neither the people verily, whose power is So- "veraign over all, were ever more angry against those, that through rashness and want of skill "lost whole armies, than to fine them at a sum of money. For the loss and miscarriage of any "battel, that a General should be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard "of to this day. And now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Com- "manders under the people of *Rome*, and those, who are conquerors and have deserved most just- "ly triumphs; which by no law can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What else I "pray you) should my son have endured, if he had beastly suffered the field to be lost and his ar- "my withal? If he had been discomfited, put to flight, and driven clean out of the field, how "far forth further would the Dictator his ire and violence have proceeded, than to scourge I "and kill? And see how fit and seemly a thing it is that the City for the victory of *Q. Fabius*, "should be in joy, in processions to the gods, and thanksgivings, with congratulation and feast- "ing one another: and he himself by whose means the Temples stand open, the Altars smoak with "incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped "naked, to be whipped and torn in the sight of the people of *Rome*, looking up to the Capitol and "the Castle, lifting up his eys to the gods upon whom in two such noble battels he called and in- "vocated, not in vain nor without good and happy succes? With what heart will the army take "this, which under his leading and conduct, and under his fortune, atchieved victory? What la- "mentation will there bein the Roman camp, and what rejoycing on the other side amongst the e- "nemies? Thus fared this good old father, thus pleaded he by way of expostulation and complaint, calling upon God and man for help, and with al embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. "On the one side, there made with young *Fabius*, and took his part, the majesty and coun- "tenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the assistance of the Tribuns, and the re- "membrance of the army absent. On the other side were alledged against him by *Papirius*, the in- "vincible government and Empire of the people of *Rome*, the discipline of warfare, the Dictators "commandment (observed and reverenced at all times, no less then the Oracle & wil of the gods) "the severe edicts of *Manlius*, whose fatherly love and affection to his dear son was set behind the "service and common good of the State. Also it was alledged, that the same exemplary justice, *L.* "*Brutus* the first founder of the Roman liberty, executed in his two sons: and now mild and kind "fathers, indulgent and fond old men, in the case of contempt of other mens commandment, give "liberty to youth, and pardon as a smal matter, the overthrow of military discipline. Howbeit, he "for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condigne punishment to him, "who contrary to his commandment, and notwithstanding the trouble and confusion of religion, "and the doubtful *Auspicia*, had given battel, saying, That as it was not in his power to abridge "any jot the majesty of that State and Empire, for being everlasting: so, *L. Papirius* would diminish "naught of the authority therof, wishing, That neither the Tribuns puissance sacred and inviolable "in it self, should by their opposition & interposing of their negative voice, violate the Empire of "*Rome*: nor that the people of *Rome*, should in him above all others abolish and extinguish both "Dictator and Dictatorship. Which if it did, the posterity hereafter should lay the weight and "blame (although in vain) not in *L. Papirius*, but in the Tribuns, and in the perverse judgment "of the people: when as the military discipline being once polluted and stained, neither souldier "would obey the Centurions commandment, nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonel the "Lieutenant, nor Lieutenant the Consuls, nor yet General of horse, the Dictator: whiles no man "hath regard and reverence either of men or of gods; no Edicts of Dictator, no flight of Birds "observed; but that without pasport, the souldiers may wander and rove, either in their own "ground or the enemies land, and unmindful of their sacred military oath, may cashier and dis- "charge themselvs from souldiery, through a licentious liberty of their own, whensoever they list; leaving

"leaving their ensigns and colours not attended, not meeting at summons, not repairing to the "*Rendezvous*, according to proclamation: without all discretion, making no difference whether "they skirmish by day or night, on even ground or uneven, with advantage or disadvantage, with "direction, or without; observing no signals and watchword, no array. In sum, the whole course "of military service henceforth, blind, rash, and inconsiderate, after the guise of robbing, to stand "and go currant for solemn and sacred warfare. With these crimes and absurd inconveniences "(O ye Tribuns) charged you must be to the worlds end: lay down you must, and gage "your own lives for the audacious disobedience of *Q. Fabius*, for whom ye are now an- "swerable. The Trib. were astonied hereat, and for themselves now, rather careful and perplexed, than for him who had recourse unto them for refuge and succor. But the general consent of the people of *Rome*, turning to prayer and intreaty, eased them of this heavy load and burden: and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator, to remit the punishment of the General of horse, for their sake. The Tribuns also, seeing that was the way, and all enclining and growing to Petition, followed after, and did the like: earnestly beseeching the Dictator to forgive this human fragility, and youthful folly of *Q. Fabius*, saying, That he had suffered chastisement enough. Then the young man himself, then his father *M. Fabius*, forgetting all strife, and laying aside debate, fell down at the Dictator his feet, and besought him to appease his wrathful displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator after silence made, "Yea marry (quoth he) O Quirites, this I like well, and thus "it should be: now hath military discipline got the victory, now hath the majesty of your Em- "pire prevailed indeed, which lay both a bleeding, and were in hazzard to have been abolished "and overthrown for ever, after this day. *Q. Fabius* is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought "against his soveraigns commandment: but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven, nay, is "given rather to the people of *Rome* and the Tribuns power, whose assistance and help is granted "for their instant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Rise up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happy man "for their instant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Rise up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happy man "for this agreement of the City in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou "barest thy self so bravely. Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact, which "thine own father here, if he had been in *L. Papirius* his place, would never have pardoned. And "as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayst come again, at thine own will and pleasure: But "to the people of *Rome*, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou shalt perform "no greater duty and service than that the example of this days work may be a teaching and war- "ning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful commands of superiour Ma- "gistrates. After that he had pronounced the pardon of the General of horse, and discharged him of the Court, and was departed himself out of the common place of audience, the Senat joyful and highly contented, and the people much more, came all about them, and on the one side bidding joy to the General of the horse aforesaid, and on the other side giving thanks to the Dictator, followed after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that military government was no less confirmed and established by this peril and danger only of young *Q. Fabius*, then by the late piteous execution of young *Manlius*.

By chance that year so fell out, that as often as the Dictator absented himself from the Army, so often the enemies rose and raised troubles in *Samnium*. Howbeit, the fresh example of *Q. Fabius* was ever in the eye of *M. Valerius*, Lieutenant General and Governor of the camp, who feared as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies whatsoever. Insomuch, as when purveiours for corn being entrapped by an ambush were slain, in a place of disadvantage; commonly it was thought and beleeved, that they might have been by the Lieutenant rescued and saved, but for fear of these rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger hereof, the Dictator lost the hearts of the souldiers, who were already malecontent, for that he was so inexorable in the cause of *Q. Fabius*, and had denied them that, at their instant intreaty, which afterwards he yeelded unto and pardoned, at the suit and request of the people of *Rome*. The Dictator, after that he had left for the government of the City *L. Papirius Crassus* the General of horse, discharged *Q. Fabius*, and forbidden him to administer any thing by vertue of that office, returned into the camp. Whose coming was neither very welcome and joyful to his own countrimen the souldiers, nor yet struck any terror in his enemies the Samnits. For, the next morrow, were it, that they knew not that the Dictator was come, or little cared and weighed whether he were present or absent, they approached the camp in order of battel. Howbeit, that one man, *L. Papirius* the Dictator, was of such valor and importance, that if the love of the souldiers had seconded the policy and sage conduct of their Commander, the war with Samnits had that day been quite dispatched and ended, past all peradventure, so skilfully set he the battel in array, so warily chose he his ground of advantage, so strengthned he the same with supplies out of the reregard, in all warlike skil and singular policy. But the souldiers failed for their parts, and went coldly to their business, even of purpose, that the valiant and commendable parts of the Captain might be disiredited and depraved; and so the victory was much hindred and impeached. Howbeit, many of the Samnits were slain; and in exchange as many of the Romans hurt. But he like a wise and expert Captain, soon perceived, what was the cause that stayed the victory. He saw well enough, that he was to temper his own nature and to allay that severity of his, within mildness and courtesie. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants himself in person went about to visit the wounded soldiers, putting his head into their tents & cabbins asking each one how they did; charged the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provost-Marshals, and other officers of the camp, to tend and look unto

unto the ſick ſouldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a H thing in it ſelf popular, he handled and ordered with ſuch dexterity; that by curing their bodies, their minds alſo and hearts were much ſooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the ſpeedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptation of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreſhed and repaired his army, he encountred once again the enemy with aſſured hope of himſelf and his ſouldiers, to obtain a final victory; and ſo diſcomfited and put them to flight, that the Samnits after that day, durſt never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor reſiſtance, either in open ſhew, or covert ambuſh. This alſo encouraged them the more, and cheered their I hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole ſpoil among the ſouldiers: ſo that their privat gain whet them on againſt their enemie, no leſs then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnits tamed and ſubdued by theſe loſſes and overthrows, ſued to the Dictator for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every ſouldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senat, they made anſwer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their cauſe and whole eſtate to his faithful protection, to his vertue and goodneis only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnits, the Dictator with triumph entred the City: and when he would have reſigned up the Dictatorſhip, the Senat ordained, That before he gave over, he ſhould create Conſuls. So, *C. Sulpitius Longus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Æmylius Cæretanus* were K elected.

The Samnits not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of *Rome*, truce for a year. Which they obſerved not faithfully: ſo ſoon were their ſtomacks up again to make war after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government. Whiles *C. Sulpitius*, and *Q. Æmylius* (or *Aulus* as ſome Chronicles have) were Conſuls, beſides the revolting of the Samnits, there aroſe a new war alſo from the Apulians. Both ways was there a power ſent. *Sulpitius* his lot was to go againſt the Samnits, and *Æmylius* againſt the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themſelves no war was made, but contrariwiſe, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrongs of the Samnits. Howbeit, the low eſtate of the Samnits, at that time, L hardly able to maintain and defend themſelves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians were not watred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apulian countrey, and *Samnium* was waſted: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at *Rome* there happned a ſcare by night, which raiſed every man ſo ſuddenly out of their firſt ſleep, and ſo affrighted the City, that preſently at one inſtant the Capitol and the Caſtle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cauſe of this fear.

The ſame year the Tuſculans were judicially convented before the people of *Rome* by proceſs, and that by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribun of the Commons, exhibited N a bill of Endictment to the people that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted upon the Tuſculans: For that through their aſſiſtance and Counſel, the Veliterns and Privernats had taken arms againſt the people of *Rome*. The Tuſculans with their wives and children reſorted to *Rome*. Which multitude having changed their apparrel, and clad in poor array and habit, as priſoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees to every man. Whereupon, pity prevailed more to obtain pardon of puniſhment, then the goodneſs of their cauſe to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except *Pollia*, diſannulled and made void the Endictment aforeſaid. But the ſentence of the Tribe *Pollia* was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, ſhould be ſcourged and put to death. *Item*, that their wives and children, by martial law, ſhould be ſold in open port-ſale. And for certain it is reported, that N the Tuſculans took ſo deep an anger againſt the authors of ſo hard a cenſure and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in deſpite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe *Pollia*, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe *Papiria*. The year following, whiles *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius* were Conſuls, *A. Cornelius Arvina* Dictator, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* General of horſe, having taken a ſtraighter levy of ſouldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in *Samnium* (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) lead forth a goodly and puiſſant army againſt the Samnits. But they pitched their camp ſo carelеſſly in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnit legions came on a ſudden ſo proudly, that they ſet forward the trench and rampart, and encamped cloſe to the *Corps* O *de gard* of the Romans. Howbeit the night approached ſo faſt, that they were hindered for aſſayling the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator ſeeing that he muſt fight neerer than he expected or hoped; for fear leſt the ſtraightneſs and diſadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his ſouldiers, leaving fires thick burning in the camp, for to diſappoint the ſight of the enemies, in the ſtill night with ſilence leadeth for h his legions: but yet could he not for the neerneſs of their camp eſcape, but be eſpied of them. The horſemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail. and

A and preſſed hard upon the army in their march, yet in ſuch ſort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay, the very footmen were not all iſſued out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horſemen adventured to charge upon the Romans, and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmoſt, and partly by skirmiſhing in places that were hard to be paſſed over, they hindred their march and kept them behind. In the mean while their Infantery alſo overtook the Cavalry, ſo as now the Samnits with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator ſeeing he could not go farther without his great loſſe and diſadvantage, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he ſtood: but for aſmuch as the light Horſemen of his enemies were overſpred all about, they could not poſſibly go to provide ſtakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to caſt a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go
B forward, nor ſtay and fortifie, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and ſet his men in battel array. The enemies do the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this moſt of all heartned and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the occaſion of the enemies retreat was the diſadvantage and ſtraightneis of the place, preſumed that they did it upon fear: and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled and been affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtful ballance, albeit the Samnits now a long time had not been uſed to abide ſo much as the firſt ſhout of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eight, it is ſaid that the battail ſtood ſo equal and indifferent, that neither the ſhout and cry was redoubled, nor heard the ſecond time, after it was once ſet up at the firſt buckling: nor the enſigns were ſet
C forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they firſt were: nor yet of any part were they ſeen to retire or go back, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and preſſing with his ſhield, without breathing or looking back, ſtill fought a-front: the ſame noiſe, one reſolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter wearines or dark night. Now began the ſtrength of men to fail, now the ſpear point and edge of the ſword, began to turn and loſe their force, and now the Captains themſelves were to ſeek for counſel and what to do: By what time all at once the Samnits Horſemen, hearing that the cariages of the Romans with one only Corner were gone a good way off from the armed ſouldiers, without any other guard and fortification; for greedineſs of ſpoil ſet upon them. Which when a meſſenger in great haſt and fear reported to the Dictator; Let them alone (quoth he) let them encumber themſelves with
D the ſpoil, and ſpare not. Then came others one after another, windleſs with running, crying out and ſaying, that all was gone: and that every where the ſouldiers goods were rifled, ranſacked and carried clean away. Whereupon he ſent for the General of Horſemen, See ye not (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, the battel abandoned of our enemies Cavalry? They ſtand ſtill and are encumbred and peſtred with our cariages. Now therefore charge upon them, disbanded as they are. (which uſually hapneth to any multitude, buſy in pillage) find them you ſhall (no doubt) few on Horſeback, and as few with weapon in hand: and whiles they are loding their Horſes with ſpoil, kill them unarmed, and make it a bloody booty to them, and let them buy it full dearly: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen; have you the honour of the Horſemens ſervice. Then the Cavalry ranged into a Squadron, as exquiſitly and skilfully as poſſibly
E might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies diſarraied and clogged with cariage, beating them down, and making a miſerable maſſacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and ſardels which they caſt from them ſuddenly, and now lay againſt their feet to ſtumble on as they fled, and in the Horſes way, that were amazed and affraid, they were not able well, either to flie or to fight, and ſo were ſlain. When as the enemies Cavalry were thus defeated and welneer all come to ſlaught, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of Horſemen, for to fetch a compaſs, ſet upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon aroſe a new fearful cry, which cauſed the hearts of the Samnits to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, ſeeing the formoſt of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their enſigns out of order, and all their battailons waving and floting to and fro; called hard upon his ſouldiers, and exhorted
F them to fight luſtily: cried unto the Colonels, the Sergeants of Bands and Corporals ſeverally by name, to re-encharge and renew the battel again with him. Thus with a freſh and new ſhout, they advance the Standards, and ſet forward the enſigns: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and in diſarray. And now by this time, the Horſemen alſo were within the ſight of the formoſt in the vanguard: and *Cornelius* looking back to the bands and companies of his footmen, making ſign with hand and with voyce as well as he could, ſhewed and made demonſtration unto them, that they ſaw the colours and targets of their own fellow Horſemen. Which when they once heard, and ſaw withal; preſently as if they had forgot the battel which they endured almoſt a whole day, and felt no ſmart of their wounds, they beſtirred themſelves againſt the enemy as luſtily, as if they had newly come out of their tents, freſh
G and in heart, and ſeen but now the ſignal, and heard the ſound of crumpet, to a battel. Now were the Samnits no longer able to ſuſtain the terror of the Horſemen behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either ſlain in the mids between, or ſcattered abroad in flight. Such as ſtayed and were environed about, the footmen ſlew: thoſe who fled, were trodden under the Horſe feet and killed: among whom, the General himſelf left his body on the earth. This battel above all other, ſo quelled and daunted the hearts of the Samnits and cruſhed their forces, that in all their Diets and Councels they muttered and gave out, That it was no marvel that

From nine of the clock in the morning, until two after noon.

they sped so ill, in all their affairs of arms, the quarrel was so bad and ungodly, and the war be- H
gun so contrary to a covenant of truce, and having the very Gods, and that justly, more against them
and greater enemies than men: and that such a war must needs cost some great overthrow, and
might not be expiat without some notable satisfaction. Here only was the difficulty and diffe-
rence, whether vengeance and punishment should be taken of the guilty blound of some few, or
the guiltelesse blound of all. And even then, some there were, that durst nominate the very authors
of this war. And one specially, to wit, *Brutulus Papius*, whose name was by the common voyce
and consent heard above all the rest. A noble and mighty man he was, and without question, the
principal breaker of this last truce. The Prætors being enforced therefore, to determine as touch-
ing him what was to be done; at length decreed, That *Brutulus Papius* should be delivered to the I
Romans, and that together with him, all the Roman pillage and their prisoners should be sent to
Rome: and that of all the goods, unto which according to the covenant and composition, the
Fecials laid claim, there should, according to right and equity, restitution be made. Then were
the Heralds, by vertue of the decree, sent to *Rome*, together with the deads corps of *Brutu-*
lus: for he to avoid shame and punishment, wilfully killed himself. It was thought good, that
with his body all his goods also, should be delivered. Howbeit none of all these things but only
the captives, and whatsoever could justly be owned out of the booty, was received: all the rest
were offered, but in vain, for nothing was accepted. The Dictator by vertue of an act of the Se-
nat, triumphed. Some write that this war was fought by the Consuls, and that they triumphed
over the Samnits: and that *Fabius* also went forward into *Apulia*, and from thence brought away K
great and rich prizes. But without all controversie *A. Cornel.* was Dictator that year: this only
was the doubt, whether he were created for the conduct of this war, or at the Roman games
[*Circenses*,] (because *L. Cantius* hapned to be grievously sick) to give the signal when the chariots
and steeds should be let out of the Barriers to run the race for their prize: and that having done
that function of a charge (I wis not worth the remembrance) he should leave his Dictators place.
It is not an easy thing to prefer either one matter, or one author before another. I suppose ra-
ther for my part, that the record and memorial of these matters hath been depraved and corrupt-
ed, by these funeral Orations of praises, and by these counterfeit and false titles of images: whiles
every house and family draweth to it, the honour and renown of noble exploits, martial feats, and
dignities, by any untruth and lie, so it be colourable. And hereupon, surely it is, that both the L
deeds of particular persons, and the publick records and monuments of Acts, are confounded:
neither is there extant any one writer, who lived in those dayes, upon whom, as a true and cer-
tain author, we might ground, and rest our selves.

The Ninth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Ninth Book.

TItus Veturius *and* Sp. Posthumius *Consuls, having engaged their army so far, within the Gullet or streight of* Caudium, *into a place of great disadvantage, that they had no means nor hope to get forth again, fell to capitulation with the Samnits, and compounded with them: and after they had deli-* M
vered unto them 600 *Roman Horsemen for hostages, they went away with the rest of the army, but so, as they were forced all of them to pass shamefully under the gallows. The same Consuls (even by the* N
motion of one of them, Sp. Posthumius, *who perswaded the Senat, that by rendring of those into the ene-*
mies hands, through whose default so shameful and ignominious a covenant was concluded, the City might
be delivered and discharged of the promise given in the name thereof) *with two Tribuns of the Com-*
mons, and as many besides as had subscribed to the foresaid accord and agreement, were sent and yeelded
to the Samnits: but they might not be received. Not long after, Papirius surnamed Cursor, defeated
the Samnits, and put them likewise under the gallows: and recovered again those 600 *Roman Horsemen*
aforesaid, that were left for hostages. By which means, the shame and disgrace of the former beastly Act
was cancelled and abolished. Two Tribes were added to the rest, Ufentina *and* Falerina. *New inhabi-*
tants were sent to people Suessa *and* Pontiæ. Ap. Claudius *being Censor, brought a channel of water to*
the City, called of his name Claudia: *and paved the high way, named after him likewise,* Appia. *He* O
admitted also into the range of Senators the sons of Libertins. But for asmuch as this state and degree
of Citizens, seemed as it were polluted with these unworthy persons among them, the Consuls of the year
following, in the review of the Senators, and chusing new, held themselves to the order that other Censors
next before had observed. This book conteineth moreover the prosperous wars against the Apulians, Tus-
cans, Umbrians, Marsians, Peligninans, Æquians, and Samnits: with whom was renewed the ancient lea-
gue and amity. Flavius *the scribe or notary, the son of a Libertin or enfranchised Roman, was made*
Ædile Curule, by the faction of the base common people. Which faction, because it troubled and dis-
quieted

A *quieted all the assemblies for Elections, the whole Court in* Mars *field, wherein they have a great stroke and ruled all by means of might and strong hand, were by* Q. Fabius *the Censor, reduced into four Tribes by themselves: Which was the thing that purchased* Fabius *the surname of* Maximus [*i.* right Great.]

The Ninth Book of T. Livius.

BAfter this year, immediately followed the peace made at *Caudium*, so memorable for the Romans foil and misfortune, which hapned in the Consulship of *T. Veturius Calvinus,* and *Sp. Posthumius*. During which, the Samnits had for their General Conducter, *C. Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, a most prudent and politick father, and was himself a worthy warrior, and a most excellent Captain. This *Pontius*, after the Embassadors aforesaid (who had been sent to yeeld and deliver the goods) were returned home without peace concluded, spake thus in a frequent assembly of the Samnits, and said: "Masters and friends, think never, The Oration
"but good there hath been done in this voyage, and our Embassage hath taken some effect. For of *C. Pontius* to
"look what wrath the Gods in Heaven conceived against us, by our breach of covenant and the Samnits.
"truce, is thereby wholly satisfied, and fully done away. This I know assuredly, that the Gods a-
"bove (whose pleasure it was, that we should be driven to this neer point and hard exigent, as
"to render the goods claimed of us, by vertue of an accord and covenant) were nothing conten-
C"ted and pleased, that this our satisfaction and recompence for the breach thereof, was so proud-
"ly and disdainfully despised and rejected of the Romans. For what could possibly have been
"done more, either to pacify the Gods, or to appease men, than that which we offered and per-
"formed? Whatsoever we won by way of hostility and spoil, from our enemies, and which by
"right of war seemed to be ours, we sent back again: the counsellors and perswaders of taking
"arms, because we could not send alive, we delivered dead as they were: and their very goods
"also (because nothing might remain with us, to bring us within the compass of their guiltiness)
"if we brought to *Rome*. What ow I more to thee O Roman? what am I bound to perform be-
"sides, in regard either of covenant, or of the Gods, the judges of the covenant? Whom shall I
"chuse and take for an indifferent arbitrator between thine anger and my punishment? No State
D"and body of people in general, no private person in particular do I refuse: and if no equity and
"reason for the poor and needy, be reserved amongst men against the greater and more mighty,
"yet flie will I, and have recourse to the Gods, the Revengers of such intolerable pride: and I
"will pray them to turn their anger upon those, whom neither restitution of their own goods,
"nor the rendring of other mens withal to boot, will serve and content: whose fell cruelty, nei-
"ther the death of the guilty persons, nor the delivery of dead bodies, neither the owners them-
"selves yeelded, nor all they had in the World rendred with them, can satisfie: briefly, who may
"not possibly be appeased, without we should part with our heart blound unto them, for to drink,
"and give our bowels and entrails to be torn in pieces. The war (O Samnits) is just and right
"on their behalf, who have no way and means to avoid it: and ever lawfully take they arms, who
E"have no other hope, but in force of arms. Since then, in all the affairs of this World, nothing
"is of more importance than this, That men weigh and consider, whether the Gods be gracious
"or adverse unto their enterprises: be sure of this, that as we made our former war not so much
"against men as the Gods; so, we shall fight that, which is now in hand, in the name of the
"Gods, and under their conduct and guidance. Having spoken by way of Prophesie these words,
(which as they were right pleasant and plausible in the hearing, so they proved as true and were
verified in the success ensuing) he lead forth an army into the field and about *Caudium* he encamp-
ed himself, as covertly as he could. From thence, he sendeth to * *Calatia* (where he heard that the * *Giaczzo.*
Roman Consuls and their forces lay in camp) ten souldiers disguised in the habit of Herdmen,
and commanded them to keep their cattel grasing apart, some in one place and some in another,
F but never far from the Romans forts and guards: with this instruction, That when they hapned
upon any of the Roman foragers and vantcurriers, they should agree all in one tale, and say, That
the Samnit legions were in *Apulia*, besieging *Luceria* with all their forces, and were at the point
of winning it by assault. This rumour also was on purpose by others before, set abroad and spread
yea, and came to the Romans ears: but these captives made it sound more credible
and like to be true, for this especially, that all their words agreed one with another. No man
doubted but that the Romans would aid the Lucerins, their good and faithful Allies, and the ra-
ther for fear lest all *Apulia* would upon this present trouble and fearful example revolt, and band
with the Samnits: and the only thing they stood upon was this, Which way to go unto them.
For twain there were leading to *Luceria*: the one broad and open, along the coast of the Adria-
G tick Sea: but as it was the safer, so it was the farther about. Another shorter cut there was
through the streights or gullet of *Caudium* called *Furculæ Caudinæ*. But the natural situation of * *Stretto de Ar-*
the place is thus: There are two deep, narrow, and woddy pases, or dales, one in the tail of the *paia, or il Lugo*
other, with continual crests and ridges of hills round about them: between them lieth enclosed *di S. Maria,*
in the midst a good large plain or meadow, green of grass and full of waters, through the *and Valle di*
midst whereof there lieth a direct passage. But before ye come to that green, ye must enter *Gardano.*
into that first streight aforesaid, and return again either the same way that ye went in, or if ye
proceed to go forward, ye must pass through another such pass or streight, but narrower and

more cumberſome than the other. Into that plain aforeſaid the Romans marched down with their army another way, through and hollow rock, but when they went on forth to the other ſtreight valley, they found it ſtopped and made up with the fall of trees, one croſs over another, and likewiſe with an huge heap of mighty ſtones, laid full againſt them in the way. And they not ſo ſoon diſcovered this guiliful practiſe of their enemies, but they might deſcry withal, a power of them alſo on the top of the Hill. Then with all ſpeed they ſeek to go back again the ſame way they came; but it they found alſo dammed up in like ſort, and beſet with armed men. Whereupon they made a ſtand, without any mans commandment: and as their minds were all amazed and aſtonied, ſo their bodies alſo were poſſeſſed as it were with a ſtrange and extraordinary numbneſs in their limmeſis: and whiles they looked one upon another, each man thinking his fellow to be more witty, and have better underſtanding than himſelf; for a good while they ſtood ſtill, and ſaid not a word. But afterwards, when as they ſaw the two Conſuls pavillions a ſetting up, and ſome making ready things neceſſary to fortification; although they ſaw well enough, that in this deſperate caſe, paſt all hope of recovery, for all the defences they could deviſe, they ſhould but loſe their time and travel and prove fools in the end: yet nevertheleſs, becauſe they would not ſeem to encreaſe their diſtreſſed fortune, and double it with their own default and negligence, every man what he could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, ſetled himſelf to work, and to fortify along the water ſide their camp, with a trench and rampier. And beſides the inſolent and proud ſcoffing and deriſion of their enemies, every man with pittiful conſeſſion ſcorned and checked his own work and travel, as vain, and to no purpoſe. As the Conſuls themſelves were penſive and diſcomforted, and called none about them to counſel, (for that indeed they ſuppoſed they were paſt all adviſe and help) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their ſelves unſent for, and the ſouldiers turning to the Prætorium or Conſuls Quarter, cryed to their Captains for help and ſuccour, which hardly the very immortal Gods could afford and give them. But they, rather made their moans and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than ſat in ſage counſel to give or take adviſe, until the night came upon them: whiles each man according to his natural humour and fancy, muttered diverſly. "One ſaid, let us break through "the ſtoppages oppoſed againſt us in the way: another, let us paſs over the mountains and "woods before us, what way ſoever we may be able to cary armour; for ſo we get to the ene- "my once, whom we have almoſt for theſe thirty years vanquiſhed and chaſed before us; all will "be plain, even and eaſy unto us Romans fighting againſt theſe faithleſs, perjured, and diſloyal "Samnits. Tuſh, ſaith another, whither ſhould we go, or which way? What? Are we about to "remove mountains out of their places? So long as theſe tops of Hills are over our heads, how "will you poſſibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, couragious or cowards, all is one, en- "trapped we are and undone every one. Our enemy will not ſo much as offer us the ſword, "whereon we may dye like men with honor: he will ſit ſtill and end this war. Thus paſſed words to and fro and thus paſſed the night away: unmindful were they of taking repaſt, never thought they of taking repoſe and ſleep. The Samnits on the other ſide, in this ſo fortunat and happy opportunity preſented unto them, were as much to ſeek what to do, and what courſe to chuſe and follow. Whereupon, they all in general were to diſpatch letters to *Herennius Pontius*, the father of their General, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforetime, by reaſon of his great age, had given over not only Military affairs, but alſo all civil buſineſſes: howbeit in that old craſy and ſpent body of his, he bare the freſh vigour of mind and a pregnant wit to give counſel. When he underſtood that the Romans army was ſhut up faſt within the two forreſts, at the Caudine Gulfets, and that his adviſe was asked by his ſons meſſenger: he gave preſently this counſel, That with all ſpeed they ſhould be let go from thence every one, without any harm at all done unto them. Which opinion of his being rejected [of his ſon and the army] his mind was demanded a ſecond time, by the ſame currier ſent again unto him of purpoſe. And then he gave adviſe, that they ſhould be all killed, and not one left alive. Upon which anſwers ſo far diſagreeing, and thus delivered, as it were out of a doubtful Oracle: albeit his ſon himſelf imagined, of all others moſt, that his fathers wit was in the wane, and aged as well as his feeble waſted body: yet by a general conſent of all he was overcome; to ſend for him in perſon for to declare his meaning by word of mouth. Neither thought the old man much thereof, but was brought (by report) to the camp in a chariot: and beeing called to counſel, he was in the ſame tale ſtill, ſo as he nothing changed of his former adviſe, but alleaged only cauſes and reaſons thereof. "Namely, that in his former reſolution (which he took to be ſimply the beſt) "his meaning was, by a ſingular benefit and good turn, to confirm peace and amity for ever, "with a moſt mighty and puiſſant people: in the ſecond his purpoſe was, by the utter loſſe of "two armies, whereby the State of *Rome* would not eaſily recover their ſtrength again, to deſer "the wars for many a year. And as for a third counſel, he had none at all. When his ſon and o other chief Captains, by queſtioning inquired of him, what if a middle courſe between both were taken; namely to diſmiſs them ſafe, and according to the Law of arms and conqueſt to impoſe upon them, hard Laws and Conditions? "Mary (quoth he) this is the way indeed, that "neither winneth you friends, nor yet riddeth you of your foes: ſave them whom ye have provoked with ſhame and diſgrace; and ſee what ye get thereby. The Romans are of this nature, "that they cannot be ſtill and quiet ſo long as they have the worſe; it will never dye in their "hearts, but wil be alwayes freſh whatſoever ſhame this preſent extremity ſhal brand them with: "and

A "and never will it give them any reſt, before they have been by manifold and ſundry wayes reven- "ged of you. So his adviſe was not accepted, neither the one nor the other; and old *Herennius* was carried home again from the camp. The Romans likewiſe in the camp, after many attempts (but all in vain) for to break forth and eſcape away, being now in great penury and ſcarcity of all things, for very neceſſity were driven to ſend Embaſſadors unto the enemies: who firſt ſhould crave an equal and indifferent peace: and if they might not obtain it, then to bid defiance and challenge them to a battel. *Pontius* made anſwer, that there was no talking of battel; for that the field was won already: and becauſe they being vanquiſhed, and as good as taken captive, knew not how to come down and confeſs their poor eſtate; he gave them to underſtand, That he would put them under the gallows, deſpoiled of their armour, and ſtript into their ſhirts: and as
B for other conditions of peace, they ſhould be ſuch, as were meet to paſs between men conquered, and conquerours: namely, if they would depart out of the Samnits country, withdraw their colonies, and ſo both Samnit and Roman in equal alliance live under their own laws and cuſtomes: upon theſe Articles and Capitulations, he was content to come to ſome point of accord with the Conſuls. If any of theſe covenants diſliked them, then he forbad the Embaſſadors to repair again to him any more, but at their peril. When relation of this anſwer was made in the camp, there aroſe ſuddenly ſuch a ſighing and groning amongſt them all, and ſo great penſiveneſs and anguiſh of heart ſeized upon them, that it ſeemed they could not have taken it more heavily, and to the heart, if word had been brought that they muſt all have died in the place. After long ſilence, when as the Conſuls wiſt not how to open their mouth, either for the accord and compoſition
C ſo ſhameful, or againſt it ſo neceſſary: then *L. Lentulus*, who as well in regard of his vertue, as of his dignities, was chief of all the Lieutenants, ſaid: "I have heard my father (quoth he) O ye "Conſuls, oftentimes make report, that he was the only man in the Capitol, who perſwaded the "Senat, not to ranſome and redeem with gold, the City from the hands of the Gauls: at what "time as they were not incloſed either with trench or rampier by their enemies, (a Nation to "ſay a truth, of all others moſt idle in ſuch works, and fortifications) but might have broken "through them, if not without great danger, yet without evident ruin, and aſſured deſtruction. "Were the caſe ſo now that as they then, being armed might have run down out of the Capitol "upon their enemies under them (in which ſort oftentimes the beſieged have ſallied out upon "them that lay in ſiege) ſo we might but fight with our enemies in any place (it ſkilleth not)
D "good or bad even or uneven: I would not in giving counſel, be any jot behind my father in cou- "rage and valor. For I confeſs verily, that to die for our country is a brave death: and for my own "part, ready am I even to offer my body as a ſacrifice to preſent death, yea, and it were, to engage "my ſelf among the thickeſt of my enemies, thereby to ſave the people of *Rome* and the legions: "But alas, here I ſee my country, here I ſee all the Roman Regiments and Legions that are, who "unleſs for their own ſelves they will run upon their death, what have they elſe to ſave by their "death? Why, will ſome man ſay, the houſes and buildings of the City, the walls, and that mul- "titude that inhabit the City. Nay rather, if this army fortune here to miſcarry, they are all clean "betrayed into the enemies hand and not ſaved. For who ſhall defend them? Peradventure, the
E "weak and unarmed multitude: even as well ſurely as they defended it againſt the violence of the "Gauls! Or, will they ſend for an army from *Veii*, and beſeech the help again of Captain *Camillus*? "Even the one as well as the other. But here in this place is our whole hope, here is all our power "and puiſſance: in ſaving it, we preſerve our country; in offering it to die, we abandon and betray "our country. To yeeld and render our ſelves, is a foul and ſhameful thing; true, but ſuch is "the love of our Country, that we ought to preſerve it, as well with our utter ſhame, if need re- "quire, as by our death. Let us undergo then, and abide this ſhameful indignity whatſoever, "and obey that fatal neceſſity, which the very Gods themſelves cannot overcome. Go to then, "Conſuls, a Gods name, redeem the City with your armor and weapons, which your fore-fa- "thers ranſomed with their gold. Then went the Conſuls to *Pontius* for to parle. And when as he began like a conqueror to debate about the capitulations of Covenants, they denied plainly
F that any league could be made, without the privity, will and authority of the whole people: nor without the Fecials, and other ſolemn and uſual Ceremonies. So that this Caudine accord was not (as commonly it is believed, and as *Claudius* alſo writeth) concluded by form of abſolute covenant, but by way of ſtipulation and promiſe. For what needed either ſureties in a perfect agreement and league, or hoſtages to be given when the matter is paſſed by this form of prayer, *By whoſe default it hapned that the conditions agreed were not obſerved, that people Jupiter would ſo ſmite, as the ſwine there was by the fecial ſmitten?* The Coſſ. Lieutenants, Treaſurers, and Colonels, who undertook as ſureties, ſubſcribed and ſigned; and the names yet are extant of them all: where, if the matter had paſſed by way of an abſolute league, there ſhould have been ſubſcribed no more but the names of two Fecials only. Moreover, by reaſon that the concluſion of
G this accord was of neceſſity deferred, there were required alſo 600 Horſemen hoſtages, who ſhould loſe their heads, in caſe the covenants of the agreement were not obſerved. And thereupon was the time appointed and ſet down of delivering the ſaid hoſtages, and yeelding the army without their armor. Now the coming of the Conſuls renewed again the ſorrow in the camp, that hardly they could hold their hands from thoſe, through whoſe raſh conduct they were come to that place of diſadvantage: and through whoſe cowardiſe they were to depart from thence more ſhamefully than they came: complaining that they had not ſo much as a guide to

direct them, nor an espial to discover the coasts: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or pitfal: and one looked upon another; beholding the armor that within a while they were to deliver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They set before their eyes, the gallows prepared by the enemy for them to pass under, the scornes and reproachful taunts of the Victor, his proud and disdainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed enemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful dismarch of their disgraced army: briefly, their soul and dishonourable return through the Cities of their allies unto their country and parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors oftentimes had gone in triumph. They were the only men, which without wound, without dint of weapon, without battel fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as draw their sword, and never came to joyn or encounter with their enemy; having armour, having strength of lim, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come; which by proof and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woful, than they conceived and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all, to go forth without the trench disarmed, and in their single garments: then were the hostages presently delivered, and had to ward: after this, were the Serjeants and Officers willed to depart from the Consuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and compassion even in them, who a while before with all cursing and banning; judged them worthy to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled despiteously and cut in pieces: that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as it were from an abhominable spectacle, and could not indure to behold that disgracing and disfiguring of so great state and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coss, welneer half naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood al the while about them, scorning, mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of these things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallows, and (that which was more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies, they were not so soon got out of the forrest, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hel to see the day, yet the very light it self was worse than al kind of deaths, when they beheld so ill favoured an army and unseemly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to *Capua* before night, yet being doubtful of the faithfulnes and protection of their allies, or else dismaied for very shame, they cast their poor and silly bodies upon the ground, about the high wayes not far from *Capua*. Whereof, when news came to *Capua*, the just and due pity which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogancy and pride of that people by kind. Immediatly they sent unto the Coss, the ensigns and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the Lictors and Serjeants with their rods, they sent armor and Horses, apparel and victual also for the souldiers bountifully: and as they came neer to *Capua*, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindnes and hospitality both privat and publick, that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage, nor the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yeelded them al these comforts they could. So as, besides their grief and sorrow of heart, a certain bashfulnes and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from *Capua*, to accompany them and bring them on their way, as far as their liberties and confins; they were sent for into the Senat-house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news: they reported, that they seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and mum, their hearts clean done and gone together with their armor, not able to greet again, no, nor to give a word to those that saluted them, not one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnits had indeed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever: and had now won not *Rome*, as the Gauls aforetime, but also (which was a more hardy and warlike exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutnes, and valour. As these news were reported, and audience given thereto, with such assent, that every man lamented now the Roman name, as desperat; and concluded generally ic was in the counsel of these their faithful confederats, that they were past recovery; one *Ofilius Calavius*, the son of *Ovius*, a man right nobly born, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn and resolut silence, (qd. he) tho'e eyes fastened so wistly on the earth, those deaf ears to admit al solace and comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expres and certain tokens of them that tossed and rolled from the very root and bottom of their heart, a huge heap and mass of anger & despite. Either (qd. he) I know not the nature of the Romans, or else that stilnes & silence will

will shortly cost the Samnites, woful cryes and doleful groans: and the remembrance of this *Caudium* accord, wil be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnits than to the Romans: for, as for them, they wil every man find their hearts and courages again, whersoever they shal hap to encounter: but the Samnits shal not meet every where with the *Caudium* streights for their purpose.

And now by this time was this shameful overthrow and disgrace known at *Rome*. Intelligence they had before, how they were beset and enclosed about: but afterwards arrived a messenger with news more heavy and sorrowful for that ignominious peace, than for any peril and danger otherwise. At the first noise and bruit that they were besieged, they began to muster: but after they heard, that they had so shamefully yeelded themselves, all that preparation of aid and succor was discharged and sent away: and presently without any order from publick authority, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the market place were shut up. A general vacation began of it self, and pleading in all courts ceased, before Proclamation made: the purple and scarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole City in a manner more sorrowful and heavy, than the very army. Neither were they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace, with the cautions and sureties for the same; but hated also the guiltless souldiers, denying flatly, that they were worthy to be received into City or house. Which heat of stomack and wrathful indignation, the first arrival of the army, utterly allayd; which even to angry persons was pitiful and lamentable. For they returned not as men that escaped safe, alive, and unlooked for into their country, but like captives in habit and countenance; they entred late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within own house: so as the morrow after, and for certain dayes following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at dores to look into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in, as privat men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which thy were forced unto by an act of the Senat: namely, to nominate a Dictator for to be President at the Election of Consuls. So, they elected *Q. Fabius Ambustus* for Dictator, and *P. Ælius Paetus*, General of Horse. Who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the *Auspices*, there were chosen in their room, *M. Æmylius Pappus* for Dictator, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the Horsemen, and yet by them was not the assembly holden for the Election aboveśaid. And for asmuch as the people were even weary again of all that years Magistrats, as unlucky and unfortunate, it grew at length to an Interregn: So Interregents there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Consuls, *Q. Publius Philo*, and *L. Papirius Cursor* the second time; with the whole consent, no doubt, of the City, for that in those dayes there were not two more noble and renowned Captains to be found.

These same day they were created, they entred their Magistracy (for so the LL. of the Councel had decreed:) and after certain solemn and ordinary acts of the Senat passed, they went in hand to consult about the treaty of the Caudine peace. And *Publius*, whose course it was then to have the soveraignty of rule; "Speak (quoth he) *Sp. Posthumius*, to the matter propounded, "and let us hear your opinion, and what you can say. Who after he was risen and stood up, "with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows: I am not, (quoth he) "O ye Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but to my disgrace; and "commanded to speak, not as a Senator and Counceller, but as a man culpable and accused, both "for an unfortunate war administred, and a shameful peace concluded. Howbeit, seeing that "ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our trespass or our punishment, "(setting apart all kind of excuse and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, "before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, whereto men may be "driven) I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded. Which sentence of mine may sufficiently witness and testify, whether I meant to spare mine "own life, or save your legions, when as I became bound to that dishoneśt or necessary stipulation and promise, call it whether ye will. And yet, seeing it was made without the peoples privity and grant, the State of *Rome* is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Samnits, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the Feciales and Heralds, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all scruple and trouble "of conscience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no let in Law of God or man, "but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and "advice is, that the Consuls levy, enrol, arme, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within "the enemies marches, before all things duly belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, "be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beseech ye, O immortal Gods, that seeing it was not "your good will and pleasure, that *Sp. Posthumius* and *T. Veturius* Consuls, should with fortunate "conduct fight against the Samnits, yet ye would be satisfied herewith. That ye beheld us put under the gallows: that ye saw us obliged in an infamous and shameful bond of covenant: that "ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands, ready to receive upon our "heads even with the loss of our lives, al their anger, malice, and despight: and that it would please "you that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that sort war with the Samnits, "as evermore the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed, and performed. When he had spoken these words, all men both so wondred at this man and pitied him too, that one while they would not believe he was the same *Sp. Posthumius*, who had moved and perswaded so foul

The Oration of *Sp. Posthumius* late Consul in the Senat.

foul and dishoneſt a treaty of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that ſo brave and noble a perſonage, ſhould ſuffer any eſpecial torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and deſpite of reverſing and breach of that accord. When as now they all after ſingular praiſes of the man, condeſcended to his opinion; the Tribuns of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. Melius*, attempted for a while to oppoſe themſelves againſt this proceeding: ſaying, "That neither the people could be "acquit and abſoiled in conſcience, by their delivery, unleſs every thing were again reſtored to "the Samnits, in the ſame eſtate wherein they ſtood at *Caudium*: nor they themſelves (in that they "had deſerved any puniſhment: nor yet, laſt of all, ought they being ſacred Migiſtrats and in-
The Oration of *Sp. Poſthumius*. "violable, to be yeelded to the enemies, and expoſed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth
"*Poſthumius*) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom with ſafe I
"conſcience and without offence ye may. And as for theſe, ſo ſacro-ſainct as they now be, ye
"ſhall hereafter render them likewiſe, ſo ſoon as they are out of their charge. But if ye will be ru-
"led by me, let them before they be thus yeelded, here in this common Hal be whipped and ſcour-
"ged for the uſury and intereſt of their puniſhment, which they would ſeem to defer and put off
"ſo long. For whereas they alledge and ſay, That by the delivery and yeelding of us, the peoples
"conſciences cannot be cleered and abſoiled: who is ſo ignorant in the Feciales and Heralds law,
"that knoweth not that theſe men ſpake this, for this end rather, that they themſelves might not
"be rendred, than for that the truth requireth ſo. Neither do I deny my Lords, that bare pro-
"miſes and ſtipulations are unviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with
"thoſe men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulneſs to men is in regard and
"eſtimation: but I deny again, that without the peoples aſſent and grant, any thing can be eſta-
"bliſhed good and effectual, to bind the people thereunto. What? if the Samnits, in the ſame
"pride and inſolency, wherein they obtruded and forced upon us this ſtipulation, yea, and wrung
"it from us, would alſo have urged us to utter and ſpeak, the ſolemn form of words, which they
"uſe to do that ſurrender up Cities; would ye (my Maſters that are Tribuns) infer and ſay, that
"by vertue thereof the people of *Rome* is ſurrendred into their hands? and that this City, with the
"Temples, Chappels, Limits and Waters, by ſtrength thereof, are the Samnits poſſeſſion? Well, I
"let paſs to ſpeak of dedition, becauſe the matter in queſtion is touching only a ſtipulation.
"What, I pray you if we had promiſed and undertook, that the people of *Rome* ſhould forſake
"and abandon this City? or ſet fire on it? or not have Magiſtrats, Senat, or laws any longer? or
"to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, ſay you. Well, it is not the indignity
"of things, that eaſeth the bond of Stipulation. If there be any one caſe, wherein the people may
"be obliged, then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any whit, (whereat hap-
"ly ſome will make a ſtay, and think it is material) whether Conſul, Dictator, or Pretor, enter
"into bond and become ſurety. And even this it was, that the Samnits themſelves judged ſo to
"be, and ſtood upon: thinking it not ſufficient, that the Conſuls became bound, but they put the
"Lieutenants the Treaſurers, and the Colonels there, to the ſame. And now, let no man demand
"of me, why I entred ſo into ſtipulation, being a thing not incident to the Conſul his charge and
"right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor
"in your name to promiſe it, from whom I had no commiſſion and warrant. Certainly my Lords
"and Senators, there was nothing at *Caudium* done at all by mans policy and counſel. The im-
"mortal Gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their ſenſe and underſtan-
"ding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our ſervice, ſtood warily enough upon our
"good guard: and they again, as they gat the victory full badly, ſo they loſt it as lewdly: whiles
"they hardly truſted the ſtrength of thoſe places, by means of which they had gained the vantage
"and better hand of us: and while they made ſuch haſt, upon what agreement they cared not, to
"diſarm men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their
"right wits, what an hard matter was it for them, in the time that they ſent for old aged men from
"their home, to come to Councel, for to have diſpatched their Embaſſadors to *Rome*? and ſo to
"have deale and treated with the Senat and people, about a perfect peace and final league indeed?
"It had been but three dayes journey for men not encumbred, but lightly appointed. All that
"mean while there might have been truce, until the Embaſſadors from *Rome*, had brought them
"either certain victory or aſſured peace. For that had been a covenant and ſtipulation good in
"law, the which we ſhould have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples will and approbation:
"But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more ſhould we have entred into any ſuch
"ſtipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there ſhould be any other iſſue and
"end of things than this: that both they ſhould vainly be deluded, and feed themſelves as it were,
"with the fancy of a more joyful dream, than their minds could wel conceive and apprehend: and
"alſo that the ſame fortune, which had entangled, ſnared and brought into danger our army,
"ſhould relieve the ſame, and rid it again out of peril: that as their victory was frivolous and vain,
"ſo a vainer and more frivolous peace, ſhould make it truſtrat and worth nothing: and that ſuch a
"ſtipulation and promiſe ſhould be interpoſed and come between, which might oblige and bind
"no perſon, but the very makers themſelves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords
"of the Senat? or with the people of *Rome*? Who can challenge you? Who can call you into que-
"ſtion? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy, or Citizen? To
"enemy ye have paſſed no promiſe: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye commanded

"commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave
"nought in charge: and with the Samnits as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the
"Samnits, we are ſufficient pledges enough, and anſwerable to perform that which is our own:
"for that, I ſay, which we are able to make good and yeeld; even our bodies and lives: upon
"theſe let them exerciſe their rage, upon theſe let them whet their ſwords and their ſpightful
"malice. And as for the Tribuns of Commons, conſult ye together, whether they may be ren-
"dred preſently, or ought to be referred and put off to an other day: let us in the mean time (O
"*Veturius*, and ye that are the reſt) offer theſe wretched heads and lives of ours, like caytives to
"diſcharge our bond, and by our puniſhment and execution, deliver and ſet free the Roman
"army.

Both the cauſe it ſelf, and the Advocat alſo, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought ſo much not only with the reſt, but alſo with the Tribuns themſelves [of Commons] that they promiſed to be at the Conſuls ordering and appointment. Whereupon immediatly they gave up their offices, and were delivered into the Fecials hands with the other, to be led all, to *Caudium*. There was not ſo ſoon an act of the Senat paſſed hereof, but it ſeemed that the very light and rayes of the Sun ſhone upon the City again. *Poſthumius* was in every man his mouth, him they praiſed and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntary offering of *P. Decius* the Conſul, for the ſafety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: Saying, that by his overture, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a ſervil, diſhonourable and unhoneſt peace: He (ſay they) hath offered himſelf to al the torments, anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made full ſatisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war: Alarm, now cryed every man: and, oh, that ever they might ſee the day to encounter once again with the Samnits, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, whiles the City was thus inflamed and boiled with hateful ire and indignation, there was an army levied, well near all of Voluntaries. New legions were muſtred and enrolled again out of the ſame ſouldiers, and a puiſſant army ſet forth to *Caudium*. The Fecials marched before, and when they were come to the gate of the City, commanded the Sureties, ſuch as had ſubſcribed and ſigned the accord aforeſaid, to be deſpoiled and ſtript out of their cloths, and their hands to be pinnioned behind him. And when the Lictor or Serjeant, for very reverence of Majeſty in *Poſthumius* his perſon, bound him at large and at eaſe, Why doeſt not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the cord ſtreighter, that the rendring and delivery of us may be according to law and as it ought to be, and no fault to be found with al? Afterwards, when they were come into the aſſembly of the Samnits, and before the Tribunal judgment ſeat of *Pontius*; *A. Cornelius Arvina* one of the Fecials or Heralds thus ſpake: "For aſmuch as theſe perſons, without commandment and commiſſion from the *Quirites* and people of *Rome*, have undertaken by ſtipulation, That there ſhall a league and peace be made with you; and in ſo doing have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the State, therefore, to the end, that the people of *Rome* might be freed and abſoiled from a deteſtable and heinous offence, Here I deliver and yeeld unto you, the ſelf ſame men. No ſooner had he uttered theſe words, but *Poſthumius* with his knee ſmote the Fecial his high, with all the might he could: and with a loud voyce ſaid, That he being now a Samnit citizen, and the other an Embaſſador and an Herald of the people of *Rome*; had againſt the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the abuſe: whereby the Romans might more juſtly make war. Then quoth *Pontius*. "This delivery neither will I accept of and admit, neither ſhall the Samnits hold it good and lawful. But why doſt not thou *Sp. Poſthumius*, if thou believe there be any Gods, either undo and cancel all, or ſtand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnits, whom they once had in their power; or elſe peace, in lieu of them. But why ſpeak I thus, and challenge thee, who doeſt yeeld thy ſelf again priſoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loially as thou canſt? The people of *Rome* I challenge, who, if they repent of the promiſe and bargain made at the ſtreights of *Caudium*, let them bring again the Legions into that gulfet, wherein they were environed, incloſed, and compaſſed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour, which by covenant they yeelded up: let them return into their own camp, and have whatſoever they had the day before the Parle. Then let them pleaſe themſelves with war, with valiant and magnanimous deeds: refuſe they then, and ſpare not all covenant: reject they then all treaty of peace. Let us have the ſame fortune, the ſame opportunity and vantage of the places, which we had before the mention of peace: and ſo make war, and trie the iſſue. So ſhall neither the people of *Rome*, blame the Conſuls ſtipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulneſs of the people of *Rome*. And will ye never have done, but alwayes find ſhifts and excuſes, and not ſtand to your covenants. when ye are overcome, and have the worſe of your enemies? Ye gave ſometimes hoſtages to King *Porſena*; and when ye had done, afterwards ſtole them away. For a ſum of gold you bought again your City of the Gauls; and as they were receiving the ſame gold, murdered they were by you and hewn in pieces. Peace ye have covenanted with us upon condition that we ſhould reſtore again your legions unto you; that peace you cancel and make void, and evermore ye ſet ſome colour of right upon your cautelous and fraudulent dealing: Well, alloweth not the people of *Rome* of the ſaving of their Legions, by a diſhonorable and ſhameful peace? Say it is ſo. Let peace go whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions captivat. Is this your faithful dealing? are theſe your covenants, & ceremonies of Fecials & Heralds?

"ralds? that thou, according to the agreement and accord, shouldst have that desire of thine, H
"even so many citizens lives saved? and I not have the peace (which by letting mine hold go un-
"to thee an enemy) I bargained for? What Justice is this, that thou, O *Cornelius*, and ye that are
"heralds, prescribe to Nations abroad? Nay verily, I neither will accept of those persons whom
"ye make a shew to deliver, neither can I believe, that they are yeelded in verity and good earnest.
"Nay, I pass not at all, whether they return again into that City, which is obliged by a covenant
"made, attended upon with the wrath and displeasure of all the Gods, whole heavenly power
"and deity is thus deluded. Now go and make war, seeing that *Sp. Posthumius* erewhile thrust
"and pushed an Embassador herald with his knee; and so the Gods will believe no doubt, that
"*Posthumius* is a Samnit citizen, and no Roman; and that by a Samnit, a Roman Embassador hath I
"been abused: and thereupon you may take a just occasion and good quarrel to make war upon
"upon us. Are you not ashamed, and bash you not to broach and set abroad, in the view and
"face of the world, such mockeries of Religion? What? old and ancient grave personages, and
"such as have been Consuls, to seek such subtle devices (not fit for very children and babes to
"play with) and all to shift off and falsify their promise made by covenant. Go Lictor, loose the
"Romans of their bands: and no man so hardy as to stay them, but that they may depart when
"they will at their own pleasure. So they, having thus perhaps discharged the publick fidelity,
"or at least wise quit themselves undoubtedly of their own, returned from *Caudium*, unhurt, to
"the Roman camp.

The Samnits seeing that in lieu of a proud and unreasonable peace, there was a most cruel war K
new sprung up again, not only forecast and apprehended in their minds, but well neer saw evi-
dently with their eyes, all that ever ensued after. Then, all too late and in vain, God wot, they
praised the two-fold counsel of old *Pontius*: and how they taking the middle way between, were
deceived & had exchanged the certain possession of victory, for an uncertain and doubtful peace:
and having lost the opportunity both of gratifying the Romans, or doing them harm any more,
were now to fight & wage war with them, whom they might either have disabled for being hurt-
ful enemies, or made their fast and assured friends for ever. And so without any weakning of
their power and forces of either side by battel, their hearts after this Caudine peace were so
changed, that *Posthumius* by his voluntary yeelding was more honored among the Romans, than
Pontius his bloodless victory among the Samnits: and the Romans made this reckoning, that L
the possibility of making war was to them as much as undoubted victory: and the Sam-
nits believed verily, that the Romans had at once made war again and got the upper-
hand.

Whiles these things thus passed, the Satricans revolted to the Samnits: and the Colony at *Fre-*
gellæ, by the sudden and unlooked for arrival of the Samnits (with whom it is certain the Satri-
cans were banded) in the night was surprised and taken. But the mutual fear one of the other,
kept them in on both sides that they stirred not out until the morning. Then began the fight,
which for a certain time was equal and indifferent: yet, for that the Fregellones within fought
for their Church and chimney (as they say) and by reason that the multitude, unmeet for arms,
stood them in good stead in annoying their enemies from off their houses; they held out and M
found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wily and deceitful policy turned all backwards
and was their undoing: for they suffred the voyce of the cryer to be heard through the Town,
who proclaimed, That whosoever laid down weapon, should depart alive and safe with bag and
baggage. The hope whereof, caused them to slack somewhat of their fight, and therewith they be-
gan to cast away their armor in every place. But the resolut sort armed still, brake away through
a postern gate, whose venturousness proved to them more safe, than the inconsiderat fear of the
other which made them credulous and too light of belief. For the Samnits compassed them about
with fire: and for all they called upon the Gods for their help, and to their enemies for perfor-
mance of their promise, yet they burned them most piteously.

The Consuls parted between themselves, their Provinces. *Papyrius* took his way to *Luceria* in N
Apulia, where the Roman Horsemen given for hostages at *Caudium* were kept in ward: but *Publi-*
us stayed in *Samnium* to make head against the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and
distracted the minds of the Samnits: for neither their hearts would serve them to go to *Luceria*,
left the enemy should come on their backs: not yet to stay behind, for fear left in the while, *Luce-*
ria should be lost. They thought it best therefore, to put all in hazard of a battel, and to try it out
with *Publius*. Whereupon, they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when *Publi-*
us was minded to joyn in fight, he thought it not amiss, first to make some speech unto his men,
and so commanded them to assemble unto an audience. But, as they came running to the Præto-
rium, with exceeding great cheerfulnes, so by reason of their noise that called hard for battel, no
exhortation of the General could be heard: each man his own heart mindful of the former dis- O
grace, served well enough to encourage and animat them. So they march out to battel, putting
forward the standard-bearers and port-ensigns. And because they would lose no time, they first
charge with lancing their javelins and shooting darts, and after that, in drawing their swords,
they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a signal given them so to do, and with naked
drawn sword, they ran upon their enemies. No cunning was there to be shewed of warlike Cap-
tain, no skill to be shewed either in setting in array the files and ranks, or placing of the rereward
for supplies: the souldiers furious anger, with raging violence, marshalled and managed all.

So,

A So, the enemies were not only discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not
hinder their flight by retiring to their own camp, they made all the hast they could, disbanded as
they were, toward *Apulia*. Howbeit they were rallied together in one company, and so came to
Luceria. The Romans, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mids of
the enemies battel; entred also into their camp: where was more bloudshed and execution than
in the battel, and the greater part of the pillage was in their choler marred and clean lost.

The other army commanded by *Papirius* the Coss. marched along the Sea coast to *Arpi*: and all
the Country they passed thorow, shewed them friendship and courtesie, more for the outrages
and losses sustained by the Samnits, and the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people
B of *Rome*, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnits at that time dwelling upon the
Hills in Villages, being mountainers and wild people, and as it is commonly seen, of like disposi-
tion to the places which they do inhabit, wasted the plain Champian and Sea coasts, despising in-
deed their more civil life and conversation. Which Country, if it had been true to the Samnits,
either the Roman army had not been able to come to *Arpi*, or else the penury and scarcity of all
things between *Rome* and *Arpi*, would have consumed them, being cut off from all provision of vi-
ctuals. For even then, being gone from them, and lying encamped before *Luceria*, as wel they with-
out in the leaguer & those that were within the City besieged, were nipped and bitten with hun-
ger. The Romans were served all from *Arpi*, but so slenderly and scantly, that whiles the footmen
were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working uncessantly; the Horsemen, were
C fain to bring corn from *Arpi*, in little leather baggs: and otherwhiles, if they met the enemy, were
forced to cast the corn from off their Horseback, to fight more nimbly. They that were within
besieged, before the other Consul came with his army, had both from the mountains of the Sam-
nits, victuals brought unto them, and succors also, of men lee in to them. But the coming of *Pu-*
blius made all provisions more streight: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother Con-
sul, he rode lightly appointed without carriage, all over the Country, and so beat all the quarters,
that they were too hot for the enemies to forage and purvey victuals. Then the Samnits, seeing
that they within the City besieged, were past all hope to abide the famine any longer, encamped
about *Luceria*, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give *Pa-*
pirius battel. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Taren-
D tin Embassadors came between, discharging and forbidding, both Samnits and Romans to fight:
professing withal, that whosoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they
would fight in defence and favor of the others. *Papirius* having heard that embassage, making
semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would confer with his
brother Consul; and having sent for him, and bestowed all the mean time in preparation to fight,
when he had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently
gave the signal, and set out the bloudy banner of battel. Now as the Consuls were busy in sacrifi-
cing and performing duties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to
go to a battel) the Tarentin Embassadors aforesaid, encountred them and expected an answer. To
whom *Papirius*, The Chick-master (qd. he) O ye Tarentins, sendeth me word, that the birds feed
E right, and all is well; and besides that, the Gods in our sacrifice seem passing well pleased. And in
the name of the Gods, and under their conduct (as ye see) we are going to battel. Then com-
manded he to set forward the standards, and led forth his power, mocking the foolish nation for
their great vanity, who, not able to manage their own affairs by reason of home seditions and ci-
vill discords, thought it meet to be moderators between others, and to prescribe them war or
peace. The Samnits on the other side, having staked all their care and desire of war, for that they
desired peace in good earnest, or else thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof,
for to win unto them the Tarentins: seeing the Romans all of a sudden arranged in battel array
and ready to fight, cryed forth aloud, that they rested still in the authority of the Tarentins, and
were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the field, nor put themselves in
F arms out of their fort: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of for-
tune whatsoever, than to seem to have despised the Tarentins, who had interposed themselves as
Mediators for peace. Marry (quoth the Coss.) we take that for a good sign and presage of lucky
success: and we would wish no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that
resolution, not to defend their trench and rampire. So the Coss. when they had parted between
them their forces, approached the very camp of their enemies, and set upon them with an hot
assault on every side. Thus while some filled and dammed up the trenches, others plucked up the
stakes of the rampier, and threw the bank and all down the ditches under their feet: whiles not
only their own inbred valour by nature, but also anger and choler provoked and pricked to the
quick, their hearts already fretted and cankred at the very root, for the last disgrace received, they
G entred the camp. Every man for his part gave out and said, Here are not the straight gullets
of *Caudium*, here are not the impassable nor inaccessible passes, and forrests, where as proud fraud
had gone beyond their silly errour and want of forecast: but Roman vertue and prowess, which
no rampier never so strong, no trench how deep soever, is able to put by and withstand.
So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and stood to it, as
those that retired and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free born, old and young, as
well under age as undergrown, man and beast, one with another: neither had there escaped any
living creature drawing breath, but that the Consuls sounded the retreat, and with minatory

words

words commanded the souldiers, so greedy of murder and bloudthirsty, to go forth of the camp H
Whereupon when they were highly discontented and in great indignation, for that they were staid and interrupted in this sweetness of easing their anger, and satiating their revenge to the full; it was time to deliver this speech unto them, wherein the souldiers were given to understand, how the Consuls neither were behind any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would be hereafter: but as they were their chief conductors to the war, so they would be their leaders and shew them the way, to unsatiable appetite of revenge and execution, had not the care and regard of those 600 Horsemen, which were kept as hostages in *Luceria*, cooled their thirst and staid their stomacks; lest haply the enemies in despair to find pardon and mercy, should run upon them in a blind fit of fury and rage, and put them all to the sword; chusing rather to torment and kill them first, before they died themselves. The souldiers greatly commended this I course, and rejoyced that thus their choler was allaid, and their fury bridled, confessing, That they were indeed to abide all whatsoever, rather than the life of so many of the forwardest and principal young Gentlemen of *Rome*, should be betraid, or in danger. This audience being dismissed, they drew together to a Councel, whether with all their forces they should assail and press hard upon *Luceria*, or with one of the armies and chief Leaders, give the attempt to found the *Apulians*, a close and secret kind of people thereabout, who ever to that day had stood in doubtful terms with them.

Publius the Consul, who had taken this journey to over-run all *Apulia*, in that one voyage and expedition, either by force subdued and brought under his obeisance certain States, or upon conditions entred league and society with them. *Papyrius* also, who staid at the siege of *Luceria*, with- K in a short time sped according to his expectation. For having forelaid and beset all the wayes, by which victual was conveyed thither out of *Samnium*, the Samnits who lay in garison at *Luceria*, pinched and tamed with famine, sent Embassadors to the Roman Consul, making offer to release and deliver up into his hands those Horsemen, (the only cause of the present war) in case he would raise and levy the siege. To whom *Papyrius* made this answer, that they should have gone first to *Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, by whose counsel they had put the Romans under the yoke and the gallows, to learn and know of him, what in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquished and overcome. Howbeit, for asmuch as they had rather, and chose rather to be censured indifferently, and to receive equal conditions of their enemies, than of their own selves, he willed the Embassadors to give them to understand in *Luceria*, that they should leave their armor, their bag and baggage, their beasts of carriage, and impotent multitude not fit for the wars, within in the wals. And as for the fighting souldiers, he would put them to pass under the gallows in their single shirts, for to revenge the shame first offered them, and not to inflict any new ignominy upon them. Nothing was denied and refused: seven thousand men of war were put under the gallows, a rich and huge pillage raised within *Luceria*, all their own ensigns and armor regained, which they had lost at *Caudium*: and that which surmounted all other joyes, they recovered again those Gentlemen of arms, whom, lying for pledges and security of the peace aforesaid, the Samnits had sent to *Luceria* to be kept in safe custody. There is not lightly to be found a victory more noble, and of greater consequence to the people of *Rome* than this, in regard of the sudden change of fortune, in case (as some records bear witness) *Pontius* also himself the son of *Herennius*, and General of the Samnits, to make satisfaction and quittance for the Consuls disgrace and shame, was put under the yoke, as well as all the rest. But I less marvel, that it is not clear, but left uncertain, that the enemies General was rendred, and went under the gallows: this rather I wonder at, that doubted it is, whether *Lucius Cornelius* Dictator, with *L. Papirius Cursor*, General of the Horsemen, managed these acts first at *Caudium*, and then afterwards at *Luceria*: and being the only revenger of that disgrace of the Romans, triumphed most worthily (I dare be bold to say) of any man before that time, next to *Furius Camillus*: or whether the chief honour hereof pertain by right to *Papirius* as Consul. Upon this error followeth another in the neck of it, whether *Papirius*, surnamed *Cursor*, for his good service at *Luceria*, in the next Election, continued in Magistracy, and were made the third time Consul with *Q. Æmylius Coretanus*, the second time: or whether it were *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and the error grew upon the surname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reliques of the wars, were performed and finished by Consuls. *Æmylius* in one prosperous battel made a final conquest of the Ferentans, and upon composition had the City delivered up unto him, whither they had retired their forces for succor after defeat in the field, and hostages were imposed upon them. With like good success fought the other Consul with the Satricans, who being Roman citizens, had revolted to the Samnits, after the loss at *Caudium*, and had received into their City a garison of theirs. For when as the Roman army approached under the walls of *Satricum*, and that the citizens within (after Embassadors sent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heavy answer from the Consul, That unless they would kill the garison of the Samnits, or deliver them into his hands, they should come no more again to him: the Coloners and inhabitants were more frighted and terrified with that speech, than at all the forcible attempts of their army. Whereupon the Embassadors followed their suit hard and continued still, demanding very often of the Consul how he could believe, that they being but few, feeble, and disarmed, should be able to force a garison so strong and wel appointed, against their wills? being willed to ask counsel of them, by whose means they had received the said garison into the Town, they departed

A parted their wives: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands, to consult with their Senate and to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senate was divided into two factions, which distracted and held them in suspence, that they could not soon resolve. The one, consisting of the chief personages and head men, who had sollicited them to revolt from the people of *Rome*; the other of true hearted and loyal Citizens. Howbeit, both sides strove in the end and endeavored to labour the Consul for reconciliation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (because the Samnits garison having not provision enough aforehand to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Consul, what hour of the night, through what gate the enemies would go forth, and which way they would take: the other, namely, against whose will B they were revolted to the Samnits, the very same night, opened another gate besides to the Consul, and privily let their enemies armed into the City. So by a twofold complot of treason, they were surprised unawares and all their throats cut not only the garison of the Samnits (by reason that the woods all about the high way were laid for them and beset) but also at one instant there was a shout and allarm raised by the enemies within the City, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hour both the Samnits were slain, the Satricans taken, and all they had in the world yeilded into the hands of the Consul: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principal authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guilty, those he scourged and beheaded: and setting there a strong garison, he took from the Satricans all their armour. From thence *Papyrius Cursor* departed to *Rome* for to triumph (as they write, that say, by his leading *Luceria* C was recovered, and the Samnits put under the yoke.) And without question, a man he was worthy of all commendations of a warriour, surpassing not only in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and natural strength of body, and namely, for his good footmanship: whereupon he got his surname * *Cursor*. For in running (they say) he had not his peer, but went away with prick and prize before all other in those daies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise, a stout and mighty eater he was, he drank as liberally to his meat, and could carry it as well. Never had foot or horse under any Captain more rough and harder service, for that himself was of so tough metall and steel to the very back (as they say) that he could abide any pains and travell whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinary D toil and labour: yes marry will I (quoth he) and that ye shall not complain that ye have no easement at all, I will ease you of this pains. That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, back and buttocks. He was a man besides for severity straight, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his own Citizens. The Prator of *Preneste*, for very fear chanced once to be somewhat behind, and slack in bringing forward the rereward, into the vangard and front of the battel: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the serjeant to bring forth his axe immediately: at which word when the Prenestin stood amazed and well near dead, Dispatch Lictor (quoth he) stock me up and grub this root that hindreth them that walk this way: and when he saw him astonied and his heart in his heels for fear of death, he set a good round fine E upon his head, and so let him go. Doubtless in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitfull for vertue and valour) there was no one man, upon whom the state of *Rome* rested and relied more: Insomuch as men had destined, and in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with *Alexander* the great, if after the conquest of *Asia*, he should have bent his power hither, and warred in *Europe*.

* An excellent runner.

Albeit it may well appear that I have nothing less sought, ever since I began this work, than to digress and decline more than was needful, from the order and course of mine history, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with variety of matters, both to seek for the readers pleasant starts and diverticles to repose themselves, and for my self some ease and recreation of my spirits: yet the mention of so mighty a King and renowned Captain, maketh me to F think upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast and tossed in my mind: and which induce me now to search and examin willingly, what event would have hapned and befaln to the Romans, in case they had waged war with *Alexander*. First and formost, the things that seem to bear sway and prevail in war, be these (to wit) number of souldiers, valour, and courage withall, wit, sufficiency and dexterity of their chief leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, so in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do prove that the Roman Empire and government had stood as well against him as other princes and nations invincible. And first, to begin with comparing of the Captains themselves: I do not deny, but that *Alexander* was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and re- G nown, that he was a sole commander of himself that he was a young man and died in the growth of his prosperous affairs, before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to let pass other o- ther glorious Princes and brave captains, (the great mirrours and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that exposed *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks commend and magnifie above all other, as also of late time, *Pompey* the great, to disfavor & the turning wheel of fortune, but only this, that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Roman captains; and those not all, nor in every age, wherein they flourished: but even them only, with whom being either Consuls or Dictator, *Alexander* should have warred, if had he come: namely, *M. Valerius*

A digression to a discourse of comparison between *Alexander* the Great and the Romans.

Corvinus, *C. Martius Rutilius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Q. Publius Philo*, *L. Papirius Cursor*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*: the two *Decii*, *L. Volumnius*, *M. Curius*: Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after, in case he had fought the Carthaginian were first, (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then passed over into *Italy*, when he had been well stept in years. In every one of these there were the same good parts, the like towardness of nature, as much forwardness of courage and spirit, as in *Alexander*, yea, and as good Military discipline, which even from the foundation of the City, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For so, after one course the Kings conducted their wars: even so, next unto them the banishers of the Kings, (to wit, the *Junii* and *Valerii*) so, consequently the *Fabii*, the *Quintii*, and *Cornelii*: so did *Furius Camillus*, whom those two Romans in their youth (*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*) with whom *Alexander* should have encountred, saw an aged man in the latter end of his daies. And whereas *Alexander* ventured his own proper person in battel, and performed all Military duties with other souldiers, (which was not the least part of his praise & glory) would *Manlius Torquatus* have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmish equally matched? or *Valerius Corvinus* either, both of them brave & stout souldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the *Decii* have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would *Papirius Cursor* have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Council have been overwrought with the stratagems & policies of that one young man? which, whosoever he was that said, it consisted and was composed altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat. Mary, here was all the doubt (forsooth) lest that he knew how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a Camp in, more wisely & cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for victual, to foresee & beware of ambushes, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battel, to set his battaillons in array, and to strengthen the same with sufficient succours & supplies from the reregard. Surely, he would have said himself, that he had not now to deal with *Darius*, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women, and tender Eunuchs, weakned and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for shew and ostentation of his wealthy and superfluous fortune, *Alexander* without any bloudshed, with doing nought else, but knowing well how to contemn such toies and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the situation and nature of *Italy* far differed from that of *India*, through which he marched at his ease with his drunken Army, feasting and banquetting all the way: but specially, when he should have beheld the woody forrests and unpassable straights of *Apulia*, the high hils and mountains of *Lucania*, and the fresh marks and tokens of the loss that hapned in his own name and house, namely, where not long before his Uncle *Alexander* late King of *Epirus* miserably perished. Our talk all this while is of *Alexander*, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperity; wherein no man had ever less rule of himself than he. Whom if we consider, as he was arraied in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so say) of a new nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigured; surely he would have come into *Italy* more like a *Darius* than an *Alexander*, and brought a bastard army with him, nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native country of *Macedonie*, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieveth me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and variety every while of his apparel, his excessive vain-glory and desire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner by men lying upon the earth groveling and prostrat at his feet. Such abject baseness should have been hardly endured of Macedonians conquered and subdued; much less than being conquerours as they were. Abashed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deserving friends, even in the midst of his cups and dainty viands: last of all, his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himself a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness and unmeasurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes and wondrous hindrances to the vertues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which some are wont to give out & alledge, even the vainest persons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnifie the glory of the very Parthians in comparison of the Roman name) that the people of *Rome* had never been able to abide the very majesty and name of *Alexander* the great. (And I think verily that even themselves that talk so much of him never heard the truth, so much as by the brute and fame) and that against whom in *Athens*, O a City mightily decayed by war with the Macedonians, and even then, when as they might see before their face the ruins of *Thebes* in manner smoking full in their eyes, the Orators durst freely make publike invectives (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I say, not one of so many States and noble personages of *Rome* durst have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly. How much soever the grandeur and greatness of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind, all that shall be but one only man, rising, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years. Whhic

A Which happiness of his, they that extol in this respect, that the people of *Rome*, although in no war they were subdued, yet in many battels had the foile and lost the day: whereas *Alexander* never fought field but he won the victory; little understand they, that compare the exploits of one person, and him a young man, with the the deeds and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvell, if when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should vary more, than in the space of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yeatly annals of Magistrates, of
B day-books and, journals of those Consuls and Dictators, whose valour and felicity the people of *Rome* had never cause to repent of and be discontented for, so much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above *Alexander* or any other King in the world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twenty daies; and none the Consulship longer than a year. Their levies and musters now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and best time for war other whiles overslipped them, and yet they went forth. Before their term expired, they were often called home for to be presidents of the Magistrates Election. In the very midst and busiest time of their affairs, the year very often turned about. The inconsiderate rashness one while, and the peevish crookedness another while of a Collegue and companion in government was hindrance and harm both. They succeeded sundry
C times after the loss and overthrow of their predecessors, and received the army either of raw untrained souldiers or such as were in ill discipline trained up: whereas Kings and Monarchs contrariwise, not only freed and exempt from all such obstacles and inconveniences, but also Lords and Masters, and of absolute command over their enterprises, over times and seasons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and counsel, and are themselves directed and over-ruled by none. Say now, that *Alexander* were invincible, and dealt with these Captains as invincible as himself, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he should have adventured and incurred more jeopardy; in that the Macedonians had but *Alexander* alone, a man not only subject but also exposing himself to many perillous chances: but many Romans there had been equal to *Alexander*, either for glory
D or greatness of their worthy deeds: who every one should have lived and died according to the fatal course of his own several destiny, without the hazard of the whole and main chance. It remaineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of souldiers, or multitude of Allies, from whom they had their aids. There were esteemed by computation in the Taxing years, and Surveies taken by the Censors of that age, two hundred and fifty thousand polls Citizens of *Rome*. And therefore in all the revolts and rebellions of their allies the Latines, they were able to levy and enroll ten legions compleat of Roman Citizens well near and none else. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in *Tuscan*, in *Hetruria*, in *Umbria*, take also the Gauls with you their enemies, likewise *Lucania* in *Samnium*. Besides all these, *Alexander* should have found all *Latium*
E with the Sabins, Volscians, and Æquians; all *Campania*, part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, with the Picentes, the Marsians, Pelignians, Vestins, and Apulians, and all the coast adjoyning thereto of the Greeks, along the nether Tyrrhen sea, from the Thurians to *Naples* and *Cumes*, and from thence, the Samnits, as far as to *Antium* and *Hostia*. All these he should have met with, either mighty and puissant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquished and subdued by their arms. He should have passed the seas himself, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and those, most of them Thessalians; for this was all his power. And in case he had joyned thereto, the Persians, Indians, and other such nations, he should have drawn along after him, more let and encumbrance, that help and succour by them. Take this over and besides, The Romans had fresh supplies alwaies ready and near at hand, at
F home in the City: whereas *Alexander* his army (as afterwards it hapned to *Annibal* warring in a strange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapons, a shield or buckler, and a spear in manner of a pike. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withall near hand, or to be lanced a far off. The souldiers, I confess, both of the one side and the other, stood their ground surely, kept their place and array still within their severall ranks. The Macedonian huge Phalanx moved not, was stedfast and alwaies after one fort: but the Romans battallon more distinct, and consisting of many parts easie both to divide and display, or to joyn and reunite upon any occasion. To speak now of painfull work and travell, what souldier is comparable to the Roman? Who better able
G to endure all sorts of labour? *Alexander* by the loss but of one battell had been clean done, and his war at an end for ever. But the Romans, whose hearts, neither the shamefull disgrace at *Caudium*, nor the wofull defeat at *Canna*, could amate and dant; what power would have discouraged? What battell in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, *Alexander* although he had prosperity and good success in his first beginnings and enterprises, would oftentimes here have missed his Persians and Indians, and desire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and dastard Nations of *Asia*: nay, he would have said, that he had warred before but with women, as *Alexander*, King of *Epirus* (by report) gave out,

when he was wounded to death, conferring the easie occurrents of war which this young Prince H his nephew, met withall in *Asia*, with the difficulties of his own, that he found here in *Italy*. And verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at sea, in the first Punick war, for the space of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I suppose the wholeage of *Alexander* would hardly have brought about and finished that one war, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either according to the ancient leagues, or for equall fear of a common enemy, and those two Cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once against him, he would have been overwhelmed with the Punick and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good proof of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had *Alexander* to be their Captain, nor I whiles the Empire of Macedonie was at the best, and stood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they have, and made head against them under the conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Perses*: and it never cost them the loss and overthrow of their own part, no, nor so much as any appearance of danger at all. I would not be thought to speak a proud word, but be it said without arrogancy, and setting all our civill wars aside; never were we distressed, either by horse or foot, never in open field and battel ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of disadvantage, were we endangered. The souldier in heavy and compleat harnesse, I confesse, may fear the Cavalry in the plains: may fear shot of arrows, cumbersome forrests and woods, straight gullets, and unpassable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there be a thousand armies greater and stronger than the Macedonians or *Alexanders*, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civill concord, wherein we live at this present, we are able, and ever shall be, to discomfit and put them all to flight.

After this, were *M. Follius Flaccina*, and *L. Plautius Venox* Consuls. The same year there came from sundry Nations of the Samnits Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senat, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off and referred to the people, their prayers availed not to such effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat nay. And after they had for certain daies together importuned them one by one apart, with cap and congee: at length after much suit, they obtained truce for two years. And out of *Apulia* the Theanenses and Canusins wearied with rodes and spoil made in their Territories, after they had put in hostages to *Lucius Plautius* the Consul, yielded themselves to his protection. The same L year first began Provosts to be created at *Capua*, to govern under certain laws given unto them by *L. Furius* the Pretor: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedy for their state, greatly decaied through civill discord. And at *Rome* were two more Tribes added to the rest, *Ufentina*, and *Falerina*. When *Apulia* began once to shrink and go backward, the Theatins, being also Apulians, presented themselves unto the new Consuls, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula*, and sued to enter into a league with the Romans. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and perswasion induced all *Apulia* to be in peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as sureties and pledges to bring it to pass, they obtained their requeſt. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal conditions, but so, as they should be in subjection to the people of *Rome*. After that *Apulia* was M conquered (for *Junius* had won also *Tarentum*, a strong town and a rich) they marched forward against the Lucans. Then upon the sudden coming of *Æmylius* the other Consul, *Neruluns* was by force taken. And after that it was noised abroad amongst the allies of the people of *Rome*, that the state and weal publike of *Capua* were established by Roman discipline and governments the Antiats also, who made moan and complained, that they lived without positive set laws and Magistrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commissioners, to ordain Statutes likewise for that Colony. So, that not only the Roman arms, but also their law and jurisdiction extended far and near, and was of great requeſt. *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* Consuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Coss. by them created, *Sp. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, but consigned them to *L. Æmylius* the Dictator. Who with his General of N horse, *L. Fulvius*, began to lay siege to *Satricula*, whereby he gave the Samnits occasion to rebell. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one side the Samnits having assembled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitched their Camp not far from the Romans leaguer: on the other side, the Satricans set open their gates suddenly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and *corps de guard* of their enemies. And so both parts, relying rather upon hope of succour and help elsewhere, than trusting upon their own strength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner displaied, and distressed them. And although the Dictator was assailed both waies, yet was he sure and safe on either side, because he had got a plot of ground, not easie to be compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his ensigns accordingly. Howbeit, O he charged more hotly upon them that sallied forth, and without much ado beat them again within the wals. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long first, was neither doubtful nor variable. The Samnits being chased and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their fires, dislodged and departed privily away: and being past all hope of defending *Satricula*, they besieged *Plistia*, a town confederate to the Romans, to requite their enemy with the like displeasure. The revolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of *Q. Fabius*

A *Q. Fabius* Dictator: and the new Consuls, like as the former remained still at *Rome*. And *Fabius* came before *Satricula* to receive the Army of *Æmylius*, bringing with him a new supply to make up the broken bands: for the Samnits made no stay at *Plistia*, but having levied and sent for fresh souldiers from home, presuming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braving the Romans, and challenging them with many skirmishes, they would have forced them to raise the siege. But the Dictator so much more earnestly bent his forces against the wals of the enemies, thinking it the best piece of service to assail the Town, as being of such importance to the rest of the war, which depended thereon: and was more carele is therefore of the Samnits, and only opposed against them certain guards both day and night, along B the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any assault upon the Camp. But the Samnits on the other side, so much the more fiercely skirmished on horseback about the fortifications, and never gave them rest. Insomuch, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the Camp, the General of the Horse, *Q. Æmylius Caretanus*, without advice and direction of the Dictator, riding forth in a great noise with all his Corners of Horse, repelled the enemy. But even in that light manner of skirmish, and no set battel of any long continuance, Fortune so plaid her part, and shewed what she could do, that on either side there be'fell a notable loss, with the glorious death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnits first taking it to heart, to see *Æmylius* so fiercely ride and give the charge, and himself to be disarraied and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he C advanced himself, bravely to be seen amongst his men and fought most valiantly, the Roman General of the horse, with spear in rest, so galloped his horse, that with one push he unhorsed him and left him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troop besides (as commonly it is seen) at the fall of their Captain so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him charged *Æmylius* hard as he rashly rode without heed, and engaged himself too far within the thickest of the squadrons of his enemies, and lanced their javelins at him: but they gave the special honour to the brother of the Samnits Captain to be revenged for his death. He, full of anger and sorrow, plucked *Æmylius* from his horse, and slew him in the place, even in the midst of his victory: and for that he fell among the troops of his enemies, he had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnits. But presently the Romans alighD ted on foot, and the Samnits were forced to do the same: and thus being arranged suddenly in great haste into battallons, there began a cruell fight on foot about the bodies of the Captains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of *Æmylius*, in great joy, intermingled with sorrow, they returned winners into their Camp. The Samnits thus having lost their Captain, and tried their strength what they could do in fight on horse-back, left *Satricula*, which they supposed could not possibly be defended, and so returned again to the siege of *Plistia*. After few daies, *Satricula* was surrendred by composition to the Romans, and the Samnits by assault won *Plistia*. Then changed they the seat town of the war. For out of *Samnium* and *Apulia*, the Legions were removed to *Sora*. This *Sora* was revolted to the Samnits, and had slain all the inhabitants therein that were Romans. E Against which place, when the Romans were come first by great journies to revenge the loss of their Countrymen, and to recover the Colony, their espials and scouts whom they had sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnits followed, yea, and one after another gave advertisement, that they were not far off. Hereupon they went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called *Lautula*, there was fought a doubtfull and dangerous battel: for no slaughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the very night that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worse. In some Chronicles I find, that the Romans lost the day, and that there died in this battell *Q. Æmylius* General of the horse, *C. Fabius* chosen in the room of *Æmylius*, came with a new and fresh army from *Rome*, and having dispatched messengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where F he should stay and rest, and what time, and which on side he should set upon the enemy: after he was well informed and instructed in all points what to do, he put himself close in ambush. The Dictator himself, who had for certain daies after the last skirmish, kept his souldiers within trench, more like one besieged, than besieging; all on a sudden, put forth the signal and token of battell: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate and kindle the courages of hardy men, than to know of no other help or hope, nor to trust upon any man but in themselves, he concealed from his souldiers the coming of the General of Horse and his fresh forces; and as if there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and sally with violence: "We being The Oration of Q. Fabius Dictator to his Souldiers. "(quoth he) my souldiers, pent here and taken tardy in these straights have no other issue but "that which by victory we shall make open. Our hold wherein we lie is fortified sure enough but G "the same for scarcity of all things noisome, irksome, and hurtfull to us: for all parts hereabout "are revolted from whence we should have convoy of victuals: and were it that the people were "disposed to help us, yet the advenues & passages are hard, and the place of our abode incommodious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer, by leaving here your tents into "which ye may after (ye have missed the entire victory) betake your selves for safety, as ye did the "other day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not "our arms by fenced forts; Let them have their Camp well fortified, to issue forth and to retire "thither again at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make a long war of it. But let

"us cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a present and final victory. Advance then H
"your ensigns directly against the enemy: and so soon as our Army is once without the trench
"and rampiers, let them set the tents a fire, that have the charge so to do: you shall make up your
"your losses again, my souldiers, with the spoil of all the nations hereabouts, that have revolted.
At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other semblance but of extream necessity, the souldiers took heart and were hot set to march straight to the enemy. And the very sight of their tents burning behind them (albeit those only which stood next were set on fire, for so the Dictator had given commandment) was no small provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the first push and brunt they brake the array of the enemies: and withall, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a far off the tents on fire I (for that was the signal agreed between them) came hastily upon the back of the enemies and assailed them. So the Samnits being environed round about, made every man what shift he could to get forth and escape, and so fled. But the main multitude that were shuffled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the press, was slain in the midst and cut in pieces, the enemies camp won, and ransacked: with the pillage whereof the souldiers were laden, and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp: who were not so joyous for the victory, as for that they found (besides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and sound beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to *Sora*, where the new Consuls *M. Petilius* and *Caius Sulpitius* took the Army at the hands of *Fabius* the Dictator: who discharged many of the old souldiers, K and brought certain new cohorts for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and unaccessible sight of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make assault, and seeing that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certain runaway-Traitor of *Sora* who was closely stoln out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being presented before them, promised to betray the Town: and being questioned withall, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, seemed unto them to alledge some reasons to good purpose, and prevailed so far with them, that he caused the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner close under the wals, to be removed six miles off the Town, saying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglected, and less careful and dili- L gent to keep the City. Himself the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of footmen to lye in ambush within the woods near the Town, took with him ten elect and chosen souldiers; and through steep places, and such as were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought thither more shot and darts to throw than to serve so small a number of men: besides, there was good store of stones at hand, which lay there, either scattering by chance (as commonly in such craggy and rocky ground) or else heaped together by the townsmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Where, after he had bestowed the Romans, and shewed them a narrow and steep path-way out of the town into the Castle, From getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greatest multitude that is: ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans; and of Romans the M most hardy and valiant: the place will stead you, I know, the darkness of the night will be for your purpose, the night, I say, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part set all in a hurly burly, look you in the mean time that you duly keep the fortress. This said, he runs down with as great a noise and shouting as he could, crying, Alarm, help, help Citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy, come away to defence. These words he resounded ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: these words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streets. This fearful alarm received from one man, was set abroad by many more all over the City. The Magistrates quaking for fear, sent certain to the Castle in espial to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle N was surprized indeed by armed men, and full of armor (for they made the number, and every thing else more than it was) were clean put out of all hope to recover their Fortress. So every where they fell to running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and those most part unarmed. At one of the gates, those companies of the Romans aforesaid, who lay in ambush, and were raised with the noise and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this fright ran headlong in their way. Thus was *Sora* won against the Consuls should come in the morning betimes by break of day: and look whose fortune it was to scape out of the massacre made in the night, and to flie away those they took to mercy upon submission: whereof two hundred twenty five, even those who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principal actors in that horrid massacre above said, of the Roman Coloners, inhabi- O tants, and the authors of the revolt they had away with them to *Rome*, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at *Sora* safe and unhurt, and planted there a garrison. All they that were brought to *Rome* were in the market-place scourged with rods, and beheaded with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundry Colonies might in every place live in safety and security of their lives.

Sora surprised by treason.

The Consuls being departed from *Sora*, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territo-

A Territories of the Ausonians; for the coming of the Samnits after the battel of *Lautulæ*, they were all out, full of insurrections and commotions, and many conspiracies there were in all places, about *Campania*: neither was *Capua* it self without blame and faultless. Nay, this matter passed as far as to *Rome*, where information was made against some of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Ausonians, by reason that the Cities were betrayed, like as *Sora*, was reduced under obedience to the people of *Rome*. *Ausonia*. *Minturnæ*, and *Vestina* were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief young Gentlemen having conspired and sworn together to betray their own Cities, presented themselves unto the Consuls, giving them to understand, "That their countrymen wished long ago for the coming of the Samnits, and so B "soon as they heard of the battel before *Lautulæ*, made account that the Romans were utterly "vanquished, and helped the Samnits both with men and munition. But now, say they, that the "Samnits were chased from thence, they lived unresolute in doubtfull terms of peace, and shut "not their gates in dread upon the Romans, for fear of bringing war upon themselves, yet obsti- "nately bent to shut them, if their Army approached toward them. In this wavering and doubt- "ful floating of their minds, they might at unawares be suddenly surprised. By this perswasion of theirs they encamped nearer, and at one and the self-same time were souldiers sent about those three towns before named, some in armor closely to lie in ambush in convenient places near the wals: others in side gowns with swords under them, who a little before day, so soon as the gates were set open, should enter into those Cities. By whom the matter was so handled, that at one C instant they began to kill the warders at the gates, and gave a signal to those armed souldiers who lay in ambush, for to rise at once and come to succour. Thus were the gates seized and possessed, and three towns in one hour by the same stratagem surprized. But because this exploit was performed in the absence of the Captains, there was no stay in execution and slaughter, but beyond all measure, and without all mercy, no sex nor age was spared: and so the whole nation of the Ausones, before they were detected for certain of revolt, was destroyed and extinguished, as if they had warred mortally, and been at deadly feud.

A conspiracy of the Ausonians.

The same year *Luceria* came into the hands of the Samnits, by reason that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garrison to them: but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Roman Army chanced to be not far from thence, and at the first assault, the City standing as D it did on a plain, was won. The Lucerins and Samnits both were put to the sword every one: and so far forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senat sate in council at *Rome*, about sending men to inhabit *Luceria*, many were of mind, that the City it self should be raised to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bare against them being twice conquered and revolted: the distance also of the place so remote, caused them to mislike greatly, and abhor the confining, as it were, of their Citizens, so far from home, to live amongst such a kind of people so cruel and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion took place and prevailed; who gave advice, that Coloners and inhabitants should thither be sent, and to the number of 2500 were there planted.

The same year when as the Romans found all unloyal unto them, and nothing but falshood E on all sides; at *Capua* also certain secret conspiracies of the Nobles and best of the City were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senats advice was asked, and the matter not neglected by them, but Commissions were appointed: and thought good it was that a Dictator should be nominated for to sit upon the same commissions and inquisitions. And *C. Manius* was created, who named *M. Fellius* General of the Horse. Great was the terror of that Magistrate, and thereupon either for fear, or guiltiness of conscience, the two *Calavii. Ovius* and *Novius*, who were the chief of that complot, before information was given against them by name to the Dictator, died: & questionless by their own hands shortned their daies, and so avoided the triall of justice and punishment accordingly. After that, when the Inquisition wanted subject matter once about the *Capuans*, the Inquisitors (by interpretation of words in the Commission) proceeded to *Rome*, saying, F that the Senat had good warrant to make enquiry and straight search, not by name and precisely, who at *Capua* only; but generally, who in any place whatsoever had used conventicles, and conspired against the Common-wealth: and all secret meetings, say they, and packings together, for to get Dignities and Offices, were directly against the State and Common-wealth: so that the Commission extended larger both for person and real action. Yea, and the Dictator himself nothing gainsaid, but that the vertue of his Commission was directed without limitation. Hereupon were certain Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into question: and notwithstanding they called upon the Tribunes for to assist them, with interposing their negative, yet there was not one of them would succour and relieve them, the presentment was taken against them, and they indicted. Then the Nobility, I mean not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole G Gentry of the City, at once, pleaded, That they were not the natural and true Noblemen indeed, who were to be touched and charged with this crime: who if it were not for sinister and indirect courses, had ease and open success unto all honourable places and promotions; but certain new upstarts and Gentlemen of the first head: saying, That it was the very case of the Dictator himself, and his General of Horse, who were rather parties guilty, and offenders themselves, than sufficient Inquisitors, and competent Judges: and that should they well know and understand, when they were once out of their place and office. This made *Manius* to bestir himself, who mindful rather of his good name and reputation, than respective of his high place and absolute

absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake to this effect: "My Masters and friends all, Citizens of *Rome*, well assured I am, that privy ye are "to the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides that, even this very honour "and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to testifie and approve mine innocencie. "For to sit upon these inquisitions, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes "heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed "the best and most nobleſt warrior of all other; but such a one, as throughout his whole life "hath most of all misliked and condemned ambitious conventicles. Howbeit, forasmuch as cer- "tain persons of noble lineage, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to deem and judge, than for "me being a Magistrate, to speak without book, as they say, and upon no sure ground) first have en- deavoured with all their might and main to overthrow the process of the inquisition it self; and afterwards, seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were *Patritii*) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and their negative, rather than to justifie themselves and stand to the triall of their cause: and at last having there also a repulse (thinking all means safer than to appeal to their innocencie) have sain up- on us, and bashed not (privat men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man, and all the world may know, that as they have assailed to compass that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the ren- dring an account of their life and demeanor; so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations) to offer my self unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call me to mine answer, here I resign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you, O Consuls, if so be this charge be laid on you by the Senat, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentleman the General of Horse *M. Fellius*: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocency alone, and not by the countenance and priviledge of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from these slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator: and after him in- continently, *M. Fellius* yielded up his room likewise of General over the Horse. These persons were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them by order from the Senat, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and testimonies of the *Patrtii*, were in every point found unguilty, and acquit. *P. Philo* also, albeit he had so many times attained to the supream dignities of state, after he had atchieved so many wor- thy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man maliced or envied rather of the Nobility, was put to plead for himself, and finally absolved. But this inquiry into such men of name and quality, lasted no longer in force, (as it is usually seen) than whiles it was fresh, and in the first heat thereof. From them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and baser account, untill such time, as by the same conventicles and factions, against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was tro- den underfoot.

The Oration of *Manius* the Dictator.

The bruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campains revolt, whereto cer- tain had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnits back again to *Caudium*, who were turned and bent wholly into *Apulia*: that from thence, being so near at hand unto *Capua*, they might (if haply any insurrection and trouble presented the overture and opportunity) seize upon it and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and mighty army: and at the first they staied and lingred about the passes and straights, having on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnits fetching a short compass about, came down with their army through the open places into the plains, I mean, the champain country and fields about *Capua*. And that was the first time that the enemies had a sight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishes, on horseback or ther than on foot, they tried masteries on either side: neither were the Romans one jot discon- ted with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war a- length. Contrariwise, the Samnit Captains perceived their forces to wear daily by small losses, and their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingring war. Whereupon, they came abroad into the field and divided their Cavalry into wings: with a special charge, to have a more careful eye backward toward their camp (for fear of any impression and assault that way) than to the main battel: which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The Coss. marshalled themselves in this manner *Sulpitius* led the right point of the battel and *Petilius* the left: the right side (where- as the Samnits also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ the enemies, or not to be compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed it self more abroad and o- pen. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a sudden policy of *Petilius* the Cos. farther strengthned. For those cohorts and bands which were reserved apart in the rereward for help at any need and kept fresh against all occurrents and ha- zards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vangard, and with all his forces at once charged the enemy at the first encounter & forced him to retreat. When the footmen of the Samnits were thereby troubled and disarraied, the horsemen followed close and entred into the skirmish. But as they rode cross and overthwart between the two hosts, the Roman horsemen pricked and galloped their horses to shank them; and disordred and troubled the ensigns, cornets, squadrons and troops of foot and horse, pell-mell together, untill he had caused the whole battel of that side to turn their backs. In this left point not *Petilius* alone, but *Sulpitius* also joyned with him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the souldiers: for he had transported and

distracted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to joyn battel at the cry & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Ro- mans to have retreated and lost ground, and the enemy as victor, advancing forward his ensigns upon them sore dismaid and daunted. Howbeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their Captain were the souldiers hearts refreshed and comforted; and for to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed, than in shew of number, of tall and lusty men. So when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other part, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnits giving over fight, were either slain or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to *Maleventum* a town now na- med *Beneventum*. It is left in record, that there were upon 30000 Samnits, either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith from thence lead their Legions to lay siege unto *Bovianum*: and there wintred before the Town, untill such time as *C. Petilius* (chosen Dictator together with *M. Fellius* his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls *L. Papy- rius Cursor* the fifth time, and *C. Jun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Castle of *Fregella* was by the Samnits taken, left *Bovianum*, and went for- ward to *Fregella*; which he recovered again without drawing his sword: for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there, he retur- ned from thence into *Campania*, of special purpose to regain *Nola* by force of arms. Thither were retired within the wals, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnits, and the rustical peasants about *Nola*. The Dictator having viewed the situa- tion of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the wals, set all the houses on fire that were in the subburbs along the counterscarpe (and there they stood thick and were well inhabited.) And not long after, whether it were by *Petilius* Dictator (I know not) or *C. Ju- nius* Consul (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) *Nola* was forced and won. They that would draw unto the Consul the honour of winning *Nola*, add moreover and say, That he won also *Atina* and *Calatia*: and that *Petilius* upon a pestilence that began, was made Dictator, for the setting or fastning of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to *Su- essa* and *Pontia*. *Suessa* belonged to the *Aurunci*. The Volscians inhabited the Iland *Pontiæ*, situate over against their own shore within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senat, that to *Cassi- num* also, a third Colony there should be sent inhabitants. *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three Triumvirs, for that purpose, and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnits was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of *Rome* had left the care thereof, a brute was blown of the Tuscans war. And there was in those daies another nation (setting the Gauls tumults aside) whose forces and hostility they more feared; for that their country was so near a neighbour and so populous withall. Therefore, whiles one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the war in *Samnium*, *P. Decius* who staid at *Rome* grievously sick, by authority of the Senat, named Dictator *C. Junius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger sort to take the military oath, and prest them for souldiers. Armor, and what soever requisite be- sides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he were thus furnished and well apointed, yet was he nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the Tuscans shewed themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the Tuscans al- so, both in preparing for war, and in making stay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their own limits.

In that yeaf was there a famous Censorship of *App.* * *Claudius*, and *C. Plautius*. But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the twain, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that he paved with stone the causey or * Port-way (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of * wa- ter into the City of *Rome*. Which works he finished alone, for that his Collegue for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made, gave over the office. But *Appi- us* having the stout stomack, engraffed in his name and house from the beginning, bare the Censor- ship alone. By the motion and means of the same *Appius*, the *Potitii*, to whole family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of *Hercules* called *Maxima*, had taught certain publike servants (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegats) the solemn rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministry. Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken, and that which might strike a scruple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve hou- ses of the *Potitii*, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age: within one year it is said, that they died all, with their whole issue and off-spring. Moreover, that not only the name of the *Potitii* became thus extinct, but that *Appius* also the Censor, within certain years (such was the ire of the gods mindfull of revenge) fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the leud and corrupt Election of some new Senators, that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-slipt, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly, That

* Surnamed *Cæcus*, that is, *Bliſon* or *Blind*.
* *Appia via*.
* Out of the river *Ahia*, and was called, *Aqua claudia*.

That they would not observe and have in any regard such a choice, which without respect of good and bad was made for favour and affection to some, and at the pleasure of the Censors: and immediatly they cited the Senat by name in that order and form, as had been used before the Censors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

And in that year were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for four * Legions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours conferred by the Dictators and Consuls: and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Petilius* and *C. Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the same people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at sea, for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was *M. Decius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

* A Legion consisted now of 4000 footment: howsoever at other times, of 3000. 5000, yea, and 6000. and the Colonels fewer or more in a legion, according to the quantity thereof. There belonged besides to every legion ordinarily 300 horse. With whom the Tribunes or Colonels aforesaid had nothing to do, being Captains of 1000 foot a peece.

I would let pass one thing that hapned this year, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minstrels that plaied upon the flute and hautboies, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the last Censors, to have their good chear any more in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to an old custome and tradition, took snuff thereat, and in a pelting chafe all in one company went their waies to *Tybur*: so as there was not one of them in the City left to sing and pipe before the pomp of sacrifices, and on their festival daies. The Senat made some conscience hereof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they dispatched certain messengers to *Tybur*, to travel with the townsmen, and endeavour all they could that these good fellows might be restored and sent home again to the Romans. The Tyburtins undertook the matter, and promised right courteously to do their best: and first they sent for these musicians into their Town-Hall, and perswaded with them to return again to *Rome*: but when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another policy and feat with them, that sorted and fitted well the humour of such kind of people and of their coat. Upon a festival holyday, under a colour of making merry with minstrelsie and musick about them, some invited one, and some another, to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them so with wine (which all the sort of this profession love but too well) that they drank until they winked, and winked so long, till they fell fast asleep. And being found asleep, the Tyburtins brought them gently to their beds in certain waggons, and thus bestowed, conveyed them to *Rome*. Neither perceived they ought, senselesse drunken sorts they, before that their wagons were left in the market place of *Rome*. Nay, before they had slept out and concocted their wine that steamed up into their heads, and clouded there, the day-light came upon them, and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either got at their hands, or charged them to stay, and make no more such frolicks, it was granted unto them, that three daies every year, being disguised and dressed in a mask for the purpose, they might range and walk about the City, with singing, and sounding their instruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now adaies is yearly used, and their priviledge of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely, to such as sung and plaied in time of their divine service and sacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidst the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Consuls parted their Provinces between them: To *Junius*, fell by lot the Samnits, to *Æmylius* the new war in *Hetruria*. In *Samnium*, *Cluvia*, a fortress and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an assault, was a long time besieged; and forced by extream famine, was delivered up to the Samnits. After they were once Masters of the fort, they took the garrison souldiers, and notwithstanding they yeelded themselves, yet they whipped and tare their flesh most beastly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. *Junius* exceeding wroth at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done first, than the winning again of *Cluvia*: laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he assailed the wals, took it by force, and slew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought against *Bovianum*. This was the chief place of the Pentrians in *Samnium*, the wealthiest City, the best provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The souldiers very eager and sharp set for hope of a rich pillage won the Town. But for that they were nothing so angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more spoil and saccage from thence than they ever had well near out of all *Samnium*; and as liberally was it bestowed every whit upon the souldiers. And forasmuch as no pitched battel in plain field, no Camp so well fortified, no Cities and Forts, howsoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romans in force of open arms: all the Princes in *Samnium* studied and applied their wits to find means of sleight and subtill policy; if haply, as they wasted and forraged the Territories after a loose and licentious manner, the Army disbanded once, might be entrapped and enclosed within some ambush. It fell out so, that certain fugitive peasants of the Country, and Captives, some by chance, and other of purpose, coming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the same sounding of a truth indeed; namely, that a great sort of sheep and other cattel were driven together into a by-forrest out of the way: and so inducted them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat booty. Now the Samnits had privily forelaid all the high waies with a mighty army, and after that they saw the Romans to have entred & engaged themselves within the chase or forrest aforesaid, all of a sudden

A sudden they rose up and with a great cry and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this so strange and unexpected occurrence made them afraid, while they took them to their weapons, and laid their fardels and baggage together on a heap in the midst. But after that every man was eased of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their ensigns; and without the commandment or direction of any man, they of themselves put the battel in array, each one knowing his ranke and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Military discipline. The Consul perceiving that he was brought to a most doubtful and dangerous battel, alight from his horse; and protested before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other gods whom he called all to witness: "That he came not into that place to
B "get glory to himself by any enterprise, but only a booty for his souldiers: and that no fault else
"could be imputed unto him, but an overmuch desire and affection of his, to enrich his souldiers
"by the spoil of the enemy. From which blame and shame both, nothing could free and acquit
"him else, but the manhood and prowess of his souldiers: exhorting them with one accord but
"to stay themselves and endeavour all together to set upon their enemy, defeated and vanquished
"in battel, driven out of Camp and field, bereaved of his Towns and strong holds, and come now
"to attempt his last and utmost hope, of privy and theevish trains of forlaying, trusting upon the
"vantage of the ground, and not pure force of arms. But what place is there now unaccessible or
"unpregnable to the valiant Romans? Herewithall he named the Castle of *Fregellæ* and *Sora*, and
"what place of disvantage and hard access soever, they had won by force. With these words the
C souldiers encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all difficulties and dangers, marched apace and advanced forward up to the army of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads. Where the Romans found some difficulty all the while they climed up the cliff or ridge of the hill against them. But after that the formost ensigns were mounted up and had gained the plain in the top, and perceived they were embattelled upon an even and equall ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in wait for them, & being disbanded, scattered, and driven to fling away their weapons, they fled and trudged as fast as they could to recover again those starting and lurking holes, wherein before they had hid themselves. But even those difficult places which they had sought of purpose for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encumbred themselves. For very few of them could find the way out, and escape by flight. Insomuch as to the number of 20000 were slain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleaD sure to that booty of sheep and cattel, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

Whiles these things thus went in *Samnium*, all the people of *Hetruria* by this time, but only the Aretins, were up in arms, and entred into a right great war; beginning first with the siege and assault of *Sutrium*: which City being allied to the Romans, was (as a man would say) the very Barriers of all *Hetruria*. Thither came the other Consul *Æmylius* with an army, to rescue and deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romans coming, the Sutrins curteously brought victuals for the Camp, lying before the City. The Tuscans spent the first day in consulting whether they should make a short war of it, by hot assaults, or temporise and protract the time by
E lingring siege. The morrow after, when as the Captains liked rather of expedition and hasty courses, than of more sage and safe proceedings, at the sun rising they set out a flag of defiance and the signal of battel, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. Which after it was told the Consul, presently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the souldiers should take their breakfast: and after they had refreshed and strengthned their bodies with food, go straight to arm themselves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Consul seeing them well appointed in readiness, commanded the ensigns to advance forward out of the rampier, and not far from the enemy marshalled his battels. For a good while they stood on both sides, wistly looking, and waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was past
F noon before there was one dart flung or javelin lanced, either from the one side or the other. But then, because they should not go away without doing somewhat, the Tuscans began to set up a cry, the trumpets sound the charge, and the standards came forward. Neither were the Romans any jot behind to begin battel: Thus they ran to it, and encountred with exceeding animosity and fury; the enemies more in number, the Romans better in hardiness and vertue. The fight was doubtful and dangerous, and cost the life of many a man on both sides, and namely, those that were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the second battaillon of the Romans, fresh and lusty, advanced to the forefront of the vangard, into the place of their wearied fellows. The Tuscans, for that their vangard was not supplied and reenforced by any new succours, both before and all about their ensigns were beaten down and slain every man. Never in any one battel had there been less running away, or more bloudshed, if the night had
G not protected the Tuscans: so resolute were they all to die in the place: insomuch as the winners gave over play before the losers. After the sun set, the retreat was sounded: and by night both parts returned into the Camp. After this, no exploit was performed before *Sutrium* that year, worth remembrance: both for that, the foreward of the enemies army, was wholly in that one battell defeated and destroyed; and they had none left but the Subsidiary souldiers of the rereward, and those hardly able and sufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and also, the Romans were so hurt and sore wounded, that there were more of them died after the battell of their hurts than were slain in the very skirmish outright. *Q. Fabius*, Consul for the year following, succeeded

Junius the Consul to his souldiers.

ed and entred upon this war at *Sutrium*. And for his collegue he had *C. Martius Rutilus*: and li
like as *Fabius* brought a new supply from *Rome* to furnish out the broken bands, so there came
fresh forces also unto the Tuscans, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jars and debates between the Magistrates of the Nobility
and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention out of that
family and house, which even then was fatall, (as it were) and born to do mischief to the Tribunes
and Commons both. *Appius Claudius* the Censor, after eighteen months expired (which by the
law *Æmylia* was the full term of bearing that Magistracy) notwithstanding that *C. Plautius* his
Collegue had given up his office; could by no means possible be forced himself to go out and give
over the place. Then rose up one *P. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons, who took in hand
this matter, as touching the demission of the Censorship, within the time prefixed by the law: an
action doubtless, not more popular than just and rightfull, nor less acceptable to the better sort,
than pleasing to the very Commons and base people. He having frequently rehearsed and reite-
rated the law *Æmilia*, extolled with praises up to the sky, the author and maker thereof, *Ma-
mercus Æmylius* a Dictator; who had reduced the Censorship, an office aforetime of five years
continuance (a puissance and authority, which by the length thereof savoured of Lordship) with-
in the compass of a year and six months. "Come on, quoth he, *Appius Claudius*, answer and say,
"what you would have done in case you had been Censor, when *C. Furius*, and *M. Giganius* were
"Censors? *Appius* answered and said, that this demand and question of the Tribune did not
greatly touch or concern his cause. For put the case, that the law *Æmylia* had obliged those Cen-
sors, during whose Magistracy the Act was made, (for that after those Censors created, the peo-
ple had granted that law, and look what they last allowed and ordained, the same was good, law-
full, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Cen-
sors, could be bound by vertue of that law. Whiles *Appius* thus cavilled, and no man there pre-
sent soothed him up, or gave applause and assent unto him: "Behold *Quirites*, quoth *Sempronius*,
"again, the progeny and race of that *Appius*, who being created Decemvir for one year, elected
"himself the second year: and in the third, being chosen neither by himself, nor by any other, in
"quality of a private person, held the soveraign dignity and government, with all the regall marks
"and ensigns thereof: and thus continuing still in rule and dominion, would never give over,
"before that his usurped governments of his ill-gotten, badly born, and naughtily kept and re-
"tained, were his finall fall and utter overthrow. This is the same family and house, (my Masters
"and friends, Citizens of *Rome*) by whose violence, by whose wrongs and oppression, ye were
"driven like poor banished persons to forgo your own deer native country, and to seize and
"hold the Mount *Sacr*; the very same, against which ye procured and purchased to your selves
"the support and help of Tribunes; the same, for which with two armies ye were fain to possess
"your selves of the *Aventine* hill; the same that alwaies withstood the Statutes devised against
"Usury; the same, that ever impugned the laws for division of waste lands among the people; the
"same brake for the time, and interrupted the marriages between the Nobles and Commons;
"the same kept out the Commons so long from bearing any dignities of the Chair, and of State:
"finally, this name is much more spightfully and mortally bent against your freedom, than that
"of the *Tarquins*. And is it so indeed, O *App. Claudius*? Would you have us beleeve, that be-
"ing now an hundred years since *Mamercus Æmylius* was Dictator, there have been so many
"Censors most noble and valiant personages, that none of them all ever read the twelve Tables?
"and none of them knew that to be law which the people last granted and allowed? Yes Iwis,
"they all wist that well enough: and thereupon yielded they, and obeyed rather the law *Æmylia*
"than the old and ancient Statute, (whereby the first Censors were created in the Common-
"wealth) even because the people approved it last: and by reason that there are two ordinances
"repugnant and contrary one to the other, there the new alwaies repealeth and abrogateth the
"old. And is this your saying, O *Appius*? That the people are not bound to the law *Æmylia* or ra-
"ther that they are tied unto it, but your good self alone is free and exempt therefrom? Was then
"law *Æmylia* able to bridle and curb those violent Censors *C. Furius*, & *M. Giganius*, who shew-
"ed sufficiently what harm and mischief this Magistracy could do in a Common-wealth, when
"for anger & despite that their term was abridged and cut short, they disfranchised, and deprived
"of the right of voice and Suffrage, yea, and brought within the range of Tributaries, *M. Æmylius*
"the worthiest and most excellent personage of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in
"war? This law took hold of all the Censors, one after another in order, for the space of an hun-
"dred years after; and bindeth now *C. Plautius* your Collegue, created with the same Auspices,
"and in equall authority with you. Tell me (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him
"with as good right and authority as any Censor might be? Are you the only and special man a-
"mongst all others to have this prerogative, this priviledge and singular preeminence by your self? O
"Suppose a man should create the King Sacrificer, should he, having once got the name and title
"of a King, give out and avouch, that he was King indeed, of as great a prerogative as any King
"of *Rome*? Who, think you, will be content with a Dictatorship of six months, or with an In-
"terregne for five daies and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator
"either to fasten a spike or great nail? Or for the stately plaies and games, or horse-running, and
"such like? How foolish, think ye my Masters, how base-minded and simple were they in this
"man his conceit, who within twenty daies, after notable exploits done and atchieved, gave over their

The Oration of *P. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons, against *Ap. Claudius*. [Cæsar.]

A "their Dictatorship? or they that being created with some errour and default, went out of their
"place? But what need I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within these ten years,
"*C. Manius* Dictator, for enforcing a commission more severely than stood with the safety of
"some great & wealthy persons, was charged by them with the guiltiness of the same crime, wher-
"upon he sate and made inquisition; who, to the end, that being a privat person, he might answer
"the accusation of his adversaries, and justifie himself, resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would
"not, that you in any hand were so modest: no, no, degenerate not a jot from that most imperious
"stock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, how soever you do, a day, no, nor an hour
"sooner than you needs must: but see then withall, that you exceed not the ordinary time limited
B "and set down. At least wise, it might content you to draw out your Censorship a day longer, or
"to stretch it farther by a month. A month? what tell you me of a month? I will exercise my Cen-
"sorship (quoth he) three years and six months, more than may be by the law *Æmylia*: yea, and by
"my self alone will I exercise it. Yea mary sir, this is somewhat like indeed, and spoken like a King.
"What, will you substitute unto you a Collegue in the room of the other? will you so? Whom
"as lawfull it is not to be subrogated and chosen, no, not in the dead his place? For you think it not
"enough, belike, that you (religious holy Censor that you be) have translated and transmitted,
"that most ancient solemnity, and only instituted by that good [*Hercules*] in whose honour it is
"celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplains, of that divine and sa-
"cred service, unto the ministry of base servants, and abject slaves: and that a kindred and linage
C "of greater antiquity, than the very first foundation of this City, so sanctified by entertainment
"and lodging of the immortal gods, by your means, and by occasion of your Censorship, with-
"in one year is rooted out and perished every mothers son: unless also by the same means, you
"hazard the whole Common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormity and guilt of wicked-
"ness, which even to pretage and conjecture, my heart doth tremble and quake again. In that
"*Lustrum* [or five years space] was the City of *Rome* taken by the Gauls, wherein *L. Papyrius
"Cursor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship, took a Collegue unto him, *M. Cornelius
"Maluginensis*, in the place of *C. Julius* the Censor late deceased. And yet see how much more
"sober and moderate was his ambitious humour in that behalf, than this of yours, O *Appius*.
"For *L. Papirius* neither alone, nor yet beyond the just set time by law, administred his Censorship:
D "yet found he never any one person after him, that would imitate and follow his example. All
"Censors from that time forward, upon the death of their fellow Censor gave up the office. But
"as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your compani-
"on in government departed out of the place; neither law nor shame, is able to rule and re-
"strain. You suppose that vertue consisteth in pride, in audacious boldness, in contempt both of
"God and man. For mine own part truly, O *Ap. Claudius*, for the reverence and majesty of this
"honourable place, which you have born, I would not willingly enter into any such hard cour-
"ses, as to touch your person by violence of hand; no, nor so much as to offend your name with
"any foul or unkind language. But as these words that have already passed, your own peevish and
"perverse frowardness, your opinionative contumacy, and insolent pride, having wrung and for-
E "ced from me: so unless you will obey the law *Æmylia*, by your leave, I will be so bold as com-
"mand you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and ancestors have so provided and or-
"dained, that in the Election of Censors, if either of the twain come short of sufficient voices re-
"quisite for to choose him, the other cannot be admitted and declared Censor; and so they must
"proceed again to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to
"exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like re-
monstrances after he had alledged, he commanded the Censor to be attached and committed. In
these proceedings of his, six of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three only assisted *Ap-
pius*; who called instantly upon them for their protection and lawfull succour: and so with exceed-
ing ill will, and highest discontentment of all States and degrees, he went clear away, and bare
F the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at *Rome*, and *Sutrium* was besieged still by the *Tuscans*: and as the
Consul *Fabius* was leading about at the foot of the hils, certain forces to succour his allies, & to as-
sail the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an army in battel-array met
with him. Whose great multitude when he might discover upon the plains underneath, because he
would help out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a lit-
tle about, up toward the hill tops (which were rough and craggy places spred all over with stones)
and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The Tuscans fogetting
all things, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof only they presumed; gave
battell so hastily and in such greedines, that casting away their shots and darts from them, to
G the end they might the sooner come to hand-strokes, they drew their swords, as they marched
against the enemy. The Romans on the contrary side laid load with shot, and applied them
one while with darts, another while with stones which the place plenteously afforded them.
Which, as they thumped and clattered, and stuck upon their shields and morions, although
they hurt them not much, yet troubled them not a little: neither could the enemies easily come
within them to fight neer and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to fling and launce afar
off, and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as Buts, to receive all

that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them sufficiently; whiles some of them al- H so gave ground and retreated, and the whole battel was wavering and unsteady, the Roman *Hastati* and *Principes*, came forward with a new shout, and charged them afresh. This violent assault could not the Tuscans bear, but turning their ensigns, fled amain in disarray toward their camp. But when as the Roman horsemen who were rid over through the plains and had gotten before, met them afront in the rout, they left their way unto the Camp, & turned toward the mountains: from whence with their whole company in a manner disarmed and sore wounded, they recovered the forrest *Ciminia*. The Romans having slain many thousands of the Tuscans, gained thirty eight ensigns of the field, and won also their tents with rich pillage; began to consult about pursuing the enemy. The wood *Ciminia* was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were I of late daies the German forrests: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented so much as by merchants. And scarcely any one but the Captain himself durst venture to enter into it: for, all the rest had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at *Candium*. Then the Consul his brother, one that was there, (*M. Fabius*, as some say, as others, *Caso*, and as other some *C. Claudius*, his brother only by the mothers side) promised that he would go as a scout in spiall, to descry the wood, and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought up at *Care*, among the ancient friends of his house and family, where afterwards he was taught the Tuscan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find some authors of credit that writ, how in those daies the Romans young children went to school for to learn to parl Tuscan, as now they do to speak Greek. But it standeth more like a truth, that K there was some special matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and dissimulation, durst intrude and insinuate himself amongst the enemies. It is said, that one only servitor accompanied him, one who had been brought up and nursed together with him, and thereupon not ignorant of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superficially and after a generall sort, learn the nature and site of the quarters which they were to enter into, and the names withall, of the chief rulers and principal personages of that country and nation: to the end that in their speech and talk, they might not falter and trip, and be taken tardy in any apparent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastoral weeds like herdmen, armed like country Kernes or Peasants, each of them with a faulchion and two javelins. But neither the familiar use and commerce of the tongue, nor the fashion of apparel which they L were, or weapons that they carried saved them so much as this one thing, That no man would ever beleeve, that any forreiner and stranger durst enter upon those thick Ciminian forrests. Well, forward they went (by report) as far as to the Camertins in *Umbria*. There, the Roman ventured to bewray who they were: and when he was brought in to their Senat, he treated with them in the Consuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, after he had been courteously entertained and friendly intreated, he had his dispatch, and was willed to relate unto the Romans, That there should be ready for their army, sufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come into those parts: Also, that the youth of the Camertins in *Umbria* should be at their command, prest in arms at all times. These tidings being reported to the Consul, after that he had sent before his carriages at the first watch of the night, and commanded the legions to go after, himself staid M still with the horsemen: and the morrow morning by day-light he began to skirmish with the *corps de guard* of his enemies, which were quartered without the forrest, and when he had long enough kept them play, and amused them at his pleasure, he retired into his Camp; from whence he went forth at another gate, and before night overtaketh the main army. The morrow after, at the point of day-break, he was got up to the crest of the hill *Ciminius*: from whence, after he had beheld and vewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of *Hetruria*, he sendeth out his souldiers abroad to forrage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were driving a fat booty, certain tumultuary bands of the rustical Peasants of *Hetruria*, gathered together in great hast, and of a sudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans; but so out of order were they, that being come to rescue a prey, they had like to have been a prey themselves. A N number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romans, having wasted and made spoil all over the country, enriched with store of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither were arrived (as it fell out) five messengers or pursevants with the Tribune of the Commons to warn and command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to pass through the forrest *Ciminius*. But these messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enterprises, returned home again to *Rome* with news of the victory.

By this expedition and journey made by the Cos. the war rather encreased and spread farther, than was dispatched & brought to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottom & foot of the mountain *Ciminius*, felt the smart of this rode: and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, not only the State of *Hetruria*, but also the borders and marches of *Umbria*. Whereupon there came to O *Sutrium*, a greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of the woods, but also for the eager desire of fight with al speed, they came abroad into the plain field. Afterwards, they stood first embattelled in a plot, by them fitly chosen, leaving over against them a space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battel: but perceiving the enemies to fall off, & loath to fight, they approached the very trench and rampiers; but finding there, that the guards were retired within their hold all at once they began to cry with one voice to their captains for to give order, that the rest of their allowance of victuals for that day should be brought them

A them thither out of the camp; for they would stay in their armor and harnesse, as they were, and either in the night, or else in the morning betimes by day-light, give the assault upon their enemies camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept in. Now it was welneer the * tenth hour of the day; When as the Consul willed his souldiers to take their refection, and warned them to be ready in armes at what hour soever by day or by night he should give them the signal of battell. And in the mean time maketh a short speech unto them, praising highly, and setting out of the Samnits wars, debasing the Tuscans, saying, that there was no comparison between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said that he had another feat and secret devise in store for them, which they should know when time served; in the mean while they must keep silence of necessity, and hold their peace. By these dark B speeches and bidden mysterics, he made semblance, as though he had some privy intelligence, that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end, that the heart of his souldiers (which haply were dismaied and discouraged at their great multitudes) might be comforted and refreshed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold and fort, it was more likely and probable, which he pretended. The souldiers having taken their repast, they laid their bodies to repose and sleep, and somewhat before the relefe of the * fourth watch, they were raised without noise, and armed themselves. The souldiers boies and lackies, and such as followed the camp, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to cast down the rampire, and to fill up the ditches with the bank, whiles that within the compasse and circuit of the camp, they were marshalled in battell array. The chosen * cohorts or bands were placed at the gates and passages forth. Then at the sound of trumpet, a little before day (which in summer nights C is the time of the deepest and soundest sleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid along and levell, issued forth at once, and charged the enemies on all sides, lying here and there scattered on the ground. Some before they were stirring, others half asleep and half awake in their couches: but the greatest part, making haste in that sudden fright to take arms, were slain and cut in peeces. Few had time to put themselves in armour, and they having no ensigns, no colours to follow, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans soon discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase. Some made halt to the camp, other to the woods, sundry waies one from another. But the woods were the safest place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was *the same day* taken, and won. All the gold and silver there found, was by expresse commandment brought unto the Consul his pavilion; the rest of the pillage, was the souldiers share. Slain and taken prisoners that D day, there were of the enemies to the number of 6000. This so noble a battel (some Writers say) was fought on the other side of the wood *Ciminia*, before *Perusia*: who also report, that the City of *Rome* was in great fear, lest that the army being inclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have been surprised and defeated by the Tuscans and Umbrians, who were risen up in arms together from all parts. But wheresoever it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came Embassadors from *Perusia*, * *Cortona*, and * *Aretium*, where were in maner the chief and princi- * *Cortona* pall Cities at that time of all Tuscane, treating and suing to the Romans for peace, and a league: *Cortonee.* but they obtained truce only for thirty years. * *Arretium*

During these affairs in *Hetruria*, the other Consul, *C. Martius Rutilius*, wan from the Samnits the town * *Allifas*. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished and destroied *Alphe.* E by way of extream hostility, or yeelded safe and whole unto their subjection. At the same time the Roman navy also, under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senat ordained Admiral of the sea-coast, set sail for *Campain*, and being arived at * *Pompeii*, the mariners and sea-fervitors went * *Magnarelli* a land to wast and forage the territories about * *Nuceria*: and after they had made spoil, and pilled * *Nocera.* by snatches the parts lying neerest unto the sea, from whence they might safely again return to their ships; *they* adventured farther for sweetnesse of gain and booty (as usually it falleth out) and so gave the alarm to the enemies for to rise. As they straggled all over the fields, no man made head against them, at what time, as they might have been soon slain every one; but as they were returning with a disordered march, and stood not upon their guards, a troop of the peasants of the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and eased them of their spoil and pillage, F and slew some of them: the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were chased to their fleet.

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the forrest *Ciminia*, as it caused great fear in *Rome*, so it gave occasion of as joyful news in *Samnium*. For the rumor ran, that the Romans army was shut up and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a losse and shameful disgrace at *Glandium*; reporting and giving forth, that these Romans being a nation greedy alwaies of incroaching farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashnesse now run headlong into the blind forrests impassable, and inviroued not so much with the power and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those passages. In such sort as amid this joy of theirs, they envied also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the G Romans, from the Samnits, to the Tuscans. And therefore being well appointed with men and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Martius* the Consul forever: minding from thence, in case *Martius* would not abide a battell, to go into *Hetruria* through the Marsi and Sabins. But the Consul met with them by the way; where was fought a shape and cruell battell with doubtful event, and much effusion of bloud on both sides. And as uncertain as it was, whether part lost more bloud, yet the rumour went, that the Romans had the

* Four a clock after-noon.

* Between two and three of clock in the morning.

* A Cohort *is* a regimente or band of 500 footmen commonly. Once in Levy we read of *Quas dringenteriæ cohorts*, of 400 and no more.

worse, by reason of the losse of certain knights and gentlemen of *Rome*, and Colonels, and one Lieutenant; and that which made most, for that the Consul himself was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is seen) got more feathers still as it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the LL. of the *Senat* in *Rome*, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius Cursor* should be the man, who in those daies was reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be assured of sending a messenger safe into *Samnium* (considering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Consul was for certain alive. And as for the other Consul *Fabius*, upon an old secret and privat grudge, he maliced *Papirius*: which quarell, lest it might hinder the service of the Common weal, the Senat thought good to send unto him certain Embassadors (as it were) even such as had been Consuls; who of their own authority, as well as by vertue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsel him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his countries sake. When these personages were come to *Fabius* the Col. and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senat, and used withall such speech and reasons of their own, as suted well to the errand they had in charge: the Col. casting his eies down toward the ground, departed from the Embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following, in the dead time (as the maner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when these messengers or Embassadors gave him great thanks for mastering and ruling his affections so exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himself, dismissed them; that it might appear, how upon an high mind and haughty stomack, he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and spiteful anger of his, *Papirius* named *C. Junius Bubulcus* commander of the horse. And whiles he proposed an act concerning the regiment and command of his army, before the people assembled by the *Curiæ* or wards, there hapned a matter of ominous presage, which caused that businesse to be put off untill the next day: for that the ward *Faucia*, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein the same *Curiæ* likewise began the suffrages first; namely, the taking of the City of *Rome*, and the Caudine peace. *Macer Licinius* making that ward ominous and unlucky, for a third losse and calamity received at *Cremera*. But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Auspices, went through with the act, and obteined his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mustered and enrolled upon the fearfull alarm given, that the Roman army was passed the wood *Cyminia*, untill he arrived at *Longula*: where, after he had received of the Consul *Martius*, the old bands of souldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and aranged, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retire. Then they abode encamped neer together in rest and quiet for certain dayes, neither distrusting their own puissance, nor yet disdaining and despising their enemies. In this mean time there was doings and war in *Etruria*: for both there was a battell fought with the army of the Umbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather discomfited and put to slight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animosity as they began: and also neer the lake and Mear **Vadimon*, the Tuscans had levied a new army, according to a sacred law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as sworn brethren were to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before: and with such heat of anger and malice one against the other they encountred, that of neither side they thought of discharging shot and flancing darts, but began at the very first with their swords to go to handstrokes: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very skirmish, and continued for a good while so doubtfull, that the Romans thought they dealt not with Tuscans so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. No shew of flight on neither side; down go the formost, and lay dead before their Standards: and lest that the ensigns should be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the second range and ward of the battaillon came in place to supply the first: and so still new succours and fresh were set even as far as from the rereward behind, destined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremity of travel and perill they proceeded, that the Roman horsmen abandoning their horses alighted on foot, and were fain to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground; which new troop and battaillon risen and sprung (as it were) a fresh, to reenforce and strengthen their distressed fellowes, disordred the squadrons and ensigns of the Tuscans. The other legionary souldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard and seconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the Tuscans as stiffe as they stood afore, began to have the worse, and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they once turned back, they fell plainly to take their heels and run away. This was the first day, that overthrew and laid along the puissance of the Tuscans, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperity. Their whole flour and strength which they had, was in this battell slain, and at the same time their camp won and ransacked.

**Lago di vetterbo.*

With like hazard and glorious successe of the end, was the war managed with the Samnits soon after; who besides all other preparations and ordinary furniture of war, gave order that their

their army should glitter and shine againe with a new kind of garnishing their harnesse and armors. For having divided their forces in two armies, the one had laid their shields with gold, the other with silver. The form and fashion whereof was this, that upper part wherewith the breast and shoulders are covered, was broader, and the head of it of even height: but the nether end growing downward to the bottom was more pointed wedgewise, for to weld it more nimbly; Their breast and stomack was fenced with spunges, the left leg armed with a good greeve, their morions with high crests made a shew of tall stature. The souldiers aforesaid with guilded shields wore coats of sundry colours; the other with silvered, white linnen: and these had the leading of the right wing, or point of the battell; but they of the left. The Romans had notice and knowledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armor: and their Captains had taught them afore, that a souldier ought to be dreadful and terrible, not dight and decked in his damasked gold and silver, but trusting in the sharp edge of iron and steel, and a good heart and courage withall: and as for that other furniture, it was rather a good booty than armor of proof; fair and resplendent, before men come to the sharp, but foul and unseemly amongst bloody wounds. The true ornament and beauty of a souldier, is valour and hardinesse; as for all those braveries, they went commonly with victory: and to conclude, that a rich enemy would serve well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never so poor and needy. With these speeches after that *Cursor* had animated his souldiers, he leadeth them into the field: himself he par in the right wing; the left he committeth to the conduct of the Generall of horse. So soon as they charged one another and buckled together, a great conflict and hardy had they with the enemy, and no lesse emulation there was between the Dictator and him; striving much whether of them twain should begin the victory. But as hap was, first *Junius* dislordered the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right lustily the right wing of the enemies: saying ever and anon, That he offered and sacrificed unto the Devill and infernall spirits, those souldiers of theirs, consecrated already unto them after the maner of the Samnits, and decked accordingly in white livery, and bright silvered armour, suting in colour thereunto: and withall advanced forward his standards, brake their araies, and made the battell to shrink evidently and give ground. Which when the Dictator perceived, How now, quoth he, shall the victory begin at the left wing, and shall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in person, come behind and follow the battel of another, and not eary away with it the greatest part of the victory? Herewith he fetteth on his souldiers, yet gave the horsemen no place in manhood to the footmen, or the service of the Lieutenants was inferiour to the Captains themselves and chief commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right point, *P. Decius* on the left, both Consular men, put themselves forward, and rode out to the horsmen aranged in the wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and charged acrosse upon the sides and flanks of the enemies. Whiles this new terror upon the former, had on every side entred the battel of the enemies; and the Roman legions, to terrifie them the more, had redoubled a fresh shout, & charged them with greatfury, then began the Samnits to flie amain. Now were the fields overspread with the bodies of slain men, and strewed thick with armor, ere while so brave and glorious: and at the first, the Samnits in great affright recovered their tents; but being there, were not able so much as to keep them, for they were won and rifled before night, and fire set upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senat triumphed: and the laid armor which was taken from the enemy; made the goodliest pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried so stately a shew and magnificent, that the guilded shields were divided amongst the warders of the company of Bankers and Goldsmiths, to the beautifying of their Hal and Market place. And hereof began first the custome of the Ædiles, to adorn and set out the common place of the City in their solemn processions, when the sacred images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in silver chariots. And the Romans verily for their part put this goodly trim armor of their enemies to this use, namely, to honor their gods withall. But the Campains upon a pride and inveterate hatred that they bare against the Samnits, used to arm their sword-players and fencers at the sharp (which was a solemn sight and pastime they had at their great feasts) with this same attire, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnits.

The same year *Fabius* the Consul fought with the rest of the Tuscans at * *Perusia* (which City also had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town it self he had forced & won (for in the same train of his conquest he approached the wals) but that their Embassadours came forth and yeelded the City. When he had placed a good garrison at *Perusia*, and sent before him to *Rome* unto the Senat, the Embassadours of *Etruria*, who treated for peace; he being but Consul, made his triumphant entry into the City for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictatour. And that for a good part of the honor of subduing the Samnits, was ascribed to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*. and *M. Valerius*, therefore at the next Election, the people with general assent declared the one Consul, and the other Pretour. *Fabius* for taming *Hetruria* so bravely and valiantly, continued Consull still, and had for his Colleague *P. Decius Valerius* was created Pretor the fourth time. The Consuls parted between them the provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Decius*, *Samnium* to *Fabius*. Who taking his voiage to *Nuceria*, laid siege to the City of the Allifats, and won it by assault; and not withstanding they made suit for peace, he rejected and despised them; for that when it was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnits he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

* *Perugia.*

vanquisht. Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marsians H
first took arms and warred with the Romans. After the Marsians were revolted, the * Peligmans
did the semblable, and sped alike. *Decius* also the other Consul had good successe in his wars. He
drave the Tarquinians for fear, to send the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain
castles and holds of the Volscinians, he forceably wan: some of them he utterly raced, for that they
should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every
where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuscane nation made sute to the Consul for peace and
confederacy. It they could not obtain: but truce for a year was granted. In regard wherof, for that
year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every souldier was exacted
and taken of them. This was the pension and fine that their truce cost them. I

But now when all was quiet among the Tuscans, the sudden revolting of the Umbrians, a nation
free, and saved hitherto from the calamities of war, but only, that the Roman army passing through
their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth
and sollicited also a great part of the Tuscans to rebell, levied so great a power that making no
accompt of *Decius*, whom they left behind them in *Hetruria*, they gave out proud words of
themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right
forth to assault *Rome*. Which designe of theirs, so soon as it was reported to *Decius* the Cos. he
made speed, and by long journies departed out of *Hetruria* toward the City, and in the Country
of the Papinians, encamped himself; listning ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Nei- K
ther at *Rome* was the Umbrians war neglected and set light by: for their very threats and menaces
feared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the foil they had at the Gauls hands, how
unsure a City they inhabited and not unpregnable. Therupon messengers were dispatched to the
Cof. *Fabius*, That if he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnits war, he should with al
speed lead his army into *Umbria*. The Cof. obeyed, and by great journies went forward to * *Me-*
vania, where at that time the forces of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of
the Cof. whom th ey thought verily occupied in *Samnium* far enough off from *Umbria*, to terrified
the Umbrians, that some gave advise to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish
the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call *Materna*
not only kept the rest in arms, but also set them on to fight immediatly, so as they enarged upon *Fa-*
bius, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Cof. saw rushing upon his rampiers in L
such heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground & time would give leave, he mar-
shalled them in order of battel: and after he had encouraged his souldiers with a true report & dis-
course of many glorious and honourable journies atchieved as well in *Thuscia* as also in *Samnium*
he willed them to dispatch this smal residue of the Tuscan war, that hung by and remained behind,
and to be revenged of that accursed and impious speech, whereby they threatned to assail the City
of *Rome*. These words of his were heard by the souldiers with such alacrity and cheerfulness of heart,
that before their General had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and in-
terrupted him: and thus before commandment and signall given by sound of trumpets and cor-
nets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and those
also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the M
banners and streamers out of the bearers hands, after that, the ensign-bearers themselves
were led to the Consuls, and the souldiers armed as they were, transported out of one battai-
lon into another, and where there was any scuffling, they fought not so much with sword, as buck-
ler: and what with their bosses and iron pikes, and what with justling, shouldering, and striking
the enemies about the arme-pits, they were overthrown and felled. In which skirmish, more men
were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon,
down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendred them-
selves: and the morrow after, and other daies following, the rest of the people of *Umbria* likewise
yeelded. The Otriculans by stipulation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And *Fabi-*
us having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, led back his N
army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the
people the year past continued his Consulship: so the Senat against the year following, when *Ap.*
Claudius, and *L. Volumnius* were Cosl. prorogued his martial rule still, maugre the heart of *Appius*
who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that *Appius*, whiles he was Censor sued to
be Cnosul, and that his Election was crossed and staied by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of Com until he
had resigned up the Censorship. Being created Cos, and the war with the Salentins (declared new
enemies) allotted unto his Collegue, he remained at *Rome*; that by civil policy, and managing
home-affairs, he might augment his own state and authority, since that the honour of war-service
rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volumnius* had no cause to repent of his charge and
province: for many fortunat battels he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. O
He was a bountiful giver of the spoil away unto his souldiers: and this bounty in it self alone se-
cepta ble, he helped much with great courtesie and gentlenesse, by which vertues and artificiall
meanes, he made the souldiers both venturous in perils and hardy in travell.

Q. Fabius on the other part, in quality of pro-Consul, gave battell to the Samnits neer
the City *Allifa*, where the day was nothing doubtful. The enemies were discomfited and beaten
into their camp: neither had they been able to have kept the field, but that there was but a lit-
tle

A tle day left behind: and yet before night, they were beset round about in their hold, yea, and
watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning
ere it was well day light, they began to yeeld themselves, and to capitulate, that as many Samnits
as there were among them, should be sent forth in their single garments, and they all went under
the gallows. As for their confederats and allies, there was no such proviso nor composition made,
but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were sold as slaves, and wore a garland. As many
as advowed themselves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forth coming. All
those *Fabius* sent to *Rome* to the Senat, and untill such time as enquiry was made, whether
in a publick muster they were pressed souldiers or voluntarily served under the Samnits against the
Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among sundry nations of the Latins: during
B which time, the new Consuls, *Publius Cornelius Arvina*, and *Quintus Martius Tremulus* (for
those were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senat. The Her-
nicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet or General Councel in the round Cirque,
which they call *Maritimus*, of all the Cities of that Nation, except the Alatrinats, Ferentinats, and
the Verulans. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclamed war against the people of *Rome*. In
Samnium also, for that *Fabius* was departed thence, there arose new troubles and rebellions.
Calatia and *Sora* were forced, and the Roman garrisons that there lay, were put to the sword,
and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exercised much torture and cruelty.
Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Consul was thither sent. And to *Martius* were the new
C enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was, That war should be made upon the
Anagnins and the other Hernicks.) At the first the enemies had so seised all the convenient
passes and waies between both the Consuls camps, that there could not readily passe a lackey
or currier between, in so much, as for certain daies both Consuls abode doubtfull how the
world went, and uncertain one of the others state. The fear whereof, spred to *Rome*, so as all
the younger sort [from seventeen years of age to seven and forty] ware to serve: and against all
sudden occasions, and occurrents whatsoever, two full and compleat armies were levied and en-
rolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the
ancient glory and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthy adventures, and within
few daies lost their camp thrice, they covenanted for to have thirty daies truce; during which
time, they might send Embassadours to the Senat of *Rome*: and in consideration hereof, they
D promised to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every souldier
one coat. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Martius*: unto whom by order
from the Senat, a large commission was granted, to dispose of the Hernicks as he he thought good:
and so he took the whole nation as yeelded to his devotion. The other Consul in *Samnium* being
in forces more puissant then the enemy, was not withstanding encumbred much with the difficul-
ty of the ground. All the passages had the enemie stopped, and possessed himself of the forrests
and woods which were thorow faires, that no way victuals might be conveied unto him. Neither
could the Consul, for all that daily he displaied banner in field, train them forth to fight: so as
it was well seen, that neither the Samnits could abide present battell, nor the Romans long de-
lay of war. But the arrival of *Martius* who upon the subduing of the Hernicks, made hast to aid his
E Colleague, cauled the enemy to defer no longer the triall of the field. For, they, who thought
themselves not good enough to match so much as the one army, knew full well that if they suffered
two Consuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore set upon *Martius*
as he marched without order of battel. Hereupon in al hast their trusses and fardels were brought
together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he set his souldiers in array. At
the first encounter, the shout was hard into the camp of the other Consul. Afterwards the dust
descried afar off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Consull pre-
sently commanded to arm: and hastily bringing his souldiers forth into the field, entred upon the
battell of the enemies in the flank, whiles they were busied in another skirmish. He cried a-
loud to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to suffer the other army to carry away dou-
F ble victory, and not themselves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge.
Thus, wheresoever he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a
great lane through the midst of the enemies battel, he passed on towards their camp; which find-
ing void of defendants, he took and set afire. Which when the souldiers of *Martius* saw burn-
ing before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind: then began the Sam-
nits on all hands to flie: but killed they were every where down right: all places full of murder
and slaughter: so in no part could they find means to escape and save themselves. Now when there
were thirty thousand of the enemies slain, the Consuls sounded the retreat, and gathered both their
armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time, behold, there were
G descried a far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a supply; and they gave occasion
of a new and fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandment of Consul, or any signall re-
ceived from their leaders, the Romans advanced lustily, crying aloud, that these Samnits were to
be welcomed with an ill hansell, and this their first training should cost them deer. The Con-
suls let the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that these new co-
mers seeing the old beaten souldiers so astonied already and flying away, would soon have enough
of it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion; for the whole
forces of the Samnits as well old and new, fled apace unto the next mountains: and thither the

Romans

Romans alſo make as great ſpeed. But no ſafe place could thoſe vanquiſhed enemies finde: for even H from the very hil tops which they held, they were beaten down, ſo that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Conſuls had impoſed upon them corn for three months, and a years pay, and for every fouldier a livery beſides, they were permitted to ſend Embaſſadours to the Senat, to treat and capitulat thereof. During which time, *Cornelius* was left in *Samnium*, and *Martius* returned into the City, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree paſſed, that his ſtatue riding on horſback ſhould remain in the common place of aſſemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of *Caſtor*. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the Alatrinats, the Verulans and Ferentinats, their own laws, and ancient liberties were reſtored again, becauſe they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome*: and permitted they were to marry amongſt the Romans, which liberty they only of the Hernickes for a good I while enjoied. The Anagnins, and thoſe that had born arms againſt the Romans were incorporat free denizens of *Rome*, but without the priviledge of giving voices and ſuffrages: debarred they were of holding any Councels and making marriages with them, yea, and denied at all to elect any magiſtracy, but only the function and miniſtry of divine ſervice and ſacrifices.

The ſame year the Chappell of dame *Salus* was by *C. Junius Bubulcus* now Cenſor, ſet out at a price to be built, which he in his Conſulſhip had vowed, in the Samnits war. By his direction and appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high waies and cauſeys made, of all ſides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expenſes. The ſame year alſo, was the league renewed now the third time with the Carthaginians: and K their Embaſſadors who came for that purpoſe, were courteouſly entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator *P. Cornel. Scipio*, with *P. Decius* General of the horſe: and theſe were Preſidents at the Election of Conſuls, for to that purpoſe they were created, becauſe neither of the two Conſuls could be ſpared from the wars. Conſuls were created *L. Poſthumius*, and *T. Minutius*. But *Piſo* ſayth, that theſe Conſuls immediatly ſucceeded *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*: leaving out thoſe two years, wherein he hath written that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were Conſuls. Whether he forgot himſelf in digeſting his Annals and yearly records, or of ſet purpoſe overhipt two couple of Conſuls, thinking that they were not in truth Conſuls, I wot not.

The ſame year the Samnits made rodes into the territories of *Stella*, within the liberties and appurtenances of the Campains, and therfore both Conſuls were ſent into *Samnium*: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for *Poſthumius* took his journey to *Tifernum*, and *Minutius* to *Bovianum*: firſt there was battell fought at *Tifernum*, under the leading of *Poſthumius*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the Samnits were diſcomfited, and put to the worſe, and thirty thouſand of them taken priſoners: others ſay, that the conflict was equall, and that they departed on even hand: alſo that *Poſthumius* making ſemblance of fear, journyed by night, & cloſely retired untothe hils adjoyning, & the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified alſo themſelves in ſtrong places of advantage. The Conſul, becauſe he would be thought to have fought and choſe a ſafe place, and plentifully ſtored with all neceſſaries (as it was no leſſe indeed) where he might keep a ſtanding camp; after he had fortified the ſame, and furniſhed it with all kind of proviſion, leaving behind him a ſtrong garriſon for defence; at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the neereſt way, his legions not encumbred with cariage, to his Colleague, who alſo himſelf lay in camp over againſt another army. There, by the perſwaſion & advice of *Poſthumius*, *Minutius* gave battell; and when as the conflict continued doubtfull untill it was far on the day; then *Poſthumius* with his freſh legions, on a ſudden charged the battaillons of the enemies, now already overtoyled; thus partly for wearineſſe, and partly for wounds, they being diſabled for to flee away, were out of all meaſure ſlain every one, and xxi. banners were taken: and ſo from thence they went forward to the camp of *Poſthumius*. Where theſe two victorious armies finding the enemy diſcouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, ſet upon them, diſcomfited, and put them to flight; and wan from them xxvi. enſignes: where the General of the N Samnits *Statius Cellius*, with many a man beſides, was taken priſoner, and both their camps won. *Bovianum* alſo, which the morrow after began to be aſſaulted, was ſhortly after forced: and finally with great glory of no noble acts atchieved, both Conſuls triumphed. Some write that the Conſul *Minutius* being grievouſly hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there dyed: and that *M. Fulvius* was ſubſtituted Conſul in his room: and that it was he, who being ſent unto the army of *Minutius*, wan *Bovianum*. The ſame year *Sora*, *Arpinum*, and *Conſentia* were recovered from the Samnits: and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitol ſet up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpitius Averrio*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Coſſ. the Samnits deſiring either to ſee an end of war, or elſe to delay it, ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* pretending peace. To whom "as they pleaded and intreated moſt humbly, this anſwer was given; That if the Samnits had not O "ſo often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain enter- "views, and conferences paſſed between, obtein their ſuit: but ſince that evermore untill that "time, their words were but wind; now they would truſt to their deeds, and nothing elſe. P. "*Sempronius* the Conſul, ſhall ſhortly be in *Samnium* with an army: who would not be abuſed, "but ſoon ſee, whether their minds be enclined to war or peace: and as he found and ſaw every "thing, ſo would he bring word and make relation: and therfore their Embaſſadors were to attend upon

A upon the Conſul when he departed out of *Samnium*. The ſame year after that the Romans army had paſſed peaceably to and fro, and viſited all *Samnium*, having victuals by the country courteouſly allowed, the ancient league was granted again to the Samnits. From thence turned the Romans their forces againſt the Æquians, their old enemies; but for many years making ſemblance of quietneſs, where as indeed their peace was little to be truſted: for that the Hernick nation was ſafe and on foot, they with them, had uſed oftentimes under hand to ſend aid unto the Samnits; and alſo after the ſubduing of the Hernicks, the whole nation in a maner without diſſembling, and averring all they did by publick counſell and authority, had fallen away unto the enemie: and after that the Romans had made league with the Samnits, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hoſtility, they ſaid, It was but a tempting of them, to ſee, B whether upon fear of war they would ſuffer themſelves to become Romans. Which, ſay, how greatly it were to be wiſh'd, the Hernicks was able to teach them: for they, as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, choſe rather to live under their own laws, then to be enfranchiſed citizens of *Rome*: but others, who had not the ſame ſcope to chooſe to their liking, they were conſtrained to accept of the Burgeoiſie of their City, by way of a puniſhment. Upon theſe ſpeeches and arguments commonly toſſed in their aſſemblies and Councels, the people of *Rome* decreed war againſt the Æquians: to which both the Conſuls went, and encamped four miles from their enemies camp. The Æquians (who in their own behalf, and for any quarell of theirs, had many years ſat ſtill and made no war) like as if their army had been levied of a ſudden and in haſt, without certain Captains appointed, and without any Generall to command, were affraid. Some thought C good to go forth into the field, others to defend themſelves, and keep within their camp: moſt of them were moved to think aforehand upon the waſting of their country afterwards, and conſequently the deſtruction of their cities left but with ſlender garriſons. Therefore after that, amongſt many opinions, this only had audience, namely, to abandon the care of publick weal and every man to regard his own privat ſtate, and at the firſt watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the wals: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and imbraced it. Now when the enemies were thus ſcattered abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner diſplaied went forth into the field: and when they ſaw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order apace towards the enemies camp. But when as they could perceive D there, neither warders before the gats, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor ſo much as the uſuall noiſe of a leaguer; being moved with this unaccuſtomed ſilence, for fear of forelaying and treachery, they ſtood ſtill: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they ſet forward to purſue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading to all parts of the Country alike: as being ſlipt here and there, ſundry and divers waies; at the firſt they wandred out of the way, and miſſed of them; but afterwards knowing by their eſpials the purpoſe and intent of their enemies, they went round about and beſieged every City, and in threeſcore daies wan forty towns all by aſſault: moſt part whereof were razed even with the ground, and conſumed into aſhes, and the nation of the Æquians utterly in a manner deſtroyed. Over the Æquians there was triumph; Whoſe calamity and deſolation was ſo fearfull an exam- M E ple, to the Marrucins, Marſi, Peligni, and Ferentins, that they ſent Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace and amity: and to all thoſe nations at their requeſt, a league was granted. The ſame year, *C. Flavius* a Notary or Regiſter by profeſſion, whoſe father *Cneus* was no better than of a ſlave made free, a man, thus deſcended of baſe and low parentage, howbeit otherwiſes crafty and eloquent withall, aroſe to be an Ædile Curule. I find in ſome records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the Ædiles, and ſaw that his own Tribe were willing to give him their voices and elect him Ædile, but his name not accepted of among other competitours, for that he got his living by his pen, he caſt aſide his books and papers, and ſware an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and uſe pencraft. But *Macer Licinius* avoucheth, that a good while before, that he gave over his writing, namely, after he had been Tribune, and born two F Triumvirſhips, the one for the night miſrules, the other for the placing and tranſporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very ſtout, and in great contumacy oppoſed himſelf and made head againſt the Nobles that contemned his baſe birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great ſecret by the Prieſts, and Prelats in their Arches, he publiſhed abroad: and ſet up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calender, wherein all men might know worke-daies from holy-dayes; when it was lawfull to plead, and when not. Alſo in deſpite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patritii*, he dedicated the temple of the goddeſſe *Concord* upon the Court of *Vulcan*: and by the generall conſent of the people, *Cornelius Barbatus* the high Prieſt was compelled to endite and pronounce the certain form of words therto belonging; notwithſtanding he conteſted and denied, G that by the cuſtomes of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unleſſe he were either Conſul or Generall of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senat, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Altar, without permiſſion and conſent of the Conſul, or the more part of the Tribuns of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of it ſelf not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons againſt the pride and inſolencie of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to viſit his Collegue lying ſick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle-

gentleman of the Patritians that ſat by his bed ſide, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one ſo much as roſe up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of State to be brought unto him, and ſet him ſelf upon it; and ſo he outfaced his adverſaries, that were ſo vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity. This *Flavius* was nominated & choſen Ædile, by the baſe faction of the commoners, banding together in the place of aſſemblies: who firſt took heart by the Cenſorſhip of *Appius Claudius* the firſt that ever diſtained and pollured the Senat, by bringing in the Sons of Libertins: and when he ſaw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawfull, and perceived withall, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he ſought for; he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the moſt baſe perſons of the Commons: and ſo he corrupted both the common place and *Mars* field alſo. In ſo much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed ſo unworthy an indignity, that moſt of the gentlemen of *Rome* laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horſes which were the ornaments and enſigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One ſide was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, ſuch as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of riffe-raffe and ſcum of the City; untill the time that *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Cenſors. *Fabius* to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withſtand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magiſtrats ſhould not be carried away by the ſtrong hand of the vileſt and moſt abject perſons, made a ſeparation of all that baſe rabble, and caſt them into four Tribes, and called them * *Vrbanæ*. Which action of his (men ſay) was accepted with ſo great contentment and thankfulneſſe, that upon the good temperature of degrees, he purchaſed the ſurname of *Maximus*, which in ſo many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him alſo (by report) it was ordained and inſtituted, that on the Ides of *July*, the horſemen rode, as it were, in a ſolemn muſter, and ſhewing their great horſes to the Cenſor.

* Tribes of the City ſuch as were born to no lands in the country: all the reſt were named Ruſticæ.

The Tenth Book
Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Tenth Book.

Two Colonies were planted in Sora *and* Alba. *The marſians of* Carſeola, *were reduced under obedience. The fellowſhip of the Augurs was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but four. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time propoſed by* Valerius *the Conſul. Two Tribes more were added to the reſt,* Anienſis *and* Terentina. *War was denounced againſt the Samnits, and fortunately fought with them. What time as there was a battell given to the Tuſcans, Umbrians, Samnits and Gauls, under the conduct of* P. Decius, *and* Quintus Fabius, *and the Romain army was in great extremity of danger, P. Decius following the example of his father, devowed and expoſed himſelfe to die voluntarily, for to ſave the hoſt: and by his death obtained the victory of that journy, to his countrimen and fellow Citizens.* Papirius Curſor *put to flight an army of the Samnits, who were bound by a ſolemn oath not to depart out of the battel without victory, to the end, that with more magnanimity and reſolution, they ſhould enter into the field. The Cenſe was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the ſolemn purging and Luſtration of the City. And aſſeſſed there were 262322 pols.*

The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

WHen *L. Genutius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Conſuls, there was reſt in a manner from all wars abroad; in ſuch ſort, as they had leiſure to place certaine Colonies at *Sora* and *Alba*: And for *Alba* there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to affront the Æquians. As for *Sora*, it had ſometimes belonged to the Volſcians territory; but the Samnits uſurped the poſſeſſion of it, and thither four thouſand were ſent to inhabit. The ſame year, the Arpinats and Trebulans were infranchiſed denizens at *Rome*. The Frufinats were fined with the loſſe of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have ſollicited the Hernicks to rebellion: and after that the Conſuls Commiſſion from the Senat, had made due inquiſition, the principall heads of that conſpiracy, were ſcourged and beheaded, yet becauſe there ſhould not paſs a year clean without war, a journy was made (ſuch a one as it was) into *Umbria*; upon news, that there uſed to iſſue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entred with their enſignes diſplayed: where by reaſon that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and ſpecially by throwing of

A ſtones; untill ſuch time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorow-fare.) So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and ſet it on fire: with the ſmoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who ruſhing at laſt into the flame, deſirous to eſcape, were ſmothered and burnt to aſhes.

When as *M. Livius Denter*, and *C. Æmylius*, were Conſuls, the Æquians began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colony ſhould be planted upon their borders, as a frontier-fortreſs to bridle them, and aſſaied by all kind of force to win the ſame: but they were luſtily repulſed by the Inhabitants only within the town. Howbeit, ſuch a fear they made at *Rome*, becauſe it was not thought credible, that the Æquians alone of themſelves, ſo diſtreſſed as they
B were, would be ſo hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictator was ſtamed, to wit, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, with *T. Titinius* General of the horſe. Who at the firſt conflict ſubdued the Æquians, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: and now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of *Salus*, which he had vowed being Conſul, and had put out to workmen for to be builded, while he was Cenſor.

The ſame year a fleet of Greeks, under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a Lacedæmonian, arrived upon the coaſt of *Italy*, and won *Thuria*, a City of the Salentins. Againſt this enemy was the Conſul *Æmylius* ſent, who in one battel diſcomfited him, and drove him aboord. Thus *Thuria* was rendred again to the former Inhabitants, and the Salentine Country obtained peace and quietneſs. I find in ſome Records, that it was *Jun. Bubulcus* the Dictator who was ſent to the Salentins:
C and that *Cleonymus* before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of *Italy*. From thence he fetched a compaſs, and doubled the point of *Brundiſium*, and ſailed with a fore-wind through the midſt of *Venice* gulph: for that on the left hand the Haven-leſs and harbourleſs coaſts of *Italy*, and on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Iſtrians, fierce nations, and for the moſt part, reputed infamous, for roving and robbing by the ſea-ſide, put him in exceeding fear. So he arrived at length upon the river of *Venice*, lying far within the ſhore, and there he landed a few to diſcover the Coaſts: but hearing that the ſtrand that lay out againſt them was not broad and ſpacious, and when they were paſt over it, there were behind them the plaſhes (as it were) overflowed with the ſea-tides, and that not far off might be ſeen the champian fields near hand, and hils beyond; and diſcovering by this means the mouth of a very deep river, into which he ſaw,
D that the ſhips might be brought about as into a ſure harbour (now that rivers name was *Meduacus*) thither he commanded, that the Armada ſhould put in, and to make ſail up againſt the ſtream. The heavieſt veſſels, the chanel of the river would not bear: but the ſouldiers were tranſported in lighter barks and ſmall pinaces, and ſo fell at length with the levell and the plain Country, frequented with much people, by reaſon that three ſea-towns of the Patavins, inhabited that Territory. Being once landed, and having left a ſlender guard for their ſhips, they take Towns by aſſault, burne houſes, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and cattell: and when they had once taſted of the ſweetneſs of booty and pillage, they went far from their ſhips. The allarm hereof was given at *Pæavium* (now the Patavins were alwaies in arms, becauſe of the Gauls their borderers,) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led in-
E to thoſe quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks forraged here and there all abroad: the other, becauſe they would not meet with the robbers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the ſhips rid (about fourteen miles from the Town. And after they had ſlain the warders, they charged upon the ſmall barks. Whereupon the marriners were afraid, and were forced to retire their veſſels to the other bank-ſide. Likewiſe upon the main they ſped as well in fight againſt the ſtragling rovers: for when as the Greeks fled back to recover the harbour, the Venetians encountred them afront, and made head againſt them. So the enemies were environed in the midſt, and moſt of them ſlain: ſome that were taken priſoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that King *Cleonymus* was three miles off. There, when they had beſtowed the priſoners ſure enough in ward within the next village; ſome man with ſouldiers
F their river-veſſels, made fitly and framed with flat bottoms, for to paſs over the meers and ſhallow waſhes; others embark armed men in the ſmall gallions taken from the enemies; and made way apace to give an aſſault upon the main fleet, and beſet thoſe ſhips which rid at anchor, and durſt not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, ſo much as the unknown coaſts. Theſe, I ſay, they environed, and charged upon them: and when they made haſte to gain the deep and open ſea, without any reſiſtance at all, they were purſued and chaſed unto the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ſhips, and fired others, namely, ſuch as for fear and haſte were driven upon the ſhelves, and run a-ground, then they returned with victory. *Cleonymus* hardly ſaved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any coaſt of the Adriatick ſea, he departed. The ſtems of the ſhips, with their beak-
G heads, and brazen pikes, together with the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians, were ſet up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many at this day alive, which have ſeen them. The memoriall of this ſea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very ſame day that it was fought) at *Patavium*, with a ſolemn skirmiſh and combate of ſhips repreſented upon the river, within the midſt of the City.

The ſame year was a League made at *Rome* with the Veſtins, who came to ſue for peace and amity. But from that time, there aroſe many and divers fearfull occurrents. For news came,

that

that *Hetruria* rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occasion of the civill dissention and discord of the Aretins: who began to expell by force of arms the house and family of the *Licinii* (mighty and puissant above the rest) for very envy and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the Marsians stood out, and by arms maintained their title to that parte of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of Carseolans brought, to the number of four thousand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Against which stirs and tumults, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* was created Dictator, who made choice of *M. Æmylius Paulus* to be the Commander of the Horse. Which I rather beleeve to be true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of those years and that worth, after so many honourable dignities, should be under *Valerius*. But I would not deny, that the errour might grow by reason of the surname of *Maximus*. The Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell discomfited the Marsians: and after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, *Milonians*, *Plestins*, and *Frestins*; within few daies, he won them also over their heads: and having fined the Marsians with the loss of some part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all the forces were employed against the Tuscans: and whiles the Dictator was departed to *Rome* to take his Auspices anew, the General of Horse, being gone out a forraging, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certain ensigns, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul slaughter and shamefull flight of his men. Which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in *Fabius*, not only, because if ever he deserved his surname of *Maximus* by any commendable parts, it was especially for his prowess in war; but also, for that in remembrance of *Papyrius* his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the commandment or permission of the Dictator. This discomfiture and loss being reported at *Rome*, caused a greater terrour than there was cause. For no less than if the Army had been utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a stay and cessation of all law-matters, warders bestowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every street, and armour and darts carried up to the wals. And after that all the younger sort were sworn and prest to serve the Dictator was sent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through the carefull dilligence of the Generall of Horse. The Camp was removed to a place of more strength and safety, the bands and companies which had lost their ensigns, left on the bare earth without the rampiers, destitute of tents and covert; and the army eager and desirous of fight, to do away and rase out the former ignominy and shame. Presently therefore, he raised his Camp, and removed forward into the country of *Rasella*. Thither followed the enemies also hard at heels: Who albeit, upon their late good speed, they were in right great hope and affiance, to be strong enough even in open fight and plain field; yet they assail the enemy also by the same sleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There forthwith they be in the country thereabout, not far from the Romans Camp, certain houses half pulled down and ruinate, belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had bestowed closely certain men in arms, they drave their beasts and cattel in the very sight of the Roman *corps de guard*, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which bait, when as there stirred no man from the Roman wards, one of the Heardmen advanced even under the very trench and fortifications of the Romans, and called aloud to the rest (that seemed for fear to drive but slowly from the ruins of the village aforesaid) asking why they staied behind, seeing they might safely march, and pass forward still (as it were) through the middle of the Roman Camp? These words certain Carits interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, every band or company of souldiers took great indignation, but durst not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commanded those that were skilfull in the tongue to mark whether their language sounded neerer to the speech of peasants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, and also the habit and fresh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civill than for country shepherds. Go your waies then (quoth he) unto them and bid them beware and discover their ambush, which in vain they seem to hide: for that the Romans were cunning in all things, and not advertised of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by arms. When these words were once heard and carried to those that lay in wait, presently they start up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their ensigns all abroad into the open field. The lieutenant supposing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withall and matched by his *corps de guard*, with all speed sent for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced, and the souldiers to arm and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the ensigns, and took weapon in hand: and scarcely could they be held in, but that they would run amain. For not only the spiteful anger of the late received loss pricked them on, but also the shouts of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker according as the skirmish grew hotter and hotter. The greater haste therefore they made, whiles one putteth forward another, and crieth to the port-ensigns to go faster and mend their pace. But the more haste the Dictator seeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keep them back in their march, and to hold them in; willing them to go fair and softly. Contrariwise the Tuscans, who rose up at the beginning of the battel, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the legions

A legions of the Tuscans were entred into the fight, and that his men already were not able to resist any longer. Nay himself also, from the higher ground, might see in what danger the *corps de guard* was. But presuming and resting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain fight, considering that he was not far off himself to help and save him out of peril; he was desirous that the enemies might be wearied and tired as much as was possible, and that his own forces fresh and in heart, should set upon them overtoiled. And albeit they went softly forward, yet by this time had the Horsemen but a very small ground to take their run with full career. Formost marched the ensigns of his legions, that the enemy should not fear any covert and privy stratagem, but leave good spaces and distances between the files of their footmen, through which the Horses
B might have room and liberty enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battaillon of the Infantry set up a cry and shout when they charged, and withal, the Cavalry, with reins at large entred within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled and set in order against such a blustring storm of Horsemen, were with a sudden fear astonied. Whereupon, the troop of *Fulvius* which erewhile was in manner environed and compassed about, and had help and refuge almost too late, now all in general breathed themselves at ease, and were put to nothing. For these that came fresh and lusty undertook the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in dismay made haste to recover their camp. And when as the Romans advanced against them with banner displayed, they quit their place and retreated, gathering themselves round into heaps in the farthest part of the camp: and as they
C would have fled out, they stuck fast in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the banck, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the banck was not well rammed, the rampier was surcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a cry all together, That the Gods had made them way to escape, and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battel, were the forces of the Tuscans once again utterly abated: in so much as, after they had capitulated and promised a years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to *Rome* for a treaty of peace. Peace
D was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the City. I find in some writers; that *Hetruria* was by the Dictator quieted, without any notable battel, only by composing the variance and debate of the Aretins, and reconciling the family of the *Licinii* with the Commons.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Consul. Some have believed that he was created without his own suit, yea, and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Interregent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consulship with *Apuleius Pansa*. Whiles *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius* were Coss. all was well quieted abroad: for the Tuscans of one side, partly upon their ill success in war, and partly by reason of their truce, were forced to be still and in repose. The Samnits also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrows so many years together, repented not yet, and were not weary of their new league. At *Rome* likeE wise, the Commons were quiet, and found themselves much eased, and discharged of a great number of base and poor people, which were withdrawn and sent away into Colonies. But because their rest should not be every where entire and perfect, there arose a quarel between the chief and principal men of the City, as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the suggestion and instigation of *Q.* and *Cn. Ogulnii*, Tribuns of the Com. Who having fought occasion and matter every way to accuse and blame the Nobility unto the Commons; when they saw all means assayed in vain, at length entred into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meanest, but even the chief heads of the Commons, such as had been Consuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only Sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies; which as yet were not indifferently common to both States. They proposed therefore a Law, That whereas at that time
F there were but 4. Augurs, and as many Prelats or Bishops, and for as much as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be increased, there might be chosen to the rest, 4. Bishops, and 5. Augurs, all out of the body of the Commons. But how this Colledge or Fellowship of Augurs, was reduced to the number of four, but by the death of two, I can not find: since this is certain, that among the Augurs the number must be odd: namely, that the three ancient tribes, *Rhamnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*, should have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they should with equal number increase those Priests: like as they were augmented and multiplied, when as five being put to four, made up the number of nine: that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit, because they were chosen out of the Commons who should supply, and make up the number; the Nobles took it as grievously to the heart, as when they saw the Consulship parted equally in
G common: but they made semblance as though this indignity perteined to the Gods more than to them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be polluted. And as for them, this only they could do, namely, pray and wish, that no calamity thereby should light upon the common-weal. But less earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resistance, for that they were used already in all such broils and contentions to have the worst: and they saw besides, that their adversaries shot not at that (which in time past they could scarce hope for) namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had already obteined all, for which they had strived so long in so doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Consulats,

Censorships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to H
and fro the law proposed, was mainteined (as men say) between *Ap. Claudius* especially, and *P. Decius Mus*: and after they had contested and discoursed in their Orations *pro & contra*, the same reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Commons, which sometimes had been alleaged, both for, and against the law *Licinia*, at what time as it was set on foot for the Commons to be Consuls; *Decius* (as it is said) represented in open audience the very resemblance and shew of his father, in such manner, as many of them who were then present at the assembly, had seen him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Gabine robe, standing over his javelin, in which gesture, habit, and fashion, he offered himself to voluntary death, for to save the people and legions of the Romans; "Seemed (quoth he) *P. Decius*, that I "then was Cos. as pure and religious in the sight of the immortal Gods, as if *T. Manlius* his col- "league had been likewise devowed and offered? and might not the same *P. Decius* have rightly "been chosen, to execute the publick divine service and sacrifices of the people of *Rome*? or is this "all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would give less ear to his prayers, than to *Ap. Claudius*? or "doth *Ap. Claudius* with more devotion serve God privately, and worship the Gods more re- "ligiously, than himself? Who was there ever that repented or misliked of the vows, which so "many Consuls and Dictators of the Com. either at their first setting forth to their armies, or in "time of war and battel, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief "Captains, year by year, since the first time that the Commons began to have the leading and "conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever since: it will appear that the Commons are K "no whit abashed, and have no cause to complain of their own nobility. And this I know for "certain, that if any new sudden war should arise, the Senat and people of *Rome* would repose "no more hope and confidence in the ancient *Patritii*, than in the Com. for to be the Captains "and Commanders. This being so, quoth he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to "adorn those persons also with the titles and ornaments of Bishops and Augurs, whom ye have "honoured with chair of Ivory, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms "embroidred and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple, wrought with "divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and "garland of lawrel; whose houses ye have beautified above the rest, with setting up the spoils of "enemies? Or who can thinck much, if he be seen with a sacring cup, or holy-water pot, and with L "a croisier staff, and his head vailed, either to kill a sacrifice, or to take Augury by flight of birds "from the castle hill; who hath been adorned and decked with the ensigns and ornaments of the "great God *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in "whose Title, inscription and stile over his image, men shall with content, read Consulship, Cen- "sorship, and Triumph: will not the same abide to see and read, that ye have added thereunto ei- "ther Augurship, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the displeasure, and "with reverence of the Gods be it spoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of *Rome* are "such, as for our quality and worthiness, may and will yeeld no less credit and honor to our "Priest-hoods than we shall receive thereby: and who desire, in regard of the honor and service "of God, more than for our own sakes and proper interest, to have the means, That whom we M "serve and reverence in private, those we may also worship and honor publickly. But why have "I hitherto so pleaded the cause, as if the *Patritii* were entirely alone intituled and invested in the "prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already possessed of one right "honorable and principal Priest-hood? We see that the Decemvirs for celebration of sacrifices, "and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her Propheties, and other the fatal destinies of this people, the "Prelats also and Ministers of *Apollo* his sacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Com- "mons. Neither was there any injury done unto the *Patritii* at that time, when for to gratify the "Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increased; those I mean, who should oversee (as "superintendents) the offering of sacrifices. And now at this present they have no greater cause to "complain, if the Tribun, a stout and brave man, hath added five places more of Augurs, and four N "of Bishops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to dispossess you of your rooms, "or to displace you, O *Appius*, but that men of the commons might assist you in the function and "ministery of divine service and Church matters: like as they do their part, and perform good ser- "vice in human and civil affairs. And be not ashamed, O *Appius*, to have him for your colleague in "the Priest-hood, whom you might beserm to have in Consulat or Censorship, your companion "and fellow; unto whom being Dictator, you might be Collonel of Horse; as well as he to you in "your Dictatorship. Those ancient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their num- "ber and order, a Sabine stranger, the very head and top of your nobility, one *Ap. Clausus*, or *Ap. Claudius* (chose you whether.) You must not think much then, to accept us into the number of "Priests. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the same that make you so proud, and O "to bear your head aloft. *L. Sextius* was the first Commoner, created Consul: and *C. Licinius Stolo* "the first Collonel of Horse. *C. Rutilius* was the first Dictator and Censor, and *Q. Publius Philo* the "first Prætor. We have heard this song evermore sounding in our ears, That to you alone pertai- "neth the taking of Auspicia: that you only are of noble descent and gentility: that ye and none "but ye, by right and duty ought to manage the affairs, and the soveraign government, both at "home and abroad: and yet alwayes hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done "and sped as well as the *Patritii*, and henceforth ever shall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never "it

P. Decius Mus against Ap. Claudius.

A "it spoken, that the *Patritii* were at first made and created, and not descended from Heaven: but "such as were able to name their father and grandsire; that is to say, even free men just, and "no more? What? I my self can nominate already mine own father to have been a Consul, and "shortly shall my son be able to alledge his grandsire. There is nothing else, O *Quirites*, in the "matter whereupon we stand, but that we may obtein all which hath been denied us. For the "Nobles desire only to maintain a side and to contend, and care not greatly what issue their "contentions come unto. As for me, I do advise, and this would I have, That (to the good pro- "fit, and happy estate of you all, and the weal publick) this law may pass under your affirmative "voyce [*Uti rogâstis.*] Then presently the people commanded the Tribes to be called to a suffi-
B ny: and soon it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was lost, by the opposition and negative of some Tribuns. Howbeit, the morrow after, they were afraid to cross it: and then with exceeding consent of all hands it passed cleer. So there were created Prelats or Bishops; first, *P. Decius Mus* himself (that so pleaded for the law) with *P. Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Martius Rutilus*, and *M. Livius Denter*. Likewise, five Augurs of the Commons, to wit, *C. Genutius*, *P. Ælius Paetus*, *M. Minutius Festus*, *C. Martius*, and *T. Publius*. So there were eight Prelats in number, and nine Augurs.

The same year, *M. Valerius* the Consul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more surely to be established and confirmed. This was now the third time after the depostion of the Kings, that this one Act was revived: and al wayes by the same house or family of the *Valerii*. The
C cause of renuing the same so often, was no other I suppose, than this; for that the mightiness of some few great men of the *Patritii*, was more powerful than the liberty and freedom of the Commons. Only the Law *Portia*, seemeth to have been enacted for to save the back and sides of Citizens from whipping, because that it awarded and set a grievous punishment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a Citizen of *Rome*. The Law *Valeria*, which forbad, to scourge or behead any man whosoever, that made his appeal, had this annexed only, that if any one had trespassed and proceeded farther, it should be decreed, *Leaudly and naughtily done*. Such was the modesty and reverence of men in those dayes, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was supposed to be a sufficient bond to strengthen the Law. But now adayes, would a man scarcely threaten his servant or slave in that manner.

D The same Consul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, against the Æquians that rebelled; who (setting aside their stout and proud stomacks) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and estate. The other Coss. *Apuleius*, besieged the Town **Nequinum* in *Umbria*. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one side steep down right (whereas now standeth *Narnia*) so that it was impregnable either by assault, or countermures and sconces whatsoever. Whereupon, the new Consuls, *M. Fulvius Paetus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, entred upon this enterprise, left undone and unfinished by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominated with one voyce *Q. Fabius* for the Consulship of that year, even without his own suit and seeking; *Macer Licinius* and *Tubero* do write, that he himself laboured to have that charge put off, and reserved unto a year of more war: alledging, that for the present he would serve the Com-
E mon-weal in better stead, by bearing some civil office in the City: and so neither dissembling what he rather desired, nor yet seeking for it, he was made Ædile of the Chair, with *L. Papirius Cursor*. But, to set this down for a certain truth I dare not; because that *Piso*, a more ancient Writer of Chronicles, saith, that the Ædiles Curule of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *Cn. F. Calvinus*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That surname, I suppose verily, gave occasion of the error in the Ædiles. Whereupon ensued a tale (sorting to that error) mixed and compounded of the Elections of Ædiles and Consuls together. The same year was held a solemn survey and purging of the City by sacrifice, called *Lustrum*, by *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpitius Averrio*, and two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Anienfis*; and *Tarentina*. And thus much concerning the affairs at *Rome*.

F But now to return to *Nequinum*; after much time spent in long and lingring siege before the Town two of the inhabitants, whose houses joyned close to the wall, undermined the ground, and by a secret way came as far as the *corps de guard* of the Romans. From whence they were brought before the Consul, and promised him to let in and receive what garrison and troop of armed men he would, within the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and refused, nor yet rashly to be credited. So with the one of these twain (for the other was kept behind as an hostage) two other spies were sent by the same mine to discover the train. By whose relation, when it appeared sufficiently, that all was safe and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor aforesaid, 300 armed men by night entred the City, & seized that gate which was next unto them: at which being broken open, the Consul and the Roman army without resistance, made entry, and
G surprised the City. In this sort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the people of *Rome*. A Colony was thither sent to Frontier against the Umbrians, called of the * Rivers name [which runneth under it] * *Narnia*. And the army with a rich prize was brought again to *Rome*.

The same year the Tuscans, contrary to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war. But whiles they were busily occupied otherwise, it fortuned, that a puissant army of Gauls invaded their marches, and for a while altered their designments. Afterwards, by the means of money whereof they were full and bare themselves mighty, they sought to make the Gauls, of enemies to become their friends, and sollicited them to band together, and so jointly to main-

* The same that *Narnia*.

* *Nar*, now *Nera*.
* *Nemi*.

tain war with the Romans. Their ſociety and friendſhip the barbarous people refuſed not; only they ſtood upon the ſum what they ſhould have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things elſe in a readineſs for to go into the field; when the Tuſcans willed them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any conſideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatſoever they had taken, it was becauſe they ſhould not waſt the Tuſcan Land, and by way of hoſtility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuſcans were ſo minded to employ them, they would be willing to ſerve; but for no other reward and recompence, than to be admitted into part of their territory; that at the length they might have ſome certain place of abode, to ſettle themſelves in. Many Diets and conſultations hereabout were held by the States of Tuſcan, but nothing reſolved and concluded: not ſo much, I for that they feared to part with ſome of their Lands, as becauſe they were in great dread every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them ſuch neighbours, deſcended from ſo ſavage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and diſmiſſed, having away with them a huge maſs of mony, which they got without any travel or peril of theirs.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and inſurrection, together with the Tuſcans war, cauſed no little fear at *Rome*. Whereupon, more haſt was made to concludea league with the **Picene* people. *T. Manlius* the Conſul had the charge of the Tuſcan war allotted unto him. Who ſcarcely was entred into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exerciſing amongſt the Horſemen, he ran his Horſe with full carier, and ſuddenly as he turned about, was caſt off, and preſently lay for dead: and ſo the Conſul, three dayes after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuſcans taking hold of, as a good ominous token and preſage, got heart and were very jolly; ſaying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at *Rome*, both for the loſs of ſo brave a perſonage, and for the time, wherein ſo unhappily it fell out: ſo as, the aſſembly held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to ſubſtitute a Conſul in his place that was deceaſed, frighted the Senators from chuſing a Dictator. All their ſentences, and all the centuries gave with *M. Valerius* to be Conſul: who was the man, whom the Senat was about to have pricked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tuſcany to the army, Whoſe coming ſuppreſſed and kept under the Tuſcans; ſo as not a man durſt once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a ſiege unto them: for that the new Conſul neither by waſting the fields, nor firing their houſes in ſuch ſort, as every where, not only the ſmall villages, but alſo the good and wel-peopled Towns were ſeen to ſmoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

* Marca Anconа.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there aroſe a bruit of another; (which, conſidering the mutual loſſes of both ſides, was for good cauſes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the Picenes their new allies, namely, that the Samnits were about to take arms and rebel, and had ſollicited them alſo to do the ſame. The Picentes were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tuſcany to the Samnits. The dearth beſides of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extream famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was Ædile that year) by provident purveighing and diligent conveighing of corn, had not been as careful and induſtrious, in the diſpenſing of victual now at home, as many times before in war affairs. The ſame year there was an Interreign, but upon what occaſion, it is not known. The Interregents were *App. Claudius* and after him *P. Sulpitius*, who held an Election of Conſuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Cn. Fulvius*.

In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the Lucans to theſe new Conſuls, for to make complaint, That the Samnits, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entred into their confines, and made waſt of the "country, and by very force provoked them to war, ſaying, That the Lucans had long ago over-"ſhot and paſſed themſelves that way: but now they were ſo fully reſolute, that they could "find in their hearts ſooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatſoever, than ever after "to offend and diſpleaſe the Roman name. They beſought the Senat therefore, to receive the "Lucans into their protection, and alſo to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of "the Samnits. And for themſelves, albeit entering into war already with the Samnits, they were of neceſſity obliged to be faſt and true unto the Romans: yet for better ſecurity they were ready to put in ſufficient hoſtages. The Senat was not long conſulting hereabout: but all with one conſent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucans, and to ſummon the Samnits to make amends and reſtitution. The Lucans, beſides a courteous and gracious anſwer, were accepted into the league. Then were there Fecial Heralds diſpatched to the Samnits, to give them warning for to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucans. But the Samnits ſent out certain meſſengers to meet them upon the way, and to denounce unto them, that if they preſented themſelves in any Councel within *Samnium*, they ſhould not depart again with ſafeguard of their perſons. When theſe news were heard at *Rome*, both the Senat advited, and the people allowed, to make war upon the Samnits. The Conſuls parted their Provinces and charges between themſelves. To *Scipio* fell *Hetruria*, and the Samnits to *Fulvius*: and ſo they take their journey divers wayes, each one to the war allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defenſive ſervice of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and arranged,

arranged, encountred him and gave him battel neer to **Volaterræ*; where they fought the better part of the day, with much bloodſhed on both ſides: and whiles they were doubtful which way the victory went, the night came between. But the morning after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were loſers. For the Tuſcans in the ſtill and dead time of the night diſlodged. The Roman Conſul coming forth into the field, and ſeeing by the enemies departure, the victory confeſſed; went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men, but full of rich pillage, (for they had fearfully and in great haſt abandoned their tents) and was maſter thereof. From thence he retired his forces into the territory of the Faliſcans: and after he had left at *Falerii*, all his bag and baggage with a meetly garriſon there; lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a running camp waſted the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and ſword: drave away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, waſt and deſart, but ſet fire alſo upon Caſtles and borrough Towns. Only he forbare to aſſault the great and ſtrong Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuſcans for refuge. *Cn. Fulvius* the Conſul on the other part fought a noble battel in *Samnium*, neer **Bovianum*, and the victory was no whit doubtful. After which he aſſailed *Bovianum*, and not long after *Auſidena*: and both Cities he wan by force. The ſame year was there a Colony bronght to **Carſeoli* within the territory of the *Æquiculi*. And *Fulvius* the Conſul triumphed over the Samnits.

* Volterra.

* Boiano.

* Arceolo.

When as now the time of the Conſuls Election drew neer; there was a rumour raiſed, that the Tuſcans and Samnits were levying and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that openly in all their Aſſemblies and Diets, the Princes of the Tuſcans were checked and reproved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to war, whatſoever it had coſt them: that the Magiſtrates of the Samnits were blamed, for expoſing that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided againſt their enemies the Lucans. For now ſeeing that the enemies both with their own power, and alſo with the help of their allies, were come to war; they ſhould not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned perſons ſtood to be Conſuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourits of *Q. Fabius Maximus*: who at the firſt made no ſuit, and afterwards, ſeeing the inclination of their affections, refuſed alſo to be Conſul. "Demanding what they meant to trouble and moleſt him, ſo "aged a man as he was, and one, who as as he had gone through all labours and travels of this "world; ſo he had paſſed alſo the rewards, and recompences of his travels: alledging, that neither ſtrength of body, nor vigor of ſpirit could alwayes continue the ſame, and laſt for ever: and "beſides, he feared fortune her ſelf, leſt haply ſhe might be thought of any of the Gods too pro-"pitious and favourable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and courſe of "this world would permit. Therefore, like as himſelf had grown up after the glory of his elders, "and ſucceeded them; ſo he ſaw and beheld with joy of heart, others alſo riſing up after him, and "to ſucceed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at *Rome* high promotions and advance-"ments for hardy and valiant men, ſo there failed not brave men of worth for to receive thoſe "honors and dignities. But by this refuſal of his ſo modeſt, ſo juſt and reaſonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earneſt affections and favours towards him, which he thinking to dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the laws; commanded a ſtatute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the ſame man within ten years to be created Conſul twice. But ſcarcely for the noiſe that the people made, could this law be heard read: and the Tribuns of the Com. ſaid, that this ſhould be no let: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be diſcharged and diſpenſed withal from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he ſtood ſtiffly ſtil in his refuſal: demanding of them to what purpoſe and end were the laws made, if by the very makers thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For ſo (qd. he) laws ruled not, but were over-ruled. But nevertheleſs, the people went to a ſcrutiny and began to give their voyces: and as every Century was called into the rails, they named and choſe *Fabius* Conſul, without ſticking at the matter. Then at laſt, overcome with this general accord and conſent of the whole City: God ſay Amen (quoth he) *O Quirites*, to that you do and are about. But for aſ-"much as you will have your wil and diſpoſe of me at your pleaſure, do me this favour yet, that I "may have the chuſing of my Colleague. I beſeech you make Conſul with me, *P. Decius*, a man ap-"proved unto me already, with whom, I have ſorted well in the fellowſhip of another office: a "man I ſay, anſwerable otherwiſe to the greatneſs of his name, and worthy of his fathers vertue, "from whom he is deſcended. This favour which he requeſted, ſeemed unto them juſt and reaſonable. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* for Conſuls.

The ſame year the Ædiles ſerved proceſs upon very many Citizens; for holding and poſſeſſing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquit himſelf hereof. Which was a great bridle and reſtraint to their unmeaſurable avarice. As the new Conſuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one ſhould take in hand the Samnits, and the other the Tuſcans; and conſulted what forces might ſerve and be ſufficient for this or that Province and exploit; and to whether war either of them were the more meet and ſufficient Leader; certain Embaſſadors, from *Sutrium*, *Nepet*, and *Falerii*, advertiſed them, That the States of Tuſcanie, were now conſulting in their Diets, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occaſion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into *Samnium*. The Conſuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier proviſion of grain and victuals,

Victuals, and the enemy be more to seek, which way they would assail them, led their Legions H into *Samnium*; *Fabius*, through the territory of *Sora*, and *Decius* by the way of the Sidicins. When they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them spred themselves all abroad, and fell to forrage and spoil the country: yet so, as they sent out their espials farther than they wasted. Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, within a close and secret valley neer *Tifernum*; what way as they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground, and to set upon the Romans so soon as they were once entred in. *Fabius* having removed his carriages into a sure place, and set there a competent guard for defence, fore-told his souldiers that there was a battel towards: and in a four-square battaillon marched directly to the forsaid Embascado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnits then, despairing and I out of all hope to do any great exploit, by sudden tumult, considering their trains were discovered; and seeing they must once at the length come to the tryal in open field, were themselves also more willing to put all upon a set battel. Thereupon they descended into the plain and even ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victory. But were it, that they had assembled together the whole flour and manhood out of all the Nations of the Samnits, or that the hazard of the main chance made them more hardy and take the better heart: surely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great fear. *Fabius* seeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded *M. Flavius* and *M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the forefront, to go to the Horsemen, and to exhort them, If ever they remembred and called to mind, that the K Common-wealth had been helped by the valour of the Gentlemen on horseback, they should that day endeavour to make invincible and eternal the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For seeing that the enemies stood unmoveable against the Infantry, there was no other hope but in the force of Horsemen: and here withal he called upon those two young Gentlemen, and plyed both the one and the other with like courtesy, one while praising them, another while loding them with fair and large promises. But when as the assay of that force likewise, prevailed not, thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tryed and practised, he caused *Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javelineirs of the first legion, and as closely as he could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill some way from the sight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a sudden to L shew himself behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned another way. Now the Horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a sudden before the standards, troubled their own fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against these troops and cornets of Horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnits battel stood unmoveable, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horsemen when they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensigns, and departed out of the battel. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of the Romans been able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encreasing, upon their own confidence, but that the second ranges in the middle ward, by the Consul his commandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their fresh strength, M slayed the Samnits, being now ready to enter forceably upon them, and to gain the ground: and withal, at the time appointed, the ensigns shewed themselves from the hills, and came down unawares to the enemies; and setting up a shout, not only daunted the hearts of the Samnits [but also encouraged the Romans.] For both *Fabius* cryed aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached, and every souldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the other Consul was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and mistaking, as it turned to the good of the Romans, so it caused the Samnits to flie, and to be surprized with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they should be overcharged also with fresh and lusty forces. And for that in their running every way, they were scattered asunder, there was less slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victory. For 3400 N only were slain, and of prisoners were taken, welneer three hundred and thirty: and three and twenty bonners and ensigns won and carried away. The Apulians had joyned with the Samnits before the battel, but that *P. Decius* the Consul encamped against them at *Maleventum*, and having drawn them forth to fight, discomfited them. Where also there were more that fled, than died upon the sword: for not above 2000 Apulians were slain. And *Decius* making no reckoning of that enemy, conducted his legions into *Samnium*. Where, two Consular hosts, having over-run the country in divers parts, within five months space laid all wast and desolate. Five and forty places there were in *Samnium*, where *Decius* had encamped: and eighty six, wherein the other Consul had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of stakes, rampires, and ditches, but also many other more notable signs and tokens of the country wasted all about, O and utterly spoiled by them. *Fabius* besides, won the City *Cimetra*. Where there were taken prisoners two thousand and four hundred armed souldiers, and slain there were in fight upon 430.

From thence he went to *Rome* against the Election of new Consuls, and made all the hast he could to dispatch that business. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suffrages named *Q. Fabius* for the Consul; then *Appius Claudius* a Consular man, and one of the Competitors, a grim sir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and advancement,

A vancement, than to recover again unto the *Patritii*, both the rooms of the Consulship, and employed as well his own devoir, as also all the means and assistance of the *Patritii* and Nobility, to have himself chosen Consul with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the first, spake and alledged in his own behalf, the same reasons in manner which he had used the former year, and refused to be Consul. The whole body of the Nobility stood about his seat, praying instantly, and entreating him to pluck the Consulship out of the mire and base degree of these Commons, and to restore the ancient Majesty both to the Magistracy it self, and also to the *Patritii* and their houses and families. *Fabius* after silence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of speech, whereby he appeased and allayed their hot affection, promising and assuring them, that he would willingly accept the names of two of the Nobility, if he might see, that they would create any other Consul B but himself: for at this present Election, he would in no wise admit himself, to be eligible and nominated Consul, and give so bad a precedent to prejudice all course of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volumnius*, out of the body of the Commons, was created Consul with *App. Claudius*, who likewise in the former Consulship had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobility used to object unto *Fabius*, and reproached him, that he avoided *App. Claudius* to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a singular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Consuls were commanded to war in *Samnium*, having their Government continued, and their commission renued for six months. And so in the year following likewise, when *L. Volumnius* and *Appius Claudius* were Consuls, *P. Decius*, C who being Consul, had been left behind his Collegue in *Samnium*, ceased not now in quality and name of Proconsul, to waste the country; until at length, when the Samnits would in no place abide battel, they were by him chased out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their own country, they went into *Hetruria*. Where, supposing that with so huge a multitude of armed men, they should do that more effectually with intreaty and prayers, mingled with threats among, which by so many Embassages they had so oft attempted in vain; they called for a Diet and general Councel of the States and Princes of *Hetruria*. "Which being assembled, they declared and shewed, for how many years space they had main- "tained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom; that they had assayed all means, if "haply they might have been able by their own puissance alone, to sustain and support the weight D "of so huge and important a war: that they had besides made proof of the aids of other neigh- "bour nations, but to little effect; that they had sought for peace of the people of *Rome*, when "they were not able to wage war any longer: and because peace was more grievous unto them "with that subjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and "now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuscans: knowing well enough, that for men, "munition, and mony, they were the mightiest nation of all *Italy*; as having to their neighbours E "the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural disposition fierce and cruel, "but especially in any quarrel against the people of *Rome*: of whom they do (and not untruly re- "port) that they were by them vanquished and constrained to ransome themselves for gold. "Now, if the Tuscans were of that heart and courage, as *Porsena* sometimes, and other their no- "ble progenitors were: there were no doubt, but that they might dissieze the Romans, and dis- "possess them of all the ground on this side *Tybris*, and make them fight for the defence and pre- "servation of their lives; and not for the intollerable seignory and dominion of *Italy*. They said "moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnits, well appointed and fur- "nished with armour, and stored with pay and mony, who would sellow them forthwith, even "to the assault of the City of *Rome*, if they would lead them.

Whiles they were thus braving, and gloriously boasting themselves, and preparing of war in Tuscanie, the Romans war at their own dores, lay fore upon them, and stung them at the heart. For *P. Decius* having learned by the espials, that the Samnits army was gone forth, and had taken their voyage, assembled a Councel and said, What mean we thus to range over the fields, warring from village to village? And not rather assail the walled Towns and strong Cities? There is no army now, that defendeth *Samnium*: gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and banishment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his power to assault the strong City *Murgantia*. And so hotly were the souldiers set, both for the love they bare to their Captain, and also for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby, than by driving booties out of the country, that in one day by mere force of arms they won the Town. Where two thousand and one hundred Samnits, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the sword, or were taken prisoners, with a great and rich booty besides. But for fear that it should surchage and encumber the army with heavy carriages, *Decius* caused his souldiers to be gathered unto an audience, and thus to them he said. "And will ye stand contented indeed with G "this victory only, and this prey? Or will ye build your hope still, answerable to your prowess "and valour? All the Cities of the Samnits, all the substance and riches that lieth and remaineth "in their Cities are yours for asmuch as ye have in so many battels vanquished their legions and "at last driven them out of their own country. Sell these prizes, and with hope of gain draw "after you chapmen and merchants to follow the army. I will from time to time still help you to "wares and commodities for to sell. Let us go from hence streight to the City *Romulea*, where "your toil shall not be so great, but the spoil far greater. So when they had made sale of their pillage, and willingly of themselves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,

to

to *Romulea* they go. Where likewise, without mure and platform, without warlike engines of H
battery, so soon as they advanced their ensigns, and approached the walls, they could by no vio-
lence be driven from thence, but set up ladders in all haſt, at the next place that every man could
find, and so scaled up the walls. Thus the Town was won and ransacked. To the number of 2300
were slain, and 6000 taken prisoners. The souldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced
to sell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given unto them
were they led to *Ferentinum*, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulnes.
Howbeit, there they found more difficult and perilous service: for the walls were with all forcible
means defended, and the place it self was both by mans hand, and natural situation, surely fenced:
but yet the souldiers now being fleshed, and enured to spoil, overcame all difficulties. Three I
thousand men about the walls were slain: and the saccage fell to the souldiers share. The greateſt
part of the honor in assaulting and winning of these Cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles to *Fabi-*
us Maximus. For they write, that *Murgantia* was by *Decius* won, but *Ferentinum* and *Romulea*,
by the conduct of *Fabius*. But some attribute the glory hereof unto the new Consuls. And there
are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, *P. Volumnius*, unto whom be-
fell the Province of *Samnium*.

Whiles these affairs thus went in *Samnium* (by whose leading and managing it skils not) in
the mean time a mighty war was a preparing in *Hetruria*; and that, of many nations banded to-
gether: the principal author whereof was *Gellius Egnatius* a Samnit. The Tuscans, in manner all,
had taken arms and levied their forces, and the neer society, caused also the people of *Umbria* ad- K
joyning to take their part: besides, Gauls also were waged for mony to aid: all which multitude
assembled together, and met in the Samnits camp. The news of which sudden and unexpected
tumult, being brought to *Rome*; for somuch as *P. Volumnius* the Cos. with the second and third
legions, and with 15000. confederats, was gone already into *Samnium*; it was thought good and
determined, that *App. Claudius* with all speed possible, should go into *Hetruria*: and after him,
two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and fourth, with twelve thousand allies; who en-
camped not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came thi-
ther betimes, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep in awe certain nations in
Hetruria, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skilfully or luckily, L
under the conduct of the Consul. Many skirmishes there passed in places of disadvantage, and at
times unconvenient; in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope
every day more than other: and now it grew welneer to this point, that neither souldier could
well reckon of the sufficiency of Captain, nor Captain trust upon the loyalty of the souldier. In
three several Annals I find, that *Appius* dispatched his letters to his fellow Consul, and sent for
him out of *Samnium*: howbeit, I am loth to set this down, being so uncertain as it is; seeing that
the very Consuls themselves of *Rome*, who now the second time were coupled together in one go-
vernment, contested, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Appius* denied flatly that he sent
any script at all, and *Volumnius* again avouched, that he was sent for by *Appius* his his letters.
Volumnius by this time had won three Castles in *Samnium*, wherein were slain three thousand ene-
mies, and almoſt half so many taken prisoners: and composed besides the seditions and quarrels M
of the Lucans, which arose from the Commons and needy persons; and that, with the exceeding
good contentment of the chief and principal personages of the country, by the means and medi-
ation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconsul, who was thither sent with the old army. This done, he left
Decius to waſt and pill the country of the enemies, and himself with his forces marched toward
his Colleague into *Hetruria*. Who at his first coming, was received generally with all the joy
that might be. For mine own part, I suppose verily, that as *Appius* had good cause to cary an an-
gry stomack with him, in case his conscience bare him witness, that he wrote not unto him: so a-
gain, if he had need of his Colleagues aid, he shewed an illiberal, unkind, and unthankful nature
of his own, in that he would so dissemble, and not be known thereof. For being come forth to
meet him, before they had well greeted and saluted one another, How now, quoth he, O *L. Vo-* N
lumnius, is all well? How goes the World in *Samnium*? What hath moved you to abandon and
leave your own charge and province, and to depart? *Volumnius* made answer, that in *Samnium*
all things went well and chieved prosperously, and that himself was now come, as sent for by his
letters: which if they were counterfeit, and that there were no need of him in *Hetruria*, he
would presently turn his ensigns, and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you: you
may be gone when you will, and no man holdeth you: and ill beseeming it is, that you who per-
adventure are not able to wield and manage your own affairs of war, should glory thus, and make
your boast that you are come hither to help others. Hereat, *Volumnius* should reply again and say,
It is well, and God send us good luck: I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have hap-
ned, whereby one Consuls army were not sufficient to deal with *Hetruria*. Now as the Consuls O
were parting asunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his army, came
and stood round about them both: "some requested their own General, that the aid of his Col-
"league which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required: now that it was
"offred so willingly, and of his own accord, should not be refused and rejected. But the more
"part encountred *Volumnius*, as he was ready to go his way, and earnestly besought him not for
"any froward contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common-weal. For if
"any overthrow or misadventure should happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the for-
saker

A "saker than the forsaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of
"the war in *Hetruria*, prove it well or ill, should fall upon *L. Volumnius*: for that no man would
"enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him, but of the fortune and success of the ar-
"my: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewel and pasport, the weal publick and the army held
"him still by the sleeve, and for proof hereof, let him but make tryal of the souldiers hearts and
"affections. Thus with remonstrances, perswasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the
other, they drew them both, in manner against their wils, to parly in publick audience before the
whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discourses, but to the same purpose and ef-
fect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *Volumnius* (as having the better
B cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace & words enough, against that singular eloquence
of his Colleague; and that *Appius* in trumping and taunting manner, gave out and said, That they
were beholden to him, and might con him thank, that of a dumb and tongue-tied Consul they had
one now, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Consulship, and specially in the
first months, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Ora-
tor, and able to make plausible and popular Orations: then replied *Volumnius* and said, "Would
"God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then I of you to speak
"finely: and in conclusion, he said, he would render him an offer, which should determine and put
"out of all doubt, whether of them twain, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this
"present the Common-weal stood not in need of such) but the better warrior and Captain Gene-
C "ral. Whereas therefore, there are ii. Provinces, *Hetruria* and *Samnium*, it shal be in your choice
"(qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I my self will with my own army, make war
"in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would jointly enter
"both upon the Tuscan war. Which consent and accord of theirs, when *Volumnius* had perceived,
"For asmuch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I wil
"not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: Let me know therefore by a
"shout of yours, whether you would have me tarry or depart? Whereat they set up such a note,
that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp: and presently they caught
their weapons up, and came forth into the field. *Volumnius* likewise caused the trumpets to sound,
and the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* (as it is reported) seeing plain-
D ly, that whether he fought or sate still, the victory would be ascribed to his Colleague, stood in a
mammering and suspense for a while: but afterwards fearing, lest that his own legions also would
follow *Volumnius*, gave likewise unto his men the signal of battel, which they so instantly called for.
But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of
the Samnits (*Gellius Egnatius*) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with
him; whereupon the souldiers rather of their own head, than by conduct and direction of Cap-
tains, began to charge: and also the Roman armies were not both lead forth together, nor yet had
time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volumnius* first gave the charge, before that *Appius*
could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forefronts were not equally matched to-
gether: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withal;
E the Tuscans presented themselves to *Volumnius* and the Samnits who stayed awhile (for that their
General was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heat of the skirmish,
was seen in the front of the formost ensigns, to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise,
"O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victory, and the honor of this day then, be sure, I vow here unto
"thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the goddess had put life unto
him, and animated his courage, both himself matched the valour of his Colleague, and his army
answered the vertue of their Commander. For he performed the devoir and part (indeed) of a brave
General. The souldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endea-
voured and streined all that ever they could; Whereby, they disarrayed, discomfited, and put to
F flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than
they were wont to meet withal. And so with pressing hard upon them still that retreated, and
chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the
coming in of *Gellius* and the Sabellian bands, the battel for the time was freshly renewed. But when
they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by the conquerors. Thus
whiles *Volumnius* for his part entred with banner displayed unto the very gate, and *Appius* ever and
anon reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victress, and all, to set on fire and instame the courage of
his souldiers; there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back. So the camp was
won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven
thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 2120 taken prisoners.

During the time that both Consuls, and the whole puissance of the Romans, were thus more
G bent and imployed in the war within Tuscany; there were new forces raised in *Samnium*, to waſt
the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the Vestins, into *Campa-*
nia and the country of *Falernia*, drave huge prizes and booties away. And as *Volumnius* by great
journies returned into *Samnium* (for by this time *Fabius* and *Decius* were come to an end of their
prorogued government) the bruit that was blown abroad of the Samnits army and their forraging
of the territory of *Capua*; turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and confede-
rats. So soon as he was entred into the country *Calenum*, both he himself saw the fresh
marks and tokens of great dammage and desolation: and also the Calenians advertised him, that
the

the enemies caried with them already so excessive a prey and booty, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order, and that their Captains began openly to speak and say, that the best course they could take, was presently to retire *Samnium*, there to leave their prizes and booties, and so to return afresh to their rodes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an army, so laden and surcharged, to the fortune and hazard of a battel. Which words, albeit they sounded much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to look better into the matter, and to build upon a surer ground, and therefore he sent certain light Horsemen, to intercept some forragers as they straggled and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much questioning with them, that the enemies encamped by the river * *Vulturnus*, and from thence at the third watch, would set forward on their journey directly into *Samnium*. After he had sufficient intelligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himself upon his way and encamped so far from the enemies, as his approach by being too neer could not be known, and yet he might be able to surprise them as they should issue in disorder out of their camp. So a good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seen in the Oscian tongue, to listen and learn what they did. Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easy matter in that night garboil and confusion) they found that the ensigns were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carelesly, like a sort of vile and base lozels, every man thinking of his own particulars and running on his own head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew neer day. Whereupon he commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The Samnits, incumbred as they were, and pestered with their booty, and few of them here and there in armour, began, some of them to double their pace and to march faster away, and drive before them the booty: some stood still, and wist not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire again into the camp. But whiles they thus trifled and stayed, they were environed and surprized by the Romans: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the camp. The Samnits, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the assault of their enemies, were also disquieted with the sudden escape and revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loose, loosed also those that were bound: whiles others of them, caught up their weapons which were fastned to the packs, and being confusedly intermingled in the march, made a greater and more fearful garboil and havock, than the very battel of the enemies. And more than that, they performed one memorable and notable Act above the rest. For as *Statius Egnatius* the General, went about the ranks and files encouraging the souldiers to fight, they set upon him, scattered the Horsemen asunder, that accompanied him, environed him about, and took him as he sat on Horseback, and haled him to the Roman Consul. Upon which tumult and stir, the formost ensigns of the Samnits were called back, and the battel which in manner was done, now began afresh: yet could not they any long time resist and hold out. Slain there were about six thousand; two thousand and five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom were 4 Colonels and 30 Ensigns: and (that, wherein the victors took contentment) of captives, 7000 and 400 hundred were again recovered; with an exceeding great booty which they had got from their allies: whereunto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claim, or pretend a right, to seize upon their own goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not be owned or challenged by the true owner, was given away to the souldiers: who were compelled to make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing but war.

This saccage of the territory of *Capua*, had raised great trouble and stir in *Rome*. And at the very same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of *Hetruria*, how that upon the withdrawing of *Volumnius* his forces out of those parts, all that country was up afresh in arms: that *Gellius Egnatius* the Samnit Captain, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the Gauls also sollicited with great sums of mony. At this bruit the Senat being affraid, commanded an abstinence or vacation of term, and that all sorts of men should be mustered: and not only the free born natural citizens, and the flower of the youth were prest and sworn, but certain * companies also of the elder sort, yea, and bands of Libertins newly enfranchised, were inrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they sat in Councel about devising means for defence of the City: and *P. Sempronius* the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly eased and discharged of this care, by the letters of *L. Volumnius* the Cos. which gave intelligence that the forragers of Campain were defeated slain, and put to flight. Thereupon were decreed in favour of the Consul, for this exploit by him atchieved, solemn processions, and the abstinence of term again was remitted, which had continued for eighteen dayes space: and the procession aforesaid, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garrisons for defence of the country thus wasted and overrun by the Samnits. And agreed it was, that two Colonies should be sent about the Vestin and Falern coasts: one to the mouth of the river *Liris*, which Colony was called * *Minturnæ*, the other in the Vestin forrest and streights, adjoyning to the Falern country; where *Synope*, a Greek Town sometime stood, and afterwards was called by the Romans there inhabiting, * *Sinuessa*. The Tribuns of the Com. had in charge to ordain by an Act of the common people, that *P. Sempronius* the Pretor should choose certain Triumvirs,

* *Natarone, or Vulturno.*

* About midnight.

* *Cohortes, i. of 500, in a cohort.*

* Traietto.

* *Sinuessa, vel Rocha de Monte Dragone.*

A virs, about the sending and translating of inhabitants into those Colonies. But much ado they had to find those that willingly yeelded to be inrolled Coloners, supposing indeed, that they were sent thither, not to inhabit Land and ground for their best behoof, but to lie in garrison, and to stand upon their guard in those frontiers, which were continually molested by warlike enemies. From the care of these affairs, the Senat was withdrawn, by occasion of the Tuscans war, whereof the rumour daily encreased: and letters also came thick from *Appius*, who warned them not to neglect the rising of that countrey: which letters imported, that four nations had united their forces, and banded themselves together; to wit, *Tuscanie*, *Samnium*, *Umbria*, and the Gauls: that they were already encamped in two places, for that one was not able to receive so great a multi-
B tude. Upon these occasions, as also for that the time drew neer of Election of Consuls, *Lucius Volumnius* the Consul was called home to *Rome*. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voyces, having assembled the people to an audience, discoursed before them at large, concerning the greatnes of the Tuscan war. "How that afore time, when he himself and "his brother Consul warred there together, it was of so great importance, that neither one lea-"der, nor yet one army was sufficient: and by report, the Umbrians, and a mighty power of "Gauls were afterward combined unto them. So that they should remember, that they were to "chuse that day two Cosl. against four Nations. As for himself, but that he was certainly per-"swaded and assured, that the people of *Rome* would with a general consent declare him Cos. "who at that time, without all controversie was counted the principal Captain and best leader of
C "all others, he would forthwith nominat a Dictator. No man doubted, but the *Q. Fabius* was the man, who by the assent of all, was meant and destined to this charge: and him together with *Volumnius*, both the prerogative tribe, and all those that were called first, every one, nominated to be Cos. *Fabius* made a speech by way of excuse, in substance, like as he had done before, two years together: but afterwards seeing he was overcome with the general agreement of the people, he framed it so in the end, that he required *P. Decius* to be his collegue: "Alledging, that he "would be instead of a good prop and stay to him in his old age: how he had found by expe-"rience in one Censorship and two Consulships, born jointly together with him, that there was "no surety and defence of the Common-weal, to the concord and agreement of those that are com-"panions in government. And to any other new Collegue besides him, hardly could an old mans
D "mind sort and frame. Also that he would and could more easily impart his mind and purpose to "one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Cos. himself confirmed his Oration, and accorded thereunto; as well, in regard of the commendable parts and deserts of *P. Decius*, as also of the good that proceeded and ensued upon the managing of war-affairs, by the concord and unity of the Consuls; and of the hurt which hapned and followed upon their disagreement and dissention: "and therewith he shewed how neer they were "of late to utter peril and destruction, through quarrels between him and his brother *Appius*; "admonishing *Decius* and *Fabius* both to live so, as with one mind and heart they assisted and in-"tended the same things. He added moreover and said, they were men of Action both, born for "war and to be souldiers; for martial feats renowned already: but for to maintain contentions
E "of words and quarrels of the tongue, altogether rude and unskilful, and such natures, (said he) "were fittest to make Consuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply seen in points and "quircks of law, full of their eloquent tearms, such as *Ap. Claudius* was; those were meet to be "made Lord Presidents of the City and chief Justices in the common place, for to sit in judgment "of causes, and see the execution of laws. Thus in handling of these matters was that day spent. The morrow after, according to the Consuls appointment, was the Election held, both of new Consuls, and also of Pretors. *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Consuls, and *App. Claudius* Pretor, all absent. And *L. Volumnius* by Act of the Senat, and grant of the Commons, had his government prorogued, and continued in his charge one year longer.

The same year were many strange sights and prodigious monsters seen: for the turning away
F of the dangers foresignified and menaced thereby, the Senat decreed supplications and Letanics for two dayes together. Wine and incense for the sacrifices, was allowed at the publick charges of the City, and in procession went both men and women in great number, with much reverence, to visit the Holy shrines, and there to do their devotions. These solemn supplications were more renowned and memorable, by reason of a contention that arose among the dames of the City, in the Chappel of Lady *Pudicitia Patritia*, which standeth in the beast-market, by the round Church of *Hercules*. The Noblemens wives would not admit into that Chappel *Virginia* the daughter of *Aulus*, who, notwithstanding she was nobly descended from the race of the *Patritii*, yet had espoused *Volumnius* the Consul, a Commoner, and was married (forsooth) out of the family and ranck of the *Patritii*. Whereupon, there began some short and cutted shrewd
G words to be dealt between: and so (as women commonly are soon angry and set on fire) there grew to heart-burning and hot contention. Whiles *Virginia* alledged and said that she being a Gentlewoman and *Patritia* born, and a chast and honest Dame, was entered in the Chappel of *Patritian Chastities*: over and besides, she had not been noted for Bigamy; but was the wife of one only husband, unto whom she was given and brought a pure maid: and as for her husband, and his dignities which he had born, his noble acts that he had atchieved, she had no cause to complain, or be ashamed, nay rather, she gloried therein right greatly. After this, she accumulated these magnificent and glorious words, with a generous and brave a deed. For in the

long

long ſtreet where ſhe dwelt, ſhe ſet by and cut off a part of her dwelling houſe, aſmuch as would H
ſerve for an Oratoy or pety Chappel, and there erected an Altar. And when ſhe had aſſembled the
wives of the Commoners together, and had complained of the injurious dealing of the Patritian
dames; "This altar (quoth ſhe) do I dedicate unto *Pudicitia Plebeia*: and all you here I exhort,
"that with what emulation, the men our husbands, in this City contend about feats of valour
"and arms, who may do beſt; ſo likewiſe the Matrons and wives ſtrive and excel in continence
"and chaſtity; and that ye will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to be
"frequented, and reſorted unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea, and if (it be poſſible) of
"more chaſt women, than that other of the Nobility. And ſo it fell out indeed, that from that
time, this altar alſo had the ſame rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was I
more ancient: in ſuch ſort, as no wife, but of approved honeſty and chaſtity, and wedded but to
one husband during her life, might be allowed there to ſacrifice and offer oblations. But this reli-
gious order and inſtitution, in lapſe and proceſs of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged,
and the altar frequented by them that were ſtained and infamous, and not only by matrons of
name and quality, but alſo by women of all ſorts and degrees, until at laſt through diſuſe it grew to
be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The ſame year the Ædiles Curule, *Cn.* and *Q. Ogulius* accuſed certain Uſurers, who were con-
victed, and their goods forfeit and confiſcat. And of that which came into the common cheſt,
they cauſed to be made a braſen portal in the Capitol, and ſilver veſſels for to furniſh out three ta-
bles in *Jupiter* his Chappel: alſo the image of *Jupiter* himſelf in the Lantern or frontiſpice of the K
Capitol, ſitting in his chariot drawn with four ſteeds. Moreover, at the Fig-tree *Ruminalis*, they
erected and ſet up the images of the foundling babes, the firſt founders of the City, pendant at
the teats of a ſhee-wolf. They paved alſo with ſquare ſtone, the cauſey and high way from the
gate *Capena*, unto the Temple of *Mars*. The Ædiles likewiſe Commoners, *L. Ælius Pætus*, and
C. *Fulvius Curvus*, of the forfeited mony which they levied of the graſiers or farmers of the City
paſtures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certain pageants and playes, and ſet up gol-
den bolles in the Temple of *Ceres*.

After this, *Q. Fabius* the fift time Conſul, and *P. Decius* the fourth, entred their government,
who now had been companions together in three Conſulats, and in one Cenſorſhip, men re-
nowned, not more for the honor of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for L
their loving agreement and concord. Which unity of theirs was not perpetual to the end; by oc-
caſion I ſuppoſe, of the contention of the States that came between, rather than of any difference
betwixt themſelves. For the *Patritii* laboured, that *Fabius* ſhould have the Province of Tuſcan
extraordinarily: and the Commons were as earneſt with *Decius* to put the matter to a Lottery.
Certain it is, that a great contention there was in the Senat. But afterwards, ſeeing that *Fa-*
bius was able there to do more and make a greater ſide than his Colleague, the matter was brought
again before the people. In which aſſembly, few words paſſed between the parties themſelves,
being martial men both, ſtanding more upon deeds than words. *Fabius* gave out and ſaid;
Debate between *Decius* and *Fabius* for their Provinces. "That it was an indignity, that another ſhould gather fruit under the Tree that he had planted, M
"Alſo, that himſelf was the man, who had opened the way through the wood *Ciminia*, and had M
"given entrance and paſſage for the Roman war, through deſart and wild forreſts. What meant
"they then to trouble him, a man of thoſe years, with this place of charge, in caſe, they minded
"to give the conduct of this war to any other General but himſelf? No doubt, but by little and
"little he upbraided them covertly and caſt in their teeth, for chuſing unto him an adverſary, and
"not a companion in government: yea, and charged *Decius*, that he repented and envied the
"good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of three Magiſtracies already.
"Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if ſo be, they thought him
"worthy of the Province, thither to ſend him. For as he had been at the appointment and plea-
"ſure of the Senate, ſo would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other
"ſide, *P. Decius* complained of the injury offered by the Senat; for that the Nobles had endea- N
"voured to their power, and done their beſt that no Commons might have acceſs to honourable
"places and dignities: and after that proweſs and valour had got the upperhand, and prevailed
"ſo, as even in thoſe kind of men vertue wanted not her due reward and honour; there were
"means ſought, that not only the voyces of the people were deluded and made vain; but alſo
"the very awards and arbitrements of fortune, were transferred to the wills and pleaſures of ſome
"few. All Conſuls before him had their provinces by lot: and now the Senat by their abſolute
"authority, without caſting lots, gave unto *Fabius* the charge of his province. If it be (ſaith he)
"to honour the man: verily, he hath ſo well deſerved both of my ſelf and of the Common-
"wealth, that I favour highly and tender the glory of *Q. Fabius*; provided alwayes, that it get
"not a ſhining luſtre, by a foil of my diſgrace and diſhonour. And who will ever doubt, where O
"there is one difficult and dangerous war, and the ſame preciſely and abſolutely charged upon
"one Conſul, without ordinary and lawful calling: but that the other Conſul ſtandeth for a
"Cipher, and is reputed either needleſs, or good for nothing? As for *Fabius*, like as he gloried
"in his ſervice and noble Acts archieved in Tuſcan, even ſo would *Publius Decius* alſo full fain
"do the ſemblable: and peradventure, he ſhould be able to put out and quench that fire once for
"all, which *Fabius* left behind him, ſo covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it ſuddenly brake
"out again, and yeelded forth new flames and blazes. In concluſion, he could be content to yeeld

A "yeeld the titles of honour and all rewards of vertue unto his Collegue, in the reverent regard
"of his old age, and majeſty of his perſon: but for any hazard or jeopardy that might be pre-
"ſented unto them, he neither at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to
"him or any man elſe whatſoever; and if he gat no other good by this contention, yet would he
"obtain thus much at the leaſt, that the people ſhould hold their own, and diſpoſe of that abſo-
"lutly at their diſcretion, which was in their power; rather then permit the Nobles to gratifie
"any one therewith at their pleaſure. And herewith he prayed *Jup. Opt. Max.* and all the im-
"mortal gods, that even as they vouchſafed to beſtow upon him and his Collegue equal valour
"and happineſs in the conduct of their war, ſo they would afford them one and the ſame right
B "and authority and rule. For, ſurely it was in nature meet and reaſon, for example good and
"profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of *Rome* much material, that ſuch ſhould
"be Conſuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions, the war with the
"Tuſcans might be adminiſtred as it ought to be. *Fabius* then, having beſought the people
naught elſe, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their ſuffrages, they would hear the
letters of *App. Claudius* Pretor read, which were brought out of *Tuſcany*, departed out of the
aſſembly. So the Province of *Tuſcany*, without caſting lots, was awarded unto *Fabius*, with no
leſs conſent of the people, then of the Senat. Hereupon, all the younger ſort (in manner) ran un-
to the Conſul, and offered their ſervice of themſelves, and gave their names to be enrolled, ſo
deſirous were they to ſerve under that Captain. Which multitude being thus flocked about him
C round; Four thouſand footmen (quoth he) and ſix hundred horſe, and no more, am I minded
to take up and levy. As many therefore, as to day and to morrow, will preſent them-
ſelves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you
all home rich and wealthy, then to have numbers of ſouldiers to fight my battels. Thus went
he forth with a competent Army well appointed, and ſo much more confident, and in hope of
good ſucceſs, by how much leſs he ſtood upon the great number; and directed his journey to
the Town *Abarna*, where *Appius* the Pretor encamped, and from whence the enemy was not
far diſtant. A few miles on this ſide, the fewellers or wood-purveiors, accompanied with a good
guard of ſouldiers for their convoy, met him: who ſeeing the Sergeants going before, and under-
ſtanding that it was *Fabius* the Conſul, with joy and cheerful hearts, thanked God and the peo-
D ple of *Rome*, for ſending unto them ſuch a General. After this, when they came all about the
Conſul to ſalute and welcome him, *Fabius* demanded whither they went? who anſwered,
To purvey wood and fewel. Say ye ſo? (quoth he) and have ye not your camp empaled and for-
tified? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampart and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding
fear. Then (quoth he) ye have wood and timber enough. Go ye back again, and down with the
trench and palliſade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampart,
they gave the alarm both to the ſouldiers that tarried behind in the camp, and to *Appius* himſelf,
and made them afraid. Then every man ſaid to one or other as they came, that it was by the ex-
preſs commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Conſul that they did ſo. The morrow after they removed
the camp; and *Appius* the Pretor was diſmiſſed and ſent away to *Rome*. After which time, the
E Romans abode no where in ſtanding camp: for he ſaid, it was not good and commodious for an
army to make abode in any one place; but that it was better and more wholſom both for the a-
gility and health of their bodies, to have a running camp, to be ever marching, and changing the
air and the ſoil. But their journeys were no other, then the winter would permit, which was
not yet paſt.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Fabius* having left the ſecond legion at *Cluſium*, which in old
time was called *Camars*, and appointed *L. Scipio* Pro-pretor, to be governor of the camp, he retur-
ned himſelf to *Rome* for to conſult about the war: were it of his own accord and motion, becauſe
it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater then it was reputed before; or that he was
ſent for by order from the Senat: for there be writers that affirm both the one and the other. Some
F would have it thought, that he was called back again by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, who both at
the Councel Table in the Senat-Houſe, and alſo before the body of the people (like as he had
continually done by letters) enforced the fear and terror of the Tuſcan war, ſaying, that one Ge-
neral and one Army, were not ſufficient to make head againſt four Nations: that it would be
dangerous and doubtful, whether they jointly in one body gave battel unto one, or maintained
war apart in divers quarters: that one man was not able to perform and mannage all at once.
As for himſelf, he had left behind him two Roman Legions and no more, and with *Fabius* there
were come not full five thouſand in all, of horſe and foot together. His opinion therefore was,
that with all ſpeed, *P. Decius* the Conſul, ſhould go to his Collegue into *Tuſcany*, and *L. Vo-*
lumnius have the charge of *Samnium* in the mean time. But in caſe the Conſul had rather go in-
G to his own Province, then he adviſed, that *Volumnius* took his way directly, with a full and com-
pleat Conſular army into *Tuſcany*, to the Conſul. When this diſcourſe of the Pretor had moved
a great part of the Houſe, then *P. Decius* ſpake (by report) to this effect: That all ſhould be left
entire and free to the diſpoſition of *Q. Fabius*, until ſuch time as either himſelf in perſon (if it
might ſtand with the weal-publick) were come to *Rome*, or ſent one of his Lieutenants by whom
the Senat might be enformed, and truely underſtand the poyſe and importance of the war in *Tuſ-*
cany; what forces were requiſite, and how many Leaders and Captains were expedient and need-
ful. *Fabius*, ſo ſoon as he was returned to *Rome*, both in the Senat-Houſe, and alſo in the audience,

of the people, held a middle course in all his speech; that he might seem neither to encrease, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war: and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he condescended thereunto, in regard of other mens fear, more then for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a coadjutor and companion in war, how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consul? of whom he had so good proof and experience in so many Magistracies, which they had born and administred together. Of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one sooner: and having *P. Decius* with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if perad venture the mind and heart of his Collegue stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volumnius* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senat, and also by the Consul himself. And when as *Decius* shewed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into *Samnium* or *Tuscany*, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* and *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracy, went into *Tuscany*, without any mention of casting lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Collegues, which I have set down. There be some again, who having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a surceasse of matter, touching the invectives of *Appius* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence; as also the obstinate stubbornnes of him being Pretor, against the Consul, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance between the two Consuls; whiles *Decius* endevoured to bring about, and was instant that each one should keep him to his own Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the history, from the time that both Consuls went out to war, and so forward.

But before that the Consuls arrived in *Tuscany*, certain Gauls called Senones, came with a great power before *Clusium*, ready to give assault unto the Roman Legion and the camp. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered aforehand the wayes and passes all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back and beat down, and thus was it enclosed and environed round. by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not far from *Clusium*. had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gauls were in sight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horse poitrels, others sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write that they were the Umbri and not the Gauls, and that the defeat and massacre was not so great: also that when the forragers for the camp under the leading of *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy; then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them, and that the Umbrians who first had the better, afterwards when the battel was renewed, suffered the soil and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the Umbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to war with four legions, and a great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of *Capua*, chosen out of purpose for that war, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans; there were two other armies not far from the City of *Rome*, opposed to frontier and make head against *Tuscany*: the one in the Falisscian territory, the other in the Vatican. *Cn. Fulvius* and *L. Posthumius Megillus*, both Pro-pretors, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountain *Apenninus*, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinats. And there about four miles off, they sat them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point; not to be intermingled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazzard all their forces at once in one battel: But that the Gauls should take the Samnits unto them, and the Umbrians join with the Tuscans. The day of the battel was appointed. The Gauls and Samnits had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battel the Tuscans and Umbrians were commanded to assault the camp of the Romans. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three Clusin fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consul *Fabius*, and disclosed the inrents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Consuls write unto *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the Falisscan country; and the other out of the Vatican directly unto *Clusium*: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these rodes & invasions, caused the Tuscans to remove out of the Sentinat

Sentinat territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battel in their absence. And for two dayes space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and challenged him to the field: but for those two days, no worthy deed of importance was atchieved. A few on both sides were slain, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, and their stomacks whet to a full set battel then any trial or hazard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battel array, there fortuned a Hind to be chased out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midst of the plains between both armies: then, parted both these wild beasts asunder the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his course to the Romans. The Wolf had way given him through all the ranks and files: but the Hind was killed among the Gauls. Then a Roman souldier, one of the forefront, who was to fight before the Ensigns: There will the flight (quoth he) there will the slaughter be, where you see the beast sacred and dedicated to *Diana* lie dead: but here on this part, the martial Wolf, consecrated to *Mars*, having with victory gone clear away safe and unwounded hath put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our first founder, the son of *Mars*. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnits in the left. Against the Samnits, *Fabius* marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and *Decius*, the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second and fourth served in *Samnium* under *L. Volumnius* Pro-consul. At the first shock and encounter, the battel was so indifferently fought, and with so equal force, that if the Tuscans and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have light in either place, whereas they had bent their forces. Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battel went equal and indifferent, and that as yet fortune had not determined, which way she would encline and give the victory; yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of *Fabius*, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length until it was very late in the evening, because the Captain was enformed and perswaded of the Samnits and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length and at staves end. As for the Samnits, their courages would abate and fal, by any long conflict. And the bodies of the Gauls, (who of all other can least away with travel, & heat especially) would turn all to sweat, & melt away: who at the beginning fight more fiercely then men but in the end more faintly then women. Against that time therefore when the enemy used to fail & give over, *Fabius* had kept his souldiers in breath, & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But *Decius* being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the Infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he set the Cavalry a work: and himself personally in the thickest throng and troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and beseught the formost gallants of those lusty youths, to join with him & to charge upon the enemy: saying that they should carry away a double honor if by the means of the men of arms, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemen to turn side and back; but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard pell mell among the squadrons of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of fight, which troubled and terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots & wagons, with a great noise of their steeds, and rumbling of the wheels, ran full upon them, & mightily affrighted the horses of the Romans, which had not been acquainted with such uncouth & strange noises. So the horsmen who had the upper hand before, & were at point of victory, were now with a foul fear discomfited and scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, & the divel himself had been amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddenly & not looking before them were overthrown both men & horse. By this occasion the ensigns of footmen were distressed & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven cross through the battailons, troden under foot and their guts squashed out. Herewithal the battailons of the Gauls footmen, seeing their enemies thus scared followed on apace, & gave them no time of breathing. *Decius* cried out aloud to his men, Whither flie ye? Or what hope have ye to save your selves by flight? *Decius* opposed himself against them that retreated and fled: *Decius* rallied those that were disbanded and scattered: but seeing that by no force or means he could stay them, thus amazed & astonied as they were; he called upon his father *P. Decius* by name, and said; Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is destined to my house & name? "It is given to our race & family, to be sacrifi-
"ced in lieu of propitiatory sacrifices for to assoil & save the publick weal from dangers menaced
"& threatned unto it. Even now therfore, wil I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed
"with my self to Dame *Tellus* and other infernal gods. When he had spoken these words, he commanded *M. Livius* the high Priest (whom as he marched into the field, he straightly had charged not to depart from him) for to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and betake himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirits and people of *Rome*. Which when he had done by the same form of prayer and in the same habit wherein his father *P. Decius* at the river *Veseris*, in the war against the Latins, caused himself to be offered to death: and besides these solemn prayers, added moreover these words:
"That he drave before him Fright Flight Murder, Massacre Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of gods in
"Heaven & fiends in Hell: and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses smite
"the ensigns, weapons, and armors of his enemies: and that one and the same place, should give both

"both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnits together with him, plague, perdition, and destru-H
"ction. After these cursed, horrible, and detestable speeches against his own person and his ene-
mies; look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horse, and rode
in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could
it hardly be seen, that the battel was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans
so soon as they had lost their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to smite a terror into
them) stayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battel afresh. The Gauls,
and especially that troop which stood about the Cos. his body, fared as though they had been
out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, and in vain: some
of them stood still, as it were benummed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. I
But on the other side the high Priest *Livius*, with whom *Decius* had left the serjeants, and whom
before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as loud as he could, that
the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Cos. were acquit and excused from all other
fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnits, they were destined and forfeited (as it were)
to mother *Tellus* and the infernal spirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) haled after him, and calleth
to follow him, the army that with him was devowed, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies
are full of furies and fearful fright. Then, as these aforesaid began the skirmish again, behold there
came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Martius* with a supply of succours from the rereward;
who by commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, were sent to aid and rescue his Collegue. Where
they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all K
hazards in the service of their country and Common-weal. Therefore, when as the Gauls stood
close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another
featherwise, so, as to deal with them affront, and to cope together at hand stroaks, was thought
a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts
and lances which lay strewed upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and
flung against the pavoisade or tortuse-fence of the enemies targets aboveseid. And by reason that
these javelins and spears light and stuck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies,
it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battaillon (as huge and close as it was) disbanded,
in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down
astonied one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the case, and changed all in the left wing of L
the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is beforesaid) at the first, lingered and drew on the day:
but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouts, nor their manner of giv-
ing charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanced, had the same vigor and force, as be-
fore; he commanded the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank
the Samnits, that upon a signal given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence
they could, whiles his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the
ranks and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without all
doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his subsidiary compa-
nies of the rereguard, which he had reserved until that time and business, fresh and in heart: and
at once, both set forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signal to set upon the ene-M
mies. But the Samnits could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to
recover the camp fast by the battaillon of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight, to
pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-fense, stood thick and close together
under it. Then *Fabius* advertised of the death of his brother Consul, commanded a wing or Cor-
net, to the number almost of 500 horsemen of *Capua*, to withdraw themselves out of the conflict,
to cast about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he caused the *Principes* of the
third Legion to follow; and whersoever they espied the ranks of the enemies by force of hors-
men disordered and broken, there, to second them, and press on still, and kill them whiles they
were in disarray, and afraid. Himself vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the spoils
of his enemies. Which done, he advanced straight forward to the camp of the Samnits. Thither N
all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray. And for that the gates were not
able to receive so great a multitude, crouding together, they that were kept out, and could not
get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where
Gellius Egnatius, the General of the Samnits was strucken down and slain: after this, the Samnits
beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after small resistance won. The
Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were slain of enemies five and
twenty thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victory cost the Romans blood; for
of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000, and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having sent out to seek
out the body of his Collegue, gathered up all the spoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned
them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Consul his body be seen, by O
reason it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow
after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his souldiers. Then *Fabius* setting
all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the burial and funeral obsequies of his fellow
Consul, with due commendation and condigne praises, and with all honor that could be devi-
sed.

In Tuscany also about the same time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had fortunat succes to his hearts de-
sire: for besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions & rodes into the country, he fought
also

Also a notable battel: wherein of Perusins and Clusins were slain above 3000, and twenty en
signs won. The Samnits, as they fled through the territory of the Pelignians, were by them in-
tercepted and enclosed; and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame
of that day, and of the battel that was fought in the Sentinate territory, if a man hold him only to
the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written,
that the enemies were 40330. foot, and 4600. horse strong: also, that they had a thousand char-
riots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the Umbrians and Tuscans withal: who also (as they
say) were at the battel. And to encrease also the power and forces of the Romans, they report,
that *L. Volumnius* Propretor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army
B was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victory was
atchieved by the two Consuls only. *Volumnius* in the mean time warred in *Samnium*; and having
forced and driven the army of the Samnits, to take the hill *Tifernum*, nothing afraid for the disad-
vantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the army
of *Decius* behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the
Gauls, Tuscans, and Samnits. His souldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude
military rhimes and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the
worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased,
comparing him in equal degree, for the issue and event, as well publick as privat, with the prai-
ses of his son. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the souldiers had given unto
C them * 82 Asses apeece, with a livery cloak, and coat: a good reward for a souldiers service in those * 2 lb. 7. d ob. ster. l.
days.

For all these notable victories atchieved; yet neither the Samnits nor the Tuscans were at qui-
et. For, both the Perusins began to rebel, so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the
Samnits came down to forrage and spoil into the territory of *Vestin* and *Formianum*, and another
way into *Esetrunium*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the
Pretor, sent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuscany, which began new war, slew four thou-
sand and five hundred Perusins, took prisoners 2740, who were raunsomed for * 3 o. Asses a piece. * 46 lb. 10 d.
The rest of the spoil was all bestowed upon the souldiers. The Legions of the Samnits being pur- ob. ster.
sued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volumnius* Proconsul, met
D all together in the territory of *Stella*. Where both the Samnite Legions abode, and also *Ap-* * Territorio Ca-
pius and *Volumnius* joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battel fought on vilano.
both sides. The Romans were incensed with anger and choler against those that had so often re-
belled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazzard the utmost. So there were
slain of the Samnits, 16300; 2700. taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand
seven hundred.

This year so fortunate in war, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted; and for certain pro-
digious tokens, sul of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth:
and that in the army of *Appius Claudius*, there were many smitten & blasted with lightning. In re-
gard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were perused and sought into. The same year *Q. Fabius Gurges*,
E the Consul his son, fined and punished by the purse; certain wives who had been convicted and
condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money so raised by their fines, he caused
to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which standeth neer the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnits, whereof we have now continued our hi-
story in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *Au.*
Cornelius were Consuls, who were the first that warred in *Samnium*. To let pass therefore, and
not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrows given and recei-
ved between both nations so many years one after another, for all which calamities and losses
their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnits, in
the Sentinat country, in the Pelignis territory, at *Tifernum*, and in the territory of *Stella*, were de-
F feated both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by
four armies, and four Roman Captains: lost the bravest and most noble General of all their nati-
on; saw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same
predicament as themselves, not able to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their
own power, or with help of forraign forces: yet for all this, would they not abstain from war,
so little weary were they of defending their liberty, although it were unfortunately: choosing rather,
to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think
it irksom, and tedious, either to write or read this long suit and train of wars, which they in fig-
ting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus*, and *M. Attilius Re-*
G *gulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the bruit went, that the e-
nemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade
and over-run afresh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Posthu-*
mius by reason of sickness remained at *Rome*, but *Attilius* went presently with an army forth, to
the end that he might surprize the enemies on a sudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the
field; for so the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as
if it had been so of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance: and
so far off were they from wasting the lands of the Samnits, that they could not once enter into

their confines; nay, the Samnits debarred them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another; that, which the Romans being so often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (see how utter despair driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnits attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this so ventrous enterprise sped not well in the final effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chanced to be a foggy mist, which continued a good part of the day, so thick and palpable, as men could not see before them, I say not, so far as without the trench, but not so much as those that came close to speak one to another. The Samnits hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambushment, before it was full day light, and the same much overcast and dim with the mist, came as far as the *Corps de guard* of the Romans, I who in the gates and entrance of the camp warded but negligently: being thus taken on a sudden, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back-side of the camp, they assaulted the great gate *Decumana*, seized the Questors pavilion, and that quarter about it: where the Questor himself (*L. Opimius Pansa*) was slain, and thereupon the alarm was given. The Cos. being with this tumult raised, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies, to wit the one of Lucanians, and the other of Suessans, which haply were next hand, to defend and guard the Prætors pavilion, and that quarter. In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the high broad street in the camp, called *Principalis*, and before they had buckled and fitted their armor about them, they were ranged in battel array; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the ear and outcries, rather then by the sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what K number they were. At the first, as doubtful of the event, and mistrusting their fortune, they retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midst of the camp: but then the Consul cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own ramparts and holds first, and after have a new piece of work to assail and win them again? So, they set up a shout, and put all their might together, and first made resistance only and kept their ground: but afterwards they set forward, and pressed upon them: and having once beat them back, they drave them afore them; with the same fear, that they themselves began, yea, and chased them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to pursue the chase, they durst not, for fear of some ambushment, by reason of the misty and troubled weather, contenting themselves with the saving of their camp and no more: and so they retired within their ram- L parts having slain to the number welnear, of three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as wel those that were in the first *Corps de guard* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surprised about the Questors lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnits speeding so well, made them take better heart; so as they would not permit the Romans to encamp farther into the Country, no, nor so much, as to go a forraging into their territory: whereupon they were compelled to retire again, and to purvey forrage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about *Sora*.

The brute of all these occurrents more troublesome and fearful then truth was, being come to *Rome*, caused *L. Posthumius* the Cos. before he was well recovered of his sickness, to take the field: but ere he departed the City, he proclamed the *Rendezvous* at *Sora*, for his souldiers there to M meet. Himself now dedicated unto the goddess *Victoria*, the Temple, which in the time of his Curule Ædileship he took order to be built, with the money raised of certain fines taken of persons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and so went forward from *Sora* directly into *Samnium*, to the camp of his brother Consul. But the Samnits distrusting themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dislodged, and departed back: and the Consuls also parted one from another, sundry ways, to waste the country, and assault the towns. *Posthumius* at his first coming, assayed by meer force to assail the town *Milionia*, and seeing he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms, he approached close to the walls, and wan it: and albeit the town were thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all streets and parts thereof, from the * fourth hour of the day until the eighth, with N doubtful and variable events for a good while; but in the end the Romans became masters of the town. Of Samnits were slain 3200 and 4200. were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other booty and pillage. From thence, he led forth the légions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the still night season, and departed in great silence at a contrary postern gate, which opened from the camp of the enemy. The Consul so soon as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at *Milionia*: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and desolate throughout the City, seeing neither men nor munition within the towers and upon the walls; he held back his souldiers, desirous and greedy to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and disfurnished of defence: and doubting to O fall headlong ere he were aware, into the trains of some hidden and privy ambush, he commanded two Cornets of the Cavalry of Latine confederates, to ride about the walls about the counterscarp, and well to view and consider all places. The horsemen finding one or two gates neer together standing wide open, and in the very same ways that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies, as they fled by night; rode softly neerer and neerer to the gates: and there they might see straight afore them safe entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word back to the Consul, that the City was abandoned, and the enemies

* From ten of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon.

A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very solitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging and departure; as also by the stuff and goods that lay here and there scattered all abroad, whiles they hasted fearfully in the dark, to take their flight. The Consul upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the town, which the horsemen were at: and pitching down his ensigns not far from the gate, commanded five other horsemen to enter into the City; giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretty way, three of them should stay behind in the same place, if they saw all safe and out of danger; and the other two, bring him word what they had seen and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone so far as they might see about them every way into all parts, & could perceive B nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both far and neer: then forthwith, the Consul entred the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the mean while to fortifie the camp. The souldiers being once entred, fell to break open the doors: where they found a few silly old folk, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such moveables as were hard to be conveighed and transported: those they rifled, and ransackt; and by certain captives they understood, that divers other towns thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the Cities, they should find the like emptiness and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so it proved indeed: and the Consul possessed himself of those forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other Consul *M. Attilius*, had so easie war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was besieged by the Samnits: the enemy encountred and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battel: and the anger and indignation on both parts, but the end and issue more heavy and dolorous on the Romans side: both because they were not used to be vanquished; and also for that in the very loose and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmish, they found that many more were hurt and slain of their part. Which fearful sight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had surprized them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them, & no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a careful night, and full of anguish, thinking verily that the Samnits would presently assault their camp, or at least wise that in the morning betimes they D must of necessity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loss was less, so their heart and courage was never the more: For so soon as the day brake, desirous were they to be gone without any battel. How beit there was but one way, & that lay close and neer to their enemies; which they were not so soon entred into, but they made shew a far off, as if they marched straight to the assault of the camp. The Consul commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies, he gave several charges to do as he thought needful and requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever; but they said withal, that their souldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and sit up all night, amongst the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groans of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the camp, so daunted were they, that they E would have abandoned their colours: and even now for very shame and nothing else, they forbare indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they clean spent. The Consul hearing this, thought good to go about himself in person, unto every one of his souldiers, and to speak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and saw them so backward, and going about so coldly to take arms and weapon in hand; he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, and asking why they sat still? why they loitered and made such delay? saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unless they made more haste to sally forth: yea, and forced they should be to fight before their tent doors, if they would not give battel without the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (saith he) and will fight manfully, shall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming, F must either die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in these tearms, they answered flatly again; that they had enough of yesterdays work, and were utterly done: and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seem more in number then they were the day before. Amid these speeches the army approached: and being now but a little way off, they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see every thing. Wherupon they said confidently, that they saw the Samnits to bring with them their stakes and pales to cast a pallaisado, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this, the Consul cried out upon them for very shame to suffer so foul a reproach and disgrace of a most dastardly enemy. "And shal "we be (quoth he) beset and empaled within our own camp, there to die for hunger and famine "with shame, rather then by edge of sword (if there be no other remedy) with honor, like men? G "The gods speed us well (quoth he) and their will be done: and do every man as he thinks best: "as for *M. Attilius* the Consul, he is resolved even himself alone (if no man else will follow) to "meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and die amongst the Samnits ensigns, "than see the Roman camp besieged with a trench cast, and rampart raised about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands and Coronets of the Cavalry, yea, and the principal Centurions of the foremost companies liked well of this, and accepted the Consul his words. Then the souldiers for stark shame, full faintly take weapon in hand, and as slowly, God wot, go forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files; not close united together but broken here and there, with heavy

vy cheer, and as men half vanquiſhed already, they marched after a ſort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better reſolved and ſetled then they. For ſo ſoon as the Samnits diſcovered the Roman Standards, ſuddenly from the vanguard to the rereguard, there went a muttering and bruit from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they always feared) to empeach and ſtop their paſſage, ſo as now there was no way for them to fly and eſcape from them, and ſave themſelves, but muſt either die in the place, or ſlay their enemies and make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardels, they caſt together upon an heap in the midſt: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marſhalled themſelves in their own arrays. Now was there a very little ſpace between the two armies, and they ſtood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the firſt charge, and ſet up the firſt ſhout. But neither of both had any ſtomack to fight. And ſurely on both ſides they had gone ſundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken, but that they feared both, leſt if they had diſmarched of one part firſt, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themſelves they began a faint fight, as unwilling and loath thereto, with an uncertain and unequal ſhout: neither ſtirred any man one foot. Then the Roman Conſul, to begin the skirmiſh, ſent out ſome few Cornets of horſmen from a ſide, without the battaillons: wherof the moſt part fel from their horſes, and others were diſarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnits ran out to kill thoſe that were fallen, and Romans alſo to reſcue their fellows. Then the skirmiſh began a little to wax hot: but the Samnits advanced forward in greater number far, and beſtirred themſelves (as it ſeemed) more luſtily: and withal, the Roman horſemen being diſordered and in confuſion, with their horſes affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to reſcue. Who beginning once to flie, cauſed the whole Roman army alſo to turn their backs. And now the Samnits played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Conſul rode before a gallop to the camp gate, where he beſtowed a good *corps de guard* of horſemen, oppoſite in the way: and made proclamation, that whoſoever came toward the camp, were he Samnit or were he Roman, ſhould be taken and uſed as an enemy. With theſe and ſuch like threats, he put himſelf againſt the ſouldiers, that marched ſo faſt in heaps to the camp. Whither away ſirrah, (quoth he to every ſouldier that he met) even here ſhalt thou find men in arms to fight withal: here ſhalt thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entring here into the camp without victory, ſo long as thy Conſul liveth: chuſe therefore whether thou hadſt rather fight with thy own countrimen or thine enemies. Whiles the Conſul entertained them with this welcom, the horſemen alſo with ſpear in reſt, and bent full againſt them, came all about, charging the footmen upon their peril to turn again to battel. Thus not only the Conſul his vertue and proweſs ſerved in good ſtead, but fortune alſo went on their ſide: for the Samnits followed not the chaſe ſo hard, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their enſigns, and to direct their battaillons from their camp againſt the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battel again. The Centurions ſnatched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their ſouldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how diſorderly and out of all array they came againſt them. In this while the Conſul lift up his hands to heaven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if ſo be the Roman army ſtayed their flight, and by renuing the conflict ſhould kill and vanquiſh the Samnits Legions. Hereupon endevoured they on all hands, the Captain and ſouldier, both horſemen and footmen, to re-enforce the battel. And even the very gods from heaven ſeemed to have a ſpecial regard of the Romans at that time, ſo quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulſed from the ramparts, and within a ſmall while forced again to the very place where the battel began. Where by reaſon of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the midſt, and now lay in their very way, they were ſtopped in their very paſſage, and for fear leſt their goods ſhould be rifled and ſpoiled, they caſt a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compaſſed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: where in the midſt between, they were either ſlain or taken. The priſoners were in number 7300. who were all put naked under the yoak, and ſold: the number of them that were ſlain was about 4800. The Romans for all this had no great liſt to boaſt and brag of their victory, for the Conſul taking view and account of his loſs theſe two days, found by computation, that he miſſed 7300.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Apulia*, the Samnits with another power, aſſayed to ſurprize and get again *Interamna*, a Colony of the Romans: ſituate upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be maſters of the town, they overran and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattel, one with another; whiles they were driving the ſame before them, together with certain Coloners whom they had taken priſoners, they light upon Conſul as he returned with victory from *Luceria*: where they not only loſt their ſpoil, but were themſelves ſlain as they marched diſorderly in long files. The Conſul made proclamation, That every man ſhould repair to *Interamna*, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the ſame again: and there, leaving his army, went to *Rome*, againſt the Election of new Magiſtrates. When he laboured inſtantly for a triumph, he was denied that honor; both for that he had loſt ſo many thouſands, and alſo becauſe he had put his captives under the gallows, and ſold them, without farther impoſition.

The other Conſ. *Poſthumius*, wanting ſubject matter of war to work upon among the Samnits, paſſed

paſſed with his army into Tuſcany: and after he had firſt pilled and ſpoiled the Volſinians territory, he gave them battel not far from their walls, who iſſued forth to defend their frontiers: where there were 2200. Tuſcans ſlain: the reſt, by reaſon that the City was ſo neer, eſcaped and ſaved themſelves. Then led he his army into the territory of *Roſellum*, where he not only laid the fields waſte, but won the town alſo: took priſoners above two thouſand, and ſlew under two thouſand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in *Hetruria*, was more honorable and renowned then the war had been. For three of the ſtrongeſt and moſt puiſſant States, even the very Capital Cities of Tuſcany, to wit, *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Arretium*, deſired accord. And having conditioned with the Conſul, and promiſed, to find his ſouldiers clothing and corn, ſo they might have leave to ſend Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace, obtained at length a truce of forty years. And for that preſent, each City was fined to pay * 500000 Alles. For theſe acts done, the Conſul having requeſted triumph of the Senat, for manner and faſhion, rather then upon any hope to ſpeed; and perceiving ſome of them to deny him flatly, as pretending that it was ſo late ere he departed the City: and other ſome, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he paſſed out of *Samnium* into *Tuſcany*: and that partly his adverſaries, & partly the friends of his Colleague, who might take ſome comfort and contentment, that he alſo had the repulſe with him, were againſt his triumph: My Maſters (quoth he) you that are Senators of *Rome*, I wil not be ſo far mindful of your honor and majeſty, as that I will forget my ſelf to be a Conſul: and by vertue of the ſame authority of commiſſion, wherewith I have conducted and managed theſe wars: for ſo much as, I have happily brought them to end, and ſubdued *Samnium* and *Tuſcany*, atchieved victory, and obtained peace; triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there aroſe a debate and diſſention among the Tribuns of the Commons. Some of them ſaid, they would enterpoſe their negative, that he ſhould not in this manner triumph, and give ſo ill a precedent. Others gave out, that they would aſſiſt him in his triumph, maugre the heads of all their Collegues. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Conſul being thither called, alledged, that *L. Horatius*, and *Mar. Valerius* Conſuls, alſo *Caius Martius Rutilius* of late days, even the father of him, who then was Cenſor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and beſides, he added and ſaid, that himſelf alſo would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the Tribuns of the Commons, who were become vaſſals and ſlaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and croſſed the ſame. As for himſelf, he proteſted, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatſoever. So the morrow after, by the aſſiſtance of three Trib. banded againſt the oppoſition and negative voices of ſeven, yea, and againſt the general reſolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy ſolemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do vary much about the acts and affairs of this year alſo. *Claudius* writeth, That *Poſthumius* having won certain towns in *Samnium*, was after in *Apulia* diſcomfited and put to flight: and that himſelf in perſon being hurt, was with ſome few beſides, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Atilius*, that fought in *Tuſcany*, and triumphed. *Fabius* contrarily reporteth, That both Conſuls warred in *Samnium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was tranſported into *Tuſcany*: but which of the Conſuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not ſet down withal: alſo, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many ſlain: and how in that battel, there was a Temple vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times paſt: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected, but only a *Fanum*, [*i.* a place pronounced, deſtined, and conſecrated before to build a Temple on.] But in this year at laſt, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the ſame vow, made a conſcience of it, and moved the Senat to decree and take order, that the houſe and temple aforeſaid ſhould be edified accordingly.

After this year, there ſucceeded a brave and noble Conſul, *L. Papyrius Curſor*, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Alſo a mighty great war, and ſuch a victory as never any General wan the like at the Samnits hands before that day, but *L. Papyrius* again the Conſuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the ſame endeavor and furniture of moſt coſtly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they uſed the help and favor of the gods beſides, by a ſtrange kind of induction and inſtitution of the ſouldiers, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremonial cuſtom, as if they were to take orders in ſome holy myſteries; yea, and levied muſters throughout all *Samnium*, after a new form of a law and edict: That whoſoever of the younger ſort and ſerviceable men, fit to bear arms, ſhewed not themſelves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclemation, and whoſoever departed without his leave and licence, his head ſhould be forfeit unto *Jupiter* as accurſed and damned. Which done, the *Rendezvous* was appointed at *Aquilonia*, for all the forces to aſſemble. Where there gathered together, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of *Samnium*. There, about the midſt of the camp, was a plot of ground ſet out, well fenced and incloſed all about with hurdles and boords, and the ſame covered all over with linnen cloaths: the place was two hundred foot ſquare, every way. Then there was a ſolemn ſacrifice celebrated and divine ſervice ſaid, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen, and the ſame by a certain Prieſt, one *Ovius Paccius*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he fet theſe ſacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnits, according to the manner and cuſtom, which in times paſt their anceſtors had uſed, at what time as they complotted

* 1562. l. 10. ſterl.

complotted secretly and conspired to surprise *Capua* out of the Tuscans hands. When the sacrifice was done, the General of the army by his Pursevant at armes commanded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage or acts atchieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity (which were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place, closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying slain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the souldier was caused to approach neer the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by vehement oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to swear, after an horrible and dreadful form of words, framed and tending expresly to the curbing of his own person his house and all his race and linage: in case he went not into any battel, whersoever the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and slew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the Samnits had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the soveraign Captain who every one had in charge to chuse himself a fellow, and they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Linteata Legio I.* the linnen Legion, taking the name of the covering of that inclosure, wherin the Nobility of the Samnits were sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armor, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage nor in martial prowess and reputation, nor yet in furniture and setting out, were inferiour to the linnen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all *Samnium*, assembled and encamped in *Aquilonia*.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of *Rome*, and *C. Carvilius* first; unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year had left in the territory of *Interamna*. And with them he marched into *Samnium*. And mean while that the enemies were over much busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mystical counsels, he won by force from the Samnits, the town *Amiternum*. Where almost 2800. men were slain, and 4270. taken prisoners. But *Papyrius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new army, forced the town *Duronia*; took fewer prisoners then his Collegue but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards the Consuls overran the whole country of *Samnium*, but they pollied and wasted especially the lands about *Atinum*. *Carvilius* marched as farre as *Cominium*, and *Papyrius* to *Aquilonia*, where the whole power of the Samnits lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, and were altogether idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly would have sitten still; or in lying off and giving ground, to those that assailed them: and thus, I say, with threatning rather then offering battel they passed the day. For whiles they began ever and anon and gave over as quickly, there was no issue seen of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrents were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off: and albeit the other Consul was absent, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight and charge at *Aquilonia*, then at *Cominium*: so *Carvilius* had a more careful eye that way, then to the place which himself besieged. *L. Papyrius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Collegue, to signifie unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy battel: and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise should with all his forces assault *Cominium*; that the Samnits within, might have neither means nor leisure to send any succour to *Aquilonia*. This post had that one day allowed him to doe his message and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Collegue, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papyrius* then immediatly dismissed and sent away the courrier aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave and goodly for shew and ostentation then effectual and of importance in the end: "For they are not the plumed crests "(quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romans spear and lance it is, that is able to "pierce their guilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering army with milk white "diaper coats must be died red in blood, when they come to stroaks, and to try it out by dint "of sword. The golden and silvered armies of the Samnits, were sometimes by my father put "to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honour the "victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, "and destined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be opposed against the "greatest puissance and attempts of the Samnits, and to bring away with them, those spoils "which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods no

"no doubt are present to defend and assist us in our quarrel, against those that so oft have sought "for peace and alliance, and as often broke the same themselves. And if a man may conjecture "and guess of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adverse "and full of indignity, then to that, which being stained and polluted with the blood of beasts "and men, massacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind of sacrifices; and de"vowed to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance "of the same gods, witnesses off their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other "side the detestable and abominable curses, comprised in an oath, taken against all covenant and "promise; hath sworn by constraint and perforce; hateth and detesteth the oath whereby they "are perjured, and at one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own selves, and their enemies. Thus having shewed unto his souldiers (who were already of themselvs badly and malitiously enough bent against the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all these things, by the constant relation averred by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now full of assured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cry called for battel: and nothing grieved them more then this, That it was put off until the morrow; hating in their hearts the rest of that day behind, and that one night, for being so long. About mid-night, *Papyrius* having received letters back from his Collegue, gat him up closely when all were fast asleep, and sent the chick-matter to take token, & observe the presage of the pullets. There was not one throughout the whole camp, of what quality or degree soever but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captains might behold and see the souldiers affection and courage that way, and the souldier likewise the Captains; in so much that the same ardent desire of battel which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Auspices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-master adventured to lye and falsifie the token, and made report to the Consul, that it was * *Tripudium solistimum*. Whereat the Consul right glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they were to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods; and hereupon he put forth the signal or bloody banner of battel. As he was now marching forth into the field with his army, behold a fugitive out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Samnits, and those were about 400. in a cohort, were gone to *Comtinum*. And because his Collegue *Carvilius* should not be ignorant hereof, he presently dispatched a currier in post unto him, and himself commanded the Ensigns and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speed, ordaining the bands accordingly. He appointed *L. Volumnius* to lead the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the horsemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Cedrius*, and *Trebonius*. As for *Sp. Nautius*, he charged him in all haste to take off the pack-saddles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that serve in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seize upon an hill there in sight, and in the heat of the conflict, to shew himself from thence, and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possibly he could. Whiles the General was occupied hereabont, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-masters touching the Auspice or presage of that day; in so much as they were over-heard of the Roman horsemen: who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised *Sp. Papyrius* (the Consuls Nephew, or Brothers Son) that there was some doubt and question about the Auspice. The youth born in those days when there were no Atheists, nor Lecturers read of despising God and Religion; enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certifie any thing wherof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledg thereof to the Consul: who said thus unto him, "God blesse thee my son, and be not thou dismayed therat, "but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best endeavour. As for him that has the charge and "oversight of the Birds and Auspice, if he have made a wrong report, and given up a contrary "presage, or false sign, all the mischief and peril light upon his own head for his lewdlye. As for me "I was told of a *Tripudium*, and that the birds fell heartily to their meat: and I hold it for a lucky "Auspice and token of good success unto the people of *Rome* and the army; and for no other. This said, he commanded the Centurions to set those pulletors, in the forefront of the battel. The Samnits also for their part set forward their Ensigns, and their battaillons follow after gallantly set out in gorgeous armor and brave apparrel, in such sort, as the very sight of the enemies represented a magnificent and stately shew to the beholders. But see what hapned: before the first shout given, before the first volly of shot and encounter, the principal Pulletier chanced to be stricken with a javelin, lanced at aventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Ensigns. Which being reported unto the Consul, "Behold the handy work of God (quoth he) the gods are present "in this battel, the guilty person hath his due reward. And as the Consul was a speaking these words, lo, just before him a Raven set out a wide clear throat, and cried with a loud note at which Augury, the Cos, rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evidently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to sound, and to set up a lusty shout: then followed a cruel and terrible fight on both sides, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Romans were ravished and carried on end to the battel, with anger, hope, and heat of conflict, greedy of bathing their swords, and embruing their hands in the enemies bloodshed. But the Samnits many of them by force of necessity, and constraint of a blind and superstitious religion, even against their wills, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather then to fight and

* The chickens fell to their meat so eagerly, that with their hasty feeding, some even fell from their bils to the ground, and rebounded against and this was *Tripudium solistimum*, and in their learning was reputed the best Auspicium in that kind, and presaged most happy successe.

and offend the enemy. Neither had they ſuſtained and held out the firſt ſhout, charge and H
ſhock of the Romans (as having now for certain years paſt been uſed ever more to go away defeated and vanquiſhed) but that a mightier fear imprinted and ſetled in their heart roots, held them perforce from running away: for they ever had continually repreſented in their eye, the whole furniture of that ſecret ſacrifice; of thoſe armed ſacrificers and Prieſts with naked ſwords: of that hideous butchery of men and of brute beaſts, lying ſlain one with another in their blood intermingled together; of the Altars beſprinkled and ſtained with the lawful ſhedding of the one, and the deteſtable effuſion of the other: of the dreadful and horrible execrations: and to conclude, of that frantick, furious, and deteſtable form of words, compoſed and deviſed to the deteſtation and malediction of their line and race. Being faſt bound, I ſay, with theſe bonds for fleeing a- I
way, they ſtood to it, and ſtirred not back, fearing their own countrymen more then the enemies. The Romans from both points, and from the middle and main battaillon charged horly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces, thus amazed and aſtonied as they were with dread of gods and awe of man. Small reſiſtance made they, as who only feared to flie and run away: ſo as by this time, there was execution and havock made of them almoſt to the very Standards. At which very inſtant, there appeared overthwart from the one ſide a duſt, as if a mighty army had raiſed it to their march; namely, *Sp. Nautius* (or as ſome ſay, *Oſtavius Metius*) who had the leading of certain Cohorts called *Alerie*, mounted upon Mules, which on purpoſe made a duſt greater, then for that number they were. For thoſe varlets and new horſemen, as they ſat on their Mules and Sumpter-beaſts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of K
trees full of branches and leaves: and firſt, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through a duskiſh and dim light) their armour and guidons: but the duſt behind them, riſing higher and thicker, made ſhew of a troop of horſemen flanked an army of footmen: wherewith not only the Samnits but Romans alſo were deceived. And the Conſul himſelf, to avow the error and bear them down it was ſo's cried aloud amongſt the formoſt Enſigns, ſo as his voice reached unto his enemies, That *Cominium* was won, and his Brother Conſul was come with victory; and therefore, they ſhould endeavour and enforce themſelves to get the day, before that another army ſhould win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horſeback galloping among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the men of arms. Himſelf afore, had willed *Trebonius* and *Ceditius*, that when they eſpied him to bear his ſpear upright and to ſhake it, then they ſhould with all the might they had, put forth the Cavalry and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as they were directed and inſtructed before-hand. The wayes were made wide between the files. The horſemen fling out, and with ſpear in reſt charge upon the middle battaillon of the enemies, and brake their arrayes whereſoever they charged. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* ſeconded them with the Infantry: and while they were diſarrayed overthrew them, and bare them to the ground. Down went theſe linnen Cohorts now, when God and man fought againſt them, and were diſcomfited: and as well thoſe that took the oath, and the other that were unſworn, fled amain; and without reſpect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that eſcaped the battel, were beaten into their camp at *Aquilonia*. The Gentlemen and the men of M
arms fled toward *Bovianum*. The Cavalry of the Romans purſued the horſemen, and the Infantry chaſed the footmen. The wings took divers ways, the right toward the camp of the Samnits, the left unto the Town. *V. Lamnius* was ſomewhat before, and got the Camp. *Scipio* found more reſiſtance in the City: not for that vanquiſhed men, as they were, had more courage and reſolution, but becauſe that walls are ſtronger to endure an aſſault, and better to keep out armed men, then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Courtine, with ſtones they beat and repulſed the enemy. *Scipio* foreſeeing well enough that they ſhould be longer about the aſſault of a ſtrong and fenced town unleſs he diſpatched the matter quickly and went through with it, in their firſt affright and confuſion, before they took heart again: demanded of his ſouldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to ſee the camp won by the other point of N
the battel, and themſelves (being likewiſe Conquerors) to be repelled from the City Gates? When they all cried, No; and ſaid they would never endure that diſgrace: himſelf with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-ſenſe, ruſh into the City, thruſt down the Samnits about the Gate, and gat to the Walls: but to engage themſelves farther into the City, they durſt not, being ſo few as they were. The Conſul himſelfe at the firſt knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men: for now the ſun was well neer down; and the night comming on apace, cauſed every thing even to the very victors to ſeem dangerous and ſuſpicious. But when he was advanced farther, he ſaw on the right hand the camp taken: and on the left, he heard a confuſed cry and tumult in the City, compounded of the noiſe of fighting men, and frighted perſons: and even at that in- O
ſtant, it fortuned, that they skirmiſhed at the gate. Then he rode on, neerer and neerer, and ſaw his own men upon the Walls, howbeit nothing yet fully performed: but through the raſh adventure and fool-hardineſs of ſome few, an overture only made, and ſome advantage got of performing a great piece of ſervice and worthy exploit. Whereupon, he commanded the forces that were retired to be called, and with banner diſplayed to enter the City. So ſoon as they were in, they took the next quarter to the Gate, and for that the night approached, there they reſted, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town.

There

A There were ſlain that day before *Aquilonia* 30340 Samnits, and 3870 taken priſoners: and of field enſigns they went away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of *Papyrius*, that there had not been lightly ſeen a General in any battel more light-ſome, chearfull, and merry; were it of his own natural diſpoſition, or upon aſſured confidence of victory. Upon which courage and reſolution, he could not be revoked from battel, albeit there was ſome queſtion and ſcruple about the Auſpice: and even in the hotteſt time, and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Victor*, If ſo be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to preſent him with a cup of a ſweet and pleaſant mead, before he drank any ſtrong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and
B liked of, and turned the ill preſage of the Auſpices to good.

The other Conſull had as good ſpeed at *Cominium*: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the wals of the town, and inveſted it round about: and ſet ſtrong guards at the gates, for fear they ſhould iſſue or ſally forth. And even as he was about to give the ſignall of aſſault, there came a meſſenger poſt from his fellow Conſ. who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the ſuccour of them within the City: which both kept him ſhort from giving the aſſault, and cauſed him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counterſcarp to aſſail the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Decius Brutus Scæva*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the firſt legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horſemen, to make head againſt the reſcue of the enemies aforeſaid; and whereſoever he
C met them, there to impeach them, yea, and if occaſion ſerved, to give them battel; and in no caſe to ſuffer that power to come to *Cominium*. Himſelf commanded that ladders ſhould be reared on every ſide of the town, and under a fence of targets approached the gates. So that in an inſtant the gates were burſt open, and the wals ſcaled on every part. The Samnits, as their hearts ſerved them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they ſaw any armed men upon the wals: ſo, after they perceived, that they were aſſailed not aloof with ſtones and darts, but faſt by and with hand-ſtrokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained and ſurmounted the place (which they moſt feared before) could fight at eaſe from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground; quit their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for
D a while tried the utmoſt hazard of battel. But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15400 of them yielded themſelves to the Conſul his mercy. There were ſlain 4380. Thus went the game at *Cominium*, and thus at *Aquilonia*.

In the mid way between theſe two Cities, where a third battel was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were ſeven miles off from *Cominium*, they had a countermand from their own country-men, and were called away, and ſo came not to the reſcue, neither in the one battel nor the other. In the ſhutting in of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the ſight of the Camp of one hand, and *Aquilonia* on the other; they might hear a like noiſe and cry from both parts, which cauſed them to pauſe. But afterwards, when they were over-againſt the Camp which was fired by the Romans; the flame ſpreading far
E abroad declared the defeat of the Samnits more evidently, and ſtaied them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour (as they were) and paſſed a reſtleſs and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and ſo ſoon as it began to peep, while they were uncertain and doubtfull what way to take, they hapned to be diſcovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and ſuddenly in a fearfull amaze and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great diſorder. Thoſe horſemen having purſued the Samnits, who in the night ſeaſon eſcaped out of the town, chanced to eſpy this foreſaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good *corps de guard*. This company was deſcried alſo even from the wals of *Aquilonia*: where-
F upon, by this time the legionary footmen likewiſe made after them: but they could not overtake them in the chaſe, ſo faſt they fled: howbeit the horſemen cut off ſome, and ſlew two hundred and fourſcore in the tail of the rereguard. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen enſigns, and ſo the reſt of the army ſaved themſelves, and as well as they might in ſo fearfull confuſion, recovered *Bovianum*. The joy of theſe two Romans armies was wonderfully encreaſed, to ſee one another have ſo good and fortunate ſucceſs in their enterpriſes. Both the Conſuls, by each others advice and conſent, gave their towns thus won unto the ſouldiers to be ſacked and riſled: and after the goods were out, to ſet fire on the empty houſes; in ſuch wiſe, that in one and the ſame day both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were burnt to aſhes: and the Conſuls, with mutuall congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themſelves, feaſting one another joyned both their Camps in one. Afterwards in the ſight of both Armies, *Carvilius* highly
G commended and praiſed his ſouldiers every one as he deſerved, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papyrius* alſo for his part, who had performed many and ſundry skirmiſhes as well in the field and battel, as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, beſtowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius*, and *Sp. Papyrius* his brothers ſon, as alſo upon four Centurions and the band of the *Haſtati* or Javelineers, bracelets and coronets of gold: and namely, *Naupius* for that he bare himſelf ſo worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his counterfeit troop of horſemen upon Mules, he ſo terrified the enemy, as if he had conducted a main army of men at armes: and young *Papyrius* for his good ſervice with his cavalry as well in the battel and con-

 flict,

flict, as also in that night, wherein he forced the Samnits to flie secretly, and quit the City *Aquilonia*: the Centurions and souldiers, in this regard, that they were the first who seized the gates and wals of that town: as for all the horsemen, in consideration of their manifold travells, and brave exploits shewed in sundry places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of silver. This done, forasmuch as it was time now to withdraw their army from out of *Samnium*, either both twain, or one of them alone, they sate in Counsil and consultation thereupon: and thought it was the better course (to the end that the Samnits might be brought lower, and their state more sensibly decayed) to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resolution, and to pursue the rest that was behind: that *Samnium* might be delivered up to the Consuls their successors, utterly tamed and subdued: since that the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battel; and there remained but one manner of making war, even to besiege and assault their Cities and strong Towns; by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich and make their own souldiers for ever, and withall impoverish their enemies, and make a hand of them quite, being now at the last cast, forced to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senat and people of *Rome*, containing the effect at large of all their exploits; and then divided themselves, and took two several waies: *Papirius* marched with his legions to the siege of *Sepinum*; and *Carvilius* with his to besiege *Volana*.

The Consuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Councill of the City, as in the Common Hall of assemblies; and this publike contentment and rejoycing was solemnized with generall processions, for the space of four daies, and with marvellous zeal, affection, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to say a truth, this victory was to the state of *Rome* not only great and honourable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good and commodious a time. For even then, news came, that *Tuscany* was revolted and rebelled, and men began to cast in their minds, and discourse how they should do (in case ought should hap but well in *Samnium*) to withstand the forces and invasions of the Tuscans: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnits, and their cursed and execrable oath, by vertue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utmost extremity, embraced the occasion and opportunity of taking armes again, whiles both the Consuls and the whole forces of *Rome* were diverted and withdrawn into *Samnium* and there employed. The Embassadors of their allies and confederats, were by *M. Attilius* the Prætor brought into the Senat, and had audience given them; where they complained, that their Territories were over-run, burnt, and spoyled by the Tuscans their next neighbours; and all because they were unwilling to revolt from the people of *Rome*: humbly beseeching the LL. of the Senate, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Answer was returned unto the Embassadors: That the Senate would have regard, that their allies should have no cause to repent of their faithfull allegeance, and constant loyalty; and that ere many daies went over their heads, the Tuscans should taste of the same cup that the Samnits had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been slack and cold enough in dealing with the Tuscans, had not fresh news come, that the *Falisci* also, who had for many years continued in amity and friendship with the people of *Rome*, were combined with the the Tuscans, and entred into armes, as well as they. The near neighbourhood of this nation, gave an edge to the Senators, and whet them on, to take care and ordain, that their Feiall Heralds should be addressed thither to demand restitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods restored; by the advice and authority of the Senat, together with the grant of the people, war was proclamed against the Tuscans: and the Consuls were commanded to cast lots, whether of them should pais out of *Samnium* with his forces, into Tuscany.

By this time now *Carvilius* had won *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, towns appertaining to the Samnits. *Volana* was forced within few daies: *Palumbinum*, the same day that he came before the wals: but at *Herculaneum*, he fought two several battels, with doubtfull and uncertain issue, yea, and with more loss of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his camp before the town, beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and won it in the end. In these three towns there were either taken prisoners or slain in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so, as through fear the greater part by far, suffered themselves to be captives, rather then to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls cast lots for their Provinces; and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into Tuscany, as the souldiers wished and desired, who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before *Sepinum*. Many a time he was fought withall in battell arranged: oft skirmished with in his march: yea, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies sallied out against him from the Town, in such sort as he could not tell what to make of it: for neither was it to be called properly a siege alone, nor yet altogether a battell sight; considering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls: than the walls were defended by force of armes, and men of war: howbeit in the end, what with fighting and what with skirmishing, he lodged them within the City so as they durst come abroad no more, but kept themselves close, and were besieged indeed: and after long siege, as well with forcible assaults, as by trenches, bastils, and rampiers, he was master of the town: and therefore after he was possessed of it, upon anger and choler

A choler that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, that there was more blood-shed; and seven thousand died by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnits had laid up all their gods in some few Cities, was given to the souldiers. And now lay the snow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without house and harbor: and thereupon the Consul retired his Army out of *Samnium*. Against his comming to *Rome*, it was decreed by the general voice of all men, that he should triumph: and so he triumphed whiles he was in his Magistracy, with great magnificence, and sumptuous pomp, as those daies would afford. For, as well his footmen as horsemen marched and passed by in a shew, adorned with their

B gift and prizes of honour. Many a *civick,* vallare and *murale garland was seen worn that day. Much looking and wondring there was at the spoils also of the Samnits armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hue, were they comparable to those that his father had won before him, which were commonly seen, and well known in the publike places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and prisoners of noble blound descended, men of great worth sometime, and name, as well for their own deeds, as their fathers acts. Great store of Brass Bullion in Ingots, and not coined, was carried in shew, amounting to the weight of *250533 pound; which mass of brass or copper was raised of the ransome of prisoners. But the silver which was gor in the saccage of the towns came to *1330 pound weight and above. All

C the brass and silver was laid up in the common Treasury of the City, and nothing at all of the whole booty given to the souldiers: and the discontentment and heart-burning that grew thereby, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an exaction and contribution for souldiers pay; whereas if the Consul had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City-Chamber, such sums which he had gained from the enemy, there might a good portion thereof have been bestowed freely amongst the souldiers, & of the surplusage their due wages paid and dispatched. Moreover, whiles he was Consul, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himself vowed it in

D the very time of the battel. I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoils of the enemies, whereof there was such store and abundance, that not only the foresaid Temple and the market-place were therewith set out and bravely decked, but they were distributed abroad to their allies also and Coloners, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and publike places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the Vestins, because those quarters were distressed and annoied by the Samnits.

In this mean while, *Carvilius* the Consul, having at his first coming given the assault unto *Troilum*, a City in Tuscany, granted license to 470 of the richest Citizens, to depart from thence and by composition, to pay a great sum of money unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his

E of great strength: where were slain of enemies 2400, and not all out 2000 taken prisoners. He granted to the *Falisci* (who sued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make present payment of *100000 Asses, and to discharge the souldiers wages for that year. After these exploits atchieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was less honourable and glorious than that other of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnits: so, if we consider withall, the Tuscan war, it was equal and comparable unto it every way. Of brass money he brought into the common Chest *300090 pound: of the surplusage of the pillage and other spoils, he caused the Chappel of *Fors Fortuna* to be built, near unto the Temple of the same goddess, dedicated by King *Servius Tullus*. To the souldiers that served on foot, he gave of his booty *202 Asses a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horseman. Which re-

F ward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the nigardice and misery of his Collegue before him. And so gracious was this Consul, that he protected and saved *L. Volumnius*, one of his Lieutenants, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by *M. Cincius*, a Tribune of the Commons, fled for his last help, to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the danger of their judgement: for that during his absence in that charge, his accusation might well be set on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitive sentence, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entred their office: and for that there was supposed some errour in their creation, the fifth day after were other chosen in their stead. The same year there was a *Lustrum* or solemn survey of the City, held by *P. Cornelius Arvi-*

G *na*, and *C. Martius Rutilus* Censors. In which were numbred and assessed 262322 pols of Roman Citizens. These were in order the six and twentieth Censors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth *Lustrum* after the first institution. In this year, and never before, the spectators of the Roman Games and Plaies, in regard of their happy success in wars, stood adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the fashion at *Rome*, borrowed from the manner and custome of Greece, to honour those with branches of the date tree, who won the prizes, and were victors in those solemn Games.

The same year the Ædiles Curule, who exhibited the said pastimes and exercises of activity,

* For saving of a Citizens life in battel, made of grass.
* For mounting first over the rampier of the enemies Camp, fashioned like the pales in a rampier.
* For scaling over the wals first of an enemies *City*: and formed to the manner of the curtin or battlements of a wall.
* Two millions five hundred thirty three Asses in value, and of english sterl. 25. 06 li. 13 shil. 4 d. within a farthing.
* 3990 pound sterling after five shillings an ounce.

* 315 li. 10 sh.

* 637 li. 15 sh. 7 d. ob. sterl.

* 6 sh. 5 d. ob. sterl.

paved the causey or high-way with flint or pibble stone, from the Temple of *Mars* unto *Bovillæ*: H and the fines of certain Publicans or farmers of the City, that were gatherers and condemned, paid the charges. Then *Papyrius* held the great Assembly for election of new Consuls, and created *Q. Fabius Gurges* the son of *Maximus*, and *D. Junius Brutus Sceva*, Consuls. *Papyrius* himself was chosen Prætor. This year, so joious and fortunate in many respects, could hardly countervail and recompence with all other comforts, one only calamity, namely, a pestilence and mortality, which consumed and devoured both town and country. Insomuch, as for the strangeness and extremity thereof, it was held for a prodigious and portentous sign beyond all course of nature, and reach of reason. Whereupon, the books of *Sibylla* were perused, to know out of them, what issue and remedy the gods would vouchsafe to shew of this malady and misery. Wherein they found, I that the Image of *Æsculapius* must be sent for, from as far as * *Epidaurus* to *Rome*. But for that by year, reason that the Consuls were busied in the wars, nothing was done, but only one day bestowed wholly in supplications and devout Letanies to the honour of the said god *Æsculapius*.

* Pigiada, or Cheronisi.

The ten Books next following of *T. Livius* (usually called the second Decade) are lost: *The* Arguments whereof K remain yet extant in the Abridgments or Breviaries of *L. Florus*, which instead of the History it self, are set down in this place.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the Eleventh Book. L

VVHen Fabius Gurges *the Consul, had fought an infortunate battell against the Samnits, and the Senate were about to discharge and remove him from his Army*; Fabius Maximus *his father, besought them for his sake, not to offer him that disgrace and dishonour. For rather than that* [should come to pass], *he promised to serve in person under his son in quality of his Lieutenant. Which moved the Senate, and prevailed more than any thing else. And he was his words master. For he went to the field, and by his means and good advice, the Consul his son was so well assisted, that he defeated the Samnits, triumphed over them, led captive before his triumphant Chariot* C. Pontius, *Lord General of the Samnits, and afterwards struck off his head. Whiles the City* [of Rome] *was pitiously visited and afflicted with the plague, there were certain Embassadors addressed and sent to* Epidaurus, *for to translate the Image of* Æsculapius *from thence to* Rome. *And instead thereof they brought away a great snake or serpent, which of it self embarked in their ship, and wherein they were verily perswaded, that the puissance and divine power of the said god was resident. And when they had conducted it with them by sea as far as to* Rome, *it went forth of its own accord, and swam to the Island within* Tyberis, *where it setled: and in that very place where it took land, they erected a Temple to* Æsculapius. L. Posthumius, *a Consular man* [i.e. *who had been Consul*] *having the charge of an Army, was condemned, and had a round fine set upon his head, for that he employed his souldiers about some work in one of his farms. The League was now the fourth time renewed with the Samnits, at their earnest suit and request.* Curius Dentatus *the Consul, after he had defeated and slain the Samnits, vanquished the Sabins, who were revolted and rebelled, and received them under his obeysance, triumphed twice during the time of one Consulship. Three Colonies were erected, and peopled, to wit,* Castrum, Sena, *and* Adria. *The three Triumvirs to sit upon capital crimes were then first created. A sessing was holden, and a solemn* Lustrum, *wherein by just account were numbred* 273000 Citizens *of Romans. The Commons, because they were deeply engaged in debt, in regard of grievous and long seditions and dissentions, retired in the end to* Janiculum, *from whence they were reclaimed and brought again into the City, by the means of* Q. Hortensius *the Dictator, who died in the very time of his Magistracy. This book containeth moreover the exploits against the Volsinians, and also the Lucans, against whom it was thought good and ordained, to send aid and succours to the Tyrrhenians.* O

The

A

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the twelfth Book.

THe Roman Embassadors *being murdred by the Senonois in* Gaul, *and war thereupon denounced and proclaimed against them*, Lucius Cæcilius *the Prætor, fortuned with his whole army to be defeated by them, and put to the sword. When the Roman fleet was spoiled and ransacked by the Tarentins, and their Admiral besides slain, the Senat dispatched their Embassadors unto them to make compliant of these wrongs and outrages; but they were evill intreated and sent away with great abuse. Whereupon, defiance was likewise given unto them, and war proclaimed. The Samnits revolted. Against* B *whom together with the Lucans, Brutians, and Tuscans, sundry battels were fortunatly fought by divers Roman Captains.* Pyrrhus *the King of the Epirots* [*or the Albanois*] *passed over into* Italy, *for to aid the Tarentins. When a Legion of the Campans was sent under the conduct of* Decius Jubellius *to* Rhegium, *there to lie in garrison, they treacherously slew the naturall inhabitants, and seized the City of* Rhegium *to their own behoof.*

The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the thirteenth Book.

VAlerius Levinus *the Consul lost the field against* Pyrrhus: *by occasion principally that his souldiers were terrified and amazed at the uncouth sight of the Elephants. After that battell, when* Pyrrhus C *viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the Romans, lying slain on the ground; he observed and marked, that all their faces were turned toward the enemy affront. From thence he went forward spoiling and wasting all the way to* Rome. C. Fabricius *was sent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ransom of the prisoners: and was sollicited by the King (but in vain) to abandon the service of his own country. The foresaid prisoners were enlarged and sent home without paying any ransom at all.* Cyneas *was sent as Embassador from the King unto the Senat; who required, that the King his Master, for to end and compound all quarrels, might be received into the City and amity of the people of* Rome: *but when it was thought meet to debate and consult of this important matter, in a more frequent assembly of the Senators,* Appius Claudius, *who many a day had not intermedled with the affairs of State and Councill, presented himself in the Court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter clear away,* D *and* Pyrrhus *his demand was flatly denied.* P. Domitius, *the first Censor of the Commoners, held a* Lustrum *or survey of the City, in which were found* 278222 *Roman Citizens by the poll. A second field was fought against* Pyrrhus, *but with doubtfull event and issue. With the Carthaginians, the alliance was renewed now the fourth time. When a certain fugitive traitor that ran from* Pyrrhus, *offered to* C. Fabricius *the Consul for to poison the King, he was sent back again, and the treason was discovered to the King. Over and besides, this book containeth the prosperous affairs in war against the Tuscans, Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnits.*

The Breviary of *L. Florus*, upon the fourteenth Book.

E PYrrhus *passed the seas into* Sicily. *When among other prodigies and fearfull tokens, the image of* Jupiter *in the Capitoll was overthrown and smitten down with lightning, the head thereof was recovered and found again by the soothsaiers.* Curius Dentatus, *as he was taking musters, sold in port-sale the goods of one that would not answer to his name when he was called. He defeated* Pyrrhus *after his return again out of* Sicily *into* Italy; *and forced him to avoid and depart once for all.* Fabricius *a Censor, cassed and displaced out of his Senators room* P. Cornelius Rufinus, *one that had been Consul, for that he had in silver plate to the weight of ten pounds. There was a* Lustrum *holden by the Censors, and therein were found* 271224 *Citizens. A society and alliance was contracted with* Ptolomy *King of* Ægypt. Sextilia *a professed vestall Nun was convicted of uncleanness and fornication, and buried quick. Two* F *new Colonies were erected, to wit,* Posidonia *and* Consa. *A fleet of Carthaginians arrived to aid the Mamertins: by occasion whereof the league was broken. This book comprised also, the happy exploits against the Lucanians, Samnits, and Brutians: together with the death of King* Pyrrhus.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the fifteenth Book.

THe Tarentins *being vanquished hath peace granted, and liberty also restored unto them. The souldiers of the Campan legion aforesaid, which had possessed themselves of* Rhegium, *were besieged: and after they had absolutely yielded were every one made shorter by the head. Certain lusty youths of* Rome, *who had misused and beaten the Embassadors of the Apollinats, sent unto the Senat, were delivered unto their hands to be used according to their discretion. The Picentes were overcome in battell, and obtained peace. Two Colonels were sent, the one to* Ariminum *within the marches of* Picenum, (*i.e.* Ancona) G *the other to* Beneventum *in* Samnium. *Now and never before began the Romans to use silver coin for their money. The Umbrians and Salentins were vanquished, and their submission of obedience received. The number of the Quæstors was augmented* [*to be eight.*]

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the sixteenth Book.

THe first rising of the Carthaginians, with the beginning of their City, are in this book related: Against whom together with Hiero King of the Syracusians, the Senat of Rome ordained to send aid unto the* Mamertins: and after much arguing and debate about this point, whiles some perswaded, & others again dissuaded the gentlemen of Rome, who served on horseback, then first crossed the seas, and bare themselves bravely in many battels and to good purpose against Hiero: who at length craved peace, and had it granted. The Censors held a Lustrum and numbred the people: and enrolled* 372224 Citizens of Rome, into the subsidy book. D. Junius Brutus was the first that ever represented combats of sword-fencers at the sharp to the utterance, in the honour of his father late deceased. One Colony was planted at Æsernia. This book comprehendeth besides, the good success of the affairs against the Carthaginians and the Volscinians.

* The inhabitants of Messina.

* Eutropius saith 292000.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the seventeenth Book.

CNeus Cornelius the Consul, being surprised and environed with a fleet of Carthaginians, and under colour of a parl, trained forth and called unto them; was villanously taken prisoner and kept still with them. Cn Duillius the Consul fought with happy success against this their foresaid fleet: and was the first Roman Captain that rode in triumph, for a navel victory at sea. In regard whereof this honour for ever after was done unto him, That when he supped forth in any place of the City, as he returned home to his own house, the Waits should sound, the hautboies all the way, and a man go before him with a burning torch. L. Cornelius the Consul won a field in Sardinia against the Iflanders, together with the Corsians, and Hanno the Generall of the Carthaginians. Attilius Calatinus the Consul, having unadvisedly engaged his army within a place of great disadvantage, whereas the Carthaginians lay round about in ambush, retired and escaped by the valour and industrious means of M. Calphurnius a Colonel: who with a regiment of 300 foot venturously sallied out, and turned all the forces of the enemies upon himself. One Annibal a Carthagimian Commander, upon the defeat of the Armado, whereof he was Admiral was by his own souldiers trussed up and crucified. Attilius Regulus the Consul, having in battell at sea vanquished the Carthaginians, sailed over into Affrick.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eighteenth Book.

ATtilius Regulus the Consul slew [in Affrick] a serpent of a mighty and wonderful bigness, but with the exceeding loss of his souldiers. And after many encounters and battels with the Carthaginians, when the Senat by reason of his so happy conduct and management of the wars, sent no other to succeed him, he dispatched his letters unto them and complained thereof: and among other pregnant reasons that he alledged for to have a successor to come unto him, this was one; That the little inheritance and living which he had suffred waste, by the default or lewdness of his bailiffs of husbandry. Meanwhiles, as if fortune had been disposed and sought means to shew a notable example in the person of this one man Regulus, as well of adversity as prosperity, he was overthrown in plain field, and taken prisoner by Xanthippus, a renowned Captain of the Lacedemonians, whom the Carthaginians had waged, and sent for to aid them. After this the sundry shipwracks of the Roman Navy, eclipsed, obscured, and disfigured all the other exploits that the Roman Captains had fortunatly atchieved before, as well by land as sea. T. Coruncanius was the first High Priest or Arch-Prelate, created out of the body of the Commons. M. Sempronius Sophus and M. Valerius Maximus the Censors, when they made a review of the Senat, cassed thirteen, and took their embroidred purple cloaks from them. They held a survey also of the whole City, and entred into their subsidy book 317217 Roman Citizens. Regulus being sent from the Carthaginians to the Senat of Rome, to treat a peaceable accord, or if he could not obtain so much, to deal about the exchange of prisoners one for another, bound himself by an oath to return again to Carthage, if he sped not for the exchange aforesaid. And being come to Rome, himself dissuaded both the one and the other: howbeit, to accomplish and perform his promise by oath given, he made return accordingly, and by the Carthaginians was despitefully put to cruell torture, and so died.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the nineteenth Book.

CAius Cecilius Metellus, in consideration of his fortunate conduct of the wars against the Carthaginians, rode in a most stately and magnificent triumph: wherein were shewed and led captive thirteen chief Captains of the enemies, and 120 Elephants. Claudius Pulcher the Consul, who maugre the adverse presages of the Auspices would needs hazard a battell, commanded the sacred Pullets to be dousted and drenched over the head in the water, to see if they would drink, since they refused to eat their meat; and received an overthrow at sea, in a conflict with the Carthaginians. For which he was called home by the Senat, and commanded to nominate a Dictator: whereupon he declared C. Glaucia, a base companion, and a person of the meanest degree and quality: who being constrained to resign his Magistracy, yet notwithstanding afterwards beheld the games and plaies in his mantle of estate. Attilius Calatinus was the first Roman Dictator, that led an army out of Italy. An exchange was made of Roman captives for Carthaginians. Two Colonies were transported, namely, to Fregellæ, and to Brundusium, in the

the territory of the Salentins. Another Lustrum was taken by the Censors: wherein were reckoned of Roman Citizens 251222. Claudia, the sister of that P. Claudius, who in contempt and despite of the Auspices fought a battel to great loss, fortuned upon a time as she came from the great Plaies to be crouded in the thrust and pres of people; whereupon she cried out with a loud voice, Would God my brother were alive again, and had the charge of another Armado: for which words she had a good fine set on her head, and paid it. Two Pretors were now created, the first that ever were at Rome. Cæcilius Metellus the High Priest kept perforce within the City A. Posthumius the Consul, because he was beside the Flamin unto Mars; and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himself from his charge. After sundry battels and conflicts that many Roman Captains had against the Carthaginians, C. Luctarius the Consul obtained the honour of the sinall victory, when he had defeated their Fleet; and so made a full end of the first Punick war. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of Vesta was on a light fire, Cæcilius the High Priest recovered and saved out of the flame the holy reliques. Two Tribes were added to the rest, Velina and Quirina. The Falisci rebelled, & within six dates were subdued, and brought under subjection.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the twentieth Book.

AColony was planted at Spoletum. An army was led against the Ligurians [i.e. Genowaies,] which was the first time that they were warred upon. The Sardinians and the Corsians, who revolted and took arms were subdued. Tuccia a Vestal virgin and a Votary was condemned and executed for her incest or whoredom. War was proclaimed against the Illyrians, for that they killed one of the Embassadors which were sent unto them, and being defeated, confessed themselves subjects to the Romans. The number of the Pretors was encreased from two to four. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the Alps (toward France) who came down and entred into Italy, were overthrown and put to the sword. In which war the Romans had by report of the Latins and other confederats and allies, to the number of 300000 fighting men that served under them. The Roman forces passed then first over the river Padus [i.e. Po,] where the French Insubrians [i.e. Lombards] after certain discomfitures were glad to be ruled by reason, and rendred themselves. Mar. Claudius Marcellus the Consul, having slain Virdumarus the General of the Lumbards with his own hand, went away with the honour of the third rich and royal spoiles got from the enemy. The Istrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after they had revolted and put themselves in arms; and were so tamed, that they came under obedience. The Censors held a Lustrum, and took account of the number of the Roman Citizens, and found in all 270000. The Libertins (or slaves enfranchised) were reduced into four tribes by themselves, to wit, Esquilina, Palatina, Suburrana, and Collina: whereas beforetime they had been dispersed indifferently, and mingled among the rest. C. Flaminius the Censor paved the high way called Flaminia, and built the great Cirque or Theater named Flaminius Circus. And two Colonies were established within those Territories that were conquered from the Gauls, to wit, * Placentia, and Cremona.

The one and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and twentieth Book.

IN this book are rehearsed the acts which passed in Italy, as touching the second Punick war, and how Annibal, the Chief Commander of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance, passed over the river Iberus: by whom Saguntum, a City belonging to the allies of the people of Rome, was in the eighth month of the siege forced by assault. For to complain of those wrongs and injuries Embassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amends therefore, war was proclaimed against them. Annibal having passed over the mountains Pyrenæ, and discomfited the Volscians who made head against him, and would have empeached his passage, mounted the Alps, and after he had passed through them with great difficulty and pains, and repulsed also the French mountainers in sundry skirmishes and battels, he descended into Italy: and near the river Ticinius, discomfited and disarrayed the Romans in a battel of Cavalry. In which conflict, when P. Cornelius Scipio was wounded, his son (the same who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) rescued him, and saved his life. Annibal after he had defeated the Roman army a second time, near the river Trebia, passed over the Appenine: where his souldiers were mightily afflicted and distressed, by reason of foul weather and violence of storm and tempest. Cn. Cornelius Scipio sped well in his war against the Carthaginians within Spain, and took prisoner Mago, the General Commander of the enemies.

The

The one and twentieth book of T. Livius.

THe same may I well say, in the Præface and entrance of this one part of my work, which most writers of histories have promised and made profession of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the most famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of *Annibal* fought with the people & State of *Rome*. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warred together more wealthy and puissant than they; nor at any time ever were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the prowess and martiall skill, one of another: for trial they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punick war. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the field, so doubtfully were their battels fought, that neerer loss and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and atchieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man observe the whole course and proceeding of these their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whiles the Romans took foul scorn and disdain that they, whose hap before was to be vanquished, should unprovoked begin war afresh with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as male-content, and throughly offended, as taking themselves (notwithstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands by their proud, insolent, and coverous rule over them. Over and besides all this, the report goeth, that *Annibal* being but nine years old, or thereabout, came fawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father *Amilcar*, that he would take him with him into *Spain*, at what time, as after the African war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, ready to pass over thither with an army: where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the sacrifice, and so to swear, that so soon as ever he were able, he would be a professed and mortal enemy to the people of *Rome*. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himself, a man of high spirit and great courage, for the loss of the Islands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: for not only *Sicily* was overhastily yielded (as he thought) as despairing too soon of the state thereof, and doubting how it should be defended: but also *Sardinia* was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans surprized out of the Carthaginians hands, whiles they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of *Affrick*; and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted. I say, and troubled with these griefs and discontents, so bare himself for five years space in the *Affrick* war, which insued immediatly upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewise after, in *Spain*, for nine years together, enlarging ever still the dominion of *Carthage*; that all the world might see, he intended and designed a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have been well seen that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that war upon *Italy*, which afterward they waged by the conduct of *Annibal*. But the death of *Amilcar* happing in so good season [for the Romans] and the childhood and tender nonage of *Annibal* together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the mean time, between the father and the son, *Asdrubal* bare all the rule for the space almost of eight years. This *Asdrubal* had been *Amilcar* his minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say) for the very prime and flower of his youth: but afterwards, in regard of the singular towardness of a brave and haughty mind, which soon appeared in him, and for his forwardness to action, he was preferred to be his son in law, and married his daughter. Now, forasmuch as he was *Amilcar* his son in law, he was advanced to the soveraign conduct of the war, with no good liking at all and consent of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the Barchin faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the souldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and sage counsell, than by force and violence: and using the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries, and by entertaining friendship with the chief Rulers, won daily the hearts of new nations still, and by that means enlarged the power and seignory of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, rather than by any war and force of arms. But for all this peace with forrein States, he was never the more sure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for anger that his Master and Lord was put to death, slew him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about *Asdrubal* his person, he kept the same countenance still, as if he had escaped and gone clear away: yea, and when he was by cruell torments all mangled and torn, he looked so cheerfully and pleasantly on the matter, as if he had seemed to smile; so far his joy of heart surpassed the pains and anguish of his body. With this *Asdrubal*, for that he had so singular a gift and wonderfull dexterity, in soliciting and annexing unto his dominion the nations aforesaid, the people of *Rome* had renewed the League, upon these two capitulations and conditions: first, that the river * *Iberus* should limit and determine the seignories of them both: *Item*, that the Saguntins, seated in the midst between the territories of both nations, should remain free, and enjoy their ancient liberties.

Asdrubal killed.

The wonderfull constancy and resolution of a slave.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the room of *Asdrubal*, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the souldiers: who presently brought young *Annibal* into the Generall his pavilion, and with exceeding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General. For this you must understand, that *Asdrubal* by his letters missive had sent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the Council-House at *Carthage*, where they of the * Barchine side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that *Annibal* should be trained in warfare, and grow up to succeed his father in equall prowess & greatness. But *Hanno* the chiefe man of the contrary faction; "It is but meet, and reason (quoth he) "that *Asdrubal* doth demand: and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his requeſt "should be granted. When they mused and marvelled much at this so doubtfull speech of his, and wist not what construction to make of it. "Why then (quoth *Hanno*) to be plain, That flour "and beauty of youth, which *Asdrubal* himself yielded and parted withall sometimes unto *Annibals* father, for to use or abuse at his pleasure; the same he thinketh by good right he may "challenge and have again, from the son, to make quittance. But it beseemeth not us for to acquaint our young youths with the Camp, that under the colour, and instead of their military institution and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the "Generals. What? Is this the thing we fear, That the son of *Amilcar* should tarry too long ere "he see the excessive grandeur and soveraignty of his father, and thereafter shew as it were of his "royalty? Or doubt we, that we shall not soon enough serve in all dutifull allegeance his natu"rall son, unto whose son in law, all our Armies have been left (as it were) in lawfull right of in"heritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in awe at "home, under obedience of laws, under civill Magistrates, and learn a while to live in equall con"dition with the rest of the Citizens and subjects: for fear left at one time or other, this little "spark do burn outright, and raise a mighty flame. A few, and those were, in a manner, all of the best sort and soundest judgment, accorded with *Hanno*. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number over-weighed the better.

* *Amilcar* the father of *Annibal* was the son of *Barchia*, from whence arose the Barchin faction so often named in this story.

The speech of *Hanno* in the Senate at *Carthage*.

Thus *Annibal* was sent into *Spain*, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him; so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old souldiers beleeved verily that *Amilcar* was alive again, and come amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & visage, the same quickness and liveliness in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had so wrought and wound himself into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in quality most contrary; namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more dear unto the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither *Asdrubal* would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the souldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprise, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards and dangerous adventures: right provident and wary again, at the very point of perill and jeopardy. No travell was able to weary and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and break his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his naturall appetite, and not by pleasure and delightsome taste. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploit; if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiosity by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good souldiers jacket and homely cassock cast over him, even among the sentinels and *corps de guard*. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: mary, in his armour and horses he loved ever to be goodly be-seen above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would alwaies be a great way formost. And to conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will ever the first: and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these so noble qualities and manly vertues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him again, to counterpoise the same. Cruelty most savage and inhumane, falshood and treachery more than * Punick: no truth, no honesty, no fear of God, no regard of oath, no conscience, nor religion.

The naturall disposition of *Annibal*.

His vertues.

His vices.

* Ordinary in *Carthaginians*.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature, to vertues, and vices, he served full three years under General *Asdrubal*. During which time, he omitted and forgat no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himself another day to be a Captain and chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chosen and declared Lord General; as if at the same instant, *Italy* had been the Province assigned unto him, as if, I say, he had received Commission to warr with the Romans, he thought good to make no delaies, for fear left haply whiles he lingred and slacked the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first, and *Asdrubal* afterwards: but presently determined to make war upon the Saguntines, by assailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrel. But first he led his army into the marches of the * *Olcades* (a nation beyond *Iberus*, rather siding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have shot at the Saguntins and intended

* A people within the kingdom of *Toledo* in *Spain* near the City *Ocaſa*.

intended ought against them directly: but that by order and course of his affairs, after he had
H subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawn (as it were) for vicinity and
neighbourhood take to that war, and to joyn them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first
he wan by force, and sacked *b Carteia*, a rich City, the seat town and chief place of all that nation.
Whereupon, other meaner and smaller Cities also, for fear came under his obedience, and yielded
to pay tribute. His Army then after these victories, and enriched with spoil and pillage, was
brought back to new *c Carthage*, there for to winter. Where he made sure unto him the hearts
and affectionate love, as well of his own countrymen as of the allies, partly, by bestowing the pil-
lage liberally among them, and partly, by making true paiment of souldiers wages for the time
past. And then in the very prime of the spring, he went forward to war upon the *d Vaccei*. He for-
I ced by assault *e Hermandica* and *Arbacula*, two Towns of the / *Carpetani*. *Arbacula* by the manhood
and multitude of the Townsmen held out a long time. But certain fugitives that were fled from
Hermandica, having rallied themselves, and joyned with other exiled persons of the *Olcades*, a na-
tion the summer before subdued, raised also the *g* Carpetans to take arms: and set upon *Anni-
bal*, in his return from the *Vaccei*; and not far from the river *b Tagus*, troubled and disordred his
march, heavily charged with spoil and booty. *Annibal* forbare to fight, and encamped himself
upon the bank of the river: and so soon as the enemies were in their first sleep, and all still and
husht, passed over with his Army at the foord: and after he had pitched his Camp so far off
from the river side, as that his enemies might have room enough to march away besides him, he
determined to set upon them as they should pass over the river. To his horsemen he gave com-
K mandment to charge upon the Regiment of footmen, so soon as they perceived them to have ta-
ken the water: and upon the bank he arranged forty Elephants afront them. There were of the
Carpetans, counting the aids and succours of the *Olcades* and *Vaccei*, 100000 strong: an Army in-
vincible, if they had fought on even and indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce
and couragious, and for multitude confident; pretumptuous besides, upon their imagination that
the enemy was retired for fear; supposed that the only stay of their victory was, because the
river ran between: and setting up a shout and out-cry, without direction of any Leader, in all dis-
order they ran into the river here and there, every man what way was next him. Now from the
other side of the bank, a great troop of horsemen were entred into the river, encountred them
in the midst of the channel and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unsteady
L and not able to keep fast footing, and hardly trusting the foord, might easily be cast aside and over-
turned, even by naked horsemen if they did but put forth and prick forward their horses in skil-
led not how: the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at liberty, and able to wield their
weapon, with their horses under them standing sure even in the midst of the stream and whirl-
pools, might with ease either fight close hand to hand, or assail the enemies aloof. Many of them
besides perished in the water: some by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the ene-
mies, and by the Elephants trodden under foot, and crushed to death. The hindmost, who might
with more safety recover their own bank, after they were rallied together into one from divers
places, as fear had scattered them; before they could upon so great a fright, take heart and come a-
gain to themselves, *Annibal* who with a four-square battaillon had entred the river, forced to M
flie from the bank: and when he had wasted the country, within few daies brought the Carpe-
tans also under his obedience.

And now all beyond *Iberus* was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntins only excepted.
With whom as yet he would not seem to war: howbeit, to minister some cause and occasion
thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of dissentions sown between them and their neighbors,
namely the * Turdetans. Unto whose aid, when he was come, that was himself the sower of all
the variance, and had set them together by the ears: and when it appeared plainly that it was not
a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather sought of fight and open war: then
the Saguntins sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave aid against that war, which doubtless
was at hand. The Consuls at that time of *Rome*, were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Titus Sempronius* N
Longus, who having brought the Embassadors into the Councill House, and proposed matters un-
to the LL. there, concerning the weal publike, and decreed to send their Embassadors into *Spain*
to take survey, and look into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meet, should
give *Annibal* warning, not to meddle with their confederats, and molest the Saguntins: and
withall, to sail over to *Carthage* into *Affrick*, and there make relation of the complaints and
grievances of the allies of the people of *Rome*: when, I say, this Embassage was decreed, but yet
not sent, news came sooner than all men looked for, that * *Saguntum* was already besieged. Then
was the matter propounded new again before the Senate. Some were of mind to dispatch the Con-
suls unto the Provinces of *Spain* and *Affrick*, with commission to make war both by sea and land.
Others thought better to bend all their forces wholly into *Spain* against *Annibal*. There were a- O
gain of opinion, that so great and weighty an enterprise was not hudwinked head, and rashly to be
attempted; but rather that they should attend the return of the Embassadors out of *Spain*: and
this advice that seemed most safe, was held for the better, and took place. And therefore so much
the sooner were these Embassadors *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bebius Pamphilus*, addressed unto
Annibal before *Saguntum*, with direction, from thence to go forward to *Carthage* (in case he
would not desist and give over war) and for to demand the Captain himself, for amends and satis-
faction of breaking the league. But whiles the Romans were amused about these consultations &
decrees,

b *Clusius* supposeth it to be *Cartagena*: some take it for *Conil*: others for *Tarifa*, or rather *Algezira*. The French Translator, calleth it *Albeia*.
c *Cartagena*.
d Of *Castilla* or *Castile*.
e *Salamanca* in *Castile*.
f People in *Andalusia*.
g Inhabitants of the kingdom of *Toletum*.
h *Taio*.

* *Algarbia*, a people in *Portugall*.

* *Morviedr*.

A decrees, *Saguntum* was by this time with all forcible means assaulted. This City of all other most wealthy and rich, stood beyond *Iberus*, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are said to have had their beginning out of the Island * *Zacynthus*: and some among them, were descended from *Ardea*, a City of the Rutilians: but they grew within short time to this puissance and wealth of theirs, partly, by the fruits and revenews of their lands, and partly, by the traffick and gain of their merchandise, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great affluence and encrease of people, and lastly, by their straight rule of discipline, whereby they observed their troth and loyalty with their allies, even to their own ruine and finall destruction.

Saguntum besieged by *Annibal*.
* *Zanto*.

Annibal after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostility, with his Ar-
B my overrun and wasted their country, besieged and assailed the City three waies. There was one canton or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plain and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certain mantlets or fabricks, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place far from the wall, was even enough and handsome for such engins of battery to be driven upon: so after that they came to the proof and execution indeed, the success answered nothing to the enterprise begun. For besides that there was a mighty tower over-looked and commanded them the wall it self (as in a place doubted and suspected) was more fortified and raised higher there than elsewhere: and also the choisen youth and ablest men were bestowed to make more forcible resistance, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarels, and such like, they put the enemy back,
C and would not suffer the pioneers and labourers in any place to entrench or raise rampiers in safe-
ty. In proces also, they shot not from the wall only and that tower, and shewed themselves there in arms for defence, but also their hearts served them to sally forth, and to break into the guards of the enemies, yea, and to enter upon their trenches and fabricks. In which skirmishes there died not many more Saguntins than Carthaginians. But so soon as *Annibal* himself, approaching unadvisedly under the wall fortuned to be wounded grievously in the forepart of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground: they all about him fled so fast, and were so scared, that they had like to have given over quite and abandoned their mantlets, and other fabricks aforesaid. After this, for some few daies, whiles their General was under cure of his hurt,
D they lay at siege rather, than followed the assault. In which mean time, as they rested from skirmish, so they ceased not to invent new devises, and to prepare new fabricks. Whereupon the assault began again more hot than before: and in many parts at once they fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many and so thick, that some places would not receive them; and withall to drive the Ram against the walls. *Annibal* had men good store, for it is thought he was 150000 in Camp strong. The townsmen with devising means to defend, and see to every place, began to have their hands full: but all would not serve. For now were the walls beaten with the rams, and many parts thereof shaken and battered: and at one place above the rest, by continual battery there was such a breach, as the town lay open and naked to the enemy. After that, three turrets, and all the wall between fell down with a mighty and horribly crash, insomuch as the Carthaginians thought verily that with that rush the town had been won: by which breach, as if the wall had protected both
E parties before, they ran forth together on each side to fight. The battell was not like to a tumultuary skirmish, such as are wont to be about assaults of Cities, by the occasion and advantage of the one part or the other; but a very set and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground between the breaches of the wall, and the houses of the town, that stood a pretty way distant within. Of one side they were pricked forward with hope, on the other with despair; whiles *Annibal* thought verily that he was master of the town already, if he held on but a little longer; and the Saguntins seeing their town bare, and void of wals, opposed their bodies in the breach, not one stepping back a foot, left in the space between he should let in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded; and there was not a dart could light in vain between their bodies and their armour, but it did mis-
F chief. The Saguntins used a weapon called *Falarica*, in manner of a dart, which they let fly and lanced from them having a long shaft or steel, round and even every where toward the one end, where it was headed with iron, and bound about with tow, and smeared with pitch. The iron head was three foot long; that it might pierce both harnesse and body through. But the greatest feare that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the target, and entred not into the body, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew, it gathered much more fire, forced the souldier to forsake his armour, and exposed him disarmed and naked to the shot following. Well, the fight continued doubtful a long time, by reason that the Saguntins took better heart unto them, because they had rested beyond their hope and expe-
G ctation: and the Carthaginians took themselves vanquished, for that they had not got the victory, and better hand: whereupon, the townsmen all at once set up a cry, and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and ruins of the wall, and from thence thrust them out clean. whiles they were thus encumbred and affrighted, yea, and at last discomfited them put them to flight, and chased them as far as their Camp.

The description of a weapon or dart, called *Falarica*.

In the mean while news came, that there were Embassadors arrived from *Rome*: unto whom *Annibal* dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations; nor their Master *Annibal* amidst those dangerous and trou-

blesome

blesome affairs, had any leisure to attend or give audience unto embassages. He knew full well, H that the Embassadors being not received and entertained, would straight to *Carthage*. Whereupon, he addressed aforehand his letters and curriers to the chief of the Barchine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side, so, as they of the other part might not gratifie, or do any thing in favour of the Romans. By which means, besides that they were neither admitted by *Annibal*, nor audience given them, that embassage also was in vain, and took no effect at *Carthage*. Only *Hanno* notwithstanding the whole body of the Senate was against him, spake with great silence and assent of the hearers, by reason of his authority and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of League, in this wise: "I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name "and for the love of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies, I "I have, I say, admonished you, that ye should not send *Amilcar* his son, or any of his breed unto "the Camp: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progeny and race of that man can rest "and be quiet; nor the Roman league will ever be assured and established, so long as there re- "mained one alive of the Barchine name and family. But sent ye have, for all my words, unto "your armies a youth boiling in ambition, enflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and "one that seeth no other way thereto, but by raising one war after another, to live guarded with "armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were ministred dry fewel, "and put oil to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, wherewith ye now all are set a burning. Your "armies now besiege *Saguntum*, from which by covenant and vertue of the League they are de- "barred. Within a while and shortly will the Roman legions lie in siege before *Carthage*, under K "the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former war, "they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know yet not yet, either "your enemy, or your selves, or the fortune of both nations? This good Captain and gentle Ge- "neral, forsooth, of your making, would not admit and receive into his Camp Embassadors com- "ing from our allies, and in the behalf also of our allies: wherein he abolished the law of Nations. "Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadors of enemies, are "not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by vertue of their League demand amends of "trespass and restitution or satisfaction for their damages. And presuppose the State be not tou- "ched nor culpable in this Action, they require no more, but to have the author himself in person, "who is the offender. The more gently they deale, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more L "obstinat they will be, and continue with greater rigour (I fear me) if they once begin. Set before "your eyes the Islands * *Ægates*, and * *Eryx*: and what for these four and twenty years past, ye "have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this beardless boy our Captain then, but his fa- "ther *Amilcar* himself, even a second *Mars*, as these his supposts would have him. But what of "that? We could not then, according to our league, hold our hands, and let *Tarentum* in *Italy* a- "lone; like as now we are doing with *Saguntum*. Therefore, both God and man took the mat- "ter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when we were at arguing and debating the case "with discourse of words about this point, Whether Nation of the twain had broken the league? "the event of war, as an indifferent and equall judge, awarded victory where the right was. And "*Carthage* it is, against which, *Annibal* even now hath reared mantlets, towers, and other engins M "of assault: even now, battereth and shaketh he *Carthage* wals with the Ram. The ruins of *Sa- "guntum* (God grant I be a false Prophet) will fall upon our heads, and the war begun with the Sa- "guntins, we must maintain against the Romans. How then? (will some man say) shall we yield "*Annibal* unto them? I know well, how small my authority is in this point, by reason of the old "grudge and enmity between me and his father deceased. Howbeit, as I rejoyced, that *Amilcar* "was dead, for that if he had lived still, we should ere now have warred with the Romans: so this "very youth, an impe of his, I hate and detest as the very fury and fire-brand of this war: whom "I would have by my good will, not only to be rendred unto them, for to purge and expiate the "breach of league: but if no man would challenge him for to be punished, I would award, that he "should be carried and transported as far as there is sea or land, and to be sent away thither from N "whence we might not once hear of him again and where he might never trouble the quiet and "peaceable state of this City any more. Over and besides, my opinion and resolution is, that some "Embassadors be sent present y to *Rome*, to satisfie the Senate: and others also, with a message to "*Annibal* that he withdraw his forces from *Saguntum*: and with commission to render up *Anni- "bal* himself into the Romans hands, according to the tenour of the League: and a third Embas- "sage likewise to the Saguntins, for to make restitution and amends for their harms and losses al- "ready sustained. When *Hanno* had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needless, that any one man there should make reply, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration: the whole Senate was so possessed already and wrought for *Annibal*: and with one voice they blamed *Hanno*, and sounded it out, That he had made a bitter speech, and more favouring of an enemy, O than *Flaccus Valerius* himself the Roman Embassador. After this, the Roman Embassadors had this answer returned. That the war began by the Saguntins, and not by *Annibal*. Also, that the peo- ple of *Rome* offered them injury, in preferring the Saguntins before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. Whiles the Romans thus spent time in sending Embassages, *Annibal* having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounts and fa- bricks, he gave them rest some few daies and bestowed certain good guards to ward and keep the mantlers and other engins of battery. In the mean season he encouraged his souldiers, and set their hearts

The Oration of *Hanno* in the Senat of *Carthage*.

* *Galba*, or *Fa- bigusna*. The fame which *Virgil* calleth *Ace*, and the Italians in old time *Saxa*.

* A City in *Sicily*, situate upon an high hill of that name. *Trapani*, or *Monte S. Juliano* at this day.

A hearts on fire, partly, by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and part- ly, by drawing them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had once in a general assembly made proclamation, That the spoil and pillage should be the souldiers share; they were all so enkindled and enflamed, that if presently he had sounded the signal of battel, it seemed, that no force in the World had been able to resist them. The Saguntins, as they had some rest from skirmish, and continued certain dayes, neither assailing nor assailed: so they gave not over labouring night and day, for to make up a new wall and counter-mure, on that side of the Town which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, grew the assault more hot and furious than before: neither wist they well (the shouts and alarms were so divers and dissonant on B every side) whether to come first, or where was most need of help and succour. *Annibal* himself was present in person to encourage and exhort his souldiers, where as the rouling Tower was dri- ven which was so high, that it overlooked all the mures and counter-Fabricks of the City, and be- ing once approached neer the wals, furnished as it was in every loft and story, with ordnance of quarrel shot, brakes, and other artillery, beat the defendants from off the walls, so as none durst a- bide upon them. Then *Annibal* taking the time, and supposing that he had now a good opportu- nity presented unto him, sent about 500 Affricans that were pioners with pick-axes, mattocks and such like tools, to undermine the wall, yea, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hard matter to do, for that the cement or morter was not hardned and bound with lime, but tempered with earth and clay, after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall C came tumbling down before it was hewn and wrought into: and through the wide breaches, whole troops of armed souldiers entred the Town: and withal, they seized one high place a- bove the rest, whereon they planted their artillery and ordnance of slings and brakes, and cast a wall about it, that they might have within the very City a fort and bastillon of their own, like a Castle to overlook all. The Saguntins likewise railed another mure within along that side where the Town as yet was not taken; So that on both sides they made fortifications, and also fought with all their might and main. But the Saguntins defending the inner parts, by little and little brought their Town daily into a smaller compass. And by that means, as also by reason of the long siege, as scarcity and want of all things grew more and more, so the expectation of forrain aid and succour was every day less than other: the Romans their only hope, being so far off, and their D enemies so neer on every hand. Howbeit, the sudden rode and journey of *Annibal* against the * Oretans and * Carpetans, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two Na- tions being risen upon a discontentment of a streight muster and rigorous levy of souldiers, had staied and detained those Mutter-masters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient and able men for the wars. And so, made some shew and fear of rebellion: but being prevented in the begin- ning by the speedy coming of *Annibal*, were soon quiet, and laid down their arms. But the assault of *Saguntum* continued nevertheless. For *Maharbal*, *Himilco* his son, whom *Annibal* had left be- hind as Lieutenant, so bestirred himself, that neither the Townsmen nor the enemy found the miss or absence of the General. This *Maharbal* had made some fortunat skirmishes, and with three rams shaken a good part of the wall, so as he shewed to *Annibal* at his return all lying along E and every place full of fresh ruins. Whereupon the army was presently brought against the very Castle of the City, where began a cruel and bloudy conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said fortress was forced and won.

* The inhabi- tants of *Oce- trava*.

* In the realm of *Toletum*.

Afterwards there was some treaty of peace and agreement, by means of two persons, *Alcon* a Saguntine, and *Alorcus* a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it. *Alcon* supposing he could somewhat prevail by way of request and entreating, without knowledge of the Saguntins, depar- ted away by night to *Annibal*. But after that he saw, that with all his weeping he could do no good, but that heavy and intolerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathful conqueror, of an Orator, proved to be a very traytor, and remained still in the camp with the enemies, saying, that he was sure to die, whosoever should move the Saguntins to peace, F under those conditions. For demanded it was of the Saguntins, *Imprimis*, to make restitution to the Turdetans of all harmes and losses. *Item*, to deliver up all their gold and silver. *Item*, to quit the Town, and depart but with one suit of apparel a piece: and there to dwell where the Car- thaginians would appoint. When *Alcon* avouched plainly, that the Saguntins would never accept of peace with these conditions, *Alorcus* replied again and said, That seeing all things else now failed them, their hearts also must needs come down, and fail likewise: and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenor of the said peace, and to be a mediator and dearer in the compas- sing thereof. At that time he served *Annibal* as a private souldier: howbeit a publick friend he was, and an host and guest of old to the Saguntins. Who having in sight of all men yeelded up his offensive arms, to the warders of the enemies, and passed the rampiers was brought (for so him- G self desired) before the Governor and Provost of *Saguntum*. Thither came running presently, a number of all sorts of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to void, *Alor- cus* was called into their Councel house, and having audience given, made this or the like speech unto them. "If *Alcon* your countryman and fellow citizen, as he came from you to *Annibal* for "to treat about peace, had likewise brought back again unto you from *Annibal* the conditions "and articles of peace, I needed not to have taken this journey: who am come unto you neither "as an Orator from *Annibal*, nor yet as a fugitive. But seeing he hath remained with the enemy, "either through your default or his own, I know not whither, if he pretended and fained causeless

The Oration of *Alorcus* a Spaniard, in the Senat of *Saguntum*.

"fear himself is to blame; but if they stand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in H
"great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions
"offred to you of life, of safety and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard
"(I say) of mutual intertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye
"may believe, that whatsoever you shall hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for
"the favour of no man else; this one thing, if no more, may assure you, that neither so long as
"ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid
"from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye
"have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no
"longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessary, I confess, than equal and rea-I
"sonable. Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if as *Annibal* offereth and
"presenteth it like a conquerour, so you will hear of it, and accept thereof as conquered: if I say,
"ye will not make reckning of that which you forgo as a loss and damage (seeing by extremity all
"is the victors) but that which is left, as gain and advantage, yea and freely given unto you. Your
"Town, whernof a great part is ruinated by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he
"mindeth to put you by: your Lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to set you
"out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your selves a new City. Your gold and silver
"all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto
"him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this K
"condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double suit of apparel a peece, and no
"more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conqueror) demandeth: Which albeit they
"be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and state is such, as you must allow thereof and be con-
"tent. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he
"will deal better by you, and remit somewhat of these conditions. But I think ye were better to
"abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdred, your wives and children to be ravished,
"haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war requireth.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little entermingled their own assembly with the Senators: and all of a sudden the chief of them withdrew themselves and departed, before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well publick as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made hastily L for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold another outcry besides and noise was heard from the Castle. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and shaken, fell down: and at the breach thereof a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave sign to their General that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and *corps de guard* of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Annibal* supposing it was no wisedom to neglect and slack so good an opportunity, with all his forces at once assailed the City, and wan it in the turning of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the sword. A cruel commandment, no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well seen in the The winning of Saguntum. end and upshot of all. For who would have spared and taken pity of those, that either shut them-M selves with their wives and children into their houses, and burnt them over their own heads, or in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the Town won with exceeding store of pillage within it. And albeit much was spoiled on purpose by the owners, and that in the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the fury of their anger: and for all that, the prisoners fell to the souldiers share: yet certain it is, that of the goods sold in port-sale, there arose a good round piece of mony: and much rich houshold stuff and costly apparel was sent to *Carthage*.

Some there be that write, how *Saguntum* was won the eight Month after the siege began: and that from thence *Annibal* departed to winter in new *Carthage*: as also, that the fifth month after he departed from *Carthage*, he arrived in *Italy*. Which being so, it cannot be, that *P. Cornelius* N and *T. Sempronius* should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the Saguntin Embassadors were sent; and who also in their year of government fought with *Annibal*, the one neer the river * *Ticinus*, and both together a good while after, at * *Trebia*. And we must say, that either all these things were atchieved in shorter time a good deal, or else that *Saguntum* in the beginning of that year wherein *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls, began not to be besieged: but finally was forced and won. For the battel at *Trebia* could not be so long after, as to fall in the year wherein *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls. For that *Flaminius* entred his Consulship at *Ariminum*, and was created by *T. Sempronius*, Consul, who after the battel of *Trebia* came to *Rome* to elect Consuls, and after the Election was ended, returned again to his army, into the wintering harbours. O

* Carthagena.

* Ticino. * Sefferio.

About the same time, as well the Embassadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word to *Rome* that there was nothing but war: as also tidings came, of the destruction of *Saguntum*. And so greatly grieved and sorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily massacred, so ashamed in themselves they were, that they had not sentaid in time, so deeply offended and incensed with indignation against the Carthaginians, yea, and so mightily feared the losse of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds possessed at one time, with so many troubles, they rather trem-

A trembled and quaked for fear, than settled themselves to consultation and counsel. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the State of *Rome* was at any time so resty, so feeble, and so undisposed to war. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the * *Sardi*, * *Corsi*, * *Histri*, and * *Illyrici* had rather chalenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exercised and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten souldiers, inured and hardned for this 23 years in most difficult service of war, amongst the Spanish Nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practised under *Amilcar*, then under *Asdrubal*, and now lastly B under the conduct of *Annibal*, a right hardy and valiant Captain. Considering moreover, that now he cometh fresh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a most rich City, and passeth straight-wayes over *Iberus*: drawing after him a train of so many nations of the Spaniards, exercised already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raise the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: so as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World besides, yea, and under the walls of *Rome*, for the defence of the City.

* The Ilanders of *Sardegna*. * The Ilanders of *Corsica*. * The people of *Istria*. * The people of *Sclavonia*.

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i. 300 to a Legion.

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The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

"fear himself is to blame; but if they stand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in H
"great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions
"offred to you of life, of safety and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard
"(I say) of mutual intertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye
"may believe, that whatsoever you shall hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for
"the favour of no man else; this one thing, it no more, may assure you, that neither so long as
"ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid
"from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye
"have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no
"longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessary, I confess, than equal and rea-I
"sonable. Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if as *Annibal* offereth and
"presenteth it like a conqueror, so you will hear of it, and accept thereof as conquered: if I say,
"ye will not make reckning of that which you forgo as a loss and damage (seeing by extremity all
"is the victors) but that which is left, as gain and advantage, yea and freely given unto you. Your
"Town, whereof a great part is ruinated by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he
"mindeth to put you by: your Lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to set you
"out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your selves a new City. Your gold and silver
"all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto
"him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this
"condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double suit of apparel a peece, and no K
"more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conqueror) demandeth: Which albeit they
"be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and state is such, as you must allow thereof and be con-
"tent. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he
"will deal better by you, and remit somewhat of these conditions. But I think ye were better to
"abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdred, your wives and children to be ravished,
"haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war requireth.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little entermingled their own assembly with the Senators: and all of a sudden the chief of them withdrew themselves and departed, before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well publick as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made hastily L for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold another outcry besides and noise was heard from the Castle. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and shaken, fell down: and at the breach thereof a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave sign to their General that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and *corps de guard* of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Annibal* supposing it was no wisedom to neglect and slack so good an opportunity, with all his forces at once assailed the City, and wan it in the turning of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the sword. A cruel commandment, no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well seen in the ends and upshot of all. For who would have spared and taken pity of those, that either shut themselves with their wives and children into their houses, and burnt them over their own heads, or in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the Town won with exceeding store of pillage within it. And albeit much was spoiled on purpose by the owners, and that in the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the fury of their anger: and for all that, the prisoners fell to the souldiers share: yet certain it is, that of the goods sold in port-sale, there arose a good round piece of mony: and much rich houshold stuff and costly apparel was sent to *Carthage*.

The winning of *Saguntum*.

Some there be that write, how *Saguntum* was won the eight Month after the siege began: and that from thence *Annibal* departed to winter in new *Carthage*: as also, that the fifth month after he departed from *Carthage*, he arrived in *Italy*. Which being so, it cannot be, that *P. Cornelius* N and *T. Sempronius* should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the Saguntin Embassadors were sent: and who also in their year of government fought with *Annibal*, the one neer the river * *Ticinus*, and both together a good while after, at * *Trebia*. And we must say, that either all these things were archieved in shorter time a good deal, or else that *Saguntum* in the beginning of that year wherein *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls, began not to be besieged; but finally was forced and won. For the battel at *Trebia* could not be so long after, as to fall in the year wherein *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls. For that *Flaminius* entred his Consulship at *Ariminum*, and was created by *T. Sempronius*, Consul, who after the battel of *Trebia* came to *Rome* to elect Consuls, and after the Election was ended, returned again to his army, into the wintering harbours. O

* Carthagena.

* Tesino.
* Sestertio.

About the same time, as well the Embassadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word to *Rome* that there was nothing but war: as also tidings came, of the destruction of *Saguntum*. And so greatly grieved and sorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily massacred, so ashamed in themselves they were, that they had not sent aid in time, so deeply offended and incented with indignation against the Carthaginians, yea, and so mightily feared the losse of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds possessed at one time, with so many troubles, they rather trem-

A trembled and quaked for fear, than settled themselves to consultation and counsel. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the State of *Rome* was at any time so resty, so feeble, and so undisposed to war. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the * *Sardi*, * *Corsi*, * *Histri*, and * *Illyrici* had rather challenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exercised and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten souldiers, inured and hardned for this 23 years in most difficult service of war, amongst the Spanish Nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practised under *Amilcar*, then under *Asdrubal*, and now lastly B under the conduct of *Annibal*, a right hardy and valiant Captain. Considering moreover, that now he cometh fresh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a most rich City, and passeth straight-wayes over *Iberus*: drawing after him a train of so many nations of the Spaniards, exercised already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raise the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: so as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World besides, yea, and under the walls of *Rome*, for the defence of the City.

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The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

"to that accord which *C. Luctatius* your Consul first made with us, because it passed neither by H
"consent of the nobles, nor grant of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew
"drawn out, and by publick agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe your
"leagues, unless they be authorised by the nobles, or ratified by the people: no more can the league
"of *Asdrubal* oblige us, which he concluded without our privity and knowledge. Forbear there
"fore to speak either of *Saguntum*, or *Iberus*; and what your mind hath so long conceived, let
"it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then *Q. Fabius* the Roman Embassador, having
made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his side gown, Here quoth he, within this lappet,
we present and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all
cryed out at once with as great stomack and boldness: Mary even which you will your self. I
Whereat he let his robe loose again: Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongst you. Let
come say they all again, and welcome be it; and as willingly as we accept thereof, so shall we fol-
low and manage it as throughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing of war, seemed more for the honor of the Ro-
mans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the cove-
nants: a vain matter before, but now especially, after the winning and destruction of *Saguntum*.
For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of *Asdrubal* which
was exchanged for the former of *Luctatius*, was not the same nor the tenor thereof to be compa-
red: seeing that in the accord of *Luctatius*, this branch and proviso was expressely added; [That
it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of *Asdrubal*, K
there was no such condition at all: and besides, the covenant for so many years space during his
life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrary; that when the very maker
and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should
have stood upon the former alliance: the Saguntins were therein well enough comprised and pro-
vided for in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this
clause added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted against, who after-
wards should become, or be admitted allies. And seeing that it was lawful to entertain new con-
federats, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received unto
amity for any good desert whatsoever; or being once received into protection, should not be de-
fended accordingly: Provided always, that no allies of the Carthaginians should either be solli- L
cited to rebellion or received again, if of themselves they once revolted.

The Roman Embassadors as they were commanded at *Rome* passed the seas from *Carthage* into
Spain, for to visit all the Cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their society,
or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And first they came to the Bargusians, where being
courteously entertained (for weary they were of the Carthaginians government) they stirred up
many other nations beyond *Iberus*, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they
came to the Volscians, whose notable answer reported throughout all *Spain*, turned away all other
States from banding with the Romans: for thus in a solemn assembly a sage and ancient father a-
mong them framed his answer. "With what face can ye (Romans) require us to prefer your friend- M
"ship and amity before the Carthaginians? seeing that the Saguntins who did the same, have been
"more cruelly by you their allies betrayed, than by their enemies the Carthaginians destroyed?
"By my advice go and seek you confederats there, where the woful calamity and misery of Sagun-
"tum is not known. The lamentable ruins of which City, as it is a doleful example, so it shall be a
"notable warning to all nations of *Spain*, that no man ever after repose trust in the protection
"and society of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the
Volscians immediately, and in no Diet or Council of *Spain*, had they afterwards any better en-
tertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all *Spain*, they took
their way into *Gaul*: where they saw a strange sight, and a fearful fashion: for all in armour (such
was the guise and manner of the country) they came to their publick assemblies: and there, these
Embassadors after they had set out in goodly words the greatness and glory of the people of *Rome*, N
and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made request, that they
would not give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make war upon *Italy*) for to pass through
their Cities and Towns: hereat they set up such a laughter, with a certain grumbling and mur-
muring, that scarcely could the youth be stilled and quieted by the Magistrats and Elders; so sot-
tish, so foolish, and shameless seemed this demand, in their conceit: that they should once ima-
gine that the Gauls were such Asses, as they would be content (rather than to let the war passe
into *Italy*) to avert and turn it upon themselves, and to suffer, yea, and offer their own territories
to be spoiled and foraged, for the safety (forsooth) of other mens Lands, who were but meer aliens
and strangers unto them. The noise and garboil being at length hushed and appeased, this an-
swer was returned to the Embassadors: "That neither the Romans had deserved so well nor the O
"Carthaginians so ill at their hands, that they should take arms either for Romans, or against
"Carthaginians. But contrary-wise they were advertised, that some of their nation, whereby
"the people of *Rome* driven out of the marches and confines of *Italy* put to pay tribute, yea, and
"indured other outrages and indignities. The like demands and answers passed to and fro in
other Councels and Assemblies of *Gaul*: neither could they meet with any friendly entertein-
ment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to * *Massilia*: where, after diligent
inquiry, and faithful search made by their allies, they had true advertisements, that *Annibal*
afore-

The answer of one of the principal Volscians in Spain, to the Roman Embassadors.

* Massilles.

A aforehand had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possessed of them: but they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of kindness and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon well fed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Embassadors, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of *Spain* and Gaul, returned to *Rome*; not long after that the Cons. had taken their journey into their Provinces: where they found the whole City possessed with the expectation of war: so rise and current was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the River *Iberus*.

B *Annibal* after the winning of *Saguntum*, had retired himself to winter in new *Carthage*: and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed as well at *Rome*, as at *Carthage* [in *Africk*,] and that he was reputed not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war: so soon as he had divided and sold the rest of the booty and pillage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delayes, but assembled the souldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner. "My trusty friends and loyal confede- The speech of
"rats, I am perswaded, that ye your selves do see as well as I, now that all the States of *Spain* are in *Annibal* to his
"peace and quietness, that either ye are to make an end of souldiery, and all our forces to be cassed Spanish soul-
"and discharged from service; or else that ye must remove the war into other Lands. For so diers.
"shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not only enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reap
C "the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others.
"Since therefore we are to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall see again
"your houses, and whatsoever thereis deer unto you: if any of you be desirous to visit home, his
"wife and children, kinsfolk, and friends, I give him licence and free passport. But I command
"you withal, to shew your selves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring; that
"with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby we shall purchase both worship
"and wealth. There was not one in a manner but well accepted of this liberty so frankly offered
by himself, and were desirous to have a sight of house and land, both for that every one already lon-
ged for their friends and kindred, and foresaw in farther time to come, a greater miss, and cause
of more longing after them. This rest all Winter time, between their travels past, and those they
D were soon after to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to
abide and endure all new pains whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the
Edict aforesaid, they all assembled together again. *Annibal* having taken a muster and survey of
the aids that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to * *Gades*; and there, to *Hercules* * *Cadix*, or *Ce-*
he paid his old vows, and bound himself to new, if the rest of his enterprizes should speed well *les Males*, or
and have good success. After this, dividing and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as *Calez*.
defensive war, doubting lest whiles he went by Land through *Spain* and *France* into *Italy*, *Africk*
should lie open and naked to the Romans from *Sicily* side; purposed to fortifie and make that
part sure with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of *Africk*, specially
of Archers and Javelotiers, and those lightly armed: to the end, that the Africans might serve in
E *Spain*, and the Spaniards in *Africk*; like (both the one and the other) to prove the better soul-
diers, far from their own countries, and being bound as it were, with mutual and reciprocal
pledges. So he sent into *Africk* 13850 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 slingers of the
Islands * *Baleares*, 1200 Horsemen also out of sundry Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly * Two Islands,
for the defence of *Carthage*, and partly to be divided through *Africk*, for the guard thereof. He *Maiorica* and
sent withal, certain Commissioners into all their Cities to take up souldiers, and enrolled 4000 of *Minorica*. Of
their chosen youths, who should be brought to *Carthage*, there to lie in garrison, and to serve for some, *Columba*
hostages. And supposing that *Spain* was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not and *Nura*.
ignorant how the Roman Embassadors had visited the same round, to see how they could sollicit
F brother *Asdrubal*, a valiant and hardy man; and furnished him with good forces, especially out
of Africk, to wit, 11850 Africans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balear Islanders. To this power
of footmen, three hundred Horse of the * Libyphœnicians, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians and * Within the
Africans. Of * Numidians and Mores, that coast upon the Ocean, 1900. with a small cornet of Kingdom of
200 Horsemen of Ilergetes out of *Spain*. And because he should want no manner of Land help, *Tunes*.
fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the Sea- *Inhabitants
coasts. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely, *Bilcd-il-gerid.*
that they would still maintain and continue their wars, 50 Gallies therefore of five banks of oars,
he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no
more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and marriners, and so were the
G five of three banks.

From *Gades*, the army of *Annibal* returned to winter in *Carthage*: and from thence he pas- * Hitona or Me-
sed by the City * *Etovissa*; and marched forward with his forces to *Iberus* and the Sea-coasts. *quienza*.
Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamed, and saw a vision namely a young man of divine The vision of
shape and semblance, saying, That he was sent from *Jupiter* to guide him in his voyage into *Italy*, *Annibal*.
and willed him therefore to follow him, and in no wise to turn his eyes from him one way or
other. Also, that at the first he being scared and affrighted, durst not look either about or behind,
but followed him still: afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when he cast and discoursed in

his mind, what it might be, that he was forbidden so to see behind him, he could not hold and H rule his eyes, but must needs look back: and then he beheld behind him, a serpent of huge greatness coming amain. and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets: and after all that, he perceived a great storm and tempest ensuing, with mighty thunder-claps. Now when he was desirous to know what this so great confusion and strange sight might signify, he heard a voyce, saying, That it betokened the ruins and wasting of *Italy*: willing him therefore, to go still forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave them to the hidden destinies. *Annibal* right joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his whole power, divided into three parts having sent certain before him with gifts and rewards into all parts whereas he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the *Gauls*; and withal, to I seek out and discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the River *Iberus* with 90000 foot, and 12000 Horse, strong. After this, he subdued the Ilergetes, the * Barguſians, * Auſelans, and * Aquitain, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenæi*. The government of all these Nations, he set over to *Hanno* that he might have at his command the streights which joyned *France* and *Spain* together. Unto whom he allowed 10000 footmen, and 1000 horse, for to defend and keep in obedience those countries. After that his army was on foot, and began to march through the forrest *Pyrenæus*, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruit, That they were to make war with the Romans; three thousand footmen of the Carpenats, returned back: and for certain it was known, that they departed not, for fear so much of the war, as the tedious journey and unpassable wayes of the *Alpes*. *Annibal*, considering that either to recal them or to keep K them by violence, was a dangerous matter; for fear lest thereby he should provoke the fierce stomacks of the rest; sent home again above 7000 of such, as he perceived to be weary, and to have no mind to the service; and made semblance withal, that the Carpetans were by his leave discharged. And doubting lest long stay and ease there, might tempt his souldiers and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed *Pyrenæus*, and pitched his camp before the Town * *Illiberis*. The Gauls, albeit they were advertised, that it was *Italy*, at which *Annibal* shot; yet because the bruit was blazed, That the Spaniards beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and strong garrisons placed in their Cities: certain Nations of them, for fear of servitude and bondage, rose up in arms, and assembled together at * *Ruscino*. Which being related to *Annibal*, he fearing more that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight; sent certain L Orators or Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them. "That himself "in person would gladly parle with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they "would come neerer to *Illiberis*, or himself go forward to *Ruscino*: where, being neer together, "they might more easily meet and confer. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp, "and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto "them himself, as one that was thither come as a friend and guest unto *France*, and not as an "enemy; and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the Gauls would let him alone) "before he were entred within *Italy*. And thus much verily passed by messengers and couriers between. But so soon as the Lords of *France*, who presently removed their camp to *Illiberis*, were come willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being bribed and corrupted with money M and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their confines along the Town *Ruscino*.

In *Italy* this while, the Embassadors of *Marseilles* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that *Annibal* was only gone over *Iberus*: but, by that time, the *Boii* had stirred up the Insubrians to mutiny, and were revolted themselves, even as if he had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did not so much upon old rancour and malice to the people of *Rome*, as for that, they took it ill and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the Gauls country, to be planted about * *Padus*, * *Ilvcen tia* and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, took arms, and entred by force into those parts, and made so foul work and fearful havock, that not only the country people and villagers, but also the three Roman Commissioners called Triumvirs, to wit, *Caius* N *Lucetatius*, *Aul. Servilius*, and *Titus Annius*, who were come to set out the Lands and territory to the said Colonies, not trusting the walls of *Placentia*, fled to * *Mutina*. That *Lucetatius* was one of them, it is not doubted: but some records have *Q. Acilius* and *C. Herennius*, instead of *A. Servilius* and *T. Annius*: and others again, nominate *P. Cornelius Asina*, and *C. Papirius Maso*. It is uncertain also, whether they were the Embassadors sent to the * *Boii*, to reason or expostulate the matter, that had abuse offred them, and were evil intreated; or that the Triumvirs above said, were set upon and assailed as they were measuring out the Lands. But whiles they were thus besieged at *Mutina*, and those Boians lying at siege (a nation unskilful altogether in the feat of assaulting Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whiles they lay idly about the wals, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of O a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman Embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chief of the Gauls called out to parle, were not only against law of nations, but with breach also of their faithful promise, and word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the Gauls said plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news touching the Embassadors being reported and *Mutina* with the garison in danger: *L. Manlius* the Prætor, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more hast than good order, before *Mutina*. There were in those dayes great woods about the high way, and most part of the country wilds

* The people of Pertus.
* Morati, in Catalonia.
* Guienne.
* Granada, or Almaria.
† Rousſillon.
* The river Po.
* The City Plaiſance.
* Modena.

A wilds and wasts, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his espials, was intrapped within an ambush; lost many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champain country. There he incamped himself strongly: and for that the Gauls had no heart to assault, nor hope to win the camp, his souldiers courages were refreshed; albeit it was well known that they had received a shrewd foil, and knew their forces to be much impaired. Then began he to march on, in his journey afresh. And so long as he led his power through the open country, the enemies were not in sight: but when they were entred the forrests again, they set upon the rereward of them: where, besides the great fright and damage of all the rest, 800 Roman souldiers were left dead in the place, and the enemies went away with six ensigns. But afterwards the Gauls ceased to molest B and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear. So soon as they were passed, and escaped the rough, cumbrous, and unpassable forrests. And the Romans being now able in the open and champian country to march with safety, made hast to get to * *Tunetus* a village neer unto the *Po*. There within a fort which they made for the time, with the help and provision of victuals by the river and the aid also of certain Gauls called * Brixians they defended themselves against the enemies whose number daily encreased. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the L. of the Senat were advertised, that besides the war with the Carthaginians, the Gauls were up in arms: they gave order, that *C. Attilius* the Prætor should go (with one Roman Legion, and four thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new levy) to aid *Manlius*: who without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) came to *Tunetus*. Also *P.* C *Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Prætor, departed from the City of *Rome*, and passing with 60 Gauls along the coasts of *Tuscany*, *Liguria*, and so forward of the *Salyes*, shortly arrived at *Massilia*, and encamped neer the next month of * *Rhodana*: (for the river is divided into many branches, and so discharged it self into the Sea) being not fully of belief that *Annibal* as yet had passed over the mountains *Pyrenæi*. But when he understood that he was ready even then to pass *Rhodanus* also; and doubting in what place to encounter and meet him. his people as yet not well recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before, 300 chief men of arms, guided by the Massilians, and certain Gauls that came to aid; for to discover all, and to take a full view of the enemies safely without danger.

Annibal having appeased the rest of the country either for fear or by means of mony, was now D come into the country of the * Volcans, a puissant people and a valiant. These inhabit along both the banks of *Rhodanus*: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their Lands against the Carthaginians, on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampier, transported over the *Rhosne* all in manner that ever they had, and kept the bank on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants neer to the River, and even those also in whose territories *Annibal* had set foot already, both he himself with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new vessels: and they of themselves likewise were as willing to have his army transported, and their own country eased and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Whereupon, there was got together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially, which E were made in hast without great workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby used to transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new whirries also, the Gauls began first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees: and after them, the souldiers for that they had both store of timber and saw the workmanship but sleight and easy, made in hast certain bottoms, such as they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handsomeness at all, so they would but flote on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over themselves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all ready for their passage, the enemies on the other side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horse, putting them to much trouble and fear. *Annibal* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno* the son of *Bomilcar*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one dayes journey, with part of the forces, and those most of them Spaniards: and wheresoever he first could espie a convenient place, to cross the river, and to land as secretly as he could: and then to fetch about with his men, that when need were, he might charge upon the back of the enemy. Hereunto were appointed certain Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25 miles above, to a little Iland compassed about with the river, which here spred out in bredth, by reason that it divided it self. and thereby the channel was not so deep: where they shewed him a place of passage. There, in all hast they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats to set over Horse and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more ado, but fastning their apparel to vessels of lether like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, sat aloft and passed over nimbly. The rest of the army also, with joyning planks and troughs together, was set over. Where having encamped neer the river, as being weary with their night journey, and toilsome work, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was occupied to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The morrow after they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed over and not far off. Which when *Annibal* perceived, for that he would not lose the vantage of that time, he gave signal to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen already their boats prepared and fitted. And the course and ranks of barges (which to receive and

break

* Tunedo.
* Of Briscia.
* Rhosne.
* Avignon.

break the force of the current from above, transported the Horsemen, besides the Horses that swam H
after) made for the small boats that passed beneath, a gentle and calm water. For a number of
Horses swam after the ships, haled by the bridle reins which were tied to the poups, besides
those, which being sadled and bridled, and fitted to serve the men of arms so soon as ever they
were landed, were bestowed in barges and ferry boats. The Gauls stood upon the bank with loud
hooping, hollowing, yelling and singing after their manner, who shaking their targets over their
heads, brandishing and florishing their swords in their right hands, shewed themselves ready to
receive them, albeit so great a number and World of barges and boats full in their eye over against
them, together with an hideous roaring of the water, might have scared them: besides sundry
noises of mariners and souldiers, who laboured and strived to break the power and force of the I
water, and who being on the other side of the bank encouraged their fellows that were passing
over. And thus frighted enough as they were, with the tumult and noise presented before their
faces: behold there arose a more fearful and terrible outcry behind their backs, upon the forcing
and winning of their camp by *Hanno*. And himself in person came soon after: so that they were
put in fear on both sides. For not only out of the ships there was a great multitude got to Land,
but also a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls, after
they had made some resistance, and saw they were easily put back; brake through, where they
espied the way to lie most open, and so in great fear they fled divers wayes into their Towns and
Villages. *Annibal* then, having conveied over the rest of his forces by leisure, cared no more
now for any French stirs and tumults, and so encamped himself. But for the transporting of the K
Elephants, I suppose there were sundry devices: and certainly, how ever it was, the thing is di-
versly recorded. Some say, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the bank,
the most couragious and fiercest of them all, was chafed, angred, and raised of purpose by his ma-
ster or keeper: and when he was pursued of the beast, and to save himself fled from him, and
took the River, thereupon the Elephant followed after him as he swam, and so drew after him the
whole drove of the rest: and as any one of them (tearing the depth) failed to wade, the very
force of the River carried him to the other side. But it is more credibly and certainly reported,
that they were conveyed over in certain barges: which as it was a safer way and surer course be-
fore it was practised, so when it was done and past, it was more easily credited. They caused
therefore one vessel or barge, 200 foot long, and 50 foot broad, to reach from the strand side and L
the shore into the River: which because it should not be carried down with the course and
stream of the water, they fastned to the bank above with many strong ropes, and like as it had
been a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beasts might boldly go thereon as upon
the firm ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foot; fir-
ted and appointed to pass the River, and was tied and coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants
(driven after the females going before) upon the steady barge, as it had been upon a causey, were
gone over into the lester which was fastned unto it; then presently was it looked from the bonds
wherewith it was slightly tyed, and so haled and drawn by certain galley boats, directed with oars
through to the other bank. Thus when the first were landed, they went for more still, until they
were all set over: and verily, so long as they were driven on still, as it were upon a long bridge, M
they nothing feared: the formost only were afraid when the barge was loosened, and they par-
ted from their fellows, and so were caried away into the wide and deep River, where throng-
ing and strugling together, and justling one another, they made some trouble, whiles they that
were outmost gave back from the water asmuch as they could, until such time as very fear (when
they saw all about them nothing but water) caused them to be quiet. Some of them also like ra-
ging beasts as they were, and unruly, fell out into the River, but by reason of their heavines, they
stood sure, and casting their Governors, they sought the sounds foot by foot, by little and little,
and got safe to Land.

Whiles the Elephants were thus transporting over, *Annibal* in the mean time had sent 500
Numidian light Horsemen to the Romans camp, as espials to discover the ground, where they N
were to learn what forces they had, and listen after their designs and purposes. This wing and
troop was encountred by three hundred Roman Horsemen, sent as is aforesaid, from the mouth of
Rhodanus: where there was a more cruel skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many
hurt, there were slain on both sides in a manner alike: but in the end, the fear and flight of the
Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, being now already much travailed and wearied: on
whose part (being the winners) were slain 160, not all Romans, but some Gauls: and on the losers
side who were overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognostication as it were
of the war, as it portended and presaged an happy end and success of the whole, unto the Romans:
so it shewed plainly, that the victory would hang long in equal balance, not without much effu-
sion of bloud, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each
one to his own Captain. As for *Scipio*, he could not resolve to take any course himself; but ac-
cording as he saw the plots and enterprizes of the enemy, so to frame his own. And *Annibal* a-
gain being uncertain whether to go forward with his journy begun, into *Italy*, or to give battel
unto the first army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all
present conflict, by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the *Boii*, and of a great Lord and
Potentare, called *Mitalus*; who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and compani-
ons in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and set upon *Italy* first of all before
any

A any other war, whiles forces were entire in heart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them
as it were the first hansel. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former war
was not clean forgot and out of remembrance) feared verily their enemies, but more their infinit
journey, and the *Alps* especially, the name whereof to men not experienced, was very fearful & ter-
rible. Whereupon, *Annibal* being now resolute to march onward in his journey, and to pass into
Italy assembled his people to an audience, and by sundry means, as well by way of rebuke, as also
by encouragement, windeth and assayeth the minds of his souldiers. "I marvel (quoth he) what
"sudden fright or new fear hath possessed your hearts, that ever before now have been undaunted;
"who have served so many years, and alwayes won the victory; who departed not out of *Spain*,
B "before that all those Nations and Lands, which lie enclosed between two divers Seas, were
"brought in subjection to the Carthaginians: who taking indignation and great disdain, that
"the people of *Rome* should require all those to be yeelded unto justice (as offenders and male-
"factors) that had besieged *Saguntum*, have thereupon passed the river *Ierus*, with this intent
"even to destroy and extirp the Roman name, and to set free the whole world out of their servi-
"tude and bondage: no man thought it long then of his travel from East to West, from the setting
"of the sun, to the rising of the same: now when as ye see the greater part (by far) of our journey
"done and past, the forrest and mountain of *Pyrenæus*, amid most fierce and cruel nations surmount-
"ted; that great river *Rhodanus*, passed over, maugre the hearts of so many thousand Gaul: that
"would have impeached your passage, yea, and the force of his main stream over-come: now I say,
C "when you are within the sight of the *Alps*, to the other side whereof heth *Italy* close: ye faint as
"it were, and stand still tired at the very gates of the enemies. Why? what other thing take ye the
"*Alps* to be but high hills? And imagine they be higher than the cliffs of *Pyrenæus*: what? there is
"no land (I am sure) that reaches up to heaven, and no place for men unsuperable. But for the
"*Alps*, they are inhabited, and they are tilled: they breed and feed living creatures and cattel: and
"are they a cessible indeed, and passable for some few, and unpassable for whole armies? There very
"Embassadors whom you see here, flew not over the *Alps* with wings, neither were their an-
"stors time out of mind born and bred there, but came from other parts as strangers, and inhabited
"*Italy* before: yea, and oftentimes have gone over the same *Alps* in huge multitudes, together with
"their wives and children, in manner of travellers and pilgrims that seek new countries to inha-
D "bit: what should there be unpassable then or impossible for the armed souldier, carying about
"him nothing but instruments of war? For the winning of *Saguntum*, what perils were adventu-
"red, what travels were endured and swallowed for eight moneths space? should any thing then
"seem so hard and difficult as to stay them in their enterprise once begun, who aim at no less than
"to conquer *Rome*, the head City of the world? And have the Gauls indeed forced and won
"that in times past, which the Carthaginians despair now to come unto? Therefore, either ye
"must confess your selves inferior in stomack and valor to that nation, which so oft (these dayes
"passed) by you have been vanquished: or else make reckoning with assured hope, that the goodly
"fair fields that lie between *Tyberis* and the walls of *Rome*, are the end of your journey.

When in these terms he had exhorted and encouraged his souldiers, he commanded them to
E take their repast and repose, to cherish and refresh their bodies, and to prepare themselves for
the march. The morrow after he departed cross from the banks of *Rhodanus*, and entred the in-
land parts of *France*: not for that it was the more direct way to the *Alps*, but because he thought
the further he went from the Sea side, in so much lesse danger he should be of meeting the Ro-
mans, with whom he was not minded to fight, before he was arrived into *Italy*. After that he had
travelled four dayes journey, he came to an Iland, where the two rivers * *Arar* and *Rhodanus*, issu-
ing out of sundry parts of the *Alps*, and taking a direct course, after they have run through a good
part of the country, fall at length together and meet in one and the ground lying between is called
by the name of the Iland. Neer there, inhabit the * *Allobroges*, a Nation even in those dayes
F of the Gauls whatsoever. But at that very time there was some discord and varian e among them,
by occasion of two brethren who were at strife for the crown and Kingdom: the elder (whose
name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Seignory) was deposed and thrust out by his
younger brother, and a lusty crew of the youth; who as they had less right on their side, so they
were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was referred and put over unto *Annibal*, in as
good and fit a time for his purpole, as he could have wished: and he forsooth was made the um-
pire and judge, to determine whether of them should be King: who restored the elder to the
Kingdom; like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the
country. For which benefit and good turn, he was served with victual, and store of all things
abundantly, yea, and with rayment and apparel, which he was driven to provide aforehand, for
G the name that went of the *Alps*, which for their coldnes were in great discredit.

Having thus appeased the debate of the Allobroges, and minding now to set forward to the
Alps; he would not go the direct streight way, but turned on the left hand to the * Tricastins,
and from thence passing by the frontiers of the * Vocontians, he marched into the * Tricorians;
and never was he stayed or impeached in his journey before that he came to the River * *Druentia*,
which descending also out of the *Alps*, is of all other Rivers in *France* most hard to be passed
over: for although it carry with it a mighty force of water, yet will it bear no vessel, because it is
kept and restreined with no banks, but running at once by many divers chanels, maketh ever
new

* The River *Saone*.

* The people of *Savoy* according to *Sabellicus*. But *Dauphiny*, after *Merula*, *Rhamnusius*, and others.

* *Entrecastraux* in *Provance*, saith *Vigenerus*.
* *Val de visse*, or the country of *Bisset*.
* Those of *Crauz*.
* *Durance*.

new foords, and casteth up new sheives and whirl-pits, (for which cause also a footman hath much ado to wade therethrough, and knoweth not the foords) besides, it rolleth down round stones and pibbles, whereby there is no sure nor safe footing for him that would wade through. And it chanced at that time, that it swelled and was risen high by fall of rain, and by land-floods, and caused them to have very much to do, that passed over it: and over and besides all other difficulties, they were of themselves troubled and disquieted through their own fearfulness and sundry cries which they made. *Publius Cornelius* the Consul, about three dayes after that *Annibal* dislodged from the bank of *Rhodanus*, was arrived with his army (arranged in a foursquare battel) as far as the place where the enemy was lately encamped, purposing without any stay to give him battel. But seeing the hold abandoned, and that he was not like to overtake him, being so far gone forwards; he returned to his ships at Sea, supposing by that means, with lesse danger and difficulty, to encounter *Annibal* as he descended from the *Alps*. But lest that *Spain* (which was the Province allotted unto him) should be left disfurnished of Roman succours, he sent his brother *Cn. Scipio* with the greatest part of his forces against *Asdrubal*: not so much to defend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive *Asdrubal* out of *Spain*. Himself with a very small company returned to **Genua*, with intent to guard *Italy*, with that army which was about the *Po*.

* Genis.

Annibal being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the most part through the champion countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the *Alps*, for any trouble from the peasants that there inhabited. And albeit he had some knowledge of the *Alps* before by report, (which useth to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet seeing now neer at hand the height of those Hills, and the snows, entermingled along with the skie; the rude and mishapen houses set upon rocks; the cattel, sheep, oxen, and horses, singed with cold; the people with long shagg'd hair, and without any trimming, both living and liveless creatures, even parched, stiff and stark with frost; and all things else more strange and disfavoured, than can be spoken: then began his souldiers to fear afresh. So soon as they advanced forward, and began to march up the first cliffs, there appeared over their heads the mountain people, who had seized the Hills: who if they had kept the secret and hidden vallies, and suddenly all at once charged upon them, they would have made a foul slaughter of them, and put them to flight. Then *Annibal* commandeth the ensigns to stand still, and sent certain Gauls afore, as espials; by whom he understood, that there was no passage that way: whereupon, he pitched his camp amongst those craggy and steep rough places, upon as large a plain and valley as he could find. Then by the same Gauls (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the other, and had entermingled themselves in talk with the mountainers) he understood, that they kept the passage, but in the day time, and slipt away in the night every one to his own harbour. So at the break of day he mounted those steep hills. as if he would openly in the day time march through the streights. Thus having spent the day in making semblance and shew of one thing, and intending another, he encamped himself strongly in the place where he had rested and staid: and so soon as he perceived, that the mountain people were departed from the steep hills, and kept not so streight watch and ward: after that he had made shew of fires, more than for the number of those that remained behind; and left with the Cavalry all the bag and baggage, with the greatest part of the footmen: himself in person took unto him the nimblest, most active, and valiant souldiers lightly appointed, and with all speed passed through the streights aforesaid, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beset. Then in the morning betime his camp dislodged: and the army behind, began to march and set forward. By which time the mountainers, at the ordinary signal given, came forth out of their Castles and Forts, and met at the usual place of their accustomed guards: but then all at once they might see some of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own fortress, and others also marching in the way. Both which objects at one time presented to their eye, made them blank and to stand still in a muse a good while. But afterwards, when they saw *Annibal* his army, distressed in the streights, and in great trouble and disorder among themselves in the march, by reason especially the horses were so affrighted: supposing, that the least fear and terror (besides) that they could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confusion, they crossed the rocks overthwart, and (as they were accustomed and used to them) ran to and fro, up and down through the blind and unhaunted byways. But then verily, the Carthaginians were much encumbred, as wellby their enemies, as also by the disadvantage of the place, and more ado there was among them (whiles every one strove who should first escape the danger) than with the enemy. There was nothing that disordered and troubled the army in the march, so much as their own horses, which (by reason of the dissonant and divers cryes, that the ecchoes between the woods and vallies redoubled) were affrighted: and also if any of them chanced to be stricken, galled, or wounded; they kept such winsing, and flinging about them, that they overthrew and made great havock of men, and of all sorts of carriage. Besides, the press was so great, and the streights of both sides so steep and craggy, that many a man was thrown down head-long a mighty height: yea, and some of them armed: and the sumpter horses and beasts for carriage especially tumbled down amain with their load, as if a house or Castle had come down with a mischief. Which, although it were terrible to behold, yet *Annibal* for a while stood still and kept his own men together, for fear of encreasing this disorder and affright. But after that he saw his army disbanded and marching in disarray, and that it was to no purpose to lead his army safe through the streights, if he lost the carriages: for fear hereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeit, with the violence of his charge, he discomfited the enemy, yet he encreased the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was soon appeased in a very moment, after the wayes and passages were once cleared, by reason of the Mountainers that were fled: so that within a while the whole host passed through, not only at ease and leisure, but also in a manner without any noise at all. This done, he seized upon a Castle, which was the chief strength of that country, with other villages lying about it: and for three dayes space he victualled and maintained his whole army, with the Cattel of his prisoners. And for that he was now neither molested with the Mountainers, who were at the first discomfited, nor greatly encumbred with the difficulties of the wayes, in those three dayes he rid a good deal of ground, and journeied a great way into the country; until at the length he came to another coast well peopled (for such Mountain and Hilly quarters;) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his own professed cunning: first, by a subtile practise, and after by a secret ambush. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governours of the Castles, repaired unto *Annibal* as Orators, saying, That they having been taught and made wise, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choice, rather to trye the amity, than prove the force of the Carthaginians: and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his devotion: requesting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hostages also for better assurance of promises to be performed. *Annibal* neither overhastily believing them, nor yet churlishly distrusting and refusing their offer, lest being rejected and cast off, they might become open and professed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hostages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but so, as his army was not disarrayed in their march, as if he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable countrey. First, went in the van-guard the Elephants, and the Horsemen; himself marched after with the flower and strength of his Footmen, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So soon as he was entred a narrow passage, which of the one side lay under a steep Hill that commanded them aloft, the barbarous people rose out of their ambush from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neer at hand; yea, and rolled down mighty huge stones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind upon their backs: against whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tail both of his army, had not been strong and well fortified) they must needs have received in that lane and streights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a present mischief. For whiles *Annibal* made long stay; and doubted whether he should engage the Regiment of footmen within the streights, for that he had not left any succours in the rereguard to back the footmen, like as himself was a defence to the Horsemen: the mountainers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battel, beset the way, and crossed upon him. So that *Annibal* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horsemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more outdaringly than before, he joyned his forces together, and passed the streight not without great damnage and loss; but with more hurt of the sumpter Horses than of men. After this the Mountainers (fewer in number and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) ran in heaps one while upon the vanguard, other while upon the rereward, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by staying another while behind, win and catch any occasion and opportunity. The Elephants, as they were driven with great leisure, because through these narrow streights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their noses: so what way soever they went, they kept the army safe and sure from the enemies; who being not used unto them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the *Alps*, through by-lanes and blind cranks: after he had wandred many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guids; or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vailies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two dayes abode he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the souldiers wearied with travel and fight rested that time: certain also of the sumpter Horses (which had slipt aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, came to the camp. When they were thus overtoiled and wearied with these tedious travels, the snow that fell (for now the star *Vergily*, was set and gone down out of that horizon) increased their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the ensigns were set forward, and the army marched slowly, through the thick and deep snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slothfulness and desperation: *Annibal* advanced before the standards, and commanded his souldiers to stay upon a certain high Hill, (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them) and there shewed unto them *Italy*, and the goodly champian fields about the *Po*, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine Mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals not only of *Italy*, but also of the City of *Rome*; as for all besides (saith he) will be plain and easy to be travelled: and after one or two batels at the most, ye shall have at your command the very Castle and head City of all *Italy*. Then began the army to march forward: and as yet the enemies verily themselves adventured nothing at all, but some petty robberies by stealth, as opportunity and occasion served.

How-

Howbeit they had much more difficult travailing down the hill, than in the climbing and getting up; for that most of the passages to the *Alps* from *Italy* side, as they be shorter, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well Horse as Man. After this they came to a much narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep downright, that hardly a nimble souldier without his armor and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of it self steep and pendant with a down-fall, now was choked and dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous height. There the Horsemen stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when *Annibal* marveiled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they marched not on: word was brought him that the Rock was unaccessible and unpassable. Whereupon he went himself in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compass about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his army, to passe through wilds, and such places as before had never been beaten and troden. And verily that (of all other) was such, as it was impossible to pass through. For, whereas there lay old snow untouched and not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a small depth; in this soft and tender snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold: but that snow, being once with the going of so many people and beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were fain to go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the slabbery snow-broth, as it relented and melted about their heels. There they had foul ado and much strugling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slippery ice: and again going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees; if they chanced to fall again, when those their props and stayes deceived them, there were no twigs nor roots about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poor beasts could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the slippery and glasse ice, and the molten slabby snow. Otherwhiles also, they perished as they went in the deep snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once slidden and fallen, with flinging out their heels, and beating with their hoofs more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the ice through; so as most of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck still in the deep, hard frozen, and congealed ice. At last, when as both man and beast were wearied and overtoiled, and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado cleared the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be digged, shovelled, and thrown out. This done, the souldiers were brought to break that rock through which was their only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind served fitly for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereon strong Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with picke-axes, and made the descent gentle and easy, by means of moderat windings and turnings: so as not only the Horses and other beasts, but even the Elephants also might be able to go down. Four dayes he spent about the levelling of this rock: and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grass; and look what forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers with al, neer unto the woods, yea, and places more meet and beseeming for men to inhabit. There were the labouring beasts put out to grass and pasture, and the souldiers that were wearied with making the wayes, had three dayes allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain country, where they found both the place more easy and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants more tractable.

In this manner and by this means principally, entred the Carthaginians into *Italy*, five months after they departed from new *Carthage* (as some write:) and within fifteen dayes overcame and passed the *Alps*. What power *Annibal* had, when he was arrived in *Italy*, the historians do not agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong: they that make the least of it, say they were 20000 foot, and 6000 horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who hath delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by *Annibal* (a writer of great authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that he setteth down the number of consusedly, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recordeth, that counting them, the Infantry was 80000, and the Cavalry 10000, which was conducted into *Italy*. (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some Authors do report) and that he heard from *Annibal* his own mouth, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 36000 men, and a great number of Horses and other beasts of burden, when he was come down into the Taurins Country, which was the next Nation in *Italy*, adjoyning to the Gauls. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which side he went over the *Alps*: and that commonly it is believed, that he passed by a place called *Penninum*, and that thereupon the top of the *Alps* took the name, and was so called. *Celius* saith, he took his way over by the top of *Cremon*: both which passages surely would have brought

A brought him not into the Taurins country, but through the mountain forrests, unto the Gauls called *Libui*. But neither is it probable, that in those days the same passages were open into *France*: considering, that the wayes which lead to *Penninum* were environed with nations half Germans. And certainly the Veragrians, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build ought upon this conjecture, never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the Carthaginians, that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the peasants and mountainers called *Pennunum*.

Very happily and fitly it fell out for the enterprise of his first designments, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto, made war upon the Insubrians. But *Annibal* being busied in refresh-
B ing his army (that now had most feeling of their harms which they had caught before) could not arm the same to the aid and gratifying of either party: for ease after travel, plenty upon scarcity, good keeping and delicate, after loathsome nastiness, did by a sudden change greatly alter and distemper their lean and pined bodies, well neer savage and wild grown. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pisa*, after he had received of *Manlius Attilius* an army of new and raw souldiers, fearful for some shameful disgrace and defeat lately received, made haste and highed him to the *Po*, for to give battel unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had dislodged and removed his camp, and won by assault the chief City or Town of the Taurins, because it willingly yeelded not to accept of his amity and protection; and surely not by fear only,
C but also of voluntary good will, he had gained unto him the Gauls that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sudden coming of the Consul interrupted and surprized them, as they were casting about to spie some opportunity of rebellion. So *Annibal* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurins country, with this opinion, that the Gauls especially, being doubtful as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in sight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well known one unto the other, so they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration one of the other. For as *Annibal* was much renowned, and his name right well known among the Romans, even since before *Saguntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and reputed for some
D singular and excellent man, in that he especially above all other, was chosen General against him. Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behind in *France*, yet he met *Annibal*, and was ready to make head against him, so soon as he was passed the *Alps*: and *Annibal* again, because having enterprised so great an adventure, as to pass the *Alps*, and now brought the same to good effect. But *Scipio* to prevent *Annibal* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Ticinus*: and for to encourage his souldiers, before he brought them forth to battel, he made an Oration unto them, and began in this manner.

"My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, if I were now to lead that army into the field, which "I had with me in *France*, I would have forborn to make any speech at all unto you; for to what "purpose needed I to exhort, either that Cavalry, which so valiantly had vanquished the horse-
E "men of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as it "were, even these very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battel, I take to be a confession "of victory? But now for as much as that army, being indeed levied for the province *Spain*, "serveth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commission, where it pleaseth the Senat "and people of *Rome*, they should be employed, to the end that ye might have a Consul to be "your Captain, against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, I have willingly offered my self to this "war. If being then, your new Captain, and you my new souldiers, meet it is and convenient "I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the "manner of this service, or quality of your enemy: with those men ye are to fight, whom in the "former Punick war ye overcame both by land and sea: of whom for these twenty years ye have "received tribut; from whom ye have won (as the due wages and reward of the war) *Sicily* "and *Sardinia* both, and them do hold and occupy. In this battel therefore, both you and they "are to carry that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and losers are to be: for never think that "it is valor and hardiness that provoketh them now to fight, but meer necessity and compulsion "enforceth them to the field. Unless you wil believe, that they who when they had an entire army "and unfoiled, refused battel, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they "have lost two parts of their horse and foot, in the very passage of the *Alps*; and of whom, there "have more perished in a manner, then remain alive. But will some man say, True it is, few they "are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whose strength & puissance, no force is hardly "able to abide. Images they are, nay, to say more truly, the very shadows of men, and no better; "with hunger bitten, with cold starved, lost for want of keeping, spoiled with nastiness, and filthy "ordure, bruised and weakned amongst hard rocks and craggy cliffs: over and besides, joints and "marrow dried up and burnt, their sinews shrunk, hard, and stiff again with cold and chilling "snow, their limbs singed with bitter frost, their armor crushed, bruised, and their weapons bro-"ken; their horses, no other then lame jades and poor hide-bound Tits. See what horsemen, lo "what footmen ye are to fight with al. Beleeve me, ye shall have the very reliques and last rem-"nants of enemies and not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing fear I more than this, that "before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the *Alps* already have

"vanquished and defeated *Annibal*. But peradventure it was so meet, and reason would, that
"the gods themselves without mans help, should against that Captain and nation, which had bro-
"ken leagne and covenants, begin the war first, let it in good forwardnes, and bring it to the point
"of an end; and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should finish
"the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to so good a pass. I fear not that any man here
"doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only for to hearten you, and that my
"self think otherwise in heart, then I speak with tongue. I might have gone my self well enough
"into *Spain*, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been aforetime) and with an army
"of mine own: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my distresses, and
"a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Asdrubal* rather then *Annibal* mine enemy, and I
"no doubt the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I sailed by the coast of
"*France*, and upon the bruit and news of this enemy was set a land, I sent my Cavalry before, and
"removed camp as far as to *Rhodanus*, and in a battel of horsemen (for with that part of my forces
"it was my hap to encounter and fight) I discomfited the enemy: and for that by land I could
"not overtake his Infantry, (so hastily they marched away, like men that fled) I was fain to return
"to the sea and embark again into my ships: and with as great expedition and speed as I could
"make (considering so great a compass about of sea and land) at the very foot of the *Alps*, I was
"ready to encounter and affront him. Can it be thought then, that whiles I shunned and avoided
"fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and redoubted enemy? or rather, that
"I followed him hard at heels, and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battel, thereby to
"have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make tryal, whether
"all of a sudden the earth hath brought forth or these twenty years, Carthaginians, of another
"mould or new stamp: or whether they be the same that fought neer the Islands *Ægates*, and
"whom yet not sent away and let go from *Eryx*, valued after the rate of 18. * demers a piece, and no
"more: and fain would flee, whether this *Annibal* be the concurrent of *Hercules*, to undertake
"this joyneys and voyages, as he saith himself: or one left by his father a tributary, a vassal, and
"a slave of the people of *Rome*: who but that he is tolerated in confidence for the outrage and
"and cruelty committed upon *Saguntum* would have some respect and regard, if not of his na-
"tive country (conquered and divided by lot of his own house of the peace and covenants writ-
"ten by his father *Amilcar*, and his own hand) at least of pity; who at the commandment of our
"Consul, removed his garrison from *Eryx* (who fearing and storming, received with sorrowful
"heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians;
"who capitulated and covenanted to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay a tribut to the people of *Rome*: I
"would have you therfore (my hardy souldiers) to fight against him, not only with the same cou-
"rage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of choler & indignation, as if you should
"see your own servants and slaves on a sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might well, if we
"had been so minded, when they were enclosed and shut fast within *Eryx*, have put them to the
"utmost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our
"victorious Armado into Africk, and within few days forced and razed *Carthage*, without any
"battel fought. We pardoned them at their humble requests, and took them to mercy: we set them M
"out where they were besieged and beleaguered; and notwithstanding that they were by us sub-
"dued, we made peace, and contracted amity with them: and afterward, when they were mole-
"sted and distressed with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recom-
"pence of these good favours and demerits, they come against us, under the leading of an humo-
"rous brain-sick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had
"pleased God, that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety
"and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
"as in times past: but for our freehold, and the inheritance of *Italy*: and that which more is,
"there is no army behind our backs to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance
"to fail of victory: neither are there any more *Alps*, which while he is getting over, we might have N
"leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place (souldiers)
"must we stand to it, and make resistance, as if we were fighting under *Rome* walls. Let every man
"think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and little chil-
"dren: and let every one regard and take care, not for his privat affairs and domestical charge,
"but often consider this, That even now the Senat and people of *Rome* beholdeth and seeth our
"hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it self, such from
"henceforth will the state and fortune be of that City and Empire of *Rome*.

These words had the Consul to the Romans. But *Annibal*, supposing that his men were first to be encouraged by representation of some deeds, & then exhorted with words having marshalled his army in a round compass (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst of them all, the prisoners mountainers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and casting down at their feet the armor and weapons of the Gauls he demanded of them by a truchman, or interpreter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would wish no better, and not one of them but called for a sword, & required to fight: and therupon, the lots were shuffled to be cast, & not one there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat.

Then

A Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerfulnes and contentment of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and so (hastily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same state and condition, as also in those who stood there as spectators only in the multitude to look on; that no less happy and fortunat were they accounted, who'e chance it was to die in the place, then those who had the upper hand. Upon the sight of some couples that were thus matched in combat, he dismissed them and whiles he saw them in this good mind, so well affected and resolute, then he assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he spake unto them.

B "My valorous souldiers, if in the consideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but bear
"that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the state of others; the jour-
"ney is ours, and we have the victory. For that was not a dumb shew and bare pageant, but a ve-
"ry mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compassed
"about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your own selves, or your prisoners. On both
"hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed ye are, and shut up within two seas; and have not so
"much as one ship to embark in for to escape away, and save your selves. Before you neer at hand
"is the *Po*, a greater river; and more violent then *Rhodanus*; behind you are the *Alps* to hem you
"in; the *Alps*. I say, which ye hardly passed when you were in heart and lusty. Here must ye
"either get victory (sirs) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountred your enemy: and
C "the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight presenteth and proffereth unto you
"(if you go away with victory) such rewards, as men use not to wish for greater and more hono-
"rable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour we should but reco-
"ver and win again *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which were got from our fathers; those were rewards
"and prizes sufficient: but now, over and besides what riches or treasure the Romans in so many
"triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours, yea, and the owners
"thereof themselves withal. Go to it then a Gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining
"so rich a booty and reward. Ye have all this while been long enough a coursing and chasing
"the wild beasts in the wide and defart mountains of * *Lusitania* and * *Celtiberia*, and have seen * Portugal.
"no recompence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to serve in * Biscay, or as some think Arragon.
D "the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your labour
"and painful service; you that have measured so long a voyage, passed over so many mountains
"and rivers, and marched through so many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where
"fortune hath set down the utmost bound, and pitched the farthest point & limit of your labors;
"here will she give you a condigne recompence and salary, after you have served and followed
"the wars the full time by order and law required. Never think that the victory will be so hardly
"atchieved, as the war in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no rec-
"koning and regard, hath given a bloody battel; yea, most noble States, most renowned and
"glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an hand been overthrown. For, setting aside this
"goodly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you
"to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years spent with such
"valour and happy success: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds
"of the earth, through so many nations of *Spain*, and most fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus
"far with victory. And now shall ye fight with an army of new and untrained souldiers, who no
"longer ago then this very summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished and besieged by
"the Gaulsian army (to say a truth) not known at all to their own Captain & as little acquainted
"with him. And to speak of mine own person, if not born yet at least wise brought up in the very
"tent and royal pavilion of my father (a most noble warrior and renowned Captain of his time)
"who have subdued *Spain*, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the *Alps* but that
"which is much more, the very *Alps* themselves. Should I make comparison between my selfe,
"and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto
"whom, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romans together, without
"their ensigns and colours, he could not tell, I dare well say, of whether army he were the lea-
"der and Consul. For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is
"not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often seen and beheld my self in person, per-
"forming some warlike and military exploit; and unto whom I (as beholder and eye witness of
"his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & service. Then ye praised and
"commended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & presents. And even I (who
"have been a souldier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General) will march in
"battel against them, that know not one another, and are unknown likewise unto their Captain.
"Which way soever I turn and cast mine eys, me thinks, I see all full of couragious stomack, and
"forcible puissance. The footmen, old beaten and practised souldiers lances and men of arms, with
"hard horses, and the light horsemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardy and valiant Nations:
"of one side, most faithful and resolute allies; on the other, doughty Carthaginians, ready to
"fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. We come of our
"selves to make war, and we defend into *Italy* with banners displayed, resolved to fight with
"so much more courage, as they commonly who are assailants, have greater stomack and more
"hope then the defendants. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked

"on and provoked with sense of injuries and indignities. First and formost they required, that I
"your General should be delivered unto them, as a condemned prisoner at the bar: then they
"would have had all you that were at the assault of *Saguntum*, yeelded up into their hands, to be
"put to most extream torture & execution. A people they are, ful of all excessive cruelty, insolent
"and proud beyond all measure; they would have but all in their power, and at their disposition:
"they must prescribe, limit, and set down, with whom we should war; with whom we may
"make peace; restraining and enclosing us within the tearms and bounds of hills and rivers;
"which, forsooth, we must not pass: and they themselves keep not the limits which they appoint.
"Pass not (say they) *Iberus* in any wise; meddle not at all with the Saguntins; come not neer
"them, *Saguntum* standeth upon the river *Iberus*, step not one foot forward, we advise you. It
"sufficeth not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, *Sicily* and *Sardi-*
"*nia*, unless they may have away *Spain* too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that
"Realm also, they would not stay there, but will pass over straight into *Africk*: nay, they have
"sent over this year already two Consuls, the one into *Africk*, the other into *Spain*: nothing
"have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the swords point. Well may
"they be cowards, and play the idle lusks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their
"own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through wayes
"without danger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make
"account of no mean deigns between victory and death, but upon certain despair of all shifts be-
"sides, either to obtain victory; or if fortune shall fail and give us the foil, chuse rather to die figh-
"ting, than to be killed flying. If this be setled and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your
"resolution, I will say once again, The day is yours. A more poinant and sharper goad, than
"this, to provoke men to victory, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the souldiers hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romans made a bridg over *Ticinus*: and for defence of the bridg, erected a sconce and fort thereupon. But *Annibal* while the enemies were buisie at work, sent *Maharbal* with a Cornet of Numidians, to the number of 500. light horsemen, to overrun and waste the territories belonging to the allies of the people of *Rome*: commanding him withal, to make as great spare of the Gauls as he could, and to sollicit and perswade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridg was finished, the Roman army passed over into the Insubrians country, encamped themselves upon certaine hills, five miles off from a village where *Annibal* also lay in camp: who seeing there was a battel toward, sent speedily for *Maharbal* back again, and the horsemen: and thinking belike, that he could never say enough to his souldiers, and admonish them sufficiently to do well and animate them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience; where he proposed, and promised unto them openly, certain assured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight manely, *Imprimis*, that he would endow them with fair lands in *Italy*, *Africk*, or *Spain*, where they would themselves to have, and to enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, as free hold in frank tenure, without service: if any one would chuse to have money rather then land him he would content with silver. *Item*, of the allies, as many as hereafter were desirous to be enfranchised Citizens of *Carthage*, they should have their free burgeosie: & those that had a mind rather to return home again, he would endeavor and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would wish for to exchage his state with any of his neighbors and countrimen whatsoever. Last of all, look what bond-servants attended and followed their masters, to them he promised freedom: and that in lieu of them, he would deliver again unto their masters, two for one, of the slaves taken captives in war. And that they might be assured, that he would perform all these promises, he held with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flint stone, and prayed solemnly, That if he failed herein, *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods, would so kill him, as he slew that Lamb: and presently after his prayer done, he smote the Lamb on the head, and dasht out the brains. Whereat they all every one, conceived and embraced assured hope unto themselves, that the gods said *Amen* and were on their side: and supposing that the only stay of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their rewards, was, because they had not fought already; with one heart and voice they called for battel.

The Romans for their part were nothing so lusty: for besides other things, they were affrighted with new prodigies and fearful sights. For it hapned that a Wolf entred their camp, & after he had worried and torn those that came in his way, escaped unhurt. Also a swarm of Bees setled upon a tree that grew over the General's pavilion. Which strange tokens being purged and cleared by an expiatory sacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavalry and darts lightly appointed, went toward the camp of the enemy to view their forces, and to observe how many and of what condition and quality they were: and there he encountred *Annibal*, who also was gone forth with his horsemen to discover the country about. At the first they saw not one another but afterwards, by reason of the thick dust that rose upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached neer. On both sides the battaillons made a stand, and every man buckled himself to the skirmish. *Scipio* placed his Archers and horsemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and strength of Allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the reregard. *Annibal* set in this battel, his great barbed horses with his lances and men of arms, and strengthned the wings with Numidian horsemen. The very first charge and shout was scarce done, when the Archers aforesaid retired among the rereguard in the second battaillon: by occasion wherof, the horsmen alone fought a good while in equal

A qual battel: yea, and afterwards, because the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and disordered the horses, many either fell, or else alighted from their horses, to go thither where they saw their fellows to be environed and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, shewed themselves behind the backs of the Romans: this fearful sight troubled them greatly, and the fear was encreased by reason of the Consul his hurt; the extream danger wherof, was put by and avoided by the rescue of his son (then a very stripling as yet, and scarce had any hair upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happy ending this war, surnamed afterwards (upon the noble victory and memorable conquest over *Annibal* and the Carthaginians) *Africanus*. But the Archers were they that fled fastest away, even those whom the Numidians set upon first. The rest that were horsemen, keeping thick and close together, recovered their Consul within their files into the midst of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him back safe unto the camp: retiring all the way neither disorderly, nor like fearful men over hastily. The honor of saving the Consul, *Cœlius* attributeth unto a bondslave of *Liguria*. But I verily would rather beleeve it of the son: which also the greater number of authors do affirm, but the common fame goeth of the said bondslave. This was the first battel with *Annibal*: wherein it easily appeared that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field such as were between the *Po* and the *Alps*, were not so good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore, *Scipio* commanded his souldiers secretly
C without any noise to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and removed from *Ticinus*, and made haste to *Po*: that whiles his boats were not yet unlooded one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same back again. And they came to *Placentia* before that *Annibal* knew they were departed from *Ticinus*; howbeit, he took some of them that made stay on the hither side of the bank, as they were too slow about disjoining and loosening the foresaid bridg of boats: upon which he could not pass over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all, went down the water with the stream. *Cœlius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horses, and Spanish
D footmen, presently, swam over the river; and that *Annibal* himself led over his army at the upper foords of *Po*: for which purpose, he set the Elephants along on arow to break and bear off the violence and stream of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it soundeth not like a truth, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe, could overcome so great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather vessels, and besides, they had needed many days to fetch a compass for to find the foords of *Po*, over which, the army (laden with carriage) might be conveighed. But those authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that scarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spanish light horsemen were sent that way over before.

Whiles *Annibal* on this side of the River, staid in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls,
E he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, *Mago* and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one * days journey apace toward the enemies at *Placentia*. And *Annibal* (few days after) encamped himself strongly six miles from *Placentia*: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battel. The night following there was a petty massacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboil and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, having slain the warders at the gates, fled away to *Annibal*: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawn them on, in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his own City and Country, to sollicit and perswade their countrimen to side with him. *Scipio* taking that massacre as a foretoken and overture to the Gauls
F revolt in general: and supposing, that now being once guilty and tainted with this offence, they would in a madness run all to take arms and rise. Although still he were sore of his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched stilly, and removed his camp neer the river Trebia, into the higher countries, and hills, that were more troublesom for men of arms. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at *Ticinus*. For *Annibal* having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavalry; without question had disordered and endammaged the rereward, but that the Numidians for greediness of prey and booty, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forsaken of the Romans. Where, whiles they spent time in ransacking and rifling every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the stay) the enemy escaped their hands. And
G when as they had espied that the Romans were newly got over Trebia, and pitched out a plot for a camp, they intercepted a few of them that lingred about the river, and slew them. *Scipio* not able now to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reason of the shaking and shogging of his body as he travelled, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consul his Collegue, (whom he heard already to be sent for out of *Sicile*) chose out a place neer the river which seemed most safe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. *Annibal* also lay not far off in camp: who as he was proud upon the late battel of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of victuals, which scarcity encreased upon him every day more and more,

* About 25 English miles, as appeareth before in this book.

as he travelled through the enemies country, finding in no place provision aforehand. Whereupon, he went to *Clastidium*, a town wherein the Romans had bestowed and laid up great store of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to force the town, there appeared some hope of treason, by corrupting of *P. Brundisinus*, the captain of the garrison there, and that with no great sum of money; for in consideration only of 400. peeces of gold given unto him, *Clastidium* was betrayed unto *Annibal*: the very storehouse and garner of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in leaguer neer *Trebia*. Upon those prisoners that were taken when the garrison and sort was betrayed, he exercised no cruelty, because that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himself a name and opinion of clemency.

Whiles the war by land continued thus at *Trebia*, there had been some warlike exploits atchieved both by sea and land about *Sicily*, and the Islands that lie against *Italy* neer unto it, both by *Sempronius* the Consul, and also before his coming. Twenty gallies with five ranks of Oars and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and waste the coasts of *Italy*. Nine of them arrived at * *Lipara*: eight fell with the Island of *Vulcan*, and three were driven by tempest into the straights of *Sicily*. Against them being descryed within kenning, there were twelve ships set out from * *Messana*, by *Hiero* King of the Saracusians, who hapned at that time to be in *Messana*, attending the Roman Consul his coming; and without any resistance made he boorded those three ships, and brought them away into the Haven of *Messina*. By those that were taken prisoners, it was known that besides the twenty ships aforesaid, sent against *Italy* (of which Fleet they were) 35 gallies of five courie of Oars, made sail for *Sicily*, to sollicit and perswade the old allies there to revolt. *Item*, that the especial point and design that they shot at, was to seize upon * *Lilybæum*: but they thought verily that by the same gust or tempest wherein they were scattered, that other Fleet also was cast upon the Island *Ægates*. And according to this intelligence, the King from *Messa* writeth to *Æmylius* the Roman Pretor or Governor of *Sicily*, advising him to keep a strong garrison in *Lilybæum*: whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all speed to all the Cities about, to give order, that their people might be in readiness, to keep good ward, and above all, to hold *Lilybæum* sure. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the sailers and marriners should bring into the ships ten days provision of victuals and meat ready dressed, to the end that upon the signal given at an hours warning, without all delay, they should a shipboord: Also that all that dwelt along the coast, should from their sentinels, watch-towers, and beacons, espy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpose stayed the course of their ships, that they might come just before day to *Lilybæum*) they were discovered, both for that the Moon shone all night, and also because they came under sail which they had hoised up. So soon therefore as the signal was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm cried in the town, the mariners were soon imbarked the souldiers also were bestowed, some to man and guard the wals, and guard the gates, others to serve in the ships. But the Carthaginians perceiving, they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) forbare to enter the haven until day, and imployed the time in striking sails, in untackling their ships, and preparing them for a battel. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deep, to have sea roome enough to fight and that the enemies ships might have free egress out of the haven. The Romans for their part refused not battel, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and trusting also upon the number and valour of their souldiers. They were not so soon lanched into the open sea, but the Romans were desirous to grapple, and to come close to hand fight: but contrariwise, the Carthaginians held off aloof, willing to proceed by cunning and policy more then by strength and meer force; and to make trial rather of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, then either of the proweſs of men, or goodness of armor: for as their Fleet was sufficiently furnished, and to the full, with a multitude of marriners, so was it ill provided of souldiers: and wheresoever they grappled together, and came to hand-fight, they had not an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number; the other side again were discouraged and out of heart, for their default of souldiers. Insomuch as seven Carthaginian gallies were soon invested round and boorded, the rest fled. Of souldiers and marriners together, 1700. were in them taken; amongst whom, there were three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Roman fleet still entire and whole, save one vessel only that was bouged and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

Presently after this battel, and before that they of *Messana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Consul arrived at *Messana*: and as he entred within the found King *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furnished and richly decked, and coming forth of his royal ship into the Admiral of the Consuls he welcomed him and rejoyced for the safe return of his men and ships, and prayed God that his voyage into *Sicily* might prove happy and fortunate. Then shewed he unto him the present estate, and the affairs of the Island; opened the designments of the Carthaginians; and promised withal, that with as good a mind and sound heart, as in the former war against the Carthaginians when he was a young man, he had aided the people of *Rome*: so now in his old age he would assist them: and for proof hereof, he would of his own free cost furnish both the Consuls legions, and also the marriners with corn and rayment. Among other matters he informed him how *Lilybæum*, and other Cities on the sea coast were in great danger, by reason of some

* *Liparæ*, one of the Islands *Æolie*.
* *Vulcano*, another of the same Islands.
* *Messina*.
* *Marsalla* a City in *Sicily*, and a Cape there, called the *Eye* of *Sicily*.

some among them that desired a change and alteration. Whereupon the Consul thought good to make no delay, but to set sail with all speed to *Lilybæum*, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were sailing, tidings came of the foresaid battel before *Lilybæum*, and how the enemies ships were either scattered and put to flight, or boorded and taken.

The Consul having bid King *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet set sail from *Lilybæum*, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coast of *Sicily*, and crossed the sea himself to the Island * *Melita*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whose coming, *Amilcar* the son of *Gisgo*, Captain of the garrison there, rendered himself, and 2000. souldiers within a very few, together with the Town and the Island. From whence, within few days he returned to *Lylybæum*: where the prisoners (excepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Consul and the Pretor both, sold openly in port-sale. When the Consul thought *Sicily* on that coast sure enough, he set sail from thence towards the Islands of *Vulcan*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at road: but there were no enemies to be found about those Islands: for it chanced they were already passed over to waste along the river and coast of *Italy*; and having forraged the territory of * *Vibo*, they put the City also in great fear. As the Consul returned back again to *Sicily*, tidings came that the enemy had made rodes into the country of *Vibona*: and he received letters also from the Senat, concerning the coming of *Annibal* into *Italy*, and therefore that he should with all speed possible aid and succour his Collegue. The Consul being at once troubled with many cares, presently embarked his army, and by the Adriatick sea, sent them away to * *Ariminum*. To *Sext. Pomponius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of *Vibo*, and the sea-coast of *Italy*. With *M. Æmylius* the Pretor, he left a fleet augmented to the number of fifty sail; which done, and all things set in order in *Sicily*, himself with ten ships coasted along *Italy*, and arrived at * *Ariminum*, from whence he put himself in his journey, and marched with one army to the river *Trebia*, where he joined with his fellow Consul. Now were both Consuls, and the whole puissance and force of the Romans opposed against *Annibal*, so as it appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of *Rome* might be defended or else all their hope was gone. Howbeit, one of the Consuls being weakned and discouraged with the defeat of his horsemen in one battel, and dismayed besides with the hurt he had received in his body, desired to have the fight deferred: but the other coming fresh and lusty, and therby more hardy, would abide no delay.

* *Malta*.
* *Vibona*, or *Vivona*.
* *Rimino*.
* *Sestertio*.

It fell out so at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers *Trebia* and *Po*: who whiles these two most puissant nations were at strife and warred held off as neuters, and favoured neither side, making full account of the good-will and grace of that part which should have the better. The Romans because they would now make no stir, and have no more irons in the fire, took the matter well enough: but *Annibal* was very much thereat offended, giving out very often, that he was sent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feed his men with booties, he commanded 2000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them Numidians, and some Gauls among, to overrun and spoil all the country forward, even to the banks of *Po*. The Gauls standing in need of help, and having until that time kept themselves in doubtful tearms, were forced to turn from those that offered them wrong, and to encline and cleave unto the Romans that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadors to the Consuls, requesting the Romans help for their land, which by reason of the exceeding fidelity, and too much loialty of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cause, nor yet the time to deal in such affairs: he had the nation besides in suspition and jealousie, as well for many treacherous parts, as also (in case he would or could forget all other lewd pranks of theirs) for the same disloyalty and falshood of the Boians. *Sempronius* contrariwise thought it the surest bond to keep their allies in faith and allegeance, to defend those that came first to band and side with him. But notwithstanding his Collegue cast doubts and held off, yet he sent his own Cavalry, and a thousand well neer of footmen darters amongst them, to guard the country of Gaul beyond *Trebia*: who coming suddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered asunder, and out of order, yea, and most of them laden with spoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul slaughter and pursued them in flight, as far as to their standing camp, and *corps de guard*. From whence (nevertheless) they were beaten back by the multitude that issued forth: but by new succors from their own companies they renued the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a saving bargain on both parts, yet the common voice gave the honor of victory (such as it was) to the Romans rather then the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the full, then the Consul himself. "He joyed, he made his boast, that he had got the better, with the help of the same forces, which under the conduct of the other Consul, came by the worse. And now (saith he) the souldiers are comforted and refreshed wel enough, and none there is but my brother Consul that would have the battel deferred: who no doubt is more hen-hearted than bodily hurt: and for the remembrance and smart of a little green wound, quaketh to hear of the field & of all things cannot away with edg-tools. But we must not thus sit still here and wax aged for the pleasure of one crasie and sickly person. For what reason is it, that we should drive off longer, and spend more time in vain? What other Consul expect we to make up the third? or what army besides should we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in *Italy*, and well-neer within the view and sight of

"of the City of *Rome*; and it is neither *Sicily* nor *Sardinia* taken from them by conqueſt, nor
"*Spain* on this ſide *Iberus*, which they ſhoot at, to win again: but that the Romans ſhould be
"thruſt out of their native ſoil and country wherin they were born, that is their drift and deſign-
"ment. Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Fathers ſigh, how heartily would they groan,
"they who were wont to mannage war about the wals of *Carthage*, if they ſhould ſee us their
off-ſpring and children, two Conſuls with Comular and roial armies in the midſt of *Italy*, fright-
ed thus and panting for fear within our camp? And that *Annibal* hath ſubdued and brought under
his ſubjection all the country between the *Alps* and *Appenninum*? Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches
uttered he to his Collegue, as he ſat by his beds ſide, where he lay ſick: thus ſpake he, as in an o-
pen audience, in the Conſ. pavilion and all that quarter, to the ſouldiers. The time alſo of the E-
lection of magiſtrates at *Rome*, being ſo neer at hand, ſet him forward: for fear, leſt the war ſhould
be deferred unto the new Conſ. and the opportunity withal, of winning all the honor to himſelf
whiles his Collegue continued ſick, pricked him on. Whereupon, for all the contradiction of
Cornelius, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commandment he gave to his ſouldiers to
be ready, to give battel anon unto the enemy. *Annibal* as one that knew and ſaw well enough what
was beſt and ſafeſt for his enemy, could hardly imagin or conceive any hope to himſelf, that the
Conſuls would enterprize any thing raſhly, or without adviſement; but when he underſtood by
hear-ſay, that which afterwards by good proof and experience he found true, namely, that the
one of them by nature was hot haſty, proud, and furious: and ſuppoſing, that he was the prou-
der and more furious for the late good hand he had of his forragers; made no doubt and diſtruſt
of the happy ſucceſs and iſſue of a battel, whenſoever it ſhould come. Marry, careful he was, that
no good time and opportunity preſented unto him ſhould be overſlipt: but to try the hazzard
and fortune of the field, whiles the enemies ſouldiers were raw and untrained; and the betterand
wiſer man of the two Generals, was unmeet for ſervice, by reaſon of his wound as yet uncured: and
the courages of the Gauls luſty and forward: for well he wiſt, that a mighty number of them
would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawn from their own home. *An-
nibal*, I ſay, hoping that by theſe and ſuch like occaſions, a battel would be ſoon offered; deſi-
rous alſo himſelf to bid battel, if the enemy ſtaid long; and being adverriſed beſides by the
Gauls, his eſpials (whom he employed to hearken out and learn what he deſired to know, and
thought them more ſure, becauſe they ſerved in both camps) that the Romans were ready for the
field; then began he (crafty Carthaginian as he was) to ſeek out a convenient place for an am-
buſh. Now there was in the mid way between, a river running within the borders, having very
high banks of either ſide, and therefore lying cloſe hidden, and all about overſpred with mony
weeds, with briers, brambles, and bruſh-wood: as for the moſt part, ſuch forlet places are over-
grown withal. Which when *Annibal* in perſon had ridden about, and well viewed, perceiving
that it would afford lurking holes handſom enough even for horſemen there to be hidden, This
ſhall be the place (quoth he to his brother *Mago*) which you ſhall keep. Chuſe therefore out of
all the horſe and foot a hundred luſty tallfellows of each; and ſee you repair with them to me at
the firſt watch, for now is it time to take repaſt, and to refreſh your bodies. And with that he ſent
out to the camp the Criers, to call the ſouldiers to ſupper. And long it was not, but *Mago* was
come with his choſen men. I ſee (quoth *Annibal*) ye are goodly men of perſon, and ſufficient.
And that ye may be as able in number, as hardy in courage, elect ye alſo out of the Cornets of
of horſe and ſquadrons of foot, nine a piece ſuch as your ſelves to ſort withal. *Mago* ſhall ſhew
you the ground where ye muſt lie in ambuſh: you ſhal find the enemy as blind as beetles, altogether
unacquainted with theſe feats and cunning devices.

Thus *Annibal* having committed unto *Mago* a thouſand horſemen and as many footmen him-
ſelf betimes in the morning, willed the Numidian Cavalry, when they were paſſed over the river
Trebia, to ride braving before the gates of the enemies, and by darting and ſhooting into their
guards, to provoke and draw them forth to fight: with this direction moreover, when the ſkir-
miſh was begun, to fall off, and ſeem to retire by little and little, and ſo to train them on this ſide
the river, This charge had the Numidians, But the other Captains as well of foot as horſe, were
commanded to let their Companies all to their breakfaſt: which done, to arm themſelves, and
with their horſes ready ſadled, to attend the ſignal of battel. *Sempronius* upon the alarm and
hurliburly of the Numidians, as being forward and deſirous of fight, firſt brought forth all his
horſemen, and bare himſelf bold and confident in that ſervice; after that ſix thouſand footmen;
and at laſt, all his whole forces; and led them to a place which before he had deſigned and appoin-
ted in his mind. It fell out to be in Winter, about the midſt of December, and a ſnowy day it was
in thoſe parts lying between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*. Now by reaſon of the rivers and moors ſo
neer both horſe and men were exceeding cold: alſo for that they were haſtily on a ſudden, called
forth faſting, and unprovided of all means againſt the cold, they had never a whit of heat left in
them: and the neerer they came to the air and vapour of the river the ſharper cold pinched and
pierced them through. But when as once they followed upon the Numidians that gave back, and
were entred into the water (which by reaſon of the rain that fell by night was riſen breſt-high)
they were not ſo ſoon gotten out again of the river, but all their bodies began to chill, and be ſtiff
again for cold that ſcarcely they could hold their weapons: and withal, as the day went further
on, for very hunger they fainted. But *Annibal* his ſouldiers, who in the mean time had made fires
before their tents, and had oyl ſent them to every company, for to ſupple and ſoften their joints
and

A and lims, and taken their repaſt, and eated at leaſure; when they heard ſay, that the enemies were
paſſed the river, with hearts couragious and bodies freſh and luſty, take them to their weapons,
and come forth to fight in ordinance of battel. The Baleares, and light armed men, to the number
almoſt of 8000. he ranged before the ſtandards in the front: after them he placed the footmen,
better appointed and armed to the proof, even the very ſtrength and manhood of all his forces:
about the wings he ſet 10000 horſemen, and behind thoſe wings, he divided and appointed his
Elephants both on the one ſide and the other.

The Conſul *Sempronius* ſeeing his horſemen following the chaſe on the ſpur, and out of order;
and how at unawares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a ſudden turned and
B made head upon them, ſounded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he compaſ-
ſed his footmen with them. The Romans were in number 18000. of Allies and Latines 20000.
beſides the aids of the *Cenomanes: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true * Days de Main.
to the Romans. With theſe forces came they into the field, and began the battel. The firſt charge
of the skirmiſh was given by the Iſlanders of *Baleares*, upon whom, when the legions made head
with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was
a cauſe that the Roman horſemen preſently were ſurcharged and diſtreſſed. For whereas of them-
ſelves they were but 4000. horſe, and hardly able to withſtand the ſhock of ten thouſand horſe-
men of the other, the Romans alſo were wearied, but moſt of the Carthaginians freſh and un-
tainted: over and beſides, they were overwhelmed with a cloud (as it were) of darts, flung and
C ſhot by the *Beleare* Iſlanders: Moreover the Elephants which appeared aloft from the hind moſt
ends of the wings frighted the horſes eſpecially, and not only with the ſtrange ſight, but alſo with
as uncouth a ſcent and favor, made them flie every way. The battel of the Infantry was equal in
courage of heart, rather then in ſtrength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little a-
fore taken repaſt) brought freſh with them into the field: but contrariwiſe the Romans were faſ-
ting and weary, and for cold even ſtark and benummed. Howbeit their ſtomacks would have ſer-
ved to have held out and withſtood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen onely.
But both the *Baleares*, having diſordered the horſemen, ſtanked them with their ſhot, and alſo
the Elephants by this time were entred into the middle battaillon of footmen: and withal, *Ma-
go* and the Numidian light horſe (ſo ſoon as this battaillon was unawares gone paſt their am-
D buſhment and lurking holes) ſtart up and aroſe from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble
and fright. Yet for all theſe inconveniencies and diſadvantages (ſo many on every ſide) the main
battel a good while ſtood unmovable and ſtirred not, but kept the array, and eſpecially (beyond
the expectation of all men) againſt the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpoſe by
flinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned fromwards, they
followed hard upon them, pricking and galling them under the tails. in which place by reaſon of
the tender skin they are ſoon wounded. Whom when *Annibal* ſaw thus feared and ready to turn
upon their own part, from the main battel to the flanks and outſides, he commanded them to be
driven unto the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid, and preſently enforced them to run a-
way. The Romans ſeeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven into a new fear. Wher-
E upon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both ſides, there were among them to the
number alſo of 10000, who ſeeing no way elſe to eſcape, brake through the middle battaillon of
the Africans, which was ſtrengthned with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great ſlaughter of
their enemies: and ſeeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between)
nor for the rain well diſcern how to ſuccour their fellows, they took the way ſtraight to *Placen-
tia*. After this, the reſt brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either periſhed in the
ſtreams and whirl-pools: or ſuch as made ſtay to enter, were by the enemy overtaken and ſlain.
But as many as here and there fled ſcattering through the fields, following the footing and tracks
of the battaillon that retired back, came to *Placentia*. Some for fear of the enemy, adventured bold-
ly to take the river, and being once over, recovered the camp. The rain and ſnow together, and
F the intolerable cold killed many, as well men as beaſts: and in manner all the Elephants. The Car-
thaginians followed the enemies in chaſe as far as *Trebia*, and there gave over: and returned into
the camp ſo clumſie and frozen, as ſcarcely they felt the joy of their victory. By reaſon wherof, the
night following, when as the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnant of that great compa-
ny of ſouldiers paſſed *Trebia* with float-boats and flat barges. the Carthaginians either perceived
them not indeed for the noiſe the tempeſtuous rain made, or for wearineſs and ſore wounds were
not able to ſtir, and therefore made ſemblance, as though they knew not of it. And ſo whiles the
Carthaginians were at reſt, the army was by *Scipio* the Conſul brought (in a ſtill march) to *Placen-
tia*: and from thence having croſſed the *Po*, came to *Cremona*, becauſe one Colony alone ſhould
not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

G Upon this defeat and overthrow, there arrived ſuch fearful tidings at *Rome*, that they beleeved
verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner diſplayed ſtraight to
the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls
from aſſault and violence. For ſeeing that the one Conſul was vanquiſhed at *Ticinus*, and the other
alſo, who was called unto him out of *Sicily*; ſince both Conſuls, and two conſular armies were
thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be ſent for, to aid? As they
were in this agony and fear, *Sempronius* the Conſul came home: who with very great danger had
paſſed through the enemies Cavalry, which was ſpread here and there all about, to fetch in booties:
and

and more by venturous hardineſs then good advice and hope, either to miſs them uneſpied, or to reſiſt it he had hapned upon them, he got away. And after he had held the aſſembly for election of the Conſuls (the only thing above all other for that preſent moſt deſired) he returned into his ſtanding camp to winter in. Now there were created Conſuls, *Cn. Servilius*, and *Cn. Flaminius* the ſecond time.

Howbeit the Romans were not in quiet within their wintering camp: for the Numidian horſemen ranged about, and made excurſions into every quarter, and (thoſe who troubled and empeached them, more then they) the Celtiberians and Portugals. Whereby all convoy of victuals from every part was ſtopped, but only that which came by the *Po*, in Keels and ſuch like veſſels. Neer to *Placentia* there was a merchants town, both fortified ſtrongly, and alſo well furniſhed with a good garriſon: upon hope to force that caſtle or town, *Annibal* went with his horſe and foot, lightly armed; and ſuppoſing that to carry the matter covertly, would avail much to the effecting of his purpoſed enterpriſe, he came upon them in the night; howbeit he was not ſo cloſe and ſecret, but he was deſcried by the watch: who ſuddenly ſet up ſuch an alarm, that it was heard as far as *Placentia*. Whereby, the Conſul ſomewhat before day was there with his Cavalry, having commanded the Infantry to march on after, ranged in a ſquare battaillon. In the mean while the horſemen skirmiſhed, wherein *Annibal* was hurt, and departed out of the skirmiſh, by which means the enemies were frighted, and the Caſtle and hold manfully defended. After few days that he had taken his eaſe, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to aſſault *Victumvic*. That was a town alſo of merchandize (or mart town) and had been fortified by the Romans in the Gauls war. Whereupon the people bordering there about on every ſide, ſued thither to make repair, and much frequented the ſame: and even then for fear of rodes and excurſions many of the Peaſants and rural people retired themſelves thither for refuge. This multitude (ſuch as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the ſort by *Placentia* were encouraged, and took arms, and went forth to encounter *Annibal*. And in the midway they chanced to affront him and skirmiſh in no battel array, but as they marched disorderly: whereas they were on the one ſide, none but a rude and confuſed ſort; and on the other ſide, both a Captain that might truſt his ſouldiers, and ſouldiers alſo that might reckon upon their Captain, there were to the number of 35000, diſcomfited and put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after, they yeelded themſelves and received a garriſon within the walls: and ſo ſoon as upon commandment to give up their armor, they had obeyed and ſo done; preſently a ſignal was given unto the conquerors to ſack and ſpoil the town, as if it had been forced by aſſault: where there was not forgotten and omitted any calamity whatſoever, that might afford in ſuch a caſe memorable matter & ſufficient argument for writers to record. So pitiful examples were practiſed upon the poor silly wretches, of all looſeneſs and luſt, cruelty, and inhuman pride and outrage. And theſe were the expeditions and enterpriſes of *Annibal* atchieved for this winter time.

After this the ſouldiers took repoſe, but no longer then the intollerable cold laſted: For immediatly upon the very firſt and doubtful tokens of ſpring; he departed from his wintring hold, and led his army into Tuſcany, purpoſing to adjoin unto him (either by force or love) that nation alſo, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he paſſed over *Apenninum*, there aroſe ſo terrible a ſtorm and tempeſt, and ſurpriſed him, that it ſurmounted well-neer the foul trouble and encombrance endured in the *Alps*. For the wind and rain together did beat and drive upon their very faces: At the firſt, for that either they were to lay away their armor, or elſe in ſtriving and labouring to march on againſt the weather, and by the whirl-puffs of wind turned round about, and ready to beborn down, they ſtood ſtill: but when as now the violence and fury of the ſtorm ſtopped their breaths, ſuffered them not to take their wind at will, they were fain to turn their backs, and ſit them down on the ground for a time. Then ſee, the skie thundered amain, and made an horrible noiſe, and amid thoſe terrible cracks redoubled, it lightned thick. Whereupon they loſt their hearing and ſeeing; and for fear, all of them became aſtonied. At length it poured down and thereby the wind and ſtorm encreaſed more forceably upon them. Whereupon they were driven to this neceſſity, even to pitch their camp, even in that very place where they were ſo ſuddenly caught and overtaken by tempeſt. But that was to them the beginning of a new toil and travel: for neither could they ſpread and diſplay ought, nor pitch any thing ſurely: neither would that which was pight down continue and abide the wind, which rent and tare, and broke every thing, and hurried it clean away. And within a while, the water that fell, and by reaſon of the wind was raiſed aloft, being congealed once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of hail and ſnow together, and came upon them with ſuch a force, that leaving all things elſe, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather ſtifled and ſmothered, then covered with their hillings. Hereupon enſued a froſt, ſo violent and outragious, that of that miſerable and pitiful heap of men and beaſts, that lay there along, there was not one for a good while could raiſe or and lift up himſelf when he would, by reaſon that for ſtark cold their ſinews were benummed, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with beſtirring and chafing their limbs, they gat ſome heat, and came again to themſelves, and that here and there in ſome places they began to make fires; every one that had no means ſo to do, ran and fled to the ſuccor and help of others. Thus for two days they remained there pinned up as if they had been beſieged. Many a man and beaſt, and ſeven Elephants alſo of them that remained after the battel at *Trebia*, were ſtarved and periſhed.

By

A By occaſion hereof, *Annibal* departed from *Apenninus*, back again toward *Placentia*: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he ſat him down and encamped. The morrow after he led againſt the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000. horſe. *Sempronius* the Conſul alſo, being now returned from *Rome*, refuſed not battel: and the ſame day, the enemies were diſtant but three miles aſunder. The morrow after they fought on each ſide moſt fiercely and couragiouſly, and with variable event and fortune. At the firſt-on ſet, the Romans had the better hand, ſo far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but alſo after they had diſcomfited them, and put them back, they chaſed them into their camp, and anon aſſailed the ſame. *Annibal* having ordained ſome few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the reſt thick and cloſe together into the midſt of
B the camp, and commanded them to give ear and be intentive to the ſignal, when he would have them iſſue forth. Now was it the * ninth hour of the day, when the Roman Conſul having toiled and wearied his ſouldiers to no purpoſe, and ſeeing no hope to win the camp, ſounded the retreat. Which ſo ſoon as *Annibal* heard, and ſaw the fight withal to ſlack and wax cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, preſently ſallied forth himſelf with the whole ſtrength of his Infantry, for he had ſent out his horſemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierce and cruel battel ſtrucken, and more memorable, for the final miſchief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding ſtomack and courage. Whereupon, the confronting and charging one of another, was more eager then the ſlaughter bloody between them: and
C as the fight in manner was equal, ſo they parted with loſs alike. For of each ſide there died above ſix hundred footmen, and half as many horſemen. But the loſs on the Romans ſide was greater than in proportion of the number, becauſe certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies were ſlain.

* Three of the clock after noon.

After this journey, *Annibal* went into the country of the Ligurians, and *Sempronius* to *Luca*. To welcome *Annibal* at his firſt coming into *Liguria* there were deliſered unto him two Roman Queſtors or Treaſurers, *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius* who were intercepted by the Ligurians, & taken in a train of ambuſh, with two Colonels, and five others beſides, whoſe fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, becauſe he ſhould aſſure himſelf the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and obſerved.

D Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Italy*, *Cn. Scipio* who was ſent into *Spain* with a fleet and army for ſea and land; having ſet ſail from the mouth of *Rhodanus*, and compaſſed the mountains *Pyrenei*, arrived at a place called *Emporia*: where he diſbarked and landed his forces and redu ed unto the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the Laletans and ſo from thence all the ſea coaſt as far as to the river *Iberus*, partly by renewing their ancient leagues, and partly by deviſing mens to contract new. Whereupon, there aroſe a great name of him for his clemency; whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the ſea ſide but alſo amongſt the inlanders and mountainers, even to the nations that were more fierce & ſavage: with whom he not only made peace, but alſo wrought them ſo, that they took arms in his quarrel; and there were levied from among them, certain ſtrong cohorts and bands for to aid and ſuccour him. *Hanno*, whom *Annibal* had
E left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this miſchief: and having pitched his camp in ſight of the enemies, ſet his men in ordinance of battel. The Roman Captain likewiſe reſolved not to defer the fight; knowing that ſo, he might be forced to encounter both with *Hanno* and *Aſdrubal*, and rather yet he deſired to deal with them one after the other ſingle, than at once with both. But this battel was not ſo much dangerous, Six thouſand enemies were left behind ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners, together with thoſe that were left for the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and alſo the General himſelf with certain guards was taken priſoner. Moreover *Siſſum*, a town neer unto the camp, was won by aſſault: howbeit, the ſpoil and pillage of the town were matters of ſmall worth and value; namely, the houſhold
F ſtuff, and ſuch pelf and trumpery of barbarous people, and certain poor baſe ſlaves. It was the camp that enriched the ſouldiers: by reaſon that not only the army which was now vanquiſhed, but that alſo which with *Annibal* ſerved in *Italy*, and left behind them about *Pyreneus*, all good things to ſpeak of, that they ſet ſtore by, becauſe they would go lightly, and not be encumbred with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to *Aſdrubal*, he had paſſed over *Iberus* with 8000. footmen, and 1000. horſemen, as purpoſing to make head againſt the Romans at their firſt coming: but when he heard how the fiſt was loſt, and the camp withal, he turned his journey to the ſea. And not far from * *Tarracon*, he found the ſouldiers of the Armado, and the matriners beſides, wandring and ſtragling over the fields (for uſual it is, that happy ſucceſs ſhould breed careleſs negligence) whereupon he ſent out his horſemen every way, and with
G great ſlaughter and flight he chaſed them to their ſhips: and not adventuring to make any longer ſtay thereabout, for fear to be ſurpriſed of *Scipio*, he retired back to the other ſide of *Iberus*. *Scipio* alſo upon the firſt report of theſe new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haſte, after he had ſlightly chaſtiſed a few Captains, and left behind him a ſmall garriſon at *Tarracon*, returned with his fleet to *Emporia*. He had no ſooner departed from thence, but *Aſdrubal* was there in his place; and having induced and incited the State of the Ilergetes (who had given hoſtages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth waſted the territories of all thoſe that continued faithful confederates to the Romans. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was

* *Tarragona.*

rouſed

roused once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retired again, and quit all the country on that side *Iberus*. Then *Scipio* having in hostile manner invaded the countries, abandoned H and left by him that was the author and cause of their rebellion, and by that means the nation likewise of the Ilergetes, after he had driven them all within *Athanagia*, which is their capital town, he laid siege unto it round about, and within few days brought the whole seignory of the Ilergetes under his obedience: and besides a greater number of hostages then before (which they were constrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round sum of money. From thence he went forward against the Auseranes, neer to *Iberus*, being associats also to the Carthaginians: and having beleaguered their City, he fore-layed and intercepted the Lacerans as they came by night to succour their neighbors, not far from the town, even as they were at the point I to enter in. There were slain of them 12000, and the rest being well-neer all disarmed, fled every way scattering here and there over the fields home to their houses. All the help and defence that they had who were within, was only the foul and cold winter weather, evermore naught and hurtful to assailants that lie forth. The siege lasted thirty days, during which time, seldom fell the snow less then four foot deep, and so covered the pentises and mantilets of the Romans, that when the enemies flung firebrands times thereupon, that alone saved the same & nothing else. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince *Amurgitus*, who was fled to *Asdrubal*, they yeelded, upon condition to pay twenty talents of silver, & so *Scipio* returned to *Tarracon*, there to winter.

* 3750 pound sterling, according to the Iesse Attick Talent.

But that year, at *Rome* and about the City, were many strange and prodigious signs seen, or at least wise (a thing usual when mens minds are once touched with religion, and given to make K scruple) many were reported, and soon beleeved. Among which, this was one: that a babe of condition free born, and but half yeer old, cried with a loud voice in the herb market *Io Triumphe*. Also in the beasts market, an Ox of himself undriven, climbed up to the third loft or story of an house, and from thence being frighted with the stir and noise of the dwellers by, cast himself down. Moreover, there was seen in the welkin or element, the resemblance of a navy of ships; and the Temple of Lady * *Spes*, standing in the herb market, was smitten with lightning. Likewise at *Lanuvium* the speer of *Juno* shook and brandished of it self: and a Raven flew into *Juno's* Church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Altar of *Juno*. In the territory of * *Amiternum*, in many places were seen men, as it were, in white garments, but only afar off; for as folk went neerer and neerer, they appeared not, and could not be met withal. In *Picenum* it rained stones: L and at *Cere* the lots were found diminished; and in *Gaul*, a Wolfe drew forth a watchman his sword out of his scabbard, and carried it away. For other prodigious tokens, order was given to the Decemvirs to peruse the books of *Sibylla*. But for the raining of stones in *Picenum*, there was ordain a Novendial feast for nine days: and for the expiation of the other prodigies, the whole City in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the City was solemnly purged, and greater beasts killed in sacrifice in the honor of those gods, for whom they were ordained, and a present of gold weighing * 40. pound, was carried unto *Juno* at *Lanuvium*. And the dames and matrons of *Rome* erected a molten image of brass for *Juno* in *Aventinum*: and at *Cære* where the lots were diminished, was appointed a Lectistern, and a procession or supplication to *Fortune* in *Algidum*. At *Rome* also there was a Lectistern solemnized to *Juventa* [the M goddess of youth] and a solemn procession at the church of *Hercules*. Moreover, express commandment was given to all the people, to make procession and supplication at every Altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god *Genius*, they sacrificed five greater beasts. And *C. Attilius Serranus* the Pretor, was commanded to pronounce a solemn vow, in case the Common-weal continued in the same good estate, ten years, and decayed not. These portentous prodigies thus expiated, and vows made according to *Sibyls* books, eased mens hearts mightily of their religious fear. Then one of the elect Consuls, to wit, *Flaminius*, to whom were allotted those Legions which wintered at *Placentia*, sent an Edict with Letters to the Consul, that the Army should be in camp at *Ariminum*, upon the * Ides of *March*. His purpose was, to enter into his Consulship in the Province, remembring the old contentions and debates which he had with the Nobles, N first when he was a Tribun of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Consul, as well about the Consulship (of which, they would have deprived him) as also, about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated he was besides of the Senat, for the new Act or Law, which *Q. Claudius* (a Tribun of the Commons) had made, so prejudicial to the Senat: and only *C. Flaminius*) of all the Nobles, supported it and set it forward: namely, That no Senator, or father of a Senator, should have a Ship at Sea, bearing above * 300. Amphores: for that was thought sufficient to transport their commodities and fruits to *Rome*, rising out of their Lands and livings. And as for all other gain by traffick, it was not beseeming a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great contention caused the proposer of this law (*Flaminius*) to incur much evil will and displeasure with the Nobility, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons, and in O process of time a second Consulship. Supposing therefore, that with iterating the Auspices, and putting him to take the presages anew by the flight of birds, and by finding other delays, upon occasion of the Latine holy days, and one business or other belonging to the Consuls charge, they would detain and keep him back still in the City; he set a countenance, as though he would take a journey like a private person, and so departed secretly into the Province. Which thing, when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciously bent against him, to be angry anew; and they gave out, that it was not the Senat only, that *C. Flaminius* warred

* The goddess *Hope*.

* *Pescara*.

* 1440. lster.

* 15. day of *March*.

* Of eight Tun and better.

A against, but the immortal Gods also. For he, who before time had been made Cos. without regard of taking Auspices, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was reclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeied not: and now, having a heavy conscience, surcharged with offences past, hath fled from the Capitol and the solemn nuncupation and making of vows, for that he would not upon the ordinary day of entring his Magistracy, visit the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* nor (because he was odious to the Senat, and they likewise hated of him alone) see them and ask their advise and counsel; nor proclaim the Latin Holy-dayes, and celebrate to *Jup. Latialis*, the solemn yearly sacrifice upon the *Alban* Hill: nor yet, after he had entred into the Capitol by the lucky flight and token of birds, pronounce his vows there, and depart from thence in his rich coat-armor toward the Province. They said moreover, that he was slipt and B stolen secretly away like a drudge that followeth the camp, without the ensigns and ornaments of authority, without Sergeants and Officers, as if he had been banished, and so left his country, minding belike to enter his government more for the honor and dignity of *Ariminum* than of *Rome*, and to put upon him his purple robe of estate, embroidred with scarlet rather in an hostelry, and common Inne, than in his own house. They all every one opined and judged that he should be recalled and brought back again peremptorily, yea, and be forced personally at home to perform all duties belonging to God and man, before that he went forth to the Province and to the army. About this embassage (for they thought meet to send Embassadors) went *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Antistius*: but they prevailed no more than in his former Consulship the letters missive had done, which were sent from the Senat. A few dayes after he entred his office, and as he was sacrificing, C the Calf or young Bullock being already stickt, got away from the hands of the sacrificers, and spotted many of the standers by with bloud. But they that stood far off, not knowing what the matter was of that stir, fled away, and ran to and fro: which of most men was judged a foretoken and presage of some great affright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of *Sempronius* the Consul of the year before, and other two, of *C. Attilius* the Pretor, he began to conduct his army into Tuscany by the way of *Apenninum*.

D

The two and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and twentieth Book.

E ANnibal *came into* Hetruria, *after he had lost one of his eyes by occasion of continual watching in the marishes, through which he marched four dayes and three nights without taking his repose & sleep.* C. Flaminius *the Consul a rash and inconsiderate man, went forth, contrary to the warrant and approbation of the Auspices, and caused the field-ensigns to be digged out of the ground, when otherwise they could not be plucked up: and being mounted on Horseback, fell with his head forward from his horse. His fortune was to be surprised in an ambush by* Annibal, *which he had laid for him neer the Lake called* Thrasymenus: *where he and his army were defeated, and fell upon the edge of the sword. Six thousand Romans, who brake through and made an escape, notwithstanding the faithful promise that* Maharbal *had made unto them, were by the falsehood of* Annibal *put in prison. When upon the news of this overthrow, there was great mourning and sorrow at* Rome; *there fortuned two mothers to die for very joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their sons, and saw them alive, whom they* F *supposed to have been slain in that field. In regard of the foresaid defeat, there was vowed a sacred spring, according to the books of* Sibylla. *After this, when* Q. Fabius Maximus *the Dictator sent against* Annibal, *would not come to a set battel with him, for fear he should hazard in fight the souldiers lately terrified and daunted with adverse overt hrows, against an enemy lusty and proud of so many victories, and by making head, and opposing himself only against* Annibal, *empeached his attempts and enterprises:* M. Minutius *the General of his Horse, a man of a proud spirit and brain-sick humour, with charging the Dictator, and accusing him unto the people for a fearful and cowardly person, prevailed so much, that by vertue of their power and authority, he was joyned in equal commission and command with the Dictator. By means whereof, the army and the forces were parted indifferently between them, and* Minutius *gave the enemy battel in a place of great disadvantage, whereupon his Legions were distressed & in great ha-*G *zard: but* F. Maximus *came in time to his rescue with his part of the army, and saved him out of the present danger. By occasion of which good turn he was overcome, and his stomack come down, insomuch, as he was content to join in camp with him, and saluted him by the name of Father: commanding all his own souldiers to do the same to their fellow souldiers under* F. Maximus. Annibal *after he had wasted and overrun* Campain, *chanced between the Town* Casilinum, *and the mountain* Calicula *to be inclosed and compassed about by* Fabius: *but by a device of tying little bovints of drie stick unto oxes horns and setting them on fire, put to flight and scared away the guards of the Romans which kept the streights of* Calicula, *and by that means got through the passage of that forrest. The same* Annibal, *at what time as he made*

havock and burned all the territory about, forbare to touch the Land of Q. Fabius Maximus the Dicta- H tor, to the end, that he might bring him into suspition of treason to the State. After this, when Æmylius Paulus, and Terentius Varro were Consuls and Generals of the army, there was a battel fought with Annibal, to their exceeding losse and utter overthrow, neer unto a village called Cannæ. At which field there were slain of Romans, 45000. together with Paulus the Consul, and fourscore Senators, besides thirty other brave personages that had been Consuls or Pretors, or at leastwise Ædiles of State. After this d feat, when the noble young Gentlemen of the City (for very desire of the State) were in counsel to abandon Italy, P. Cornelius Scipio (a Colonel, who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) held his naked sword over their heads, as they sat in consultation, and sware a great oath, that he would repute him for a mortal enemy that would not swear after him: and hereby effected thus much at their hands, that I by vertue of an oath, they obliged themselves not to depart out of Italy and forsake their native country. This book containeth besides, the fright and lament ation made within the City, and the affairs and exploits atchieved in Spain, with more happy success. Opinia and Feronia, two professed vestal Virgins, were convicted of Incest, and condemned. By reason of smal number of souldiers and serviceable men for the wars, there were 8000 slaves put in arms. The Captives taken prisoners in the wars, when they might have been redeemed, were not ransomed for all that. A solemn meeting there was for Varro his welcome home, with great thanksgiving, because he had not despaired of the Common-weal.

The two and twentieth Book of T. Livius. K

NOW approached the spring, when *Annibal* removed out of his wintering holds, after he had assayed before to pass over the *Apennine*, but in vain, by reason of the intolerable cold; where also he stayed in great fear and danger of his own person. By which time, the Gauls, who having risen up in arms on his side, for hope of spoil and pillage, seeing now in stead of harrying and carrying away of booties out of other mens Lands, that their own country was become the place of the war troubled and molested as well with the one army as the other which abode there all winter turned their hatred and malice from the Romans back again upon *Annibal*: In such sort, as after he had been sundry times forelaid by the secret trains of their Princes, and in danger to be murdred, he escaped only by the deceiptfulness and falshood L practised among their own selves. For with what inconstancy and levity they had conspired together, with the same they bewrayed one another, and detected the conspiracy unto him. By means whereof, as also by changing one while his apparrel, another while the bonet and attire of his head, by errour also and mistaking, he avoided the peril, and saved himself. But so it was, that even this fear in which he stood, caused him to remove the sooner out of his wintering harbour.

About the same time *Cn. Servilius* entred into his Consulship at *Rome*, on the * Ides of *March*: where, after he had propounded to the Senat concerning the affairs of the Common-weal, the hatred and malice which the LL. had conceived against *C. Flaminius*, was renewed afresh. For they said, that they created two Consuls, and had but one. For that lawful government and authority which *Flaminius* should have had, that auspice of Magistracy which was meet and due, he ought to have carried with him from the City, from the publick and private habitations, after he had celebrated the Latin holy-dayes, and offred sacrifice upon the mountain *Alban*, and made his solemn vows accordingly, within the Capitol. But since for default herein, he departed from the City a private person, the Auspices of government could not follow and accompany him: and being gone without them, he might not lawfully take the same anew in forein soil. Now there were sundry strange prodigious tokens besides, reported from many places at once, which much encreased their fear: namely, that in *Sicily* certain souldiers javelins were on fire: and in *Sardinia*, a Horsemans walking staff, as he went the round, and visited the watch upon the wall, burned in his hand: That upon the strand and Sea shore, there were seen many light fires, so as all the coasts shone again withal: That two shields sweat blood: That there were some souldiers N smitten dead with lightning: That the circle and body of the sun appeared in sight less in compass and eclipsed: Also, that there fell from the skye burning stones, at *Prænestе*: And at *Arpi* there were seen in the Element, Palm or Date Trees: and the sun fighting with the moon: Moreover, at *Capena* two moons arose and shewed in the day time: that at *Cere*, the waters ran mingled with blood: That the very fountain of *Hercules* yeelded and cast up water bespotted with blood: That as folk reaped in *Antium* fields, certain bloody ears of corn light into their baskets: At *Falerii* the heaven seemed to cleave in sunder and open, and to shew as it were a great chink; and out of the place where it gaped, there shone a great light: That the lots of their own selves diminished, and one fell out of the pitcher, with this inscription, *Mars brandisheth and shaketh his spear*. And about the same time ot *Rome* the Statue of *Mars* (wet in the high way *Appia*) O neer to the images of the wolves: and at *Capua* the welkin seemed to be on fire, and the form of a moon to fall down in a rain or shower. After this, men gave belief also to prodigies of far less importance: namely, that some mens goats, in stead of hair bare wooll: that a hen turned into a cock, and a cock proved to be a hen. These things as folk reported, were declared abroad, and the authors brought into the Senat: where the Consul propounded before the LL. and required their advice, as touching matters of Religion. Whereupon, there passed a decree that these strange tokens, some should be purged and expiated with greater sacrifices, other with young sucklings: and

A and that for three dayes, there should be supplications at all the Shrines and Altars of the Gods. As for other matters, after that the Decemvirs had looked into their books, such provision was to be made, as the Gods in their verses should foretel to stand with their pleasure and contentment. So, by the advertisements and directions of the Decemvirs it was decreed as followeth: First, and foremost, that to *Jupiter* there should be made of gold a thunderbolt or form of lightning weighing * 50 pounds, and another of silver, presented unto *Juno* and *Minerva*. Item to *Juno* * 1800 li. ster. *Regina* there should be sacrifice offred in the mount *Aventine*, and to *Juno Hospita* in *Lanuvium*, of greater beasts: *Item*, that the dames of *Rome*, making a contribution (every one to their ability) of a sum of money, should offer an Oblation unto *Juno Regina* and bring it into *Aventine*, and B there solemnise a Lectistern: *Item*, that the very Libertin or enfranchised women also, should according to their power, lay their money together and make a present for the goddess *Feronia*. These things accomplished, the Decemvirs sacrificed in the market place of *Apollo*, and for that purpose killed greater beasts. Last of all, by direction out of the books of *Sybilla*, now in the month *December*, they celebrated a sacrifice at *Rome* in the Temple of *Saturn*: and commandment was given that a Lectistern should be solemnized (which bed and table the Senators themselves spred and set out with all the furniture) and a publick feast besides, in any hand: and throughout the City both by day and night were proclaimed the solemn Saturnalia: and order directed, that the people should hold and observe that day, as holy and festival, for ever.

Whiles the Consul was busied at *Rome* in pacifying the Gods, and levying souldiers, *Annibal* C (who was departed from his wintering fort, because the rumor ran that *Flaminius* the Consul was come as far as *Aretium*) albeit he saw another way more ready and commodious (though it were somewhat farther about) yet chose that which was the neerer through the marishes, where as the River *Arnus* at the same time had overflowed his banks more than usually. As for the Spaniards, Affricans, and all his old beaten souldiers (the very flower and strength of his army) he commanded to march formost together with all their baggage and cariages among them, to this end, that if they were forced any where to stay, they should not fail and want necessaries about them: the Gauls he appointed to follow next: and because he was desirous that those kind of people, should be in the middle ward, and the Horsemen likewise to go after them, hindmost in the reregard, he charged *Mago* with the light Horsemen of the Numidians, to guard the army D and keep them close together in their march, but especially to have an eye to the Gauls, and keep them in, for fear lest they for tediousness of travail, and wearines of long way (as they are a Nation tender enough and not able to abide any hardnes) should either slink away, or else stand still. They of the vanguard, what way soever the guides led them and went afore, passed through thick and thin, waded through great Rivers and deep quicksands; and albeit they were mired and in a manner overwhelmed and swallowed up of bogs and muddy quagmires, yet they followed still their colours. But the Gauls, if their feet chanced, to slip, could not hold themselves, and when they were down, they were not able to arise out of the durty sloughs and holes: neither could any of them comfort his corps with courage, nor help his heart with hope of better. Some E limbs after them: others, whose hearts were done for tedious toil and travail, when they were once down, lay dying amongst the jades and other beasts, which also were couched along every where. But that which hurt and undid them most, was their want of sleep, for they had watched four dayes and three nights continually without a wink. Now when as the water had so covered and overspred every place, that they could find no drie ground, to lay their wearied bodies on, they were fain to pile their packs one upon another in the waters, and to cast themselves aloft upon them. All the way as they went, they might see the beasts and Horses lie every where on heaps overthrown and dead: which served them a while, instead of Couches for want of other means, who sought but only for some thing or other, that appeared above water to repose themselves upon, for to take a nap. As for *Annibal* himself, (who had already an infirmity in his eyes, F which came first by the distemperature of the spring season, now hot and then cold) he was mounted upon an Elephant, the only Elephant that was left alive: this beast bare him a good way above the water: but by reason that he had overwatched himself, and the moist nights besides together with the damp and mist of the foggy fens stuffed his head and filled him full of rhewms, and because neither time nor place served for any cure and to take Physick, he lost one of his eyes quite.

Thus after many a man lost, many a Horse piteously perished, when he was got out at length of these foul fens and miry marishes, in the first dry ground that he came unto, he pitched his camp: and was certified by his espials and vantcourriers whom he had sent out before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of *Aretium*. Then with great diligence and careful enquiry he G endeavoured, to sound the intent and the designs of the Consul; to know the coasts and site of the country; to hearken what wayes he travailed; to learn what forces he had; to be advertised how he was stored and provided of victuals; and to understand all other things expedient for his purpose in such a case, and necessary to be known. The countrey was most fertile and fruitful, as any one in all *Italy*, to wit, the goodly champian fields of *Tuscany*, lying between *Fesule*, and *Aretium*, plentiful in corn, abundant in cattel, and richly stored with all good things. The Consul was stout and proud, by reason of the former Consulship that he had born: little account he made of the Majesty of Laws, and authority of Senators, and as small regard and re-

verence he had of the Gods themselves: which rashness, as it cost him nought, but was ingrafted in him by nature, so fortune had nourrished and maintained the same with prosperous success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he respected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counsel and advice, he would go rashly to work, and do all in hast, hand over hand, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himself headlong into their his infirmities and imperfections, *Annibal* devised to anger him, and to move his patience. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand, he put himself into the way to *Fesulæ* for to wast and spoil the country of *Tuscany*; and shewed to the Consul a far off, what foul work and havock he possibly could make, with fire and sword. Then *Flaminius*, who of himself would not have rested and sate still, in case *Annibal* had been quiet; I seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his shame and dishonor, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mids of *Italy*, and without any empeaching and controulement, to pass on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of *Rome*; when all others about him sitting in counsail, gave advice for profit and safety, rather than for shew and bravery; namely, to paule a while, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with joynt armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counsel, conduct and manage the war: and in the mean time, with the Cavalry, with Auxiliary or aid-souldiers lightly armed, repress the enemy, and stay him from spoiling so licentiously at his pleasure; in a great chase and choler he rose up, and departed out of the Councel, and presently sounded the march, and gave the signal of battail: and withal, K "Nay we were best (quoth he) to remain and sit here still before the walls of *Aretium*: for this, "be like, is our native countrey, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Annibal*, let him "escape forth of our hands, and wast all *Italy*; let him spoil afore him, and over-run all with fire "and sword, until he be as far as *Rome* walls: and let not us, in any case once stir from hence, be- "fore that the Senators send for C. *Flaminius* from *Aretium*, as sometimes they called *Camillus* "from *Veii*. With these and such like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all hast the standards and ensigns to be plucked up, and called for his Horse. He was not so soon mounted on his back, but the Horse fell presently, cast the Rider over and over, with his his head forward; and there lay *Flaminius* the Consul under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky presage and fore-token, in the very beginning of his enterprise: word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-ensigns was not able to pull up his ensign, do what he could, and putting his whole strength unto it. The Consul turning to the messenger. What? hast thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me for giving battail? go thy wayes and bid them dig up the ensign, with help of spade and mattock if their hands be so benummed for fear, that they can not pluck it up: and with that began the army to march. The principal Leaders and Captains, besides that they agreed not, but gainsaid this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious sign: but the common souldiers rejoyced and took great pleasure, to see this forwardness and animosity of their General: having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cause which they had to hope so. Now *Annibal* wasted in all manner of hostility that he could devise, the territories between M the Town *Cotona*, and the lake *Thrasymenus*, and all to whet the edge of the Consuls stomack, to chase his hot bloud, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come already they were to certain places, naturally made as it were for an ambush, whereas the lake *Thrasymenus* lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of *Cortona*: for there is between, but a very straight and narrow passage, as if there had been left so much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth more open, and groweth larger, and from thence the hills begin to arise aloft. *Annibal* in the open ground pitched his camp, for himself with his Africans only and the Spaniards to lodge in, and made abode. The Balearians, and the other light armed souldiers, he led about behind the Mountains: the Horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the streight passage, where N the little hills handsomely covered and hid them close: to the end that so soon as the Romans were entred in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the streight, all might be enclosed within the lake and the Mountains. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the Sun setting: the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and clearing the coasts by any scours and espials sent out before, passed through the streights. After that his army began to be spread and displayed more at large, as the plain opened wider, he espied and perceived those enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambushes lay close hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Annibal* having once got the enemy (as he would) enclosed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces, gave the signal to them all for to charge: who came down every man the neerest way he could: and so much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this sudden occurrent, by reason that the mist which arose out of the lake, was settled thicker in the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallies, were seen well enough one of another, and therefore more joyntly gave the charge all at once together. The Romans hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts, before they could well discern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprised, and were assailed both affront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battail-ray, as they ought, make their

The battail at *Thrasymenus*.

A their armour and weapons ready, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, shewed himself nothing daunted or afraid, but set in order the ranks and files which were shuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave; and marshalleth his souldiers, (who turned every way as they heard the sundry and divers noises) and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted and encouraged them, willing them to stand to it, and fight like men, for that there was now no means else to escape. "All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help, "would not serve, but only it was mere force and mere manhood must do the deed: and they were "to make way by dint of sword, through the midst of their enemies battaillons: and the less men "feared, the less danger commonly betided them. Howbeit, by reason of the noise and hurliburB ly, neither counsel nor command could be heard: and so far off were the souldiers from knowing their own Ensigns, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would serve them to take arms, and to buckle them, as they should, fitly for fight: in such sort, as some of them were surprised and born down laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended therewith. And in so great a mist and darkness, more use they had of ears than eyes; for at the groues of their wounded fellows, at the blows and strokes upon the bodies and armour resounding again, at the confused shouts and shrikes of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turned their faces, and cast their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the press of those that were fighting, and there were set fast: some again as they returned for to fight, were born backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had assayed in vain every way to get forth, C and saw well, that on both sides and flanks the mountains and the lake; that afront and behind, the enemies battailons hemmed them in, then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: so as the battail began afresh, not in order by the *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Triarii*, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the vanguard should fight before the main battail and the standards; and behind them the reregard, and that the souldier should keep his own legion, his own cohort, band, and company; but at a venture, even as it hapned, so they went to it and buckled, pell mell: and as every mans heart served him, so he marshalled himself to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animosity was so ardent, their spirits and minds so intentive to the battel, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at the very instant, D which overthrew and turned upside down, a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turned aside the courses of great Rivers out of their channels, and drave their streams against the current, forced the Sea into fresh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty fals, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three hours. Sharp it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruel: and look in what part soever he saw his men distressed and in hazard, there courageously he aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himself for his own person goodly beseen in his rich armour, he both assailed the enemy most furiously, and also defended his own citizens as valiantly; so long, until a certain Insubrian, a man of arms (*Ducarius* was his name) one that knew his village well enough, This is (quoth he) to his coun- E trey-men, the Consul that defeated our army, put to the sword our Legions, wasted our territories, and he that destroyed and sacked our City. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens, who by his means have been piteously slain: and therewith setting spurs to his Horse, he rode through the thickest troop and presse of his enemies: and when he had first slain his Esquier outright (who opposed his body between, and set himself against him, seeing him coming so furiously) he ran the Consul quite through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and rifled him, the Triarii slept with their targuets over his corps, and so kept him off. Hereupon from hence first many began to flie; but anon, neither deep lake nor high mountain, could impeach and stop their F fearful flight: like blind men they ran and sought means to make escapes, were the lane never so narrow, were the Hills never so steep and craggy, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them seeing no way else to escape, entred into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brims thereof, waded so far, and went up so high, that they left their heads and shoulders onely above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their fear) sought to save themselves by swimming. Which being an endless piece of work, and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either stifled and swallowed up of the gulfs, or after that with too much hast, they had over-laboured and toiled out themselves, they did what they could to swim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thousand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who lustily brake through G the mids, maugre the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gullet: and having seized the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might hear only the outcries of men, the ratling and rustling sound of their armor, but how the battel went or sped, neither could they know, nor yet discern for the thickness of the dark mist. But now, when they were come to some ods: and one side went down and had the worse, by which time the heat of the sun had broken and dispatched the mist, and the bright day appeared: then through the clear light, the hills and dales shewed evidently the havock & overthrow that was made, and how

the Roman army was foully discomfited and defeated. For fear therefore, that the enemy (having H
descried and seen them a far off) should send out against them the Cavalry, up they went with
their Ensigns in all hast, and got them away with all speed possibly they could. The morrow
after, when over and besides all other calamities, they were in danger of extream famine, and
that *Maharbal* (who with all his power of Horse pursued them by night, and overtook them)
had given his faithful word and promise, that if they delivered up their armour, he would suffer
them to depart in their single garments, they yeelded themselves. Which promise *Annibal* saw
performed as truly, as all Carthaginians use to do, and false Carthaginian as he was, he clapt
them all into prison, and hung irons upon them. This is that noble and famous battel fought
at the Lake *Thrasymenus*, and of those few overthrows that the Romans had, the most memora-
ble of all others. 15000 Romans were there slain in fight: 10000 were scattered: and flying I
through sundry parts of Tuscany, gat to *Rome*. 1500 of the enemies lost their lives in the field.
But many more of both sides afterwards died of their wounds. Others there be that report
much murder and slaughter on both sides. For mine own part (besides that, I love not to write
vain untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the humour of writers for the most
part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine Author *Fabius* especially, who lived
about the time of this war. *Annibal* having enlarged without ransome as many of his prisoners
as were Latins, and put the Romans in streight ward, culled out from among the heaps of his
enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, and commanded they
should be buried: and having with great care and diligence made search also, for the dead corps
of *Flaminius* to inter it, he could never find it. K

At the first news in *Rome* of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and
trouble into the common place of Assemblies. The Wives and Dames of the City, went up and
down to and fro in the streets, and enquired of whomsoever they met, what suddain calamity this
was, whereof the bruit went; and what was become of the army? And when as the multitude as-
sembled thick (as it were) to a publick audience, turning to the Comitium and the Senat-House,
and called upon the Magistrats: at length somewhat before the sun-set, *Marcus Pomponius* the
Pretor came forth and said, A great battel hath been fought, and we have lost the field. And albeit
they heard of him no more than this of certainty, yet they filled one anothers ears with rumors,
and caried home with them these news to wit, that the Consul was killed, and a great part of his
army with him slain: that there were but a few left alive, and those either fled and scattered up L
and down in Tuscany or else taken prisoners by the enemy. And look how many casualties & mis-
fortunes follow the overthrow of an army, into so many cares and perplexities were the spirits
and minds of all those plunged, who had any kinsfolk that served under *Flaminius* the Cos. all the
whiles they were ignorant, what was the fortune of their friends. And no man knew for certain,
what he was to hope for, or to fear. The morrow and certain dayes following, there stood at the
gates a sort of people, and those were women more than men, waiting to see their friends them-
selves, or those that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would flock a-
bout them, and be very inquisitive: neither could they be plucked away from them of their ac-
quaintance and knowledge before they had questioned every particular circumstance, from point
to point in order. There might a man have seen an alphabet of faces, in those that departed from M
the messengers, according as the tidings was joyful or woful: there might a man have seen a
number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houses, either rejoycing
for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamity. The women especially,
as well in joy, as also in sorrow, were in their extremities. One above the rest (as it is reported)
standing at the gate upon the suddain sight of her son alive & safe fell down dead at his very feet.
Another who had received an untrue report of her sons death, as she sat mourning at home with-
in her house in great sorrow of heart, so soon as ever she saw him coming into the house, for ex-
ceeding joy yeelded her last breath, and died. And for certain dayes the Pretors kept the Senators
together in Counsel, from the sun-rising to the setting, consulting under whose conduct, and with
what forces they might be able to withstand the puissance of these victorious Carthaginians. But N
before they were throughly resolved of any determinat purpose and course to be taken, suddainly
there arrived other news of a second loss, namely, that 4000 horsmen under the leading of *C. Cen-
tronius*, the Propretor, sent from *C. Servilius* the Cos. unto his Collegue, were inclosed by *Annibal*
in *Ulstria*. For thither they had taken their way, upon the news they heard of the battail at *Thra-
symenus*. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diversly in mens heads. Some, whose minds were
possessed already with grief of a greater calamity, thought the loss of that Cavalry but small, in
comparison of the former defeat: Others esteemed that which hapned, not according to the im-
portance of the thing it self: but like as it falleth out in the natural body of man, that if it be crasie
and weak every occasion be it never so small and light, is more offensive unto it and sooner felt,
than a greater cause, and object in a found and strong constitution: even so, when any crosse or ad-O
versity hapneth unto the politick body of a City or Cōmonwealth diseased (as it were) and sickly, we are
not to measure & weigh the same by the greatness of the accidents, but according to the feeble and
diseased estate thereof, able to endure and abide no new matter, that may surcharge and grieve it,
whatsoever. And therefore, the City of *Rome* took her self to the soveraign salve and approved re-
medy which she had long desired, and yet not applied and used of late, namely, to the nomination
of a Dictator. And because the Consul himself was absent, by whom alone it was thought he might

A might be named: and by reason that *Italy* was so overspread and forlaied with the Punick forces,
there might no courier be well dispatched, nor letters safely sent unto him: and for that the people
had not authority of themselves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator (a thing
that was never seen and practised before that day) namely, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and for his General
of the Cavalry, *M. Minutius Rufus*. These had commission from the Senat, to fortify the walls and
Towers of the City, to plant and bestow guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up
and break down the bridges upon the great riyers: shewing hereby, that since they were not able
to keep and defend *Italy*, they were now to fight for house and home, and to guard the very City.

Annibal in this mean time was come directly by the way of *Umbria*, as far as to *Spoletum*. And
after he had grievously wasted and spoiled the territory, he assaied to give assault to that City: but
B from thence he had the repulse with the loss of many of his men. And guessing by the strength of
that one Colony (where he sped but badly in the attempt of it) how great and difficult the enter-
prise might be of assailing the City of *Rome*: he turned another way into the * Picene country, * *Marca Anco-*
not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corn and grain, but also affording rich spoil and pil- *na.*
lage: which the hungry and needy souldiers foraged and caried away greedily, beyond all mea-
sure. And there for certain dayes he kept a standing camp, and refreshed his souldiers, toiled as
well with winter journies and boggy wayes, as also in the late barrel, which was more joyous and
fortunate in the loose and parting, than sight and easy in the conflict and fighting. After he had
rested and refreshed his souldiers sufficiently, who took more pleasure in booties and prizes than
in ease and repose, he dislodged, and journied forward; waisting and spoiling first the * Pretutian * *Abruzzor.*
C and Adrian territories, and then the Marrians, Marrucins and * Pelignians: and all about *Alypi* * *Valuenſis.*
and *Lucera*, being a region next adjoyning unto * *Apulia*. * *Puglia.*

Cn. Servilius the other Consul, having had some light skirmishes with the Gauls, and won
from them one mean Town of small importance, after he was advertised one of the death of his
Colleague and the defeat of the army, fearing even then what danger might betide the walls of his
native country, lest peradventure he should be absent in the hazard of the main chance, put him-
self in his journey toward the City of *Rome*. *Q. Fabius Max.* the Pro-dictator aforesaid the same
day that he entred his office, assembled the Senate, and began first with matters of religion, and
concerning the Gods: and after he had laid open unto the LL. of the Senat, that the Consul *Fla-*
minius had sinned more in the neglect and contempt of Divine ceremonies, and the Auspices, than
D otherwise in rashness and for want of skill in feats of war; and that the Gods themselves were to
be consulted about the purging and expiation of sins and offences, and what might appease their
wrath; gained and obtained this one point, That the Decemvirs were commanded to repair unto
the books of *Sibylla*, (a thing not usually decreed: but when strange signs and prodigious won-
ders are reported) who having perused the books of destinies, made relation and informed the Se-
nators, first, That the vow made unto *Mars* for the good success of that war, was not performed
with due complements, and therefore ought to be a accomplished anew, and in more ample man-
ner: also, that the great Games and Plaies should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, with Temples likewise
to *Venus Erycina*, and to * *Mens*. Moreover, that a solemn supplication and a Lectistern should * The goddes
E be celebrated, and a sacred Spring vowed, if the Gods granted them an happy end of war, and of Understan-
the Common-weal to remain in the same estate, wherein it stood before the war began. The ding.
Senat gave order, that forasmuch as *Fabius* was to be employed in the wars, *M. Æmylius* the
Pretor, should have in charge to see all the premisses performed with all good speed, according to
the will and mind of the Colledge of the Bishops or Prelats. These Ordinances of the Senat be-
ing enacted, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-prelate, with the advice of the whole Colledge
of the Prelates, thought good and gave advice, that first above all other things the opinion and
pleasure of the people (as touching the sacred spring) should be known, for that without the
voyces and consent of the people it could not be vowed: And in this form of words was the bill
propounded unto the people. *Pleaseth it you, that this grace may pass and the thing done with your*
assent in this wise? if the state of the people of Rome *and the Quirites, for five years next ensuing, con-*
F *tinue safely preserved in these wars, as I desire it should, then that the people of* Rome, *and Quirits per-*
form an oblation and gift vowed and promised: namely, in the war between the people of Rome *and the*
Carthaginians: and in the wars with the Gauls on this side the Alps: to wit, that the encrease which the
spring shall yeeld and afford out of sheep and swine, goats and kine, and all things that shall be prophane, be
sacrificed unto Jupiter, *accounting from that day that the Senate and people shall so ordain:* Item, *that*
he which shall sacrifice, may do it when he will, and in what manner he will: and in what sort so ever he
shall sacrifice, that it may stand for good and rightful. If haply it die, that should be sacrificed let it be
counted prophane, & not as wicked: If any man lame or maim, or kill the same unawares, let it not be im-
puted unto him as criminal: If any person conceal away the same or hide it out of the way let it not be im-
puted for wickedness unto the people, nor to him from whom it shall be so stollen or hidden. If one chance by
G *ignorance to sacrifice upon an unlucky & dismal day, let it be accounted good and lawful: whether by night*
or day, whether bond or free (shall sacrifice) let it be taken and held good. If before it, the Senat and people
shall ordain those sacrifices to be done, or shall sacrifice, let the people be assoiled and discharged freely
therefore. And for the same purpose, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the ex-
pense of * 333333 Asses and one third part of an As: besides the sacrifice of 300 Oxen to *Jupiter*, * *Vid. li. 14.*
& of white Oxen and other sacrifices, unto many other saints. After these vows pronounced and *th. 4 d. sterl.*
made accordingly, the supplication was proclaimed & in procession there went with their wives &

children,

children, not only the multitude of the City, but also of the country, so many as had their private H
ciate, any way depending upon the publick. The Lectisternium likewise was prepared and trimmed,
and continued for three dayes: and the Decemvirs deputed for holy ceremonies had the ordering
thereof. The sacred beds were openly to be seen: one for *Jupiter* and *Juno*, another for *Neptune*
and *Minerva*: a third for *Mars* and *Venus*: a fourth for *Apollo* and *Diana*: a fifth for *Vulcan* and
Vesta: and a sixth for *Mercury* and *Ceres*. Then were the Temples vowed: unto *Venus Erycina*, *Q.*
Fabius Max. the Dictator, vowed one Temple. For so it was delivered from out of the books of
* The goddess understanding. destinies, that he should vow it, who had the soveraign rule in the City, and unto * *Mens*, *Atilius*
the Prætor vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching Religion were finished, the Di-
ctator propounded concerning war and the State: namely, with what Legions and how many the
Senat thought good to withstand the victorious enemy. And a decree passed, that he should re- I
ceive the army at the hands of *Cn. Servilius* the Cos. and enrol besides of the citizens and allies, as
many horsmen & footmen as he thought convenient: and that he should do and order all things
at his own discretion, for the good of the Common-weal. *Fabius* said, That he would adjoin unto
the army of *Servilius*, two Legions more: which being levied by the General of the horsemen, he
proclaimed that they should meet together upon a certain day at *Tybur*: and when he had publish-
ed a proclamation, That whosoever inhabited within any Towns or Castles unfenced, should de-
part into places of safety: and that all should remove out of the villages of that country, through
which *Annibal* was to go (but first to set on fire their houses, and spoil their corn, that he might
find nothing there when he came) he went himself forward by the high way or causey *Flaminia*, to
meet with the Consul and the army. And when he discovered them marching about *Otriculum* K
by the river *Tyberis*, and saw the Consul with his horsemen coming forward to him, he sent a Ser-
geant, to give warning to the Consul, for to come without his Lictors to the Dictator, who obey-
ed his commandment. And as their meeting together, represented an exceeding great shew of the
Dictatorship unto citizens and allies both, who by reason of discontinuance so long time, had
welneer forgotten that government: behold, there came letters from the City importing news,
that certain ships of burden transporting victuals from *Hostia* into *Spain* for the army there, were
by the navy of the Carthaginians boorded and taken about the sound or haven of *Ostia*. Where-
upon immediately the Consul was commanded to go to *Hostia*, to take up all shipping at *Rome* or
at *Hostia*, to furnish them with saylers, and man them with souldiers, and so to pursue the Armado
of the enemies, and to keep the coasts of *Italy*. A mighty number of men was levied at *Rome*. The L
Libertins also, who had children, and were of lawful age to serve, sware allegeance unto him, to
be his true souldiers. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under 35. years of age, were
shipped: the rest were left behind to guard the City. The Dictator having received the Consuls
army at the hands of *Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, went through the Sabins Country, and ari-
ved at *Tybur*, whither he had commanded the new souldiers to repair at a day. From thence by
cross wayes he returned into the high way or causey *Latina*, even to *Preneste*: from whence
(having searched diligently by his espials, all the wayes) he led forward toward the enemy, pur-
posing in no place to hazard the fortune of battail, but upon necessity. The very first day that he
encamped not far from *Arpi*, within the sight of his enemies; there was no ho with *Annibal*, but M
without further delay, he came forth into the field in battail array, bad him battail, and offred
fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he fell to taunting and reviling
them: saying, That now at length yet, the martial hearts of the Romans were daunted and tamed:
and seeing they refused fight, they confessed plainly, and granted themselves inferior unto him in
valor, prowess, and glory: which said, he retired into his camp. Howbeit, chasing and fretting
secretly in his mind for anger that he had to deal hereafter with a Captain, far unlike to *Flaminius*
and *Sempronius*: and that the Romans now at last, being schooled and taught by their own
harms, and so their great cost, had sought out and got a Captain to match *Annibal*: streight-
wayes he began to fear the wisedom of the Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no
tryal of his constant resolution, he fell to disquiet his mind, and to tempt him with often remo-
ving his own tents, and wasting the fields of his allies even under his nose: one while he seemed N
to march hasty apace out of all sight, another while he would of a suddain stay, and lie close in some
by-place and corner, out of the way, to spie when he could take him in some plain and even
ground. But *Fabius* led his army, and marched above on the higher grounds, a prety distance off
from the enemy, so as neither he would let him go clean and abandon him, nor yet encounter with
him. He kept his souldiers for the most part within the camp, save only when necessity otherwise
constrained. For purveyance of forage and fewel, they went neither few in number, nor strag-
ling asunder. The wards of Horsemen and those that were lightly armed, standing alwayes in
order of battail, and ready prepared and furnished for suddain impressions and tumults, yeelded
both security to his own souldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they ranged all abroad and
foraged the Countrey. In this manner never was the main chance put to the venture all at once O
of fortune: and the small tryals of fight scuffling and skirmishes (begun in safety and security, by
reason of the recourse of rescue so neer) inured and heartned the souldiers, frighted with former
foils, and made them at length to distrust less either their own valour, or fortune. But *Anni-*
bal was not more discontented and displeased, nor more ready to crosse and thwart these so
wholsome policies and counsels of his, as his own General of horsmen: who wanted nothing else
but soveraign command, to overturn headlong the Common-weal: a man in all his designe-
ments,

A ments violent and hasty, and of tongue intemperate. And first secretly among some few, but after-
wards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed *Fabius*, in stead of a stayed and sober man, slow
and dull: in stead of wary and heedful, timorous and fearful: attributing unto vertues the names
of vices of neer semblance: and having a singular dexterity to debase his betters and superiours,
exalted himself thereby: a cunning cast, of all others the worst, and yet hath mightily prevailed
and sped too well in many that have used it. *Annibal* from *Arpi* passeth into *Samnium*, wasteth
the country of *Beneventum*, winneth the City *Telesia*, and still provoketh (of set purpose) the
Roman Captain, if haply he could incense him by so many indignities and losses of his allies, and
so draw him to fight on even hand.

B Amongst a great number of Italian confederats and allies, whom *Annibal* had taken priso-
ners at *Thrasymenus* and dismissed, there were three Campane horsemen, whom *Annibal* even
then had tolled on, and allured with gifts and fair promises to win unto him the hearts of their
country-men. These brought word unto him, that in case he would lead and bring his army into
Campania, he should soon be Lord of *Capua*. And albeit the thing in it self seemed greater than
the quality of the persons that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in mammering, one
while in good hope and assurance, another while in fear and distrust: yet they perswaded him at
last to remove out of *Samnium* into *Campania*. After he had admonished them very often, to
see that they made their word and promises good by deed, and commanded them withal to
return unto him with some of their principal Citizens and Country-men, he sent them away.
C Himself gave commandment to his guide, to conduct him into the territory of * *Casinum*: being * S. Germano.
advised by those that were skilful and acquainted with the coasts of those parts, that if he could
gain aforehand that pase and forest, he might exclude the Romans from coming to rescue and
succour their confederats. But the ambiguity of the name, and the Carthaginian language far
differing from the Latine, caused the guide to mistake *Casilinum* for *Casinum*: and so missing of
his intended journey, he came down, through the *Alifanz*, *Calatine*, and *Calene* Countries,
into the plain champian region of *Stella*. Where seeing all the coasts environed round about
with Mountains and Rivers, he called the guide unto him, and demanded where he was: and
when he answered, that he should that day lodge in *Casinum*, then and not before, the error
was found; and he knew that he was far out of his way, for that *Casinum* was distant in another
D Countrey far off. And after he had beaten the guide with rods, and hanged him up by the head,
for an example to terrifie all others, he fortified himself within camp and sent out *Maharbal* with
the Horsemen into the Falern Country, to fetch in booties. So they wasted and spoiled as far
as the waters of *Sinuessa*. Much harm did these Numidians, but the flight and fright of the peo-
ple was far greater. And yet notwithstanding that great fear, when all was on a light fire as it
were, and nothing but war, the Roman allies continued still firm in their faithful allegeance: and
the reason was, because they were ruled under a just and moderat government, and neither refu-
sed, nor thought much to be subject unto their betters, the only bond of loyal fidelity. But so
soon as he had pitched his camp by the River * *Vulturnus*, and that the most goodly and pleasant * Volturno.
Country of all *Italy* was on fire, and the Villages every where burned and smoked again; whiles
E *Fabius* led his power over the ridge of the Mountain *Massicus*, the sedition was like to have
broken out again, and certain Captains of the mutiny began to be enkindled afresh. For there
had been great quietness, and all was still for some few dayes: because seeing the army march fa-
ther than their usual manner was, they supposed verily, that they made more speed and hasted,
to save *Campania* from being spoiled and wasted. But when they were come to the formost edge
and point of the Mountain *Massicus*, and that the enemies were within sight, burning the
dwelling Houses of the Coloners and inhabitants of *Sinuessa*, and likewise of the Falern Coun-
try, and all this while not one word of battail; "And are we come hither indeed quoth *Minutius*,
"to behold only and to see, and feed our eyes with looking on our allies, consumed and wasted
"with fire and sword? and if we bash at nothing else, can we for shame abide to see the Calamity
F "of these Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in *Sinuessa* as coloners there to inhabit,
"to the end that all this tract and coast should be safe from the invasion of the Samnits? But be- The mutinous
"hold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnit) that fireth it but a forrein and alien, even the Oration of
"Carthaginian who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world (whiles we stand at a *Minutius*.
"bay, trifle off still and for lasiness do nothing) is come forward even hither unto us. And are we
"so far degenerat (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along
"which coast they thought it dishonorable unto their empire, for the Carthaginian Armadoes
"and ships to flote, sail, and ride; we should see the same now pestered full of enemies, the Nu-
"midians and Moors? We, who ere while taking foul scorn and great disdain to see *Saguntum*
"besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to wit-
G "ness; stand still gazing upon *Annibal* marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and rea-
"dy to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our
"eyes and to choke us up: our ears resound and ring again with the piteous cries of our allies that
"weep and lament and cal of ner unto us than unto the Gods for help. And we here lead our army
"as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy forests, and hills out of the way, hid among
"the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of Sun. If *Furius Camillus* had been of
"mind, by ranging and wandring over hils and forests in this manner, to win again the City out of
"the hands of the Gauls, as this our new *Camillus* forsooth (fought out of purpose to be our only

" Dictator

"Dictator in this our distress and hard estate) goeth about to recover *Italy* from *Annibal*, *Rome* H
"had been French at this day; which I fear me, if we go thus coldly to work, our ancestors have
"saved and reserved so often, for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a
"Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to *Veii*, that he was chosen Dictator by
"the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the Senators, although *Jamculum* was high e-
"nough, where he might have set him down and beheld the enemy at ease, descended into the
"plain and even ground, and the same day in the very mids and heart of the City, where now
"*Gaulbury* or *Busta Gallica* standeth, and the morrow after, between *Rome* and *Gabes*, slew the
"Legions of the Gauls. And what should I say of that, which hapned many years after, when at
"the streights of *Caudium* we were put under the yoke by the Samnits our enemies? Whether I I
"pray you, did *L. Papyrius Cursor* seek out the mountains of *Samnium*, or rather lie hard upon
"*Luceria* and besiege it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemy; and thereby shook off
"the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnits? And what other thing
"else of late dayes but expedition, gave the victory to Consul *Lutatius*? Who the morrow after
"that he discovered the enemy, set upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals: and overcharged
"as it was with her own munition, furniture and provision, unk, and destroyed the same. It is
"meer folly to believe and think by sitting still, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue
"the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain, that man to man
"may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Roman
"Empire grown to this height; and not by these conceits and devices, which fearful cowards K
"term the wary policies of war. As *Minutius* spake these words in preaching wise, a number of
Roman Colonels and Horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lusty and rash speeches
of his, came even unto the ears of the footmen: So as, if it had lien in the voyces and election of
the souldiers, out of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Minutius* before their General *Fa-
bius*. But *Fabius* again regarding alwayes with good eye his own men, no less than his enemies,
carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever before of any other; albeit he was well ware, that not
only within his own camp but also now at *Rome*, he heard ill for his temporizing and slow pro-
ceedings: yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on stifly the same course and purpose, &
never altered his former manner: until that *Annibal* being clean disappointed of long desired bat-
tail, bethought himself anon and looked about for some places of winter abode, considering, That L
the country where now he was, rather yeelded plenty for the present, than store for long continu-
ance: as standing upon Horryards and Vineyards, and all things planted, rather for fruits of plea-
sure and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his e-
spials, for that he knew well enough, that *Annibal* was to return through the same streights, by
which he had entered the Falern countrey; he holdeth and keepeth the hill *Calicula*, with suffi-
cient garrisons and likewise *Casilinum*, a City divided by the river *Vulturnus*, and parteth the Falern
and Campane countries asunder. Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having
sent out to discover and espie 400 Horsemen of confederats, under the conduct of *L. Hostilius
Mancinus*, who being one of the crue of those lusty youths, that oftentimes heard the General of
the Horsemen giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward in manner M
of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he
saw the Numidians ranging all about the villages, and slew some of them also whom he took at a
vantage, streight-wayes his mind wholly possessed and set upon fight; and so forgat the charge and
direction of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as warily and as closely as he
possibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within sight of the enemies. The Numi-
dians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying from him another while, drew him
almost unto their very camp when as both horse and man were out wearied. From whence *Car-
tala*, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him lustily upon the
spur, and before they came within dart-shoot put the enemies to flight, and followed them conti-
nually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* seeing neither the enemy to give over pursuit, nor any N
hope to escape away, exhorted his men, and turned head upon them, overmatched as he was every-
way: where he himself and his choicest Horsemen were beset round and slain: the other taking
themselves again to flie for life, first came to *Cales*, and after through by-lanes and difficult wayes,
to the Dictator. That day, as hap was, *Minutius* had joyned himself to *Fabius*, having been afore
sent to keep with a strong guard, the forrest or pass, which above *Terracina*, groweth into a nar-
row gutter, and reacheth to the sea; for fear lest if the advenue of the way *Appia*, were without
defence, *Annibal* might enter and invade the country of *Rome*. When the Dictator and the Gene-
ral of Horsemen had joyned their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that
Annibal was to passe with his army. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after,
the Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other. O
When as the Romans were quarted even under their very trench and rampier, in a place no
doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Annibal* with his light Horsemen: and to
provoke his enemies, fought by starts and fits, charging upon them, and retiring back again with
great nimbleness. The Romans kept still their standing, embattailed as they were. The fight
was cold and lingering, to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of *Annibal*: and where
there were of the Romans part 200 slain, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Annibal*
after, to be enclosed and shut up as it were and besieged within * *Casilinum*, seeing that *Capua*, * *Casilinum*.
Samnium,

A *Samnium*, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Annibal* contrary-wise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of *Formiæ*, amid the Sands of *Linternum*, and the mossy standing pools. Well wist *Annibal* now that he was laid unto hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not escape away by *Casilinum*, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains; and passe over the top of *Calicula*: for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the vallies between the Mountains, he deviled a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to begull the eye-sight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, B closely and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of his crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many fire-brands: then took he certain bavins or small fagots of bush-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tyed them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drave before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the countrey: so as he might make wel-neer two thousand head. To *Asdrubal* he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night, he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if he possible could, to the very streights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but *Annibal* with great silence dislodged and removed his camp, and the Oxen aforesaid were driven a good way before the ensigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the C straight passages, immediatly the signal or watch-word was given to fire the Oxes horns, and to chase them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell running up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppises and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the shaking of their heads also to and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the streights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be entrapped and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: and whereas the flame shone most out, thinking that to be the safest way, they sped them thither, even to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandring astray from their company, and at first seeing them a far off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed these blazing flames out of their mouths; and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astonied. But when as afterwards they discovered the device, and found it out to be a subtile and deceitful invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trains and ambushi, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the vantcurriers of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were affraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and stayed until day light. In the mean while, *Annibal* having conducted his whole army through the streights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pass, encamped himself in the territory of *Alifæ*. *Fabius* descryed this tumult well enough, but doubting some privy ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battails, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed souldiers of the enemies, and soon defeated them, but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from *Annibal*, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the croggs and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the fashion of their light harnesse; easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces, and used to fight upon the plain, and to stand firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing neer on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all, went cleer away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed, and having passed over the streights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly situate even over *Alifæ*. Then *Annibal* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward *Rome*, returned back, wasting and spoiling the country as far as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the Hill tops between the army of his enemies and the City of *Rome*; leading his host so, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountred and affronted his enemy. Then *Annibal* turned his way, and departed from the Peligni, and retired himself into *Apulia*, until he was come as far as *Gerion*, a City abandoned and forlorn of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down, decayed and ruined. The Dictator fortified his camp in the territory of *Larinum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to *Rome*, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and perswasions, yea, and as one would say, by prayer and intreaty, "That he would trust more upon considerate counsel, than doubtful fortune; and be directed "and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; and not "think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckning of this, That the enemy had

been

"been dallied withal, and trifled out, mocked and deluded, almost all the summer long. Why, even the "Physicians (quoth he) many times do more good to the sick body of the patient, by giving rest "and repose, than by stirring and disquieting the humors therein. And no small matter is it, that "we are vanquished and overcome no more, at an enemies hands so often used to victory. And "after continual foils and overthrows, to have had rest, and a time of breathing. Having in this "wise admonished the General of Horse aforehand (but all in vain) he took his way to *Rome*.

In the beginning of this summer, wherein these exploits were performed, war began also in *Spain* both by Sea and Land. *Asdrubal* to that number of ships which he had received ready rigged and well appointed of his brother, joyned other ten. To *Himilco* he gave the charge of a fleet of forty sail: and so, loosing from *Carthage*, whiles his ships kept neer to Land, he conducted his army along the River upon the strand, ready to give battail to the enemy, howsoever he should hap to encounter him either by Land or Sea. *Cn. Scipio* after he had intelligence that the enemy was removed out of his wintering harbour, at the first had likewise the same intention and purpose, but afterwards doubting to encounter by Land, upon the exceeding great report that went of new aids, he embarked his best and most choice souldiers, and with a fleet of 35 sail, set forward to meet the enemy. And the second day after that he had loosed from *Taracene*, he came to the rode distant ten miles from the mouth of the River *Iberus*. From whence, two Pinnaces of the Massilians were sent out afore, and brought word, that the Carthaginian Armado rode in the mouth of the River, and that the tents were pitched upon the bank. And therefore to the end that he might surprise them at unwares, and unlooking for them, with all the fearful terrour at once, that he could possibly, he weighed anchor, and set sail toward the enemy. In *Spain* there are many Towrs standing upon high grounds, which serve the inhabitants of the country in good stead, both as watch-Towers to discover, and also as sconces to withstand Theeves and Rovers. From whence the enemies ships were descryed first, and a signal given to *Asdrubal*: in such sort, as the tumult and trouble arose upon the Land, and in the camp, before any was seen on the Sea and amongst the ships: for as yet neither noise of oars, nor any ordinary stir else of mariners, was heard; nor yet the capes and promontories between suffered the fleet to be seen. But then, all on a suddain, certain Horsemen sent from *Asdrubal* one after another, commanded the souldiers (who either wandred along the strand, or sate quiet within their pavilions, looking for nothing lesse than fight that day) presently in all haste to go aboord, and to arme, for that the Roman fleet was not far from the haven. This commandment the Horsemen that were sent, gave every where. And within a while *Asdrubal* came in person with the whole army. All was on a hurry, and full of sundry alarms; whiles both mariners and souldiers, made haste to be shipped, rather like men that fled from Land, than went to fight. Scarce were they all embarked, when some of them loosed from the shoar, and plucked up Anchors; others cut the Anchor Cables, for that nothing should stay them: and all that they did, was with such haste, that whiles the souldiers were occupied in making themselves ready to fight, the mariners were hindred in their business: and whiles the mariners made speed, the souldiers were kept from taking their armour, and fitting themselves therewith. By which time *Scipio* was not only approached neer, but also had marshalled and ordered his ships ready to fight. So as the Carthaginians were troubled as well with the hurly burly and tumult of their own people, as with the assault and battel of their enemies. And having (to say a truth) made an assay and proffer of fight, rather than begun any indeed, they turned away their fleet, and fled. And seeing, when they were once put to flight (by reason they were parted asunder all abroad, and lay open to so many of their enemies, following them upon the poop all at once) that they were ready and easy to be bouged and pierced, they rowed on all hands to the shore. Some were fain to wade to Land, others leapt on drye ground; one sort armed, another sort unarmed; and so escaped to their company, embattailed along the strand. Howbeit, in the very first encounter and onset, two Carthaginian ships were taken, and four sunk. The Romans, albeit they saw the enemies, masters of the Land, and might behold them stand in battail array all along the River side upon the banks, yet made they no stay, but chased the fearful fleet of their enemies: and so as many ships, as either had not cracked, splitted, and broken their stems, with dashing upon the shore, or were not run a ground, and stuck fast by their keels in the shelves, those they drew up, and warped into the deep, with ropes fastned to their poops; and so of thirty they took five and twenty. And yet, the taking of these vessels was not the best and goodliest work of their victory: but this passed all, that with one light skirmish they became L L. of all the Sea along those coasts. And therefore arriving with their whole navy before * *Honosca*, they landed their men, won the City by forcible assault, sacked it, and from thence went forward toward *Carthage*. And after they had foraged and wasted all the territory about, at the last, they fired the very houses that joyned to the walls and gates of the City. From thence the Armada laden now and charged with rich pillage, sailed as far as * *Longo-briga*. Where they found great store of *Spars* [to make Cables] provided and laid up there by *Asdrubal* to serve the navy: and when they had taken thereof as much as they needed, they made light fire of all the rest. Neither coasted the Roman fleet along the continent and main only, and scoured those parts which lay out into the Sea, but passed also unto the Isle * *Ebusus*: where they assaulted hotly for two dayes space, the head City of the Iland, with much ado, and small effect. And when they perceived, that they spent time in vain, and were past all hope to win it, they fell to rob and spoil the country: and after they had rifled and burned certain villages, and

* *Villa Ioyosa.*

* *Guardamar, or the cape of Helchi.*

* *Tvica, or Ibissa.*

A and got a greater booty & pillage than they had out of the main, they retired themselves to their ships: and thither came Embassadors from the Iflands *Baleares* unto *Scipio*, craving peace. From thence he came back with the fleet, and returned into the hither part of the Province, whither resorted unto him the Embassadors of all the Nations that inhabit about *Iberus*, yea and of many also from the farthest part of all *Spain*. But of States that absolutely came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, doing fealty and homage unto them, and giving hostages for assurance of their allegeance, there were about 120, *Scipio* therefore, taking himself strong enough in land forces, went on as far as to the chase of * *Castulo*. And *Asdrubal* retired himself into * *Lusitania*, near the Ocean sea. Hereupon the rest of the summer was like to be quiet: and quiet had it been, for

B any thing that the Carthaginians did to the contrary. But, (over and besides the naturall disposition of all Spaniards unconstant, busie, and evermore desirous of novelties and alterations. *Mardonius* a Nobleman, who before time had been the Lord and Prince of the Ilergetes, seeing the Romans retired back from the forrest, toward the sea-coast, stirred up the the people of his country, and invaded the peaceable Territories of the Romans associates, for to spoil and waste the same. Against whom there were sent from *Scipio* three thousand Romans, besides certain auxiliary souldiers also, lightly armed; who in a light skirmish discomfited his forces (as being a power gathered in haste, and disordered) slew many, took some prisoners, and disarmed the greater part of them. Nevertheless, the rumour of this alarm caused *Asdrubal* as he departed to the Ocean, to crois the river *Iberus* back again, for the rescue and defence of his friends and Allies. The Car-

C thaginians were encamped in the territory of the Ilergaonians, and the Romans near the new Armada, when sudden news diverted the war another way. The Princes of the Celtiberians, who had sent the Embassadors of their country and hostages unto the Romans upon a messenger dispatched unto them from *Scipio*, arose up in arms, and entred the Province of the Carthaginians with a strong and puissant army, won three towns by assault; and afterwards, in two battels which they fought with *Asdrubal* right valiantly slew 15000 enemies, and took 4000 prisoners, and many military ensigns they bare away.

Whiles *Spain* stood in these terms, *P. Scipio* came as L. Deputy into that Province, continuing still his government after his Consulship expired, and was sent from the Senat with thirty ships of war, eight thousand souldiers, and great store of victuals. This great fleet, in regard of

D many hulks and ships of burden which accompanied it, was kenned and discovered afar off, to the great joy both of Romans, and also of their friends and associats, and arrived within the port and haven of *Tarracon*. Where the souldiers were disbarked, and *Scipio* joyned with his brother: and from that time forward they agreed together, and with one accord managed the war. And whiles the Carthaginians were amused with the Celtiberian war, they made no stay, but passed over *Iberus* & seeing no enemy they marched on toward *Saguntum*; for that the bruit went, that the hostages of all *Spain*, delivered unto the custody of *Annibal*, were kept there in hold within the Castle, but with a small guard about them. That was the only pledge which staid all the Cities of *Spain*, whose minds were well affected and enclined to entertain league and society with the Romans, but they feared left if they should revolt, it would cost the lives of their

E children. This bond which held *Spain* in awe, one man eased them of, by means of a device and practise more witty and subtile than honest and loyal. There was at *Saguntum*, one *Acedux* a Nobleman of *Spain*, trusty and faithful aforetime unto the Carthaginians: but then (as the nature is for the most part of these Barbarians) as fortune altered her countenance, so changed he his allegeance. And supposing, that if he should flie unto the enemies, without performing some notable treason and delivering into their hands one thing or other of great importance, he should be counted no better than a vile, base, and infamous creature, he cast about how he might wind himself into these new Allies, and win them by some good service, unto their best and greatest behoof. And considering all the means that Fortune might bring within his compass to effect,

F he employed himself especially at the length, to set free and deliver those hostages: thinking that the only way to win and procure unto the Romans the amity of all the Princes and great men of *Spain*. But knowing assuredly, that without warrant from *Bostar* the Constable of the Castle, the keepers of those hostages would do nothing, he setteth in hand and cunningly goeth to work with *Bostar* himself. Now lay *Bostar* in Camp without the City by the water side, to impeach the Romans for entring the haven. Thither came *Acedux* to him, withdrew him apart into a secret place, and declared unto him as a man ignorant, in what state things stood. Namely, "That it was fear and nothing else, that kept the Spaniards unto that day in obedience, because "the Romans were so far off: but now the Romans were encamped on this side *Iberus*, as a sure "fortress and place of refuge unto them: if they minded any innovation and change of State:

G "and therefore seeing they could not long be kept by fear, they were to be obliged and bound "unto *Annibal* by some favour and good turn. When *Bostar* marvelled and demanded what sudden demerit this might be, and of so great consequence. "Many (quoth he) send back "the hostages into their own Cities. An acceptable present that will be, both particularly to "their parents, who are of greatest calling and reputation in their own countries, and also generally to all the Cities and Nations. Every man (you know) is desirous to be trusted: and "for the most part, credit given frankly unto one, bindeth him surely to be most faithfull. The "ministery and charge of conducting the hostages home to their own houses, I will require to "have mine own self, that I may farther a plot and device of my own, with mine own proper

"service and employment: and the thing which of it self in nature is acceptable, I will in what I
"can grace and commend the same, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perswaded the
man being not altogether so wily as other Carthaginians naturally are, he went by night secretly
as far as the *Carpe de guard* of the enemies, and after he had met and talked with some Spaniards
that were auxiliary souldiers in the Camp and by them was brought before *Scipio*, he declared un-
to him his whole intent and designment, and the cause of his coming. And after they had given
and received faithful promise mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the deli-
very of the hostages unto *Scipio*, he returned again to *Saguntum*. The day following he spent
with *Bostar*, in receiving Commission from him for the execution of this matter. And thus being
dismissed and having his dispatch, he purposed to go in the night, to the end that he might (for I
sooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romans: and at the hour appointed he
raised those who had the guard and custody of the children, and put himself on his way: and (sim-
ple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them within
the compass of an Ambushment, forelaid beforehand by his own wily and crafty device: and so
were they brought into the Roman Camp. All other points besides, concerning the rendring of
the hostages, according to the agreement and appointment with *Bostar*, were performed in the
same order, as they should have passed, in case all had been done in the name of the Carthagini-
ans, and to their behoof. But the Romans won much more thank, and gained greater favour
thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the like curtesie. For the Carthaginians
(whom in their prosperous success the Spaniards had found by experience to be rigorous unto K
them and proud) might have been supposed if they had done it now, to have been mollified and
made more benign and gracious through adverse fortune and fear: but *Scipio* the Roman Gene-
ral, at his first coming, and unknown before time, began with a notable example and testimony of
clemency and liberality. And *Acedux* besides reputed a wise and prudent man seemed not with-
out great reason to have made exchange of his Allies and Friends. Whereupon they all desired
with one accord to revolt, and presently they had taken arms indeed and rebelled, but for the ap-
proach of winter which forced as well Romans as Carthaginians to betake themselves to their
winter harbors.

These were the occurrents that fell out also in *Spain*, in the second summer of the Punick war:
whiles in *Italy* the wise and wary delaies, the industrious temporizing of *Fabius* in the manner of L
his warfare gave the Romans some respit and intermission of their foils and overthrows. Which
as it wrought in *Annibal* no small trouble of mind and perplexity, to see that the Romans at the
last had chosen for their General, a man who managed war, by discourse and guidance of sound
reason & not by adventure of fickle fortune; so it was despised of his own Citizens, as wel those
that were armed abroad, as gowned at home: & namely when during the absence of the Dictator,
there hapned to be a field fought through the rashness of the Generall of the Cavalry, with-
more joyfull success (to speak truly) than happy and fortunate. Two other things there were be-
sides, that caused the Dictator to be worse thought of, and in great disgrace and obloquy. The
one through the deceitful and wily policy of *Annibal*: who being enformed by certain fugi-
tive Traitors (that fled from *Rome* unto him) which were the lands and possessions of the Dicta- M
tor; gave express commandment when he had destroyed the country about, and made all even
with the ground, to forbear all kind of hostility there only, and to touch nothing of his, either
by fire or sword: to the end it might be thought there had been some packing between him and
Annibal; and that this was the hire and consideration agreed upon between them two. The o-
ther arose from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and cursing of certain prison-
ners or captives: which peradventure at the first appearance might have seemed doubtful and sus-
picious (because the rein he staid not for to have the Commission and approbation of the Senat)
but in the end and up-shot it turned no doubt, to his singular praise and commendation. In that
enterchange above said, it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romans and Carthaginians,
(like as it had been afore in the first Punick war). That whether side received more Captives N
than they gave again, should yield for every one souldier * two pound and a half of silver. When
it fell out therefore that the Roman Dictator *Fabius*, had received more prisoners by 247 than
Annibal, and the paiment of the silver for them due; after much debate in the Senat house, (be-
cause he had not direction therein from the LL.) was delaied, and no order taken therefore; he
sent his son to *Rome* of purpose, to make sale of his lands, which had not been endammaged by
Annibal: and so to his own cost, and out of his private purse, discharged a publike debt.

* 7. sive. 10. lib. 3d. sterl. accounting 100 drachmes or Roman denarii to a lib.

Annibal now lay in leaguer before the walls of *Gerion*, a City which he had won and set on
fire, and reserved a few houses standing, to serve him instead of barns and garners for his grain.
From thence he sent out two third parts of his forces to purvey corn: and remained himself in
guard with one third part, ready in arms, (but lightly appointed and without any bag and bag-O
gage) in a meet and convenient place: both for defence of the Camp, and also for discovery of
all the coasts about that no assault were made upon the purveyors. The Roman Army lay then
in the Territory of *Larinum*, and the Captain General was *Minutius*, Commander of the horse-
men. because the Dictator (as is aboveseid) was gone to the City of *Rome*. But whereas these
had usually encamped before, upon some high hill and strong place of security; now they be-
gan to draw down into the vale and the plain ground, and to devise crafty means and stra-
gems beyond the natural reach of the Commander himself; namely, how they might assail either

A either the purveyors as they straggled about in the country, or set upon the Camp of their enemies,
lest with a small power and guard to defend it. *Annibal* was not ignorant, that together with
the General, the whole manner and conduct of their warfare was changed: and that the enemy
would fight rather more rashly and hastily, than wisely and warily. And himself (who would have
thought it, considering the enemy was approached nearer) sent out a third part only of his soul-
diers to provide corn and forrage, and kept the other twain with him in the Camp: he removed
also his tents nearer to the Romans, almost two miles off from *Gerion*, to a little hill within the
sight of the enemies, to the end they might know he was minded and ready to rescue and defend
the purveyors, if haply they should be charged upon. Then espied *Annibal* another hill nearer, and
B standing even over the very Camp of the Romans. For the gaining whereof, (seeing that if he
should have gone by day time openly, he had been no doubt prevented by the enemies, who
would have seized it first, by reason it was nearer unto them) he sent certain Numidians by night,
who surprised it and kept it. But the Romans making little or no account of their small number,
drave them the morrow after from thence, and thither removed their own tents: so as then there
was but a little distance between one Camp and the other, and the same, in a manner wholly ta-
ken up and replenished with Romans: and withall, at the same time, the horsemen of the Ro-
mans with certain footmen lightly armed were sent out at a postern gate of the Camp, (which o-
pened not upon the Carthaginians) against the forragers, whom they discomfited, put to flight,
and slew a great number of them. Neither durst *Annibal* issue forth to skirmish; for, having so
C few about him, he was hardly able to defend his Camp, in case it had been assaulted. So he was dri-
ven now to use the policy and shifts of *Fabius*, (for part of his forces were away) and managed his
war, sitting still as it were, and keeping the enemy at a bay and at staves end: and so retired with
his souldiers to the former Camp, under the walls of *Gerion*. Some write, that there was a field
pitched, and a set battel fought with banners displaied, wherein *Annibal* at the first encounter
was discomfited and chased to his Camp: but from thence they issued forth who were within, and
so the fear turned upon the Romans, who on a sudden were put to the worst: but by the coming
of *Numerius Decimius* (a Samnit) with succour, the fight was reenforced and renewed. This man,
not only nobly descended, but also of great power and wealth, as well in *Bovianum* his native
Country, where he was born, as throughout all *Samnium* (by order and commandment from the
D Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot, and 200 horse, toward the Camp: and being espied by
Annibal on the backside, gave both parties good hope of fresh and new aid. But when the voice
went, that *Fabius* at the same time was coming also from *Rome*, *Annibal* for fear of being entrap-
ped within some Ambush, retired back with his own men, and the Romans made pursuit after
him: and with the help of *Numerius* the Samnit, won in one day by force two fortresses. So there
were 6000 enemies slain, and 5000 Romans. And yet as equal in a manner as the loss was of both
parts, the rumour ran to *Rome* of a brave victory, with letters also in post from the General of
horsemen, full of folly and vanity. Much arguing there was and debate about these matters, both in
Senate, and before the people sundry times. And when all the City besides was joyous, and the
Dictator (alone) gave no credit either to the bruit that was blazed, or the letters: saying withall,
E That if all were true, yet he feared more the fawning than frowning of fortune: then *M. Metel-*
lus a Tribune of the Commons stepped forth and said, "That this above all was not to be suffe- The speech of
"red: that the Dictator, not only while he lay in Camp, opposed himself against all goodness, and *Metellus a-*
"stained all valorous services; but also being absent from thence, crossed and disgraced that which *gainst Fabius.*
"was well done and worthily atchieved: and that he, of purpose, drew the war in length and pro-
"longed the time, to the end he might continue the longer in government, and be the man alone
"to command all, both in the City and abroad in the Army: for one of the Consuls was slain in
"battel, the other under a pretence & colour of pursuing the Carthaginian fleet was sent out of the
"way, far enough off from *Italy*: as for the two Prætors, they were employed both in *Sicily* and
"*Sardinia*: and yet neither of those two Provinces had any need of a L. Deputy there. And *M.*
F "*Minutius* Generall of the horsemen, was kept prisoner as it were, and might neither see enemy,
"nor do any martial exploit. And hereupon it is (quoth he) that not only *Samnium* (whereof the
"possession was surrendred unto the Carthaginians, as if it were a territory lying beyond *Iberus*)
"but the Campane, Calene, and Falern territories were utterly overrun and wasted, whiles the
"Dictator abode still at *Casilinum*, and with the legions of the people of *Rom* defended his own
"lands & possessions only. And when the Army and General of the Cavalry were desirous of bat-
"tel, they were kept back enclosed in a manner within the compass of the Camp & their weapons
"taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies: & at length when the Dictator was once
"departed from them, they issued forth of the Camp, like men delivered from siege, & so discom-
"fited & put to flight their enemies. In consideration of all these things, (he said) if the Commons
G "of *Rome* were of that courage, as sometimes they had been, he would boldly have put up a bil for
"to deprive *C. Fabius* of his government. But now for this time, he would propound a more in-
"different & reasonable law, by vertue whereof the Commander of horsemen may be made equall
"with the Dictator in authority and power. Yet so, as that *Q. Fabius* might not be sent unto the
"Army, before that he had substituted & ordained another Cos. in the room of *C. Flaminius*. The
Dictator forbare altogether to come into any of these assemblies of the people, as a man in acti-
on and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himself to the humor of the common peo-
ple: Neither was he in the Senate house heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified

and extolled the valour of the enemy; or rehearsed & reckoned up the losses and foils received for
two years space, through the rashness and unskilfulness of the Commanders: and said withall, that
the General of the horsemen was to answer and give account for fighting against his edict and ex-
Fabius his words in the Senate. press commandment. "Moreover, (quoth he) if I were in place of soveraign rule and government,
"& to do all according as I thought good, I would effect and bring to pass, within few daies, that
"men should know, that a good warrior was to make small reckning of fortune: but wisdom, wit,
"and counsel were to guid and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honor & glory
"to have preserved an army in a time of trouble and danger from shame and ignominy, than to
"have slain many thousands of enemies. After he had made these and such like speeches & reasons
in vain, and created for Cos. *M. Attilius Regulus*: for that he would not be present to debate the
question concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night season
toward the army; even the very day before that the foresaid law should be propounded. The
morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience: wherein men seemed rather se-
cretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, & to affect and favour the General of the horsemen,
than durst come forth and be seen to perswade and set forward that which pleased them all in
common. And notwithstanding the bil was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give
some credit and authority thereunto. At length, one stepped forth to set it on foot, namely, *C. Te-
rentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, a man not only of obscure degree by calling,
but also of vile & base parentage descended. His father was (as they say) a Butcher, who kept shop
and sold meat himself, and trained up his son as his apprentice in the same mechanical and servile
occupation. This *Varro* being a young man, and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and
gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike:
and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exercising himself in enter-
taining causes of base persons, against the estate and name of honest Citizens and of good reputa-
tion: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people, and afterwards was advanced to
place of worship and honour. And having been Treasurer of the City, and born both Ædileships,
as well that of the Chair, as the other of the Commons: and at length gone through one Præ-
torship, he aspired now higher, in hope to be Consul: and full craftily waited his time, and sought
to wind himself within the favor of the people by means of the ill opinion and hard conceit they
had of the Dictator: & thus he alone went away with all the affectionate love of the Commons.
All men that were either at *Rome*, or in the Army, both good and bad, in general (excepting the
Dictator himself) received and admitted that bill, as made to his disgrace and shameful reproach.
But he with the very same gravity and constancy of heart, endured these injurious course & dea-
ling of the people raging against him, wherewith he had born his adversaries slandering & char-
ging him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journied, letters importing
the decree of the Senat, for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horsemen, and
being assured that notwithstanding his commission were parted and communicated with another,
yet his skill and sufficiency of conduct and command, remained still with himself: with a mind in-
vincible as well against Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But *Minutius*, who before
that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate success and also for the favour of the
common sort: now verily beyond all measure and bounds of modesty, vaunted and gloried, in that
he had conquered & got the mastery over *Fabius* as well as over *Annibal*: "That *Fabius* (I say) who
"in time of distress and calamity, was the only warrior and Captain that could be found out to
"match *Annibal*: that the superior Magistrate was by the consent & approbation of the people,
"(a thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferi-
"or; to wit the Dictator with the General of horsemen: and in that City, wherein the Comman-
"ders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator. So
"conspicuous and evident in the eies of the world, was his felicity and proweſs above all others.
And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time: in case the Dicta-
"tor still continued lingring in sloth and idleness, condemned in the judgment both of God and
"man. Whereupon the very first day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he said that they were a-
bove all things to determine & set down in what sort they might order this their equal authority
of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between
were supposed better) they should one after the other alternatively have the full and whole com-
mand of all for the time in their several turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battel were presen-
ted, they might be able to countervail the enemy, not only in counsel, but also in power and
strength. *Q. Fabius* liked not of this; supposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition
of his rash colleague must needs be subject unto the arbitrement of Fortune: Saying moreover un-
to him, "That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule: but not wholly to depart
"therefro, and shut himself out. And therefore he would never willingly fail, but (to his power) o
"manage by counsel and discretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either
"time or daies, but the forces and armies: that *Minutius* might have one moyty, and himself ano-
"ther: & since he might not preserve all by his own counsel & policy, yet he would endeavour (so
"far as he could) to save somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the Legions be-
tween them, as the manner of the Consuls was. The first and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the second
and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horsemen number for number, and the auxi-
liary souldiers of Allies and Latines. The Generall of the horsemen would needs likewise that
they should be encamped asunder.

Annibal

A *Annibal* conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own escouts and spies) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well-enough with the lavish rashness of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind: and also that the prudent policy of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of *Minutius* and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforehand should have the vantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (& yet it had been a matter of good importance) as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and scuffling with *Minutius*, whom
B he wist very well to be alwaies forward enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first sight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over-grown with any woods, nor yet in any part roughly over-spread and covered, so much as with briers and brambles. But in very deed, the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an Ambuscado: and the rather, because in so naked and bare a valley none would have imagined and suspected any deceitful trains, and forelaying of wait. And yet there were in divers nooks and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them of sufficient capacity to receive 200 armed men. In these lurking holes there were bestowed 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, lest that the stirring of
C any one that might chance to go forth unadvisedly, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in so open a valley, *Annibal* by sending out at the break of day some few for to seize the aforesaid hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. These at the first view were despised of the Romans for their small number, and every man was desirous to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to set the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The General himself *Minutius*, as fool-hardy and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarm, and commanded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatning of the enemies full vainly. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointly together in array: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battel.
D And *Annibal*, wheresoever he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continual fresh aides one after another, both of horse and foot, ever as the fight encreased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full army in field, and they maintained battel on both sides with all their power and main forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand of the enemy) were put back, and beaten down again: insomuch as in their retire, they put the horsemen in fear that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the Ensigns of the Infantry. The main battell of the Legionary footmen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without fear, undaunted; and seemed in a plain, set, and downright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their own, and in no respect to have been over-matched: so couragious they were, and had taken such
E heart upon their late victory, some few daies before. But the enemies starting suddenly out of their Ambuscadoes, so troubled, disordered, and terrified them, flanking them on both sides, and charging withall behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off their battell disordered and in disarray, "I thought "even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out: Fortune I see well, hath "over-raught fool-hardiness, and taken it tardy. The man, forsooth, that must needs be made e-
"quall with *Fabius* in government, seeth by this time, that *Annibal* is his good Master, & his be-
"ter by ods in proweſs and fortune: but we shall find out some other time to chide and to be an-
"gry. Come on now, forth with your standards and ensigns, let us wrest from our enemies hands
F "the victory, and wring from our Citizens mouths confession of their errour and trespass. Now when some of them were slain, and others looked about which way to make escape and flie: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himself, as sent down from heaven to rescue them. And before he came to lance one javelin, or began to joyn battell and fight one stroke, he not only staid his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heat of fight. As many of the Romans as were disbanded and scattered asunder all abroad, repaired again speedily from all parts, and rallied themselves to the entire battell: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy: and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together stedfast, kept this order by turns: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unfoiled became reduced into one body
G of a battell, and advanced their ensigns against the enemy. By which time *Annibal* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and said, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so he was foiled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minutius* called together his souldiers, and spake unto them after this manner: "I have oftentimes heard it spoken (my good souldiers) that he is the best man "and most sufficient, who knoweth himself what is best to do: next to him is he esteemed, that "will be ruled and directed by sage advice & counsel: but he that neither hath the skill to advise an-
"other, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing.

"Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attain unto the highest degree of wit, and per-
"fection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place, and keep a mean between
"and whiles we learn to rule, let us settle our selves and resolve to obey him that is wiser than
"our selves. Let us joyn in Camp with *Fabius*, and when we have presented our selves and our
"ensigns before his pavilion and tribunal, see that when I salute him by the name of Father (as
"is beseeming his excellent majesty, and the benefit by us of him received) that ye also call those
"souldiers your Patrons, whose valiant hands and trusty arms erewhile protected you: that this
"day may give us yet, if nothing else, the honour and name of thankful persons. Having thus said,
he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and as they marched in good
array toward the Camp of the Dictator, they struck both him and also all about him into a won-
der and admiration. And having pitched their ensigns before the Tribunal: then *Minutius* the Ge-
neral of the horse went forth before the rest: and after he had greeted *Fabius* himself as his Father,
His speech to the Dictator. and the whole Army likewise saluted those about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrons: "To my pa-
"rents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equall in name only (as much as my
"tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more: but to
"you I am indebted for having both my life, and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance
"of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my
"self I renounce, revoke, and abolish: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both
"of you and me, of mine army and yours, as well that which is preserved, as that which is the pre-
"server) lo I submit and surrender again my self under your command and government, together K
"with these ensigns and legions thereto belonging; beseeching you to pardon me, and to enter-
"tain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry, and those here with me, every man in his
"former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the souldiers
(after the assembly dismissed) were curteously invited, and friendly entertained, as well by them
that were unknown unto them as of their acquaintance, and so the day, dolorous, heavy, and al-
most dismall and accursed, turned to be joyful and festival.

So soon as tidings came to *Rome* of these occurrents, and the same confirmed as well by the
letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of souldiers from both Armies,
every man, the best he could, praised and extolled *Maximus* up to the sky; whose honour and re-
putation was as great in the opinion of *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, L
they found, that they had to deal and war in *Italy* and with Romans. As for the two years space
before, they set so light both by Roman Captains and souldiers, that they could be hardly perswa-
ded, that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went so great a fame, and of whom their
forefathers had reported such wonders and terrible things. They say also, that *Annibal* as he re-
turned out of the field, gave out these words, "That the cloud which setled on the hill tops, ho-
"vered so long in the wind that it proved a tempestuous storm in the end.

Whiles these things were doing in *Italy*, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consul, having sailed about
the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corsica* with his fleet, and received hostages both of the one Ile and
the other, passed over into *Affrick*: and before that he landed in the continent and firm land, he
wasted the Island * *Meninx*, and having received * ten talents of silver of the inhabitants there- M
* *Gerbi*, or *Zerbi*. about, for fear left their Territory also should be consumed with fire, and spoiled as well as the
* 2879 li. sterl. according to the lesser Attick talent. rest; he came to *Affrick*, and there set his forces ashore. From thence he led his souldiers and
marriners likewise one with another disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and spoil
some desart Islands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they fell unadvisedly into an
ambush, and being unskilfull of the country, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon
encloted among many, and with much slaughter and shameful flight were driven and beaten back
to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one Treasurer of the Army among
them, called *Sempronius Blesus*, loosed in great haste from the shore (which now was overspread
by enemies) and held their course for *Sicily*, and at * *Lilybæum* was set over and delivered to *T. Or-*
* Mazsalla. *acilius* the Prætor, for to be brought back again to *Rome*, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* N
himself journeyed through *Sicily* by land, and crossed the narrow seas into *Italy*: for both he and
his Collegue *M. Attilius* were sent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the Army at his hands,
now that his six-months-soveraign government was well neer expired. All the Annals in a man-
ner do record, that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged war
with *Annibal*. *Cælius* writeth also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Cælius*
and the rest, either knew not, or else forgot, that the Consul *Servilius*, who then was far from *Rome*,
and in the Province of *France*, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator:
and because the City so affrighted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long,
they were driven to this shift, That there should be created by the people a Pro-Dictator or Dic-
tator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the O
title of his Image, which might recommend his house more honourable to posterity, gained easi-
ly this point, and caused the Pro-Dictator to be reputed Dictator, and so called.

The Consuls, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the army (as is
beforesaid) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbour (for it was then the Autumn
season) conducted and managed the wars together in great concord, and followed the same poli-
tick course that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rodes at any time to purvey
corn, they would meet him just at every turn, in sundry places, and either cut off the tail of his
men,

A men, or intercept and catch them as they went scattering, but never hazard all in one set field;
the only thing that the enemy shot at, by all the means he could devise. And so near driven was
Annibal, and to those terms of want and scarcity, that but for very shame (left by his dislodging
and departure he might be thought to flie) he would have retired back into *Gallia*, as being
out of all hope to maintain and sustain his Army with victuals in those parts, in case the new
Consuls who next succeeded, should hold on still the same policy and manner of warfare. Win-
ter now approached, and all the war that was continued and tended about * *Gerion*: at what time * *Gir̃genti.*
there arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Naples*, who brought with them, and presented into The Embassa-
the Council-House, forty massie boles of beaten gold: and with all delivered this speech, and said, dors of *Naples* in the Senate of *Rome*.
B "That they knew full well, how the Treasure of the people of *Rome* was wasted and consumed
"by long wars. And forasmuch as the said wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the
"Cities and Lands of allies, as for *Rome*, the very head, mother City, and principall Citadel (as it
"were) of all *Italy*, and for the soveraign dominion and Empire thereof: the Neapolitans thought
"it meet and reason, that what store of gold their ancestors had left unto them, were it for to a-
"dorn and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessity, with it they were
"to aid and help the people of *Rome* in their adversity. And if they could have bethought them-
"selves of any other means besides, wherein they might stead and befriend them: they would as
"willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: saying, moreover, that the Senators of
"*Rome* should do them an high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of *Na-*
C "*ples* had, as their own; and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept
"a present, much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers
"than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for
their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that boll was only received
which weighed least.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two years space had walked unknown
and unsuspected, was detected and apprehended now at *Rome*: and after his hands were cut
off, was suffered to depart. Five and twenty slaves were crucified for a conspiracy contrived in
Campus Martius. The informer was made free, and had * 20000 pound of brass bullion given him * 60 pound ster-
for a reward. There were also sent Embassadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand ling 6 d. sterl.
D again *Demetrius Pharius*, who having been vanquished in plain field, was fled unto him. Others
likewise were dispatched to the Ligurians, as well to expostulate with them and complain, that
they had succoured *Annibal* with men, money and other munition: as also to hearken and learn
(seeing they were so near) what the Boians and Insubrians did or went about. Besides, a third
Embassage was addressed as far as to * *Illyricum*, unto King *Pineus*, to enquire and call for the * Sclavonia.
Tribute, whereof the term was expired and past: and if he were minded to take a longer day,
than to receive hostages and pledges of him for security. See how careful the Romans were, and
what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great war which lay heavily upon their necks
and shoulders, to their other affairs: insomuch as no one thing in the world, how distant and
remote soever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters, they
E made some scruple of conscience, that the Temple of *Concord* (which *L. Manlius*, L. Deputy in
Gallia, had vowed two years before in time of a sedition and mutiny of souldiers) was not as yet
set out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Duumvirs were
for that purpose created by *Æmylius* the Prætor, or L. Governour of the City, namely, *Cn. Pupi-*
us, and *Caso Quintius Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the
Capitoll hill. The same Prætor, by vertue of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters unto the
Consuls, importing thus much, That if they thought good, one of them should repair to *Rome*
for the creation of new Consuls; and that himself would summon the Parliament against that
day which it should please them to appoint. The Consuls wrote back again according to the
premises, That they might not depart far from the enemy without damage of State: advising
F them to hold an assembly for the Election aforesaid, by authority of an interregent, rather than
that one of the Consuls should be called away from the wars. But the LL. of the Senate thought
it better to have a Dictator chosen by one of the Consuls, for the holding of that high Court
of Parliament. So *L. Veturius Philo*, was nominated Dictator, and he chose for Generall of the
Horsemen *M. Pomponius Matho*. But these men being not duly and lawfully created, were com-
manded at the fornights end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Inter-
reign. The Consuls had their Commission, for government and conduct of the Army, continued
and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregents, first *Cn. Claudius Cento*,
the son of *Appius*; and after him, *P. Cornelius Asina*. During whose Interreign, the Parliament
was holden, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Commons. The
G Vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Consulship *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their
own coat and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common sort by oppo-
sing himself and contesting against great personages, and by other popular practises and courses
that he used to win grace among the people: as namely, by abasing the greatness of *Fabius*, and
the Majesty of the Dictatorship: for nothing was there else in him, to commend him to the
world, but a malicious mind to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons
all they could, to prevent this mischief; That men should not take a custome to be their equals,
by means of inveighing and making head against them. *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune of the Com-
mons,

mons, and kinsman to *C. Terentius*, blamed and accused much not only the Senate, but also the A
Augurs, in that they forbad the Dictator to finish and go through with the election: and so by
drawing them into hatred, sought to purchase favour and credit unto *Terentius* his Candidate,
The Oration of *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune. who stood to be Consul, "First, quoth he) whereas the Noblemen for many years together sought
"occasions of war, and trained *Annibal* into *Italy*, the same persons craftily have made a long war
"of it, when it might have been brought to a final end before now. Also, when it was well seen
"that they might have fought a battel with the compleat power of four legions all together: seeing
"that *M. Minutius* in the absence of *Fabius* had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were
"offered and exposed as it were to the enemy to be hewn in peeces: and then afterwards, they
"were rescued and saved from massacre, and the very edge of the sword: to the end that *Fabius* I
"might be called Father and Patron: even he, who to say a truth, first impeached the Romans for
"vanquishing the enemies, before that he saved them from being vanquished. Moreover, the
"Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificiall fetches that *Fabius* pra-
"ctised before them, drew out the war still on length, when they had good means of victory, and
"might have fully finished it. A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the No-
"bles. And never will they see to make an end of war, before there be a Consul chosen, a meer
"Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never seen afore, and of the first head. For those who are of
"Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the same profession; they draw all in one
"line, and have learned one lesson; and ever since that they have left to be contemned of the No-
"bility, are faln to despise and dildain the Commonalty. For who seeth not, that in seeking to B
"have an Interreign, their only purpose and reach was that the Election might be full and wholly
"in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Consuls aimed at, in
"staying behind in Camp with the Army: & afterwards when there was a Dictator created against
"their wills for to hold the great assembly for the Election. their drift was, and they wrought so,
"and brought it about in the end, that the Augurs should give it out and pronounce, that there
"was an errour committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore saith he, the Commons can-
"not of all things away with these Interreigns: and verily, one of the Consulships (at least) ap-
"pertain of right to the Commons of *Rome*: and no doubt, the people in their free election would
"more willingly make choice of one to be Consul, and confer the dignity upon him, that loved
"rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time. When I
the Commons were once enkindled and set on fire with these speeches and remonstances, albeit
three of the *Patritii* were competitors, namely, *Pub. Cornelius Merenda*, *L. Manlius Volso*, and *M.*
Æmylius Lepidus, and two * new Noblemen who were already familiar and aquainted with the
Commons, to wit. *C. Attilius Serranus* and *Q. Ælius Paetus*, of whom the one had been High Priest,
and the other Augur: yet at length was *C. Terentius* only created Consul, to the end that the el-
ection should be in his power, that he might choose unto him a Collegue at his pleasure. Then
the Patritians having a sufficient tryall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of small force
and not able to prevail, urged and put forward *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who sometimes had been
Consul with *M. Lælius*, in the condemnation as well of himself as of his companion, escaped
the peril of being burnt and was well singed and scorched, as it were in the fire: a man of all M
others most mischievously bent against the Commons: him they urged, I say, to stand for a Con-
sulship notwithstanding he refused a long while, and alledged many reasons against it. And so the
next Comitiall or Parliament day, by occasion that all the concurrents and competitors aforesaid
that stood with *Varro*, gave place and left off their suit, he was chosen to match with the Consul
elect, for to thwart and cross him. rather than to be assistant unto him in the government. This
done, they proceeded to the election of Pretors, wherein *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *P. Furius*
Philus were created. Unto *Pomponius* fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City of *Rome*: and un-
to *P. Furius Philus*, between the Citizens of *Rome* and forreiners. Two other Prætors besides were
chosen, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, to be sent Deputy into *Sicily*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* into
Gallia. All were created in their absence, and excepting *Terentius* the Consul only, there was no N
Magistracy conferred upon any, who had not aforetime born and exercised the same: for divers
valorous and hardy men were passed over and left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was
not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexperienced.
The Armies also were augmented; but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavalry, or In-
fantry, I dare not set down any thing for certainty; so greatly do authors vary both in the num-
ber and quality of the forces. Some say, there was a new supply of 10000 souldiers enrolled. O-
thers affirm that to the five legions there were were adjoyned four new besides; to the end they
might employ nine legions in the wars. Also, that the legions were increased in number both
All within these marks [ ] read as a marginal note. of foot and horse: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footmen, and three hundred horse-
men in every Legion: [for sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 200 horse, cal-O
led *Quadrata legio*: whereas at first *Romulus* ordained it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of the
other] so as a Legion consisted now of five thousand foot. and three hundred horse: and that the
associats should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the
Romans.

Some Historians have written, that at what time as the battell of *Cannæ* was fought, the Ro-
mans were in Camp 87200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romans warred with grea-
ter preparation, and more force and fury than in years past, because the Dictator had put them
in

A in good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these
new Legions advanced under their ensigns and banners out of the City, the Decemvirs were com-
manded to go and perusse the books of *Sibylla*; by reason that men were commonly put in fear,
and terrified with news of strange sights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both
at *Rome* in the *Aventine*, and also at *Ariccia*, it rained stones, much about one time; and that in the
Sabins Country (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter) there issued out of a
certain fountain, waters hot, with much bloud: and men were more terrified therewith, because
it did so many times together. Besides, in the street called *Fornicata* toward *Campus Martius*, di-
vers persons were blasted and smitten to death with lightning from heaven. These prodigious
B signs were expiate and purged with due remedies out of the foresaid books. Embassadors also
from the City of *Pestum*, brought unto *Rome* a present of massie boles of beaten gold. Thanked
they were, like as the Neopolitans before them, but the gold was not received.

The Embassadors of K. Hiero, in the Senat of *Rome*.

At the same time there arrived at *Ostia* from K. *Hiero* a fleet of ships, ready rigged, and furnished
with store of victuals; The Syracusan Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, where
they declared, "That K. *Hiero*, so soon as he heard of the death of *C. Flaminius* the Consul, and the
"defeat of the Army, took it so heavily, that no proper calamity of his own, or loss incident unto
"his kingdom, could have troubled him more, and touched him nearer: and therefore albeit he
"knew full well, that the grandeur and courage of the people of *Rome*, was ordinarily more admi-
"rable in their adversity, than in prosperity and welfare, yet he had sent all those things, where-
C "with good friends and faithfull Allies are wont to furnish their associats in time of war, praying
"the LL. of the Senat, in any case not to refuse the same, but to take all in good worth. And first &
"formost, for good luck sake and fortunate presage, they have brought with them the Image of *Vi-*
"*ctory* in gold, weighing 320 * pound: requesting that it would please them to accept the same to
"have and to hold it, as their own for ever. Moreover, they had transported with them * 500 00
"Modios of wheat and 200000 of barley, to the end they should be at no fault for victuals, and
"were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, and to what place they
"would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed and horsemen, he knew well the people of *Rome*
"would use none but naturall Romans, or at leastwise Latines. But forasmuch as he had seen and
D "observed in the Roman Camp, certain aids consisting of light armed souldiers, therefore he had
"sent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the Baleares and
"Mores, and other nations that use shot, and to reach their enemies afar off. Over and besides
"these gifts and reall presents, they counselled and advised them, that the Lord Deputy of *Sicily*
"should pass with his fleet into *Affrick*, both to find the enemy work, and give him his hands
"full of war at home: and also to afford him less respite, and worse opportunity, to send aid and
"succour to *Annibal*. The Senate returned this answer again unto the King: That King *Hiero*
"had done the part of a right good man, and a singular friend and ally: who ever since that he was
"entred into amity with the people of *Rome*, hath held on the same course still, in keeping his
"faithfull allegeance, and never failed, but at all times and in all places succoured and advanced
"the State and Empire of *Rome*, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of
E "*Rome* took most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for gold some other Cities likewise had
"brought and offred unto them, but accepting only in good worth their kindness received it not.
"But the Image of *Victory*, and the happy prelage and foretoken thereof they gladly accepted: and
"for that blessed Saint, they appointed and dedicated even the Capitol, and Temple of *Jup. Opt.*
"*Max.* to be the seat and shrine thereof: that being consecrated in that Castle and highest for-
"tress of the City of *Rome*, it might be propice and gracious, and remain firm and fast to the peo-
"ple of *Rome*. As for the slingers and archers together with the corn they were delivered to the
Cos. Five and twenty gallies, with five ranks of oars to a side, were joined to the Navy which was
under the conduct of *T. Octacilius* the Pro-prætor in *Sicily*: who had commission, if he thought it
good and expedient for the commonweal, to pass over into *Affrick*. The Consuls having finished
F the musters and levied souldiers, staid a few daies, untill their allies were come with aid from the
Latines. Then were the Souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put
to their corporal oath, and sworn to make their repair at the Consuls commandment, and with-
out their leave not to depart: for until that day, there passed nothing but a sacramentall parole &
simple promise in general. For whensoever the horsemen resorted to their Decuries, and footmen
to their Centuries; both they of the Cavalry in their Decuries, and also of the Infantry in their
Centuries, (ware (after a sort) voluntarily among themselves. That they would not abandon their
ensigns by way of flight, or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either
some offensive armour, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a Citizen. Which having been
aforetime a voluntary covenant & accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes
G or Colonels, reduced to a formal and solemn oath and bound the souldiers to observe them same,
of necessity. Yet before the ensigns set forward and marched out of *Rome*, the Consul *Varro* dealt
many hot words and brave orations in the assembly of the people, intimating & purporting thus
much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in *Italy* where it was like to remain long e-
nough, and to stick close to the ribs of the common-weal, if she were served with many such Ge-
nerals as *Fabius* was. "As for my self (quoth he) I shall (I trow) vanquish the enemy, the first day
"that I set eye upon him, yea, and finish the war at once for ever. But his Collegue *Paulus* made
but one only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City: which was not

* 11520 lib. sterl.

* 9375 quarters, reckoning six modii to *Medimnus*, which is supposed to be much about a bushel and a half of *London* measure.

so

* [Such as by delcent and birth were pure Commoners, but by place, become of the Nobility.]

fo wel taken of the people for the present, as it is provedtrue in the end. Wherin he gave *Varro* no H hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: "That he marvelled much, how any Captain, "before he had experience either of his own army, or of his enemies, and knew the scituation of "the place and ground and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gown, "could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in arms: and be able also to foretell and "set down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joyn in ranged battel with the enemy, "For his own part, he would not cast thus aforehand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due "time & season, which present occurrences are wont much more to minister unto men, than men "to fit them to the occurrents that shall happen. This would he wish with all his heart, That the "enterprises taken in hand warily and with discretion, might prove as lucky and fortunate. As for I "inconsiderat rashness, besides that it implieth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was wel seen, that this man of himself enclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsel, before doubtful waies & fool-hardy courses: & to the end that he might perfever in that resolution more constantly, *Q. Fabius Maximus* at his departure (by report) bad him farewel, in this or such like manner.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius Max.* to *L. Æmylius* the Consul.

"If either you, O *L. Æmylius*, had a Collegue like unto your self, (which I could rather wish) for "that your self were suitable to your Collegue: these my words to you were altogether needless "and superfluous. For you twain, being two good Coniuls, would even without my speech do all "things faithfully to the good of the Commonweal: and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, "ye neither would vouchsafe to giveear to my sayings nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, "when I consider your companion what he is and your self, to be a man of that quality & worth, I "you are he to whom alone I am addressed to direct my whole speech; to you, I say, whom me "thinks I forefee already, like to be in vain and without effect, an honest man and a good Citi- "zen. For if the Commonweal be halt and lame but of one side, as great sway and authority will "bad project, & leud courses carry, as the good, sage and wholsom counsels. For you are far out "of the way and much deceived, O *L. Æmylius*, if you think to be less troubled with *Annibal* than "with *C. Terentius*. And I wot not well, but I greatly fear, that you shall have a more cumbrous "adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For, with *Annibal* you are to fight "in the field and in time of battel only: but with *Terentius* you shall have to do in every place, and "at all hours. Against *Annibal* and his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your "own Cavalry and Infantry: but General *Varro* will assail you even with your own souldiers. Far I "be from you in any ill sense the late remembrance of *C. Flaminius*, for I love no such unluckie "presaging. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul, and never before: when "he was in his Province with command & in the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this "*Varro* even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the whiles he was a suitor therefore, and "now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth camp or enemy in field, is horn-mad; and "talketh like a man besides himself. What fond work then (think you) will he make, when he shal "see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in "their gowns and long robes within the City, stirreth so great storms and tempests, cracking "and vaunting at every second word of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battel? What a coil, I say, "will he keep there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blow given; and when upon directi- M "on presently ensueth execution? But in case this man (as he saith flatly he will) fall immediatly "to strike a battel, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how "to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or "else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than "was the Lake *Thrasymenus*. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorifie "my self in comparison of this one person: who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed and go "beyond all measure in despising glory & honour, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. "But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against *Annibal*, "is that which I took and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is master "and teacher of fools) which sheweth & proveth this unto us, but even reason it self which hath N "and will be still the same and immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We "war, (you see) in *Italy*, at home, in our own ground and place of residence: all quarters round "about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready still "to furnish us with armour, men horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faith- "fulness have they given us already in our hard distress and adversity. Space and process of time "maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Con- "trariwise, *Annibal* is in a strange and forrein land, in his enemies country, in the midst of all "things that are crosse and adverse unto him, far from his house and home, far from his native soil, "having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertain- "ment no wals he hath within which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing seeth he, wherefo O "ever he goeth, that he can say is his own. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of ra- "pine and spoil. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river I- "berus. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this "small remainder that is left, he is hard and scant provided of food and sustenance. Make you any "doubt then but we shall vanquish him, whiles we sit still and take our ease, who day by day de- "caieth sensibly, and waxeth old and feeble: who neither hath store of victuals to maintain an "army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mass of money to entertain them.

How

A "How long was he fain to fight for *Gerion*, a poor little Castle in *Apulia*, as if it had been for the "wals of *Carthage* it self? Neither will I boast and magnifie my self at all before you O *Æmylius*. "Do you but only consider, how *Cn. Servilius* and *Attilius*, the last Consuls, plaied mock-holiday "with him, and deluded him. This is the only way of safety, O *L. Paulus*, which I fear me our own "Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than the enemies can. For "you shall have your own souldiers and your enemies both of one and the same mind. *Varro* "the Roman Consul, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the "self-same thing. And you, being but one man must make account to resist two Captains: and re- "sist them you shall well enough, if you will stand firm and hold your own against all brutes and B "spec. hes of the people, if neither the vain-glory of your fellow that shall be blazed, nor the in- "famous rumours that shall be faisly blown abroad to your disgrace, shall once stir you from your "constant resolution and maintenance of the truth. Old sayings these be, and common proverbs, "That right and true-dealing may well be sick, but it shall not die: it may lie a bleeding, but shall "not miscarry. And he that will despise vain-glory, shall attain in the end to true glory. Let them "call you and spare not, fearful for careful, cold and slow for wise and considerate, an ill souldier "and ignorant for a skilful warrior and experienced. But be not you dismaied: I had rather hear "a wise and sober enemy to fear you, than see foolish and brain-sick Citizens to praise you. Ad- "venture all things boldly, *Annibal* will contemn you: enterprise nothing rashly, he shall dread "you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speak I this that you should enter into no action at all: C "but my meaning and advice is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by the rea- "son, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter so, that all things lye "within your compass, and at your disposition. Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have "your eye about you still, and keep good watch, that neither you lose any opportunity that shal "present itself unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and "leisure, your shall find all things clear, plain easie, and certain. Contrariwise, haste maketh waste: "it is ever to seek it foreseeth nought, but is stark blind.

The answer of *Æmylius* to *Fabius*.

The Consul answered to these speeches, with no light som cheer and gladsome countenane, as confessing, That all he spake was rather true in substance, than easie in execution. "For (said "he) if the General of horsemen were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his D "Dictator and soveraign Commander: what course shall I take, what shift may I make, what "power and authority sufficient, am I like to have, to sway against my seditious, quarrelsome, and "heady Collegue? For mine own part, in my former Consulship, I hardly escaped a scouring, "and much ado I had to pass through the light fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy "censure, wherein I was well scorched and half-burnt. I wish all may be well in the end, Howbeit, "if any thing shall fall out otherwise than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the ene- "mies, and leave my life behind me among them, than put my self to be tried again by the voices "and suffrages of angry and testy Citizens. *Paulus* had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journey, and the chief LL. of the Senat accompanied him. The ther Commoner Consul was likewise attended of his favourits the Commons, more looked on & E gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their persons.

So soon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was interming'ed with the old, they divided the whole army into two camps & ordred the matter so, that the new which was the lesser should be nearer to *Annibal*: and in the old, the greater number and the whole strength and flower of the main forces should be quartered. Then they sent away to *Rome M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year, who excused himself by reason of his old age, and desired to be gone. But they gave unto *Cn. Servilius* the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and besides of two thousand horsemen and footmen of their allies in the lesser Camp. *Annibal*, notwithstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re-enforced by one half more than before, yet wondrous joyful he was at the comming of these new Consuls. For not only F he had nothing left him of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to serve his present need and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with; by reason that after the territory was not safe to travel in, the corn from all parts was conveyed unto the strong walled Towns, and there laid up: so that (as afterwards it was known for certain) he had scarce corn enough for to serve ten daies: and the Spaniards, by occasion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might but espy a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides, to the inbred rashness and over-hasty nature of the Consul, Fortune also ministred matter to confirm him therein. For in a certain tumultuary skirmish (to stop and impeach the forragers and Plunderers of *Annibal*, and which began rather by chance, as the souldiers hapned to encounter one another, than G upon any considerate counsel aforehand, or by direction and commandment from the Generals) the Carthaginians had the foil, and went by the worst; for of them there were 1700 slain: but of Romans and Confederates, not passing 100. And when in the train of victory they hotly followed the chace in disarray, the Consul *Paulus*, who that day had the absolute command (for they governed by turns, each one his day) restrained and staied them. *Varro* thereat chafed and fretted, crying out aloud, That he had let the enemy escape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given over the pursuit, the war might have been ended at once. *Annibal* took this loss and dammage nothing near the heart, but rather made full reckoning, that he had caught

(as

(as it were) with a bait & fleshed the audatiousnes of the fool-hasty Consul, and of the new soul-l diers especially. For he knew as well all that was done amongst the enemies, as in his own Camp: namely, that the Generals were not suitable nor sorting one unto the other: and that of three parts of the army, two in a manner were but raw, fresh, and untrained souldiers. And therefore supposing he had now got place and time favourable unto him, to contrive and compass some stratagem, the night following he led forth his souldiers, carrying nothing about them but their armour; and abandoned the Camp full of all things, as well private goods and furniture, as publike provision: and beyond the next hils he bestowed secretly in ambush his footmen well appointed and in ordinance of battel on the left hand: and the horsemen on the right: and conveighed all his carriages into the midst between two flanks: to the end, that whiles the enemy was busied in rifling and ransaking the tents, forlorn (as it were) and forsaken by the flight of the owners and masters, he might surprize him laden and encumbred with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the Camp many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should verily think and believe, that under a pretended shew of an army in Camp, his purpose was to hold and keep the Consuls amused till where they were, whiles himself in the mean time might gain more ground and escape further-way: like as he had plaid by *Fabius* the year before. When day-light was come and the Cons. saw, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached neerer) an unwonted silence, they marvelled much. But after they discovered certainly that the Camp was abandoned, and no person remaining behind: there was running of all hands who could run fastest to the pavilions of the Cons. with news that the enemies were fled, in such fear as they left their tents standing entire, and had quit the Camp wholly: and to the end their flight should be more secret and not descried they had left light fires burning in every place. Then began they all to cry and call upon the Cons. for to command the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad and to lead forth in pursuit of the enemies, and without any stay to make spoil and havock of their Camp. And in truth one of the Cons. was no wiser than the common souldiers. But *Paulus* replied, and told them ever and anon, that they were to be circumspect and wary, and to look about them what they did for fear of an ambush. Yet seeing in the end no remedy, and that otherwise he could neither stay the mutiny, nor rule the Captain thereof: he sent out *M. Statilius* (the Provost marshall) with a troop of Lucan horsemen in espiall, to discover the coasts and see all were clear: who having ridden hard to the gates and given order to all the rest for to stay without the fortifications, himself with two horsemen besides entred within the rampire, and having looked and searched every corner advisedly, he returned and made relation, That past all peradventure there were knaves abroad, and a piece of treachery was in hand: for why, there are fires made (quoth he) on that side only of the Camp that looked toward the enemy: the pavilions stand open, and all things of price and value which they set more store by are left at random even to fit our hands: and we have seen besides in divers places, silver plate and coin scattered along the way here and there, as it were a bait laid to train us to a booty. These circumstances reported, of purpose to withdraw their minds from covetous and greedy desire of pillage: set them on and kindled them the more. And the souldiers had no sooner cried aloud, that unless the signal were given, they would set forwards without Commanders: but they had a captain straight at hand to lead them N the way: for immediatly *Varro* sounded the march. *Paulus* who of himself made slow hast, and perceived besides that the birds in taking the Auspice approved not this enterprise, nor gave good tokens of happy speed, gave order straightwaies that his Collegue should be advertised of the unlucky Auspice, who was ready now to set out of the gate with his standard: & that in any wise he should stay. Wherewith albeit *Varro* was not well content, yet the late misfortune of *Flaminius*, and the memorable overthrow at sea of *Claudius* [* *Pulcher*] Consul, in the Punik war, wrought some scruple of conscience and fear in his heart. But it was even the fair grace of the gods (if a man may so say) and nothing else, which put by and deserred rather than impeached and inhibited the danger and destruction that hung over the Romans heads. For as good hap was it chanced at the very instant, when the Consul commanded the ensigns to be brought into the Camp, & the souldiers would not obey him: that two slaves (who served sometime two horsemen, the one a Formian, and the other a Sidicin, and who in the year when *Servilius* & *Atilius* were Consuls among other forragers were taken prisoners by the Numidians) made an escape and fled that day to their old masters again. Who being brought before the Cons. advertised them constantly, that the whole army of *Annibal* lay close in ambushado on the farther side of the mountains. The coming of these bondslaves so right and just as they did, caused the souldiers to obey their Cons. Whereas the one of them by his ambitious courting and seeking unto them at the first for a Consulship, and afterwards by his unseemly indulgence and pleasing of them, had lost all his majesty and reputation among them.

Annibal, when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without advice, than still to run O rashly on head to the full: and that his crafty device was disclosed and took no effect, returned again into his Camp. Where, he could not for want of corn make abode many daies: and besides, not only souldiers (who were not all one mans children but a confused mixture of all Nations) began daily to plot and enter into new deseignments, but also their Captain himself was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling, and afterwards with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages complaining first of the dearth of victuals and in the end, of meer hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenary souldiers, and

* Read the Breviary of the nineteenth book.

A and the Spaniards especially, were minded and intended to give him the slip, and to turn to the enemy: *Annibal* likewise bethought himself otherwhiles as it was said, how he might flie into *Gallia*, but so, as he would leave his Infantry behind him at six and seven, and so be gone with his Cavalry alone. As men, I say, were thus plotting and devising in the camp, he resolved at length to dislodge from thence, and to remove into the hotter countries of *Apulia*, where the harvest was more timely: considering withal, that the farther he went from the enemies his souldiers who were by nature light-headed and inconstant, would not so easily revolt and flie from him. So he took his way by night, and made fires likewise, and left a few tents standing in sight, that the Romans fearing the like trains and ambush as before, might keep in, and not stir abroad. But when B as the same *Statilius* the Lucan, having scoured all the coasts, both beyond the camp, and the other side of the hills, and brought word, that he had discovered the enemies afar off dimarching, then began they the morrow after to think and consult of making after him with hot pursute. But albeit both Consuls continued, as ever before, the same men still, that is to say, diversly minded, and persisting in their several resolutions: but so, as all in a manner accorded with *Varro*, and none agreed unto *Paulus*, but only *Servilius* the Consul of the former year: yet according to the opinion and counsel of the *major pars*, they went both together (for what might held that which fatal necessity driveth) to make *Canna* much renowned and famous for the notable overthrow and defeat of the Romans. Neer this village *Annibal* had encamped under the wind *Vulturnus*, and had it on his back: which wind, when the fields are scorched and burnt with drought, is wont C to bring with it clouds (as it were) of dust. Which as it was good and commodious for the very camp it self, so it was like to serve in special stead, when they should range their battel in order, and fight, with the wind blowing on their back, against the enemy, whose eyes the dust was ready to put out, flying with the wind full in their faces so abundantly.

The Consuls having diligently searched the wayes and tried the passages ever before them, followed *Annibal* hard, and so soon as they were come to *Canne*, hid him in sight: where they fortified two camps, of like distance almost asunder, as at *Gerion*: and divided their forces like as before. The river *Aufidus* ran close by both these camps, and yeelded watring places according as either of them had occasion and need, but not without some trusling and skirmish. But from the lesser camp, which lay on the farther side of *Aufidus* the Romans had more liberty to water, be- D cause upon the farther bank there was planted no sconce nor guard of the enemy. *Annibal* having possessed himself of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meet for the service of horsemen (in which kind of forces he was invincible) ordred his battailons in array, & by putting out certain Numidian light horse, made a bravado, and bade the Cons. fals battel. And even then it fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutiny of the souldiers, and what with the disagreement and jarring of the Consuls: whiles *Paulus* laid hard unto *Varro*, and set before his eyes the rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*: and *Varro* again hit him home, and twit him with the example of *Fabius*, which made so goodly a shew in the eyes of fearful, idle, and cowardly Captains: both of them fell to protesting and calling God and man to witness, the one giving out, that the fault was not in him that *Annibal* was E now Lord well-neer of all *Italy* already, and why? because himself was kept short and tied fast enough by his Colleague, and the souldiers whose hot blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: *Æmilius* on the other side complaining, that if ought should hap amiss unto the Legions thus betrayed, and offered wilfully and unconsiderately to the danger of doubtful battel, notwithstanding he were not blame-worthy but innocent altogether, yet should he be the first that smarted, and be partaker of the mischief and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were so ready and hasty of their tongue to speak, would be as nimble & active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus whiles they spend time in chopping of Logick & quarrelling one with another rather then in good & sober consultations. *Annibal* who had stood arranged a good part of the day ready to fight, minding to retire his F other forces into his camp, sent forth certain Numidians out of the battel to charge upon the Romans on the other side of the river, who from the lesser camp went for water. These being a disordered & confused multitude, were not fully landed on the bank, but with the shout only & tumult of the Numidians, they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enemy rode farther, even to the standing *Corps de guard*, quartered before the rampart, and herd at the very gates of the Roman camp. This was such an indignity offered to the Romans, to see themselves now thus braved and bearded even in the very camp by the auxiliary souldiers, and the rascal sort of the enemies, that there was no other thing stayed the Romans from passing the river presently, and embattelling themselves, but only this, that it was *Paulus* his turn that day to have the soveraign command of all. And therefore the morrow after, when it came to *Varro* his course for to rule, G without any advice of his companion, he put forth the * signal of battel, and with all his forces put in order of battel, went over the river. *Paulus* also followed after him, as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his Collegue, but otherwise could neither will nor chuse, but second him, and take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they join also the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the other: and in this manner they ordred the battel. In the right point which was neerer to the river, was arranged the Roman Cavalry, and after them the footmen. The left point on the outside, was flanked with the horsmen of the associats: within stood their Infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the Archers

* That is a scarlet cassock out of the General his pavilion.

The memorable battel of *Canne*.

and loose shot, close to the main battel of the Roman Legions: and of all the rest of light armed H
auxiliary souldiers, consisted the van-guard. The Consuls led both the points, *Terentius* the left,
Æmylius the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the main battel. Now *Annibal* by the break of
day, having sent before the Baleare slingers, and his other light armor, passed over the river, and
marshalled them in battel array, ever as they came to land. The horse as well Gauls as Spaniards,
he opposed in the left point, neer to the bank, even against the horsemen of the Romans: the
right consisted of the Numidian light horse: and the main battel was strengthned and fortified
with his Infantry: but in such manner as the Affricans flanked both, in manner of wings: and be-
tween them were bestowed the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midst. A man that had seen the Af-
fricans, would have taken most of them for Romans, so armed were they with Roman armor, I
gotten much of it at *Trebia*, but most of all at *Thrasymenus*. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had
targets neer of one fashion, but their swords were unlike and far differing. Those of the Gauls
were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whose manner is rather to fight with the
thrust and to foyn, then to slash and strike edglong, had handsome short curtilasses, and sharp at
the point. And after this sort stood these two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both
for the bigness of their persons, and also for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel
upward naked: the Spaniards with linnen wastcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bor-
dred and embroidered with purple and scarlet. The compleat number of all, as well horse as foot-
men, that stood embattelled, amounted (as they report) unto forty thousand foot, and ten thou-
sand men of arms. These Captains had the leading of the two points, to wit, *Asdrubal* comman- K
ded the left, *Mahabal* the right. *Annibal* himself in person with his brother *Mago*, conducted
the middle battel. The Sun shone sidewise upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other
army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts, were it that they were so placed and mar-
shalled of set purpose, or chanced at adventure so to stand: the Romans with their faces full south,
the Carthaginians into the north. But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call *Vul-
turnus*, arose and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raised such store of dust, and drave
it so upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect. Then cry and shout began on both
sides, and the Auxiliary souldiers put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one
another with their light shot. Then the left point of the Gauls and Spanish men of arms encoun-
tred and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of I
horse-service. for they were of necessity to affront one another straight forward, as having no room
left about them to sling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and
encloied on the other with the battaillon of footmen. Whereupon I say, they were forced to charge
full butt from both parts, directly before them, so long as their horses stood close and thrust toge-
ther: but at length when they began to stir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold
and clasp one another, and every man to pluck his enemie besides his horse, so as now they were
driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather sharp then long: and to be short, the
Roman Cavalry was discomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horse made an end of their
fight, began the skirmish of the foot also. At the first the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their ene-
mies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and M
arraies. At length the Romans cast about and devised on what side, and with what form of a close
battaillon, to force back that pointed squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by so much
the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the rest of the battel. Now when they had once driven
them to retreat, and give ground, the Romans pressed on still at one instant, and with the same
violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entred as far as to
the very midst of the vanguard and main battel: and finding none able to stand in their way and
make resistance, they gained in the end the very rereward of the Africans: who having drawn in
from both sides their skirts and wings, stood together strong, and firmly kept their ground. The
Gauls and Spaniards continued still in the midst, somewhat advanced without the rest of the bat-
tel. Now when this pointed squadron was driven in by the Romans, and made even and equal first N
with the front of the battel, and afterwards upon farther enforcement, gave way for them to pass
in a lane through the midst thereof: by that time the Africans charged upon their flanks: and whiles
the Romans unwarily were engaged over-far within them, they came about them on the skirts,
and within a while having stretched out and spread their wings, enclosed the enemies round on
their backs also. Hereupon the Romans who had performed one battel and conflict in vain, were
forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had disaraied and put to flight, and were
to begin a fresh fight with the Africans: and that to their own great disadvantage; not only be-
cause they being enclosed and pent up in a straight room, were to deal with them that had com-
passed them all about and were at liberty, but also because they being wearied, were to maintain
a new skirmish with those that were fresh in heart, and lusty. And now by this time, in the left O
point of the Romans battel, where the horsemen of their associats were marshalled to affront the
Numidians they were faln to close fight: which at the first these Numidians began but coldly and
faintly, after the deceitful manner of Carthaginians, unto whom they were fast and neer neigh-
bours. For 500. of them or thereabout, having besides their usual javelins and darts which they
commonly carry, short daggers or skeins hidden under their cuirass and harness, made semblance
of riding away from their own companies, and siding to the Romans, with their bucklers at
their backs, all of a sudden dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets,
and

A and spears at their enemies feet, were received within the main battel, and from thence conduc-
ted to the hindmost in the rereward, were commanded there to abide behind at their back. And
until such time as the skirmish joined on all sides, they continued quiet. But when they saw e-
very mans eye and mind busied and occupied in the conflict, then they caught up those bucklers
that lay strewed and scattered among the dead bodies all abroad, and played upon the battel of
the Romans from behind: and what with wounding their backs, & cutting their hamstrings, they
made foul work and slaughter among them, and more then that, raised a greater fear and tumult
by far. Now when the Romans in one place were frighted and ran away, and in another fought for
life, armed only with despair of all means to escape; *Asdrubal* who had the charge of that side,
B caused the Numidian horsemen, who fought but coldly with those that stood affront them, to be
withdrawn from the midst of the battel, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chace. And to
the Affricans over weary now with execution and killing, rather then with any other fight, he
joined the Gauls and Spanish footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battel, *Paulus*, albe-
it at the very first shock and encounter, he was sore wounded with a bullet from out of a sling, yet
oftentimes he made head against *Annibal*, and kept his battaillons close and thick together, yea, and
in divers places renued the conflict, and evermore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected
him. But at the last they left their horses, becau[illegible] the Consul his strength failed him to rule his
own, and to sit him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto *Annibal*, that the Consul had
commanded his men of arms to light afoot. Then (quoth *Annibal*, as the report goeth) Yea, mar-
C ry: But how much gladder would I be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot?
And surely the horsemen fought so after they were alighted, as if there had been no doubt, but
that the enemy had the victory. Howbeit, although they had the worse, yet they chose rather to
die in the place, then to flie: and the victors angred at the heart with them for thus staying the
accomplishment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all those whom they
could not make to give ground and yeeld. And yet a few such as were wearied with much toil and
overcharged with many wounds they enforced to retreat. Anon they were all disbanded and
scattered asunder: and as many as could, recovered their horses, and fled away. "*Cn. Lentulus* a Co-
"lonel seeing (as he rode by) the Consul sitting all agore blood upon a stone. Ah *L. Æmylius* (quoth
"he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the only guiltless man, and in-
D "nocent of this days work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horse of mine, while some
"vigor and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompany and
"protect you also. Come I say, and make not this battel more cursed and sorrowful by the death
"of a Consul. Without it, I wot, we have cause enough already, and too much, of dolorous tears
"and wosful lamentation. Whereunto the Consul made this answer: I give thee thanks, O *L. Cor-
"nelius* gra-mercy for thy kindness, and God bless thee in this thy vertue and proweſs. But take
"thou heed to thy self, left by thy foolish pity of me, thou lose that little time which thou hast to
"escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy self, and go thy ways to the LL. of the Senat,
"and will them all from me in general, to fortifie the City of *Rome*, and man it well with strong
"guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come against it. But more particular-
E "ly, let *Q. Fabius* understand, that *L. Æmylius* yet, was mindful of his wholsom preeepts, all the
"whiles he lived, and now also forgat them not at the hour of his death. And suffer thou me to
"yeeld unto nature, and let go my last breath, even here among the heaps of mine own slain soul-
"diers, that I may end my days and die neither an accused and guilty person, nor in my Consul-
"ship stand up to accuse my Collegue, and to defend mine own innocency, and justifie my self,
"by the blaming of another. As the Consul uttered these words, first the multitude of his own ci-
tizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursuit, ran over him: and not knowing who he was,
overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for *Lentulus*, his horse carried him a-
way to a little hill. Then they fled all amain as fast as they could, 7000. recovered the lesser camp,
and ten thousand the greater: and upon two thousand put themselves into the village it self of
F *Canna*. But because it was an unwalled and fenceless town, they were immediatly environed by
Cartalo and the horsemen, and so perished every one. The other Consul made no semblance, that
he was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled, were it of purpose, or as it chan-
ced; and accompanied with fifty men of arms or thereabout escaped to *Venusia*. In this battel were
slain of Romans (by report) 40000. footmen, and 2700. horsemen; and in a manner, as many
besides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongst whom there was one Consul, two Treasurers,
L. Attilius and *Furius Bibaculus*, 21. Colonels: some also who had been Consuls, Pretors, and
Ædiles. Of which number was *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Minutius Numatius*, who the year before had
been Commander of the Cavalry for some certain days. Besides 80. Senators, or such as were Se-
nators fellows, and had born those dignities, in regard whereof, they were to be chosen Senators.
These served as voluntaries and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at
this field, as the general speech went, 3000. footmen, and 300. men of Arms.

This is that noble battel, so famous for the overthrow at *Canna*, and comparable to that defeat
at the river *Allia*. For like as this was of less importance then the other; in respect of that which
ensued after the conflict, because the enemy stayed his hand, and pursued not his victory: so if we
consider the loss of men and defeat of the army, it was the greater, and for the shameful flight more
dishonorable. For the running away that was at *Allia*, as it betrayed the City, so it saved the Ar-
my: but at *Canna*, when the one Consul fled, there were scarce 50. of his army that accompanied

him, and as for the other Consul, whiles he lay a bleeding and dying, all his forces to speak of, took their heels.

Now there being a number in both camps, half disarmed, and wholly without their chief Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp sent a messenger unto the other, willing them to come over thither, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to *Canusium* in the night season, whiles their enemies were fast asleep; as partly wearied with long fight and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This advise, some there were that misliked altogether and rejected. For why (say they) might not they come hither themselves to us, as well as send for us since we may as soon so join together? Because, I wot, all the ways between are full of enemies, and they chose rather to hazzard the bodies of others, then adventure their own persons in so great danger. Others were not so much displeased for any dislike of the motion, as their hearts failed them to take in hand the enterprise thereof. Then spake *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a Colonel, "And will ye rather chose (quoth he) to be taken captive by a most covetous and cruel enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapman coming "to buy you in open market, should ask every one of you this question, Whether art thou a Roman Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And so by thy disgrace, reproach, and misery, another man "shall get honor, and thy self none. Ye are not (I see well) like to *Lucius Æmylius*, who made "choice to die valiantly, then to live in shame and obloquy: nor to many other so brave and "hardy men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light surprize us, "and greater troops of enemies beset the passages, let us break through these, that in disorder and "out of array, make so foul noise at our gates. The point of sword and edge of courage, is able to "pass through enemies, stand they never so thick and close together. We will make a pointed battaillon in wedg-form, and pierce through their loose and thin squadrons, as easily as if nothing "stood in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to save your selves and "the Common-weal. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but his sword was out of his scabbard, and with a pointed battaillon took his way through the midst of the enemies: and when the Numidians flanked them, and shot hard at their right side that lay open to them, they shifted their targets to their right arm, and so escaped, to the number of 600. unto the bigger camp, and forthwith from thence joining to the other greater company, they retired themselves safe to *Canusium*. These exploits were performed by men vanquished, more upon a present fit of courage, as each L mans natural instinct guided, or chance led him, then either any sage advise of their own, or command of other.

The speech of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, to his fellow souldiers.

Now when all the rest came about *Annibal* immediately upon this noble victory to congratulat and rejoice with him, yea, and to advise him, that after so great a battel performed, he should the rest of that day, and the whole night following, both refresh himself, and also give rest and repose to his wearied souldiers: *Maharbal*, General of the Cavalry, was of mind that it was no giving over thus: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what consequence this battel is, you shall break your fast and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hastily with your horsemen, that they may see you are come, before they hear that you are comming. No, saith *Annibal* again, let curriers on Gods name go afore, and spare not to carry news thereof: Your words are good, M and it is a gay matter and plausible you speak of: but the way thereto is longer, and more then I can presently conceive and comprehend: I give you thanks *Maharbal*, and I commend your good mind and forwardness: but we had need to deliberat and pause further upon this point. Ah (quoth *Maharbal*) true it is, I see well, that God hath not endued one man with all gifts. Thou hast the way O *Annibal*, to win a victory, but not the grace to use a victory. And surely, in this one dayes delay, as it was certainly believed, stood the safety and preservation of the City & Empire of *Rome*. The morrow after, so soon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the gathering of spoils, and to view that great butchery and slaughter: a pitiful and lamentable sight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there along in every place, horsemen and footmen pell mell, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together, N and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise up all bloody from out of the midst of the slaughtered bodies, such, as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and made them to start up by reason of their smart, and were by the enemy knocked down again and killed. Other some they found lying along still alive, cut shorter by the thighs & hams, who offred their bare necks & throats to be cut & cai'd unto them to let forth the rest of their blood. Divers were found with their heads covered within the earth, who as it appeared had made themselves holes & and gutters in the ground for this purpose, to inter themselves: whereinto they thrust their mouths & faces, & being buried with mould cast over them, were so stifled & choaked. But above all the rest there was one that drew every mans eye upon him & made them all to wonder, a *Numidian* with his nose and ears piteously mangled & crept, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. O For when his hands so wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon for very anger he fel mad & lay (so long as he had any breath within him) biting his enemy with his teeth.

After they had spent a good part of the day in gathering spoils, *Annibal* marched forward to assault the lesser camp and first and formost he turned aside the arm of the river that flanked them, and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being over-wearied with toil, with watching and bleeding of their wounds, yeelded sooner then he looked for: and, covenanted, *Imprimis*, to deliver up their armor and horses: *Item*, to pay 300. Quadrigate peeces

A peeces of silver, for every Roman: 200. for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a peece. *Item*, that after this ransom paid, they should depart in their single apparel. Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trifled time there, there were about 4000. footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to *Canusium*, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the worse way of the twain, and less fase. And then the camp was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartless, upon the same conditions that the other was. A rich booty was there gotten: and setting aside horses, and men, and silver, which B they used much in trappings and caparisons of their horses, (for souldiers, be ye sure, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparel, or at their board) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ransacked amongst them. Then he gave commandment that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men say, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hardy men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was sought up and interred. As for those, which escaped to *Canusium*, were by the Canusins entertained only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wealthy, named *Busa*, relieved them with some victual, apparrel, yea, and money also in their purses for their journey. In regard of which bountiful liberality of hers, after the war was finished, she was highly honored by the Senat of *Rome*.

C Now, there were amongst them four Colonels, namely, *Fabius Max.* of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before; and *L. Publicius Bibulus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Cornel. Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion, who had been Ædile but lately afore: and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *Ap. Claudius* were chosen to bear the soveraign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they sat with some few others, in counsel together about the managing of their main affairs, behold *P. Furius Philus*, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand that all their consultations were in vain, and that they did but foster and cherish a soo ish hope of an overthrown state: for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, past all cure, and remediless. Also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cecilius Metellus* was the principal, minD ded nothing else but to take sea, and were ready to embark, to abandon *Italy*, and to fly for succor to some King or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievous and heavy in it self: so falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astonied them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to counsel upon this point, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in so great extremity, but leaving all discourses, presently to proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for no where are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, then where such designments are plotting and contriving. E Forth he went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen aforesaid, close together in counsel thereabout: he drew his sword, and brandisht it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. "I swear before you all (quoth he) "and I swear from my very heart, and no man urgeth me thereto, that I for my part will neither "forsake the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen else of *Rome* to abandon her. And if I fail wit- "ting and willing, then confound me O *Jup. Opt. Max.* and bring a most shamefull end upon my "house, my family, and all that I have. Swear thou O *L Cecilius* after me, as I have done. I ad- "vise thee: and ye all that are here present take the same oath: for whosoever shall refuse know "he assuredly, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had seen the Conqueror himself *Annibal* in person, took the oath every one, and yee ded F themselves unto *Scipio*, for to be kept in ward to serve against *Annibal*.

At the same time, whiles these things were working at *Canusium*, there arrived at *Venusia* upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated asunder all over the fields, and repaired unto the Consul there. The Venusins took order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several houses: and they bestowed upon the horsemen, a side cassock, a coat, and * 25. *Quadrigates* a peece: and gave ten *Quadrigates* to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitality, both publick and privat, they strove and endeavoured that the people of *Venusia* should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind one woman of *Canusium*. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame *Busa*: for now their number was risen to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence G that the other Consul was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure withal whether he would command the army to be brought unto *Venusia*, or abide still at *Canusium*. But *Varro* (the Consul) of his own accord brought his forces to *Canusium*. So as by this time, they made a pretty good shew of a Consular army, and seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by force of arms in the field, yet after a wise, with the strength of walls within the town. But the news came to *Rome*, that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and

* 15 s. 7 d. obster. A Quadrigate, which is a peece of silver coyn among the Romans, the same that *Denarius*: called so of *Quadriga*, i. a chariot drawn with four horses, represented on the one side of the peece.

Confederates together: but that the two Consuls and both the armies were put all to the sword, H
and hewn in pieces to the last man. Never was there known so great a terrour and turmoil within the walls of *Rome* (and the City still remaining in safety.) I will therefore even at first, sink under my load and saying nothing at all: and never will I go about to recount those things by discourse of words, which in reporting, I should make less then they were indeed. For there went not now, a flying rumor first of one foil, and then of another; to day of this loss, and to morrow of that; as the year before when the Consul and his army were defeated at *Thrasymenus*, but manifold overthrows together were multiplied and altogether at once, to wit, how both the Consuls were slain, and two Consular armies lost: no camp, not a pavilion of the Romans left standing: neither Leader nor Souldier remaining alive: and how *Annibal* was now become Lord of I
Apulia, of *Samnium*, and well neer of all *Italy* full and whole. And verily, there is not (I suppose) a nation under the cope of heaven besides, but would have been overwhelmed and crushed utterly under the huge heap and heavy weight of so great a ruin & overthrow. Should I compare therewith the defeat and foil that the Carthaginians received at the Island *Ægates*, in a conflict at sea: wherewith they were so quelled, and their backs so broken, that at one clap they lost *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* both, and that which more is, yeelded themselves tributaries and subjects to the people of *Rome*. Or should I make comparison of their unfortunate and unhappy battel in *Africk* afterwards? wherein this very same *Annibal* gave over play, yeelded the bucklers, and confessed himself vanquished. Nay, they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were born and supported with less courage, and valour of mind. K

Well, to proceed, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, assembled the Senat in the Court *Hostilia*, for to consult about the defence and guard of the City; for they made no doubt, but now that the armies were both defeated the enemy would speedily come to assault *Rome*, the only piece of work, and warlike service that remained behind undone. But being to seek what counsel to take, and what remedy to devise for redress of these calamities, so exceeding great and grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and shrewly troubled besides with the clamorous noises and plaints of women: whiles that in every house almost, they ceased not to mourn, weep, and wail confusedly, as well for the quick as the dead (because as yet it was not openly and for certain known who were alive, and who were slain.) Then *Fabius Max.* gave his opinion, that certain light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highways *Appia* and *Latina* and to ride along and enquire of them whom they hapned to meet with, (such I mean as fled, and were scattered here and there asunder) if happily some of them could report upon his knowledge, what was become of the Consuls, and the armies: and in case the immortal gods had of their mercy and compassion spared some poor remnant still of this miserable and woful Empire, for the Roman name: where that residue of small forces was; what way *Annibal* took; and whither he was gone after the battel was fought; what preparation he maketh, what presently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advice was, I say, that to espy, hearken and learn certainly, these premises, certain lusty young men, active and industrious, should be imployed. But for the LL. of the Senat thus much, that confidering there were few Magistrates at home, and those not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hurliburly, therefore they should take upon themselves, to debar the dames and women for coming abroad, and force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors; to restrain the plaints and outcries of houseolds and families: to cause silence throughout the City; to take order that all Posts, and messengers of news, should be brought before the Pretors; and that every man should attend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himself, or his own state. Over and besides, that they should set warders at the gates, to see that no person went out of the City and compel every man to hope for no other earthly safety for themselves, but in the preservation of the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurry is once hush't, then (quoth he) may the Senators well be called again into the Councel-House, and consult for the defence and safeguard of the City. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went N
every man on *Fabius* his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authority of the Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators were divided and gone sundry ways to appease the uproars: then at last, came letters from *Terentius* the Consul, importing, that *L. Æmylius* the Consul was slain together with the army: that himself was at *Canusium*, busie in rallying the reliques of so great an overthrow, as it were after a shipwrack upon the sea: and there were ten thousand souldiers of them, or very nere, and those much out of frame and good order. As for *Annibal*, he sat still now at *Cannæ*, busily occupied about the ransoming of prisoners, and intentive to the rest of the spoil and pillage: not measuring the victory with the mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guise and manner of a noble warrior and great commander. Then were the privat and particular losses also divulged and spread abroad through every man his house and family, and the whole City was so filled with sorrow and lamentation, that the Anniversary solemnity of sacrifices to *Ceres* was forelet, because it was not lawful for those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was not a matron throughout the City, but was in heaviness and sorrow for the time. Left therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well publick as privat, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued, there passed an Act of the Senat, by vertue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thirty days. Now was the trouble of the City no sooner allayed, and the Senators called again into

A into the Councel-House: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of *Sicily* from *T. Otacilius* the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much, That the realm of *Hiero* was much wasted by the Carthaginian navy: and when he would have succoured him at his earnest suit and petition, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands *Ægates*, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Carthaginians perceived once that he had turned and bent his forces to the defence of the coast and river *Syracuse*, they might immediatly set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of *Sicily*, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pre-
B tor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that *M. Claudius*, Admiral of the fleet which rid in the harbour of *Ostia*, should be sent unto the army at *Canusium*, and letters be dispatched with-al unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto *Rome* with all speed possible, and not fail, so far forth as he might, without any detriment and hindrance of the Common-weal. Besides these so great losses and adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Vestal Virgins, *Opimia*, and *Floronia*, were detected and attainted of manifest whoredom: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate *Collina*, the other killed her self. *L. Cantilius* (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call * *Minores Pontifices*) the party who had committed fornication with *Floronia*, was by the chief or high Priest so beaten with rods
C in the *Comitium*, that he died under his hand. This heinous fact, and enormous offence falling out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a portentous sign: and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search and perute the Books of *Sibylla*. And *Q. Fabius Pictor* was sent to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle there of *Apollo*, and to learn, by what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the mean while, out of the learning contained in those books of destinies, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices: among which, a French-man together with a French woman; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive in the beast market into a vault under the ground stoned all about: a place of ancient time embraced and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religi-
D on of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, *M. Claudius Marcellus* sent from the haven of *Ostia* for the defence and guard of the City, 1500. souldiers; whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea. Himself having sent afore the legion belonging to the Armado (which was the third) with *Theanus Sidicinus* a Colonel, and delivered the fleet unto *P. Furius* companion with him in commission: within few days after made haste, and with great journeys arrived at *Canusium*. At *Rome*, by vertue of the Authority of the Senators, *M. Junius* was created Dictator, and *T. Sempronius* General of the horse, who proclamed a muster, and enrolled all the younger sort above 17. years old, yea, and some also under that age, that yet were in their * *Prætexta*, and were not come to * *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up four legions
E full, and a thousand horsemen. Likewise they sent unto their Allies, and namely to the Latine nation, to receive souldiers from thence according to the form of the league: giving commandment, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of war, should be in readiness. Also to furnish out the army, they plucked from the Temples, and publick Galleries and walking Places, the ancient spoils and armor of their enemies. And for very need and want of free men, they were compelled to devise a new kind of muttering never used before: for they bought up in open market, with the City money, 8000. lusty strong young men, meer bond-slaves: but they demanded first of every one by himself, whether they were willing to serve in the wars, and so they put them in armor. And they thought it better to take up and levy souldiers thus, then to redeem and buy again their own who were captives, albeit they might have been ransomed for smaller sums of money. For *Annibal*, after this so fortunate field fought at *Cannæ*, setting his mind wholly upon the affairs belonging to an absolute conquest, rather then any more wars; caused his captives
F to be brought forth, and severed the Roman confederates apart from the rest; and unto them (as he had done aforetime at *Trebia*, and the Lake *Thrasymenus*) he spake graciously, and sent them home unransomed. The Romans also he called unto him, and gave them kind and loving words, more then ever he had done before. "What? we and the Romans (quoth he) war not "mortally and deadly one with the other to the utmost: nay, our quarrel is rather for honour "and soveraignty. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were subdued of the Romans, and "yeelded at length to their valor and prowess: so the only thing that I seek for, and indeavor unto "is this, That they likewise in their alternative turn, may give place unto my felicity and vertue "together. And therefore I grant the Romans this favor and liberty, to redeem their prisoners: "and this shall be the ransom, for every man of arms I demand * 500 *Quadrigati*, 300 for a foot-"man, and 100. for a bondman. And albeit the horsemens ransom was somewhat inhanced, above that sum which they capitulated for, when they yeelded, yet glad they were to accept of any condition and covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that ten out of them should be chosen by voices, to go to *Rome* unto the Senat: and he took no other pledge for assurance of them but their oath, that they would return again. With them was sent *Carthalo*, a Noble man of *Carthage* with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romans encline to peace) to offer unto them conditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soon gone out of the camp, but one

of

* The Petty or Minor Prelates.

* It was the uppergarment that the Romans children used until they were fully 16. years of age, embroidered with purple.

* Otherwise called *Pura*, & ἀπήγνυσθαι, because it was all white, and without any purple, which they put on at 17.

of them (a man of no Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten H somewhat behind him, and to discharge himself (forsooth) of his oath, returned into the camp, and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming to *Rome*, there was a Lictor sent out to meet *Carthalo* upon the way, and to warn him in the name of the Dictator, before night to depart out of the confines of the territory of *Rome*. But the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator. And the principal man among them, *Marcus Junius*, spake in this manner.

The Oration of *M. Junius* to the S. nat.

"Right honourable, and my very good LL. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, "that neither any City whatsoever, hath been at less charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in "wars, and made so small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blinded in our own con- I "ceit, and think better of our cause, then there is reason: never were there any souldiers that fell "into the hands of our enemies more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yeel- "ded not our weapons in battel for cowardize and fear, but after that we had stood well neer un- "til night fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the "very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following, "notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended "our rampart. The morrow after, when we were beset and invelled round about by the conque- "rors army, yea, and excluded from water: and saw no other hope at all to break through our e- "nemies, ranged so strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against "the law of arms, that when 5000. of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman souldiers K "should remain alive after the battel of *Canna*; then and not afore, we agreed upon a sum of "money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large, and so we yeelded unto the enemies our "weapons, wherein now we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors re- "deemed themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding "they were most straight lated, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet "sent Embassadors to *Tarentum*, for to redeem their c[illegible]es: and both those battels, first in *Ita-* "*ly* with the Gauls, and then before *Heraclea* with *Pyrrhus*, were not so ignominious and shame- "ful for the losse it self, as for the fright and beastly running away. But the plains of *Canna* are "covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies; and we that be here had not remained alive af- "ter them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill L "any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battel: but being left "behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it "was surrendred into their hands. Certainly, I envy not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and "good estate of any Citizen or fellow souldier, neither would I be thought the man, who by de- "basing another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good "footmanship and swift running deserve reward) who for the most part fled out of the field un- "armed, and never stinted before they got *Venusia* or *Canusium* over their heads, cannot justly pre- "fer themselves before us nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-weal in better stead M "then we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous souldiers: so shall you us "too, yea, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good "means we have been ransomed and restored again into our country. Ye have levied souldiers of "all ages and degrees, and I hear say, there be 8000. bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in num- "ber our selves, and redeemed we may be with as smal moneys as they are bought, I say no more "but so, for if I should make farther comparison between us and them, I must do wrong to the "Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye "are duely to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of "us, or of our desert, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrrhus* peradventure, N "who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Cartha- "ginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that ye saw the "irons and chains, the nasty filthiness and foul usage of your Citizens. I am assured, you would "be no less moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, then if ye beheld on the other "side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of *Canna*. Ye may observe and behold "the sorrowful chear, and salt tears of our kinsfolk standing here in the porch and entry of this "Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they so fare, and are so pensive for us, and for them "that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whose liberty and whose "life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himself would, contrary to his "nature, be respective and merciful to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long "as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed. There returned in times past "to *Rome* certain captives, sent home by *Pyrrhus* without any ransom paid, but the returned ac- "companied with Embassadors right honorable personages of this City, who had been sent for of "their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth "300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fansie of his own my LL. And I wot "well that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I fear more the hazard of honor and good name, "lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never beleeve, "that you did it to spare your purse, and to save money.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediatly the multitude who were gathered toge- ther in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and [illegible] out their hands unto the Counsel-

A Councel-house, beseeching the LL. of the Senat to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolk again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this press of men in the market place. But when all others besides the Senators were voided, they began to debate and consult about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason, that their ransom were disbursed out of the common chest: others were of mind, that the City should be at no charge at all for their redemption: marry they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their own cost and expenses. And in case there were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by sureties B bound, as by their good and lands, morgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of the old world for precise severity, and as most folk thought too too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the cause in this wise.

The Oration of *T. Manlius Torquatus* in the Senat.

"If the Committees (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only "that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there staied: it they had not touched the per- "son of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them. "For what need I to have done else, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom "delivered unto you from your ancestors, and to maintain the example, so good and necessary for "the service of war. But now, seeing they have not only justified, but also (as it were) glorified C "themselves, in that they yeelded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be preserved, "not only before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that "saved themselves, and escaped to *Venusia* and *Canusium*; yea, and before *C. Terentius* himself the "Consul; I will not hide any thing from you my LL. but acquaint you with every thing that was "done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I "might deliver at *Canusium*, even before the body of the army, the best witness of every mans "cowardise or valour: or at least wise, that *P. Sempronius* were present here alone whom, if these "fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been souldiers at this day in the Roman "camp, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For whiles the enemies were wearied "with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victory, and most of them retired into their own D "camp; they might have had the whole night to save themselves at their pleasure: and if that were "not, yet being seven thousand strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them, "were they never so thick, and to have broken away in despight of their hearts. But neither at- "tempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another. *P. Semproni-* "*us Tuditanus* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them; for "to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp, "whiles they were at repose and rest, and whiles the night lasted favourable unto them, for to "hide and cover their enterprise: perswading with them, that before day light they might easily "reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days "of our Grandfathers, *P. Decius* a Tribun Colonel in *Samnium*; like as of late time when I was E "a young man my self, in the first punick war, *Calpburnius Flamma* said unto three hundred his "voluntary souldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little Hill, stan- "ding in the midst of his enemies: Let us die hardly my souldiers, and by our death save and de- "liver our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If *Sempronius* had said so much to you, "he would never have esteemed you men of valour, nor yet Romans, if no man among you would "have born him company, or seconded him in that singular vertue. But he shewed you a plain and "easie way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory: unto which offered himself to be F "your guide, to bring you to your native country, to your parents, your wives and children: yet "would not your hearts serve you to escape and save your selves. Where had your hearts been "then, if he would have had you to die for your country? 50000. of our Citizens and Confede- "rates, lay that very day slain at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and vertue could "not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you; it so great a foil and overthrow was "not able to make you despise and set little by this life; none will ever do it. Desire home a Gods "name, and long after your native country, whiles ye are free and in safety: nay, desire to be in "your country, whiles it is your country, and whiles ye are Citizens thereof. Now your desire G "and longing cometh too late, being disfranchised, having lost your former estate and right of "Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a peece of money "to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which through faint- "heartedness and cowardize ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to *P. Semproni-* "*us* your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand and to follow after him: but anon after, ye H "could listen after *Annibal*, commanding you to betray and render the camp, and deliver up your "armor. But why blame I their lithernes and dastardly fears, when I may reprove and accuse them "for willful and lewd wickedness? For they not only refused to be ruled by his good counsel and "exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprize, had not "right hardy and valiant men with their swords drawn, set these dastardly beasts farther off. *P.* "*Sempronius*, I tell you, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and squadrons of his own country- "men, before he could break through the battallon of his enemies. Longeth our country to have "these for her Citizens? who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have had never

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a one of them that fought at *Canna*, for her Citizens. Of seven thousand armed souldiers, there were found 600 that had the heart to break away, maugre the enemies, to escape and return with liberty, and with their armor, home into their country, notwithstanding there were forty thousand enemies to resist them: how easily then and safely, deem you, might a power almost of two Legions, have passed through them and gone their ways? Ye had had this day my Lords twenty "thousand at *Canusium*, of right brave hardy, and loyal souldiers. But now which way can these "cowards possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens (for valiant souldiers, I am sure, they will "not think themselves, nor take up on them to be, unless a man could be perswaded and be- "leeve they were such) who would have impeached and withstood the rest for getting away even "when they were at the point to open a passage; or that they rather do not envy now, both the "safety and also the honor of others which they have won by prowess; knowing in their own "conscience, that their timorousness and cowardliness was the cause of most ignominious and "shameful servitude. They loved better to close within their pavilions, and to look for the day "light and the enemy together: whereas in the still dead time of the night, they had the appor- "tunity to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them to break away out of the "camp, yet to defend the same manfully, they had courage and valor enough. Besieged they were, "straitly beleaguer'd: invested they were day and night for a good time: and their armor forced "to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit themselves within their rampart, and at length "(God wot) when they had assayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them for "sustentation of this life; so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to "bear their own armor and lift up their weapons; overcome at the last, rather with the necessi- "ty of mans frail nature then by the violence of the enemies, they, good men, gave over and yeel- "ded themselves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morrow morning when the sun arose, "the enemies advanced and approached toward the rampart: and within two hours after, with- "out any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves. Thus ye "see what their good service was, for two days together. When they should have stood to it in "field, and fought, then they fled back to their tents: when they were to guard and defend their "trench and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy: good no where, neither in battel nor "in bastil. I agree to ransom you, yon (I say) whom you ought to have sallied forth of the camp, "linger behind and stay still: and when need war, to abide by it and to defend it like valiant men, "surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yeeld your own bodies to the enemy? Nay, but to "speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that these fellows deserve no more to be ransomed, "then those to be delivered unto *Annibal*, who issued out of the camp, pierced through the midst "of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their coun- "try." When *Manlius* had said, albeit the prisoners were allied neer in kindred to most of the Senators: yet over and besides the precedent of the City it self, which never from the first beginning favoured the redemption of such souldiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners: the ransom it self, which amounted to a good round sum, made them to pause: because they were unwilling both to empty the publick treasury; (having already disbursed great sums, in buying up bond-slaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that *Annibal* (who as the voice went, was at a very great stand for money) should be enriched therby. When this their answer was returned, to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a new fit of weeping and wailing afresh added to the former sorrow of the people, namely for the loss of so many Citizens; and so with many a tear thro they fled unto their plaints and moans which they made, they accompanied the Committees above said as far as the gate. Quintus the keeper went home to his house the same time, who upon [illegible] had as with [illegible] had had disburdened his conscience of his oath, which being known and recounted to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to *Annibal*. There goeth another report of these Captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was debated in the Senat, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no; they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat: and upon longer stay made then they looked for, three others followed after them, to wit: *L. Scribonius, C. Calpurnius*; and *L. Manlius*. Then by mediation of one Tribun of the Com, a kinsman of *Scribonius*, the matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives: but granted it would not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Annibal*, and the other ten that first came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to *Annibal*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, forsooth, of the names of the prisoners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Also, that in the Senat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the hands of *Annibal*: and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendered and sent back, failed of their purpose, by reason they came short by some voices and opinions, and that the other side carried it clean away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked and branded with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediatly made themselves away with their own hands: and the rest forbare, not only the common place and market all their life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very street, and never looked out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among themselves,

selves, than from any of them pick out and discern the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and losse at *Canna* was, than any other before time, appeareth by this evident argument, in that those Allies, which ever to that day stood fast and sure unto them, now fell to shrink and fail: and surely for no earthly thing else, but because they began to despair of the main chance of the whole State and Empire. For hereupon there revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Attellans, the Calatins, the Hirpins, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnits, except the Petellins all the Brutii in general, and the Lucans. And more then these, the Surrentins, and the whole tract well-neer, of the Greeks along the sea coast. The Tarentins, Metapontins, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gauls within the Alps. And yet for all these defeats, and rebellions of their Allies and Subjects, were not the Romans one whit enclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Consul, nor yet after that he was returned, and renewed again the dolorous remembrance of that woful overthrow received. And even at that very instant, so high minded was the City, and so far from drooping and being cast down, that as the Consul returned homeward from so great a defeat, whereof himself only was a principal cause, he was not only met upon the way by all the States and companies of the City in great numbers, but also highly thanked, in that he despaired not of the State of the Common-weal: who, if he had been the General and Leader of the Carthaginians, should have been sure to have smoaked for it, and endured all extremity for torment and punishment.

The three and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and twentieth Book.

THe Campans revolted unto Annibal. Mago *was sent to* Carthage, *with news of the victory at* Cannæ: *and in the entry of the Councel-House, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there slain, which by report exceeded the measure of a Modius. Upon these tidings,* Hanno *the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, perswaded with the Senat of* Carthage, *to sue unto the people of* Rome *for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Barchin side and faction, that gain-said him.* Cl. Marcellus *the Pretor fought fortunatly before* Nola, *in a sally which he made out of the town against* Annibal. *The Army of* Annibal *fell to riot at* Capua, *and gave themselves to such sensuality, while they wintred there, that both in bodily strength, and also in courage of mind they became much enfeebled.* Casilinum *was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extream famine, to eat thongs and leatherings, plucked from off their shields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Mise and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans sent unto them down the river* Vulturnus. *The body of the Senat was replenished by receiving unto them a new supply from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen, to the number of* 197. L. Posthumius *the Pretor, was together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the sword.* Cneus *and* Publius Scipioes, *vanquished* Asdrubal *in* Spain, *and had the conquest thereof. The remnant of the army defeated at* Cannæ *was sent away and confined into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A league and society was concluded between* Philip *the King of the Macedonians and* Annibal. Sempronius Gracchus *the Consul, discomfited and slew the Campans. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits atchieved by* T. Manlius *the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, against the Carthaginians and the Sardi: who took the General himself* Asdrubal, *together with* Mago *and* Hanno, *prisoners.* Claudius Marcellus *the Pretor vanquished and discomfited in a set battel before* Nola, *the army of* Annibal: *and was the first that put the Romans in some good hope of better success, after they had been toiled out with so many foils and losses.*

The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

ANnibal after the battel fought at *Canna*, and the winning and ransacking of both the Roman camps, dislodged anon, and was removed out of *Apulia* into *Samnium*, being sent unto, for to come unto the Hirpins country by *Statius*, who promised to betray and deliver the City of *Consa* into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of *Consa* named *Trebius*, a noble personage and of great name in his country. But the bend and faction of the *Cossanes* (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but

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after the fame of the battel of *Canna* and the coming of *Annibal*, divulged and blown abroad by the speeches of *Trebius* thoſe *Coſſanes* abandoned the City: and ſo was it without any conflict rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garriſon. *Annibal* leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his army into two parts: giving *Mago* in charge, to poſſeſs himſelf of the towns of that country, which would revolt of themſelves from the Romans: or elſe to force them thereunto, in caſe they denied and refuſed to to do. Himſelf took his journey through the land of *Campane*, toward the nether ſea, intending to aſſault *Naples*, that he might be Lord of a Port Town alſo, and have it at his devotion. When he was entred the confines of the Neapolitans, he placed ſome of the Numidians in Ambuſh, as cunningly as he could, (and there for the moſt part, the wayes are hollow, and full of cloſe and ſecret nooks and holes) others he commanded to make a ſhew of driving away a booty out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the City. Againſt whom (ſeeming to be not many, and thoſe diſordered) a troop of horſmen iſſued forth, but the enemies of purpoſe giving back and retiring from them, led and trained them on, to the place of ambuſh: and ſo they were environed on every ſide, and there had not one of them eſcaped alive, but that the ſea was neer, where they eſpied many fiſher boats along the ſhore on the bank ſide, and as many of them as were skilful in ſwimming, gat unto them, and ſaved themſelves: but in that ſhirmiſh nevertheleſs certain young gentlemen were ſlain. Among whom, *Hegeas* alſo, the Captain of that Cornet of horſemen died in the place, who followed too hotly upon them that retreated & ſeemed to flie. But *Annibal* after he had viewed the walls, and ſaw they were not eaſie to be won, was diſcouraged and ſcared from giving aſſault to that City. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to *Capua*, a City flowing in wealth and ſuperfluity of all pleaſures, by reaſon of long felicity, and the favourable aſpect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there raigned, it was infected moſt with the licentious looſeneſs of the Commons, who exceeded beyond all meaſure, and abuſed their liberty. *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of noble race there, and popular withal, but one that by lewd and indirect courſes became rich and mighty, by means thereof, had both Senat & Com, under his girdle, and might do what he would. This man chanced to be head Magiſtrate the ſame year that the Romans were defeated and overthrown at the Lake *Thraſymenus*: and ſuppoſing that the Commonalty (who had been a long time maliciouſly affected to the Senat and Nobility) would by occaſion of alteration in the State, enterpriſe ſome notable act, to wit, (in caſe *Annibal* ſhould come with his victorious army into thoſe parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of *Capua* into the Carthaginians hands. This man I ſay, lewd and bad enough otherwiſe, but yet not ſtark naught and wicked in the higheſt degree: and deſirous to lord it, and domineer with the ſafety of the Common-wealth, rather then with the utter deſtruction of the ſame: as knowing ful wel that no State could remain ſafe, ſpoiled and bereft once of a publick counſel: caſt about and plotted, how he might both ſave the Senate, and alſo oblige the ſame to be at his and the Commons devotion. He aſſembled therfore the Senat one day together, and after he had proteſted with a ſolemn preamble, "That in no caſe he would like & allow of the deſignment and intent "of revolting from the Romans, unleſs it were upon neceſſity and conſtraint: for as much as himſelf had married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had fair iſſue by her: and beſides affianced "a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Livius* in *Rome*: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of "greater conſequence toward, and a danger like to burſt out more to be feared then that. For the "Commons intend not by way of revolt and rebellion to rid the City of the Senators authority, "but are purpoſed to maſſacre all the Senators, and ſo to deliver unto *Annibal* and the Carthagi- "nians, the Common wealth clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent peril (quoth he) I know "how to free you, in caſe you will wholly truſt and rely upon me, and forget all former jars, and "old debates, which have fallen out in governance and managing of the Senat. Now when all "of them in place, for fear were forced to put themſelves into his hands: I will, quoth he) ſhut "you up within the Councel-Chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their "compilices, both privy and party to this intended practiſe of theirs: and ſo by ſoothing them up, "under a colourable approbation and allowance of their deſignments, which I ſhould in vain "croſs and gain-ſay, I ſhall find out a ready way to ſave all your lives. And for aſſurance here- "of, ask and have of me what bond and ſecurity ye will your ſelves. Thus having made his faithful promiſe to be faſt and true unto them, he went forth, and commanded the Councel-Houſe dores to be ſhut ſure, and left warders to keep the gate and entry thereof, that no man without his licenſe and commandment, ſhould either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a ſolemn and frequent aſſembly, thus he ſpake unto them. "That which ye have often wiſhed for (O ye Campans, my good neighbors and "friends) namely, to have the power and mean to revenge your ſelves throughly of this wicked and curſed Senat, now lieth in your hands to perform with ſafety at your pleaſure. And ye "need not by way of an uproar to aſſault their houſes one after another, to the great danger and "hazzard of your perſons, conſidering how they are defended with ſtrong guards of their vaſſals, "favorites, and bond-ſlaves: ye have them all faſt and cloſe mued up within the Councel-Cham- "ber: themſelves alone, without company, without armor and weapon: there you may take them, "But ſee that ye do nothing haſtily upon head without pauſe, nor raſhly without adviſement, "will ſo compaſs and bring about, that ye ſhall give your doom of life and death upon every one "of them, to the end that each one may have his deſert, and ſuffer due puniſhment accordingly. But

The Oration of *Pacuvius Calavius* to the Commons of *Capua*.

"But above all things ye muſt have an eye and look to this, that proceed ye not too much in "heat and choler: but that ye have more regard of your own ſafety and profit, than of ire and re- "venge. For (I take it) they be theſe Senators only whoſe perſons ye hate and deteſt; and your "meaning is not wholly to put down and overthrow the Senat quite: for either ye muſt accept "of a King (O government abhominable) or elſe admit a Senat, the only Council indeed of a free "City and State: and therefore with one bush (as they ſay) ye are to go ſtop two gaps, and to do "both at once, namely, to aboliſh and depoſe the old Senat, and to elect a new, I will command "that the Senators ſhall be cited by name one after another: and concerning their life and death, "I will demand your opinion and reſolute ſentence: and look what judgment ye give, ſhall ſure- "ly ſtand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guilty perſon be done to death, ye "ſhall ſubſtitute in his room a new Senator, ſome good man of valour and courage, and worthy "to ſucceed in his place. With that he ſat him down. And after all their names were thrown into a lottery pitcher and ſhuffled together, he cauſed him to be cited and called aloud by name, and the man himſelf to be brought forth of the councill-Houſe whoſe names chanced to be drawn out firſt. He was no ſooner named, but every man cried out, that he was a lewd and wicked perſon, and worthy to be hanged. Then *Pacuvius* ſaid, I ſee (quoth he) what deſtinie ye preſage this man. Rejected he is and caſt out for naught and unjuſt: chooſe now a good Senator, and a righteous in his room. At the firſt, all was ſilent, and as ſtill as midnight, for default of finding a better to place in his ſtead. Afterwards, when ſome odde groom, paſt all ſhame and reverence, ſeemed to nominate one: by and by they grew to much louder words, and greater clamors: while ſome ſaid ſtarly that they knew not the man, others laid to his charge ſundry lewd and naughty vices, and objected againſt him either abject baſeneſs, poverty and beggery, or elſe ſome diſhoneſt kind of trade and occupation, whereby he lived. Thus fared they and much worſe a great deal, when a ſecond or third Senator was named: ſo as it was well ſeen, that the men bethought themſelves and repented of that they had done already, conſidering how they failed ſtill and were to ſeek, when they ſhould ſubſtitute another in his place: forasmuch as it booted not, but was abſurd to nominate the ſame again, ſince that their nomination gained them nothing but either to hear their vices deciphered, or to be ar reproachfull terms: and as for all the reſt, they were far more vile and obſcure perſons, than thoſe that came firſt into their remembrance, and were ſooneſt thought upon. So the people fell at length, and gently came down to this point, and confeſſed, that, Much better was bad they knew, then bad they knew not; and ſeldome came the better: willing the old Senators to be let out of ward and enlarged. By this policy *Pacuvius* having bound the Senat to himſelf, more then to the Commons, and even as much as their life was worth; without force of arms ruled the roſt and all was at his devotion and command. Hereupon the Senators laid aſide the remembrance of their own dignity, port, and liberty, became affable to the Commons and would ſalute them kindly: inviting them courteouſly, and entertaining them liberally at their boords with exquiſite and delicate fare: undertaking and maintaining all their ſuits and cauſes: ready at all times to aſſiſt them, and ſtand by them: and in one word, empanelling Juries (to go upon all cauſes and matters in law) of thoſe whom they knew to be gracious and popular, and fitter to win and procure the favour and affection of the common ſort. Thus at the Councel-Table all matters were decided, as if the Commons had there ſat, and not otherwiſe.

This *Capua* was a City ever given to diſſolute life and exceſs in pleaſure, as well by reaſon of the naturall corruption and inſet diſpoſition of the inhabitants, as alſo for the plenteous and flowing abundance of all delights, and the alluring inticements of all dainties, that either ſea or land might afford. But at that time ſuch was the obſequious fawning and the flattery of the Nobles, ſuch was the licentious living of the Commons) they were ſo laviſh, that they exceeded in luſt and ſuperfluity beyond meaſure, and laid it on in expenſe without ſtay. Beſides their contempt of laws, Magiſtrates, and Senat, they grew to this paſs after the overthrow at *Canne*, that whereas before they had ſome awfull and reverend regard of the Romans, now they deſpiſed and ſet naught by the government and Empire of *Rome*; and nothing elſe ſtood in the way, but that preſently they would have rejected their rule, and ſhaken off the yoak of obedience and allegeance, ſaving only this, That by reaſon of ancient entercourſe of croſſe and mutuall marriages, many noble houſes and mighty families were linked and allied to the Romans: and again, which was the greateſt bond of all, whereas there had ſerved in the Roman wars, certain of them, there were three hundred men of arms, and thoſe of nobleſt birth of all the Campans, choſen out of them and ſent by the Romans to be reſiant in ſundry garriſons of the Cities of *Sicely*: whoſe fathers and kinſfolk (with much ado) obtained, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent unto the Conſul of *Rome*. They found the Conſul at *Venuſia* with a few ſouldiers, and thoſe armed by the halves (for as yet he was not gone to *Canuſium*) being in that poor taking and hard plight, as he could not be in worſe; either to move pity in the hearts of true and well affected allies, or to breed contempt in proud and hollow-hearted friends, ſuch as theſe Campans were. Contemptible was their caſe, but the Conſul made himſelf and his condition more deſpiſed, by bewraying too much his preſent diſtreſſes, & laying open to the world the nakedneſs of his calamity. For when the Embaſſadors delivered unto him, That the Senat and people of *Capua* took it to the heart, and greatly grieved at the adverſe overthrow of the Romans, and promiſed therewith, to furniſh him with all things fit and meet for war: "Ye have (quoth he) O Campans, obſerved an order and cuſtom, and for form and "faſhion viſited us your confederates, in willing us to require at your hands all ſupplements of war; "rather

The Oration of *Varro* to the Embaſſadors of *Capua*.

"rather then said any thing directly befitting the present estate of our fortune. For what have we H
"left us at all, after this discomfiture of *Cannæ*, that we should be willing to have that supplied
"by our allies which is wanting? As who would say, we had somewhat already. Should we de-
"mand of you footmen, as though we were furnished with horse? Should we say that we lack-
"ed money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no, Fortune hath dealt so
"hardly with us, that she hath left us just nothing, nor so much as that, which might be made
"up and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Cornets of horse, our armour and muni-
"tion, our standards and Ensigns, horse and man, money and victuals, all is gone, lost and peri-
"shed; either in the battell, or the morrow after in the ruin of our Camp, when we were turned
"out of our tents and pavillions. And therefore ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this
"war; but in our behalf, and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your I
"own selves, against the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in times past, when your an-
"cestors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your wals, standing in dread and
"bodily fear, not of the Samnits only your enemies, but also of the Sidicins: we took them into
"our protection, and defended them before *Saticula*: and how for your sakes we began war
"with the *Samnits*, and *th* maintained the same for the space of an hundred years, and in great
"variety of fortune, giving and taking sundry foils all the whiles. Over and besides, call to mind,
"how we concluded an indifferent and equall league with you to the disadvantage of neither
"parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under your own laws: and how at the
"last (a matter, I wot, of right great importance and consequence, before this our late over-
"thrown at *Cannæ*) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and priviledge of Burgesi- K
"sie, and parted with you the franchises of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my
"Masters of *Capua*, to repute this losse and misfortune now received, to be as well yours as ours:
"and to make reckoning to defend the common state and countrey of both. It is neither Samnit
"nor Tuscan that ye have to deal with, to whom if we lost and parted with our Empire, yet it
"remained still within the compass of *Italy*: but the enemy that pursueth us, is a Carthaginian,
"drawing after him a train of souldiers, who are not so much as born in *Affrick*, but coming
"from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the * streights
*G. Iraltar. "of the Ocean sea, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and
"difference of condition, without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without commerce of
"mans language. These founders so fierce and fell by nature, so cruell and mercilels by use and cu- L
"stome, their captain hath withall made more wild and savage, by making bridges, causeys, and
"high wales, over heaps of dead mens bodies: and (which I abhor to speak) by teaching them
"to eat mens flesh. To see and endure these men to be their LL. whom feeding as they do upon
"such execrable meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we
"may not: to resort for justice as far as into *Affrick* and *Carthage*, and to suffer *Italy* to be re-
"duced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not detest and
"abhor, were he but born only within *Italy*? A worthy honour and immortall glory it will be
"for you, O ye Campans, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling
"down prostrate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible
"power be staid and upheld, and set upright again. I suppose ye have levied and enrolled alrea- M
"dy thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, out of the Campain: for coin, for corn, ye have
"store and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be answerable to your wealth and fortune, nei-
"ther shall *Annibal* find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have lost
"a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consul gave the Embassadors their discharge,
and dismissed them. As they returned homewards, one of them, *Sabius Virius* by name, said
thus unto his fellows. "Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able
"not only to recover again the lands which in times past the Romans have wrongfully taken
"from them, but also obtain and enjoy the soveragin rule and Empire of *Italy*. As for *Annibal*, we
"may conclude, covenant & capitulat with him what articles and conditions as we list our selves,
"to our best behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Annibal* having now dispatched N
"and finished the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conqueror into *Affrick*, and with-
"draw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of *Italy* shall be left wholly to the peo-
"ple of *Capua*. *Virius* had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and
accorded thereto. And in such terms they related their Embassage, as all men thought no less
but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the
Commons and the greatest part of the Nobility of *Capua* enclined to revolt and rebell: Yet
by the countenance and authority of the ancients and Elders the matter was staid and defer-
red for some few daies. At length the greater part prevailed, whose opinion was, that the same
Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Consul, should be addressed in embassie unto *Anni-*
bal. But I find in some Annal-records, that before they went, and before their resolute determi- O
nation to revolt, there was an Embassage sent from the *Capuans* to the City of *Rome* demanding
thus much, That if they meant to have any aid and help from them, one of their Consuls might
be a Capuan. Whereat the Senat of *Rome* took such snuff and indignation that the said Embassa-
dors were commanded to void the Council-House, and a Serjeant sent after them at their heel
to set them out of the City: charged them at their perill, to take up their lodging that night
without the territories of *Rome*. But because this demand jumpeth too near to the like that th
Latine

A Latines made long before: and both *Calius* and other Historians have (not without good reason)
passed it over and laid nothing thereof, I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there
came unto *Annibal*, and concluded peace with him under these conditions, and covenants: *Im-*
primis, That no General, Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdicti-
on or power over a Citizen of *Capua*: *Item*, That no Citizen of *Capua* should be compelled a-
gainst his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a souldier. *Item*, That the
Campans still enjoy their old Laws and Magistrates of their own: *Item*, That *Annibal* deliver
unto the Campans three hundred Roman Captives, such as they themselves shall choose: whom
they might course and exchange for these three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in
B garrison, and served for pay in *Sicily*. These were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans
stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and
sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Roman Captives over
the confederate souldiers, yea, and attached other Citizens of *Rome*, that were either employed in
any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs: and caused them to be clapt up
within the stoves and hot houses, as in ward and safe custody, where their breath being stuffed
and stopped up with exceeding heat, and steaming vapours, they were stifled, and died miserably.
But there was one *Decius Magius*, a man who wanted no means of soveraign authority, but on-
ly the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens with whom he lived: who withstood
all that ever he could such enormous and audacious courses, and endeavoured to hinder the Em-
C bassage sent to *Annibal*. And so soon as he heard that *Annibal* was sending a garrison, he recoun-
ted unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrhus*, the miserable and wretched
thraldom of the Tarentines, as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He ceased not to cry
aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City:
then, that being admitted, they should either be thrust out again; or rather if they would expiate
and make amends by some valiant and memorable act for that shamefull lend part of theirs in re-
volting so from their most ancient Allies, yea, and kinsmen by blood, they should fall upon the
Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one; and so reconcile themselves again to the Romans.
Annibal having intelligence of these plots (for they were not a forging and contriving in a cor-
ner) first sent certain messengers to summon *Magius* to repair unto his presence within his Camp.
D After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that *Annibal* had no authority nor
right to command a Citizen of *Capua*) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be ap-
prehended, and to be haled perforce bound unto him. But fearing upon better advice, lest by of-
fering such violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood break forth into an incon-
siderate fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marius Blosius*, the Prae-
tor or L. Governor of *Capua*: signifying, that the morrow next following he would be perso-
nally in *Capua*: and so with a small guard about him, he set forth of his Camp, and put himself
on his journey. *Marius* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning
them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet *Annibal* up-
on the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magius* and the Romans performed this not only
E obediently, but also most effectually; and with great diligence and endeavour. Yea, the common
sort likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great General and
brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. *Decius Magius* neither went forth
to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty con-
science: but walked up and down idly for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sons,
and a few of his vassals and followers, whiles the whole City besides was busily occupied, and
much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the
Carthaginians. *Annibal* being entred the City, incontinently required to have audience in their
Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principall Citizens of *Capua* requested him that
he would not that day intend any weighty matters of importance, but himself in person solem-
F nize it with joy and mirth, as an high and festival all holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit
he was by nature hasty, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his
first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and viewing
the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the *Manii*, *Gellii*, *Stenii*, *Ti-*
tii and *Pacuvii*, the most noble and honourable personages, and the wealthiest of all others. Thi-
ther unto him, *Pacuvius Calavius* (concerning whom I spake before, the principal man of that
bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Annibal*) brought
his own son a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Deci-*
us, and that he was fain to pluck him away from his company and train, whose part he took,
and stuck most stiffly to him, in maintaining the old society and amity of the Romans, against
G the new League with the Carthaginians; and neither the bending and inclination of the whole
City to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from
his obstinate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with *Annibal* rather by way of
prayer and intreaty, than by excusing and clearing his son, that he would not be discontented
nor displeased with the young man. So he was overcome with the importunate request
and plentifull teares of the father, and gave commandment, that he together with his father
should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the company of no other guests
of all *Capua*, but only of his hostess that have him entertainment, and one *Jubellius Taurea*,

a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day-light went down, and fared at H the table, not after the guise of Carthaginians nor according to the discipline of souldiers, but after the order of a City and house, which had been used a long time to have the boord furnished with sundry sorts of dainty dishes, and with all delicate junkets to please the palate and taste. *Perolla* only the son of *Calavius*, could not be brought to change his mind, and shew himself cheerful and merry at meat, notwithstanding the Masters of the feast, and *Annibal* himself otherwhiles invited him to bear them company, and sit with them: but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at ease and sickly whensoever he seemed to examine him, and to know the cause of such wonderful trouble of mind and vexation of spirit. So, a little afore sun-setting, when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, he followed hard after him: and when they weee come into I a secret place apart, (a garden it was on the back side of the house) "I will tell you a thing father, "I have in my head a policy and a ready mean, how we shall not only obtain pardon at the Ro- "mans hands for our trespass committed, in falling away from them, and turning to *Annibal*: but "also how we Campans may be in far greater estimation and favour among them than ever we "were. The father marvelling hereat, was desirous to know what device that might be: and with "that the youth cast his gown from off his shoulders, and shewed him a good blade girded to "his side. I will, quoth he, out of hand, establish and seal sure the Roman League with the blood "of *Annibal*. I was desirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would "be willing to be out of the way when the deed is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this, K in a great fearfull agony, as if he had been present to see the execution of that which he heard him to speak of, "Now I beseech thee, my son (quoth he) and pray thee of all loves and bonds "that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either com- "mit or suffer this so horrible a part, full of all abominable wickedness whatsoever, and not to be "named. There are not many hours since that we sware by all the gods and holy hallows in hea- "ven, and by joyning hand in hand, made faithful promise, and obliged our selves to communi- "cate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of sacred viands. And are we no sooner "departed asunder from our familiar conference and parley, but we arm our selves against him? "Ariseth thou indeed from thy friends guest-boord, to which thou wert thy self a third man bid- "den of all the Campans, and even by *Annibal*, and wilt thou stain and pollute that boord with "the bloud of the principal guest? I, thy father, erewhile was able to reconcile *Annibal* to my L "son; and can I not pacifie my son likewise, and appease his fierce stomack against *Annibal*? But "if their be nothing sacred and inviolable, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithfull "promise nor religious oath, nor any piety at all and good nature, things so honest and just: then "adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spo- "ken, so that besides the note and infamous mark of wickedness, they bring not upon our own "heads present mischief, and utter confusion. Dareth thou alone assail the person of *Annibal*? "What will that multitude about him do the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All "their guard and regard all their eyes upon him alone what serve they for? What will become of "so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be benummed and dead at the time of "that frantick enterprise of thine? The grim visage of *Annibal* himself, whom whole armies of M "souldiers tremble to behold: who the people of *Rome* dread, and for fear of whom they quake "again, wilt thou alone abide to see? And if all other means of help should fail him, wilt thou "endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my body between for the safegard and de- "fence of *Annibal*? And stab me thou must through the very heart, before thou canst hurt him "or run him through. Suffer therefore thy self here to be frighted from this thy intended mischief, "before thou have the foil there, and miss of thy purpose. Let my prayers take place with thee, "as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked his son to weep and shed tears, and embracing him about the middle, and kissing him ever and anon, he left him not, nor gave over to pray & entreat him instantly, untill he got at his hands to lay off his sword, and promise him faithfully, that he would not attempt any such enterprise. Then the youth, seeing how N the case stood, "I will (quoth he) pay unto my naturall father that kindness and love, in which "I am bound as a debtor to my native Country. But alas for you, good father, I am right sorry "for your hard hap; who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your "country no fewer times than thrice already. Once, when you gave counsell and perswaded to "forsake the Romans and to revolt from them: again, when you were the principall agent, and "advised to make peace with *Annibal*: and now this day the third time, when you are the only "obstacle and hinderance that *Capua* is not restored again into the hands of the Romans. O "sweet countrey and native soil of mine, take here at my hands this sword, wherewith erewhile "I was girt and armed for dear love of thee and was fully minded to defend this thy chief Castle "and Fortress, and not to spare, but embrue it in the bloud of thy mortall enemy: take it I say, O "since my own father is ready to wrest it from me. This said, he flung his sword over the garden wall into the high way and open street: and therewith, because he would not grow into any suspition, he shewed himself again to the guests within the house, and took part of the banquet. The morrow after, the Senate in favour of *Annibal* solemnly met together in great number: in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein he gave the Capuans thanks, for preferring his amity before the alliance of the people of *Rome*: and among other fair and magnificall behests to them made, he promised that within a while, *Capua*

A *Capua* should be the head City and chief State of all *Italy*, whereunto the people of *Rome*, together with other nations, should resort for law and justice. "Mary, quoth he, there is one that hath "no part or fellowship in the society and league made between the Carthaginians and you, name- "ly, *Magius Decius*, who neither was a Campan nor ought of right to be so called and reputed: "him I demand to be delivered into my hands, and that in my presence the Senate should be as- "ked their opinion concerning his trespass, and an Act presently entred thereof. All of them there assembled allowed of the motion, and gave their assent in the end: albeit a great sort of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard fortune and calamity, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the infringing of the right of their freedom. The chief Ma- B gistrate then went forth of the Council-Chamber, and late in the Judiciall Hall or Temple, and commanded *Decius* to be attached, and to stand before him at his feet, and there to answer for himself and make his defence. Who persisted still in the same stoutness and boldness of spirit, alledging that by vertue of the covenants in the League comprised, he might not lawfully be pressed and forced thus far. Whereupon he had irons clapt upon him, and commandment was given that he should have a Lictor attend upon him, and so be conveighed into the Camp of *Annibal*. All the way as he was led, so long as he was bare-headed and open-faced, he went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a loud voice spake and said: "Now Capuans, ye have "the liberty that ye sought and longed for. In the open market place, at noon-day, and in your "sight, lo how I, a man inferior to none in all *Capua*, am led away bound in chains to die. What C "greater violence could be offered if *Capua* were won by assault of the enemy? Go forth, go and "meet *Annibal* adorn and hang the City with rich cloath of tapistry. Register in your Kalender, "among other holidaies, this day of his Entry, that in the end ye may behold this goodly triumph "over one of your own Citizens. Upon the utterance of these words, the multitude seemed discontented at the indignity of this sight. Whereupon he was hoodwinked, and his head covered, and the Serjeant was charged to have him away quickly, and make haste out of the gates. So, he was brought into the Camp, and immediatly shipped and sent to *Carthage*, for fear lest some commotion might arise in *Capua*, upon so unworthy and shamefull a deed: and lest the Senat also should repent themselves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principal personage among them: also to prevent that no Embassage might be sent unto him for his redeli- D very, whereby he should either offend his new Allies, in case he denied them their first request, or suffer *Capua* to have alwaies a busie and seditious Citizen ready ever to stir up new troubles, if he granted their suit. The ship wherein he was embarked, was by a tempest cast upon *Cyrene*, a port town in the dominion at that time of the KK. There *Magius* fled for refuge as to a Sanctuary, unto the Image of King *Ptolomeus*, and was brought by his guard and keepers unto *Alexandria* to the Kings presence, and enformed the King, how contrary to the tenor and priviledge of the covenant he was in bonds by *Annibal*. Whereupon he was loosed from his chains, and put to the choice, whether he would return to *Capua*, or go to *Rome*. *Magius* answered, that he could not in *Capua* remain in safety, and if he went to *Rome*, at that time especially when there was war between the Romans and the Capuans, he should be sooner lodged there in a prison like a fugitive runnagate, E than entertained in house for a friend and loving guest: and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the rest of his daies more willingly in no place of the world, than in his highness Realm whom he found already to be the saviour of his life, and the redeemer of his liberty and enlargement.

While these occurrents fell out abroad, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, sent (as is aboveisaid) Embassador to *Delphos*, returned to *Rome*, and out of a writing he read openly, the answer of the Oracle in these words (now ye must understand, that in this Script were certain gods and saints named, unto whom they should make solemn supplication, and the manner allo with all ceremonies and complements thereto belonging:) "Then, O Romans) if ye shall so do, your state shall prosper and be "more happy: your Common-weal shall go forward better to your mind, yea, and victory in the F "wars shall happen unto the people of *Rome*. But remember that when all things shall go well on "your side, and your State shall be saved and preserved, ye send unto *Pythius Apollo* a present, ac- "cording to the merit of a due recompence, and of the silver raised of the pillage, prizes, and "spoils taken from the enemies, do him honour accordingly. After he had rehearsed these words, truly translated out of the Greek Original (then he said moreover, That so soon as he was departed from the Oracle, he presently sacrificed unto all those gods with frankincense and wine. Also, that he was commanded by the Priest of *Apollo*, that like as he both came to the Oracle, and also celebrated sacrifices, crowned with a garland and chaplet of Laurel, so he should in the same manner adorned take ship and be imbarked, and not lay off the said garland before he was arrived to *Rome*. Finally, that all ceremonies performed most precisely and diligently, which he was com- G manded to observe, he had laid and bestowed the said chaplet upon the altar, before the Shrine of *Apollo* at *Rome*. Then the Senate made a decree, That those sacrifices and supplications should with all speed and carefull regard be celebrated.

Whiles these things passed at *Rome* and in *Italy*, *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, arrived at *Carthage* and brought the first tidings of the victory at *Cannæ*. This *Mago* was not immediatly and directly sent from his brother, out of the field where the battel was fought, but staid certain daies about receiving the homage and subjection of certain Cities of the *Brutii*, which revolted from the Romans. Who having audience given him in the Senat of *Carthage*, related what acts

and exploits his brother *Annibal* had atchieved in *Italy*: namely, That he had given battell to H
rx Generals, whereof four were Consuls, and two were the Dictator and Commander of horse-
men: That he had fought against six entire Consular armies, in which battels he had slain above
200000 enemies, taken prisoners more than 50000, That of those four Coss. he had killed twain
outright: as for the other two, one of them was deadly hurt, the other having lost his whole ar-
my, was fled, accompanied scarcely with fifty men: that the General of the Cavalry created with
full Consular authority, was discomfited and put to flight: and the Dictator (for tooth) because he
never would hazard the fortune of a field, was counted the only warrior and worthy Captain:
That the Brutii and Apulians part of the Samnits, and Lucans, were revolted to the Carthagini-
ans: That *Capua*, the head City not of *Campan* only, but (after the Romans defeat and overthrow I
in the battell at *Cannæ*) of all *Italy* also, was surrendred to *Annibal*. For these so many and so
worthy victories, he required (meet and requisite it was) that there should be a solemn festivall
day holden and sacrifices solemnized to the honour of the immortal gods. And for the better as-
surance of these lucky and fortunate atchievements, and to verifie his words, he caused the gold
rings of the Romans, slain at *Cannæ*, to be poured forth in the porch and entry of the Council-
House. The heap of them was so great, that as some authors affirm, when they measured the same,
they filled three *Modii* and an half. But the constant report went, and sounding neerer to a truth,
that they were not above one *Modius*. He added moreover, and said, (and all to prove their ov-
throw the greater) that none but knights and men of arms, and those of the better sort, who served
on horses found at the Cities charges, used to wear that ornament. The drift and conclusion of his K
speech was this, "That the sooner that *Annibal* hoped to make an end of the wars, the more he
"ought to be aided and helped with all provision and furniture accordingly. And why? There-
"vice was far from home, in the midst of the enemies land, a huge deal of corn was consumed, a
"great mass of money was spent; and as so many battels had utterly swoopt up the enemies ar-
"mies, so reckning was to be made, that they had in some measure lessened and impaired the for-
"ces of the conqueror. Therefore, a new supply of men was to be sent over, and money for soul-
"diers pay, yea and corn also was to be transported to so brave souldiers, that had done so singu-
"lar good service, and deserved so well of the Carthaginian nation. Upon these reports of *Mago*,
"when all men else were wondrous glad, and took great contentment, *Himilco*, a man of the
"Brachin bend, supposing he had now good occasion and opportunity offered to carp and check L
"*Hanno*. How now *Hanno* quoth he, what say you to this gear? Repent you still and misliketh
"war undertaken against the Romans? Let us see now, give your voice and opinion that *Annibal*
"be yielded: forbid now thanksgiving to be performed to the immortall gods, for this prosperous
"speed and fortunate success. Let us hear a Roman Senator now to speak in the Council-House
"of the Carthaginians. Then *Hanno*; "I would have held my peace this day, my LL. quoth he,
"for fear to speak ought that in this common and generall joy might not be altogether pleasant
"unto you. But now, seeing a Senator bluntly spurreth me the question, whether I mislike still of
"the enterprise of war against the Romans? if I should keep silence and say nothing, I might
"seem either proud and insolent, or else faulty and culpable. Whereof the one is the part of a man
"that hath forgot the liberty of other men; the other a property of him, that thinketh not of M
"his own. Well may I therefore answer to *Himilco*, that I cease not yet to mislike this war, nor
"never will give over to blame and challenge this invincible Captain and warrior of ours, be-
"fore I see the war ended and determined, upon some indifferent hand, and tollerable conditi-
"on: and nothing else shall stint the mis I have, and quench the longing desire of the old peace,
"but the making of a new. And therefore these particulars, which *Mago* erewhile so magnified
"and vaunted of, are for the present joyfull news to *Himilco*, and other of that crue, and the sup-
"posts of *Annibals* and to me likewise in some measure, they may be acceptable tidings. in this re-
"gard, that good success and lucky speed in war, if we will make the right use and benefit of our
"fortune, will be a mean to procure us a more easie and honourable peace. For if we let slip this
"advantage and opportunity of the time, when as we may seem rather to give than take condi- N
"tions of peace, I fear me, that even this present so goodly a shew of rankness as it maketh now,
"will run up all to straw, and bear no head to yield corn in the end. And yet let us consider now,
"what a special matter this is. Slain I have whole armies of enemies; Therefore send me fresh and
"new souldiers. What could you (Sir) demand more, if you had been overthrown? Won I have
"by force two strong holds where the enemies were encamped, full and fraight (we must needs
"think) of prizes and victuals: Allow me more corn and money. What would you have requi-
"red and craved more, I say, in case you had been rifled, and turned perforce out of your own
"Camp and pavilions? But that I may not marvel alone at these strange Enthymemes and conclu-
"sions (for it is as free and lawful for me to ask some questions, seeing I have already answered to
"*Himilco*) I would fain have *Himilco* or *Mago*, I care not whether, to make answer likewise to O
"me. Say, that in the battell before *Cannæ*, the Roman Empire was wholly defeated and foiled.
"Say also, that certain it is, how all *Italy* is at point ready to revolt: tell me first and formost, whe-
"ther any one Nation of the Latine people is fain from them, to us? Secondly, whether any one
"peeson of the five and thirty wards in *Rome*, is run away, and fled to *Annibal*? When *Mago* said
"nay, and denied both. Why then (quoth he) there be great numbers of our enemy still behind.
"But I would gladly know what courage, what heart, what hopes that multitude hath. When
"*Mago* answered, he could not tell, And nothing (quoth *Hanno*) is more rife & easie to be known.

"Say

A "Say man, sent the Romans any Embassadors to *Annibal* to treat for peace? Nay, had ye any in-
"telligence brought unto you, that there was so much as one word lisped, or mention made at
"*Rome* of peace? When *Mago* said flatly, nay, to that too. Why then (quoth *Hanno*) by this ac-
"count this war will find us work, and keep us occupied as much as it did the very first day that
"*Annibal* set foot in *Italy*. How variable fortune was in the former Punick war, how victory
"went and came reciprocally, we are most of us yet alive that well remember. We never sped bet-
"ter nor had a luckier hand, both by land and sea, than before *Caius Lutatius*, and *Aulus Posthu-*
"*mius* were Consuls. And whiles *Lutatius* and *Posthumius* were Consuls, were we vanquished
B "and utterly overthrown before the Ilands *Ægates*. And in case now (which God forbid) for-
"tune should change, to change and turn her wheel, hope ye to have peace then, being overcome,
"which now when we are conquerors, no man offreth nor seeketh after. For mine own part,
"if any man should ask mine opinion of peace, either to present and tender it to the enemies,
"or to accept it at their hands, I wot well what to say: but if ye would know what I think con-
"cerning those demands of *Mago*, my advice is, that there is no sence nor reason to send aid and
"supplies to conquerors: now if they bear us in hand, delude, and abuse us with a vain and false
"perswasion of conquest and victory, much less a great deal. These remonstrances of *Hanno*
took small effect with many of them: for, both the secret grudge and rancor which he bare to
the Barchin House, much impeached his credit and authority, and also by reason that their minds
C were so fully possessed of the present joy, they could admit and abide to hear of nothing, that
might sound otherwise to daunt their glad hearts: thinking verily that the war would soon be
at an end if they now would strain a little and help it forward. And therefore with great consent,
there passed an Act of the Senat, That there should be a supply sent unto *Annibal* of forty thou-
sand Numidians, forty Elephants, and many talents of silver. Also the Dictator was sent before
with *Mago* into *Spain* to leavy and hire twenty thousand footmen, and four thousand horse-
men for to make up those broken armies which were in *Italy* and in *Spain*. But these matters (as
usually it hapneth in time of prosperity) were performed but slackly and at leisure. The Romans
contrariwise made more speed, as being by nature more industrious: and besides, such was their
adverse fortune and extremity, that they might not neglect their affairs and go slowly about
D their business. For neither the Consul was wanting in any affairs that were by him to be mana-
ged: and the Dictator *M. Jun. Brutus*, so soon as he had performed all the complements concer-
ning sacrifices and religious ceremonies, proposed unto the people, That (as the usuall man-
ner was) he might mount on horseback. Which done, over and besides the two legions of Citi-
zens, which in the beginning of the year had been levied and enrolled by the Consuls, and the
bondslaves that were before mustred, and certain squadrons gathered together out of the Picene
and Gauls country, he proceeded to the last remedy and succour of a distressed and well near de-
sperate state, when as honest and direct courses must give place unto commodious and profitable
policies, and alight from his horse, and made proclamation, That whosoever were guilty and con-
demned of any capital crime, or whosoever were imprisoned for debt, and would willingly serve
E under him, he would take order that they should be exempt from all punishment, and discharged
from their creditors. And of such he armed six thousand with the spoils of the Gauls, which in the
triumph of *Flaminius* were carried in shew. Thus he departed from *Rome* five and twenty thou-
sand strong.

Annibal having possessed himself of *Capua*, and sollicited the Neapolitans once again, and
sounded their minds, proposing before their eyes fear and hope, and all in vain, led his forces in-
to the Country of *Nola*, with this mind, not at first to go roughly with them to work, and by
way of open hostility, because he was not out of all hope, that they would willingly come off and
F yield themselves: but in case they wavered, and answered not his hope and expectation in some
good time, he would surely proceed against them in all extremity, and put them to whatsoever
they could endure or fear. The Senate, and especially the principall of them, continued fast and
sure in their alliance with the people of *Rome*: But the commons (as their manner is, desirous of
alteration and to see a new world) enclined wholly to the side of *Annibal*, calling many doubts,
and fears, that their lands and possessions should be wasted and spoiled with sundry calamities
and indignities that follow upon siege: neither wanted there heads and ring-leaders of a rebelli-
on. Whereupon the Senate (for fear left if they should seem to thwart and cross them, they
had not been able to withstand the violence of the multitude once up and drawn to an head)
closely dissembled their intent and purpose, and so by temporizing, prevented a present mischief.
For they made semblance that they liked well, and were resolved of revolting unto *Annibal*:
but upon what conditions and capitulations they should enter into new league and amity, they
knew not certainly. So having taken a farther time they dispatched in haste certain Embassadors
unto the Roman Prætor *Marcellus Claudius*, who remained with the army at *Casinum*, adverti-
sing him in how great jeopardy the state of *Nola* stood, to wit That *Annibal* was already Lord
of their lands and the Carthaginians would soon be masters of the City, unless they were succou-
red and relieved: that their Senat were driven to this shift for to yield unto the Commons, and
grant to revolt when soever they would have them; and by that means staid them that they
rebelled not over hastily. *Marcellus* after he had commended the Nolans willed them with the
same dissimulation to protract time and hold off, until his coming: and in the mean while to
conceal and keep secret to themselves, the dealings and treaties with him, and in no case to be

known

known of any hope they had of aid from the Romans. Himself went from *Canusium*, to *Calatia*, H and from thence passed over the river *Vulturnus*, and by the way of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, journeyed over *Suessula* through the mountains, and arrived at *Nola*. A little before the coming of the Roman Prætor, *Annibal* was departed and gone out of the Territory of *Nola*, and drew downwards to the sea-side near unto *Neapolis*: his teeth watered at the Port-town, and that out of *Affrick* his ships might arrive thither, as to a safe and sure harbour. But after that he heard that *Naples* was held by a Roman Provost, *M. Junius Syllanus* (sent for thither by the Neapolitans themselves) and had received a garrison: seeing he could not be admitted into *Neapolis*, no more than into *Nola*, he went to *Nuceria*. Having beleaguered it round a long time, and often assaulted it forcibly, and assaied to sollicit as well the Commons as the Nobility, but without effect: at the I length by famine he forced them to yield, and to became master of the Town upon composition, That they should depart every man disarmed in their single garments. Then, as one that would seem ever from the beginning, to use clemency to all Italians, but only the Romans; he made fair promises of great rewards and advancement to honour, unto all those that would tarry behind and serve under him. But no man upon those hopes would remain with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went sundry waies, some to their friends and acquaintance, others at a venture as their mind stood, to divers Cities of Campain, but most to *Nola* and *Naples*. Amongst the rest, there were almost thirty Senators, and those (as it fell out) of the best sort, that came to *Capua*: but being kept out there, because they had shut their gates against *Annibal*, they went to *Cumes*. The pillage of *Nuceria* was bestowed upon the souldiers, the City sacked and burnt. K Now kept *Marcellus Nola*, not presuming more upon the strength of his own garrison, than upon the confidence he had in the great men and chief of the City. But he had the Commons in jealousie, and above all, one *L. Bantius*, who for that he had complotted to rebell, and therefore stood in fear of the Roman Deputy: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treason, and to betray his Country; another while, in case he shou'd fail of that opportunity, and miss his purpose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A couragious and lusty young man he was, and the bravest Cavaleer in those daies of all the Roman Confederats. His hap was to be found lying half dead among the heaps of slain bodies before *Cannæ*: *Annibal* took order for the curing of his hurts, and when he was throughly healed right curteously sent him home well and bountifully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good turn, and in token of L thankfulness, he was willing to deliver and yield *Nola* into the hands of *Annibal*, to be at his devotion. But the Prætor had an eye unto him, and observed how his head wrought, and was busily occupied to bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two waies to deal with him, either by punishment to keep him short, and cut him off; or by some benefit to win his heart: he thinking it a better course, to gain unto himself so hardy and valiant a friend, than only to bereave his enemy of him; he sent for him, and in this manner spake friendly unto him: "You have (quoth "he) amongst your countrymen and fellow-Citizens, I see well, many that envy you, as it appears "well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at *Nola* that hath told me of you, and "how many noble exploits and good services in war you have performed. But yet your valour "cannot be unknown and hidden, ever since you served in the Roman army. For many there M "be which were fouldiers then with you, which have made report unto me of your prowess and "what perils you have entred into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safety "and honour of the people of *Rome*: and namely, how in the battel before *Cannæ* you gave not "over fight, until at length having bled well near to death, you were born to the ground and "lay under foot, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you, and so kept down "that you could not rise up again. But be of good chear man, and go on still in this thy vertue and "well-doing: you shall have at my hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the "oftner you come to me and keep me company, you shall find it will be more for your reputation "and commodity both. The young man was glad at heart for these gracious words and large promises: and so *Marcellus* gave unto him freely, a good brave courser, and commanded the Trea- N surer to tell him out in money "500 "Bigats of silver, charging his officers and Lictors to let him have access unto him at his pleasure, whensoever he came. By this curteous usage and humanity of *Marcellus*, the young mans stoot heart was so dulled, mollified and easie to be wrought, that of all Confederats and Allies there was not one who bare himself more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of *Rome*. When *Annibal* was approached to the gates of *Nola* (for he was returned from *Nuceria*, and came thither again) and the Commons within the town practised afresh to rebell, *Marcellus* had a little before the coming of the enemies, retired and put himself within the walls: not for fear that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold: but lest he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the City, seeing too many of them within disposed and forward thereunto. After this, they began on both sides to arrange their battels into array the Romans under the walls of *Nola*, the Carthaginians before their own fort. Small skirmishes there were between the City and the Camp of *Annibal* (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing, either to deny and debar some few that were so eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signall of a generall battell. While these two armies temporized thus, and held their *Corps de guard*, continually, and in manner of a solemn set Assembly, the chief Nobles of the Nolans advertised *Marcellus*, that there used to be night-meetings and conferences between their own Commons and the Carthaginians: and

* 14 li. 1 s. 8 d.

* *Bigatus* was a piece of Roman silver coin, so called of *Bigæ*, a chariot drawn with two horses, stricken or stamped upon the one side, and it was the same that *Denarius*.

A and that it was plotted and set down, That when the Roman Host was issued in battel-array out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while should fall to rifling their carriages, packs, and trusses within, and then shut the gates upon them, and keep the walls: and so having the City and all their goods and baggage under their hands, should from thenceforth receive *Annibal* into the City instead of *Marcellus*. Upon these advertisements, *Marcellus* after he had thanked and commended the Senators of *Nola*, determined before any commotion and mutiny arose within the walls to try the fortune of a battel. At those three gates that stood toward the enemy he ranged his forces divided into three battailons, & gave order that all the carriages should follow after: B and that the lackies, launders, and other Camp-followers together with the feeble and sickly persons, should carry stakes and pales for the rampier. At the middle gate he placed the flower and strength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalry: at the two gates at either hand he bestowed the new souldiers the light armed, and the auxiliary horsemen of allies. The Nolans were by streight commandment forbidden to approach the gates or the walls. As for the baggage and carriages, the ordinary guard was appointed to attend thereupon, for fear, lest while the Legions were busie in fight, there should be some assault made upon them. In this order and array marshalled they were within the gates. *Annibal*, who likewise ready arranged, stood with banner displaied (as he had done for certain daies together) untill it was well toward noon, first wondred at it, that neither the Roman army issued out of the gates nor any souldier appeared upon the wals: and supposing afterwards, that their usuall complots and conventicles were discovered and revea- C led, and that for very fear they kept within and sat still, sent back part of their forldiers into the Camp, with commandment, in all speed to bring abroad into the open field before the vanguard, all the Ordnance and Artillery for to batter the City walls: with assured confidence, that if he came hotly upon them, and gave an assault, whiles they thus lingred and issued not forth, the Commons would make some tumult and stir within the City. But anon as every man was busily occupied, running to and fro in haste about his own charge, before the vanguard and forefront of his battel, even at the point when he advanced forward to the wals; all upon a sudden a gate was set open, and *Marcellus* caused the trumpets to sound the alarm, and the souldiers to set up a shout, commanding the footmen first, and then the horse to sally out, and with all the might and force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soon had they terrified their main battell sufficient- D ly, and made disorder there, when at the two gates of each side, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Cains Aurelius*, two Lieutenants generall, issued forth upon their flanks and wings. The horse-boies, scullions, and the other multitude above said, which was set to guard the carriages, arose up and made a new outcry, and shouted, so as to the Carthaginians (who contemned them before for their small number especially) they represented all at once a shew of a mighty army. I dare not avouch that which some Authors stick not to write, that of enemies were slain in this conflict 2300 and that the Romans lost but one only man. But what victory soever it was, either so great, or smaller, surely a doughty piece of service was that day atchieved & I wot not whether I may truly say, of the greatest consequence that any ever was, during the time of that war. For as the time was then, it was a greater matter for the Romans (albeit they were the Conquerors) not to be E vanquished of *Annibal*, than it was afterwards to vanquish him. *Annibal* disappointed of his hope to win *Nola*, retired to *Acerræ*. And *Marcellus* immediately having shut the gates, and placed the guards and warders to keep the same, that no man might go forth, sat judicially in the market-place to examine those that had used secret conference and parling with the enemies: and finding above seventy guilty of this action, pronounced sentence of death upon them, as in case of treason. Those he cut shorter by the head, and commanded their goods to be confiscat. And thus leaving the government of the City to the Senat thereof, he departed with all his forces, and above *Suessula* encamped himself, and there abode.

Annibal being come before *Acerræ*, first summoned the City, to surrender voluntarily & without constraint: but seeing them obstinate, and willing to relent, he made preparation to lay siege F unto the town, and to assault it. But the Acerrans had better heart and courage, than might and strength to resist him. Therefore, when they saw themselves like to be intrenched all about, and were past hope to defend and keep the town: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and sconces together, they got between the trenches and rampiers (where they were not finished, and stood not close together) in the dead time of the night, and escaped through the sentinels and watches that were slendely looked unto, and as well as they could making shift through by-waies and blind lanes, over hedge and ditch (as either their wits guided them, or their fear carried them) recovered those Cities of *Campania*, which they knew for certain were not revolted, but perfisted true and fast unto the Romans. *Annibal* after he had put *Acerræ* to the sack, and set it on fire, having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and the Legions were received at *Casti-* G *num*: and fearing, lest while the enemy lay so near encamped, some should have recourse also into *Capua*, led his army to *Casilinum*.

At the same time *Prænestæ* was held by 500 Prænestins, with a few Romans and Latines, who upon the news of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, were retired thither. These Prænestins, by occasion that they were not levied and mustered at *Prænestæ* by the day appointed, set out from thence somewhat too late; and were come as far as *Casilinum*, before the rumour was bruited of the defeat before *Cannæ*: where they joyned themselves with other Romans and Confederats, set forward from *Casilinum*, and marched together with a good great company: but meeting by the way

with

with the tidings of that unfortunat field, turned back again to *Casilinum*. And after they had spent H certain daies there, as well fearing the Campans, as suspected of them again, (for they devised on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others traits) and having received also certain intelligence, That in *Capua* there was treating about a revolt, and that *Annibal* was there received; they in one night set upon the Townsmen of *Casilinum*, and killed them, and got that part of the City which is on this side *Vulturnus*, (a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well encreased by the coming of a cohort of four hundred and sixty Perusins, who likewise were driven to *Casilinum*, by the same report and news, which a few daies before had turned the Prenestins thither. And surely there was sufficient almost of armed souldiers to man and defend the walls of that part, being of so small circuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again, for the proportion of corn (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many. *Annibal* being now not far from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain named *Isalca*; with direction, that first, if he could come to a parley, he should perswade with the Inhabitants within, and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison: but in case they continued still in their obstinacy, then to assail them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous Captain *Isalca*, supposing (because he heard no noise, and saw no stirring) that they had quit and abandoned the town and were fled, began to assail the gates, break open the locks, & burst the bars. But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, sallied forth, with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies, and beat them down. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set back, *Mahar.l* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his party good with these squadrons that sallied forth and charged upon him. At last *Annibal* himself encamped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to give assault to this little town, & small garrison. And whiles he pressed hard upon them with fresh and hot assaults, investing it round about, the enemies from off their wals, curtains, and turrets, let flie their shot so luftily upon the assailants, that he lost some of his best & most forward men ther. Once they issued forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them battel, but by a course of Elephants, set between them and home, they had like to have been shut forth and kept L out, and so they made haste in great fear to recover the gates and put themselves within the town again; having lost, considering so small a number, a great sort: and more had died for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailants were all of them sharp set to give a fresh and hot charge, but not before there was a murall Coronet of gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the General himself cast in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assaulting of a smal and weak sconce, to speak of, seated also upon a plain: whereas before they had won the strong town of *Saguntum*. He put them in mind both all and some, of *Cannæ*, *Thrasymenus*, and *Trebia*. Then began they to set mantlets and pavoises to, and to undermine. Many and sundry enterprises were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either by meer force could be performed, or by art and cunning de- M vised. The Roman associats against these their engins and fabricks raised mounts, and platforms: yea, and with countermines and cross trenches met with the mines of the enemies; so as both above ground and underneath, they impeached all their attempts; so long, untill *Annibal* for very shame was fain to give over his design for the present. And when he had fortified his standing Camp and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have relinquished altogether the enterprise, he withdrew himself into *Capua*, there to winter. There he lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiers I say, who many a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travels and hardness that can possibly happen to the body of man; and never had been used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could N tame and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and so much the rather, as they more greedily fell thereto; and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, stews and hot-houses, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custome grew pleasant and delightsome unto them every day more than other; had in such sort weakned their bodies, and made their hearts so effeminate, that from that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than any present strength and vigor they had: insomuch, as expert and skilfull warriors judged their Captain *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overseen in this action, than in not leading his Army streight forward to *Rome*, after the battell before *Canna*. For, that stay might have been thought to have deferred only the entire and finall victory for a time, but this errour and oversight seemed to disable him for atchieving the victory for ever. So little retained he of his former old discipline that I assure you, he went out of *Capua* again as if he had led some other Army and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intangled and snared in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of other military toil and labour; their bodies so tired, their hearts so fainted, as if they had been raw

Casilinum besieged.

A raw souldiers, new come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their summer abode in Camp, many of them without licence and passport, would slip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and these start-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in, but *Capua*. Now when the winter season began to be more mild, and draw towards the Spring; *Annibal* brought forth his souldiers out of his winter harbours and returned to *Casilinum*: where, albeit the assault ceased, yet the siege had continued so streight, that the townsmen and the garrison within the Fort, were driven to extream necessity and want of victuals. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was *T. Sempronius* [*Gracchus*] by reason that the Dictator was gone to *Rome* to take new Auspices. And as for *Marcellus*, who was desirous for his part to relieve and succour the besieged, was impeached for coming to them easily, by the rising and swelling of the river *Vulturnus*, & partly; B by the intreaty of the Citizens of *Nola* and *Acerræ*, who greatly feared the Campans, in case the garrison was once departed from them. And *Gracchus*, lying and keeping near unto *Casilinum* stirred not one foot, by reason of the expresse commandment of the Dictator, That he should attempt nothing in his absence: albeit there came daily from *Casilinum* into the Camp such newes, as would have moved and provoked the most patient man that was. For it was constantly reported, and for certain known, that some of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves down headlong; and brake their necks: others stood unarmed upon the wals, offring their bare and naked bodies, as a But and mark to the shot of arrows, and other darts. *Gracchus* grieved much to hear these pitious tidings, yet durst he not for his life, skirmish & fight without the warrant of the Dictator: & he saw full well, that if he would convey corn and C victuals unto them openly, fight he must, there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to send any, but it should be spied, he devised to fill many tuns and pipes with corn, that he had gotten together out of the country all about: and withall to dispatch a messenger to the chief Magistrate of *Casilinum*, adjuring him, that he should in the night season take up all those vessels that came down the river. The night next following every man watched at the river side, according to the hope they conceived by the foresaid Roman messenger, and so received those tuns, hulling down the midst of the stream: and the corn was equally divided amongst them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day also. For ever by night these vessels were let down into the water and the same night might easily come unto them: by reason whereof the sentinels and guard of the enemies were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards the current growing more D swift and rough, by occasion of continuall rain that fell, the said tuns were some of them driven cross the channel to the bank side, even where the enemies warded: and were espied waving and sticking among the willows and osiers that grew along close unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was advertised. And so from thence forward they tended the watch more streightly that nothing sent down the river *Vulturnus* could escape them, and pass to the City. Afterwards there was powred into the water great store of nuts from the Camp of the Romans; were floated down the Channel unto *Casilinum*, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the last they within the Town were driven to this poor shift and extremity, for to take their thongs and bridle reins, to pluck off their leather from their shields, and bucklers, and make them soft in scalding water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they spared not to much as mice, and rats, nor E any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by, upon the banks and terraces under the wals, but they gathered and digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green-sord of the counter-scarp without the wals, they within cast turnip-seed upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a hout at it, and cried aloud: What? shall we sit here about *Casilinum* so long, untill these rapes be come up and grown. And whereas before that time, he would never vouchsafe to hear of any composition & agreement, now at last he was contented to take reason, and be conferred withall about the ranson of as many as were freemen within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them that they should pay for their redemption * seven ounces of gold apeece. So upon faithfull promise made, and security given F gold aforesaid. After which, they were sent back under safe conduct to *Cumæ*. For this is more like to be true, then the report which goeth, That there was sent out after them certain horsemen, who fell upon them and slew them in the way. Most of them were Prenestins. And whereas there were of them in all five hundred and seventy in garrison the one half well near, were either by sword or hunger consumed: all the rest together with their Prætor *Manitius*, (one who afores time had been a Scribe or Notary) returned safe to *Prænestæ*. In memorial and testimony of this, his statue was erected in the Market place of *Prænestæ*, armed in his cuirasse, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Brasse, with this tenor: That *Manitius* had made a vow for the souldiers who lay in garrison with him at *Casilinum*. And the same title also was engraven under three other images, set up in G the Temple of *Fortuna*. The little Town of *Casilinum* was restored again to the Campans, with a strong garrison of 700 souldiers, deducted out of the army of *Annibal*: for fear left when he was departed once from thence, the Romans should assail them.

* 12 lib. sterl.

The Senat of *Rome*, by vertue of a decree, granted unto those souldiers of *Prænestæ* double wages, with five years vacation and rest from warfare. And when to gratifie them farther for their valiant service they made offer unto them, of the Burgesse and freedom of *Rome*, they chose rather to remain still at home, and would not change their own country. But what befell unto the Perusins,

rufins is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any publicke monument and memoriall of their own, nor yet decree extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellins (who alone of all the Brutii remained in friendship and amity with the Romans) were assaulted not only by the Carthaginians, (that were possessed of a great part of the Countrey about them) but also by the other Brutii with whom they would not joyn in the complot of their rebellion. The Petellins not able of themselves to hold out and endure these dangers, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave their aid and assistance: whose humble prayers and pitious tears (for after an answer received, That they should provide and shift for themselves, they fell into lamentable moans and complaints, and lay prostrate upon the Earth, before the porch of the Councell-House) wrought exceeding compassion and pity in the hearts of the Senators, and also of the people: whereupon the LL. were moved again the second time, by *M. Æmylius* the Prætor to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well weighed and considered, their present state, and what they were able to do; being forced to confess, that it lay not in their power to help their Allies, so far distant and remote from them: they willed them to repair home again; & since they had performed their fidelity to the full, according to covenant, they gave them leave in this calamity of theirs to take that course that they thought best for themselves. When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellins, their Senat all on a sudden was strucken into such sorrows, damps and fearfull maze, that some of them were of mind, and gave advice to abandon the City, and fly every man whereseever he could: others were of opinion and perswaded, that seeing they were forsaken of their old friends, they should joyn with the other Brutii, and by their means, turn to *Annibal*, and come under his protection. Howbeit a third side prevailed, who would in no wise that any thing should be done over hastily and rashly: but that they might meet again, and sit in councell about the matter. And so it was put off, and respite given unto the next day. Then after more mature diliberation, and their former fear somewhat asswaged, the principall personages there assembled grew to this resolution, namely, To convey all things out of the Teritory about them into the City, and to fortifie both it and the wals.

Near about one and the same time, there came Posts with Packets of Letters to *Rome*, from out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Those out of *Sicily* from *Otacilius* the Vice-prætor, were read first in the Senat-House, importing these news: That *L. Furius* the Prætor was come out of *Affrick*, and with his fleet arrived at *Lilybæum*: himself sore hurt, and lying at point of death: that neither the souldiers, nor sailers and mariners had their money or corn duly paid at the day; neither indeed was there any to be had, for to keep touch and make paiment: moving and advising them earnestly, to send supply thereof with all convenient speed: and if they thought so good, one also of the new chosen Prætors to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner wrote *Cornel. Mammula* the Pro-Prætor, out of *Sardinia*, as touching that point of money and corn. Answer was returned to the one and the other, that they had it not, and therefore they were to look themselves both to their Armadoes and Armies, and to provide for them. *Otacilius*, who addressed Embassadors unto *K. Hiero* (the only refuge and stay of succour that the people of *Rome* had received for souldiers pay, as much silver as was needfull, and corn to serve six months. The confederat Cities likewise in *Sardinia* contributed liberally unto *Cornelius*, and served his turn. At *Rome* also for want of silver, there were (by a law published by *Manutius*, Tribune of the Commons) created three Bankers, called *Triumvirs Mensarii*, to wit, *L. Æmylius*, who had been Consul and Censor: *M. Attilius Regulus*, twice Consul aforetime; and *L. Scribonius Libo*, a Tribun of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, *M.* and *C. Attilii*, who dedicated the Temple of *Concord* which *L. Manlius* Prætor had vowed before. Three high Priests also were consecrated, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, all to supply the rooms of *P. Scantinius* late deceased: of *L. Æmylius Paulus* the Consul, and *Q. Ælius Pætus*, slain both in the journey of *Canne*.

Now when as the LL. of the Senat had fulfilled other wants, and made up all decaies and breaches, which fortune by continuall calamities and losses had wrought and brought upon them, so far forth, as by any wisdom and policy of man, they could provide for: at length they had respect and regard unto themselves also, even to the desolate estate of the Counceil-House and the unfrequented number of Senators assembling to the publicke Councell of the City. For since that *L. Æmylius* and *C. Flaminius* were Censors, there had been chosen no new Senators, notwithstanding that in five years space, what with unfortunat battels, and what with other particular chances, so many of them had miscarried. And when *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, in the absence of the Dictator (who after the loss of *Casilinum* was now gone again to the host) had at the request of them all propounded this matter: then *Sp. Carvilius*, after he had in a long oration complained, not only of the penury, but also of the small choice of those Citizens, who were capable of Senators dignity, spake unto the point, and said, "That he held it a matter of good importance both for the "full repairing and restoring of the decayed body of the Senat, as also for to bind the Latine Na- "tion in a more fast bond of amity, that two Senators out of every State of the Latines (if the LL. "of the Senat of *Rome* would agree unto it) should be infranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and taken "into the Senat in place of those that were deceased. This opinion of his the LL. of the Senat could abide to hear with no better ear then in times past they accepted the motion and demand of the Latines themselves in that behalf. And there being throughout the whole House a great muttering

A muttering, for very indignation and disdain of those his words, *Manlius* above the rest brake out into this speech, and said; "That they were not all dead, but one man yet was left alive of that "house and line, out of which a Consul (when time was) threatned in the Capitol, that he would "kill with his own hand, that Latine whomsoever he saw sitting in the Councel-House of *Rome*. With that, *Q. Fabius*: "Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the "Senat-house, in a worse and more unseasonable time, than at this present, when as the hearts and "affections of our Allies being so wavering, their faith and alleageance so doubtful, the very breaking and broaching of such a matter as this, were enough to set them farther out. And therefore "this inconsiderat speech of one foolish vain person, is to be suppressed and buried presently with B "the silence of all men, and never once to be spoken of again. And if ever there were uttered at "Councel Table, any secret and mystery, which were to be concealed, this of all other ought most "to be kept close, hidden and smothered in oblivion, and reputed as never spoken at all. So this "matter was dasht, and dyed there in the very birth. Then they proceeded and a greed, to creat Dictator for the chosing of Senators, one that had been Censor aforetime, and of all those who had been Censors, and were then living, the most ancient: and thereto they gave order, that *C. Terentius Varro* the Consul should be sent for, to the nomination of that Dictator. Who being returned out of *Apulia*, leaving the camp there with a good guard, and taking long journeys, until he was come to *Rome*: the night next following (as the manner was) created by authority of an act of Senat, *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dict. for six moneths, without a General of Horse. When he was C mounted up with his Serjeants to the *Rostra*, [which is the place of publike audience] for to make a speech unto the people, he said: "That he neither allowed of two Dictators at one time, "(a precedent never seen and known afore) nor yet could take himself for a Dictator, so long as "he was without his General of Cavalry. I mislike also (quoth he) that the entire authority and "power of Censors, should be put into the hands of one and the self-same man, twice: and that a "Dictator should have the rule and government for six moneths, unless he were created for the "managing of wars. And therefore (said he) I will my self limit and gage those things, which "fortune, occasion of the times, and necessity have made excessive and beyond all measure pow- "erful. Neither am I minded to depose or displace any of those from his Senators dignity, whom "*C. Flaminius*, and *L. Æmylius* late Censors, have admitted into the Senat: but only, that a D "transcript and rehearsal be made of their names, for that I would not have it lie in the power of "one man alone, to censure and give judgement of the fame and behavior of a Senator: but this "course will I take in substituting new Senators in the room of the dead, that it may appear, and "be said; That this Order and degree is preferred before that, and not one person before another." So after that the names of the old Senators were copied out and read, then he chose first into the place of them that were deceased, those who after the time of *L. Æmylius* and *C. Flaminius* Censors, had born any Magistracy of State, and of the chair, and yet were not elected Senators. And according as they had exercised their office one before another in order of time, so were they chosen first Senators in their course. This done, he made a second election, of those who had been *Ædiles*, Tribuns, Pretors, or Questors: and last of all, such as could shew the spoils taken from the E enemies of *Rome* hanging in their houses: or had been honoured and rewarded with a Civick garland. Thus after he had with right great approbation and contentment of all men, taken into the Senat 177. forthwith he resigned up his office, descended from the pulpit a private man again, discharged and put from him the Serjeants, and came and stood beneath among the other multitude that attended their own private businesse: trifling out the time for the nonce and of purpose, because he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and slay which he made, the peoples affection cooled never the more, and so with a goodly train of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his house.

The next night following, the Consul returned toward the army, without making the Senate privy and acquainted with his departure, for fear he should have been detained still in the City for the solemn election of new Magistrats. The morrow after the Senate decreed, upon a motion propounded by *M. Pomponius* the Pretor, to write unto the Dictator, that if he thought it were for the good of the common-weal, he would together with his General of the Cavalry, and *M. Marcellus* the Pretor, repair to *Rome* to subrogate and choose new Consuls, to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL. of the Senate might by them take knowledge in what state the Common-wealth stood, and consult how to provide for every thing. They all came that were sent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictator spake of himself but little, and with much modesty, ascribing the greatest part of the honor unto *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and then summoned the general assembly for the Election: in which were chosen Cons. *L. Posthumius* the third time (who then was absent, and as L. Deputy ruled the Province of *Gallia*) and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commanded the Cavalry, and repaired to *Rome* with speed. Then were elected Prætors *M. Valerius Levinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. The Dictator after the chosing of these Magistrats, returned to *Theanum*, where the army wintred: leaving the General of the Horse behind at *Rome*, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few dayes after, might consult with the LL. of the Senat as touching the levy and enrolling new armies against the year ensuing.

Whiles they were in their buſieſt and deepeſt conferences about theſe matters, news came of a freſh overthrow: ſuch was the fortune of that year to heap one calamity in the neck of another; to wit, that *L. Poſthumius* the Conſul elect, was himſelf ſlain, and the army together with him in *Gallia*, utterly defeated and deſtroyed. The manner of which misfortune was this. There was in thoſe parts a wide and huge forreſt (which the Gauls call *Litana*) through which *Poſthumius* was to lead his army. The trees there growing on either hand of the paſe, the Gauls had ſo cut, that they might ſtand upright of themſelves ſo long as they were not ſtirred, ſo, being forced never ſo little, they muſt needs fall down. Now had *Poſthumius* the conduct of two Roman legions: and of aſſociats beſides, from the high coaſts of the upper Sea, he had enrolled ſo many ſouldiers, as that he came into the enemies countrey 25000 ſtrong. The Gauls who had beſtowed themſelves in ambuſh round about the skirts of the wood, ſo ſoon as the army was all engaged within the ſtreights of the paſe, ſhoved from them the trees (ſo guilded) which ſtood next unto them, and they fell one upon another (ſtanding as they did, ſo tickliſh of themſelves, and ready to totter and come down on both ſides of the way) and in the fall overthrew withal and covered over and over both horſe and man, with their armour and munition, ſo as ſcarce ten of them eſcaped alive. For as moſt of them were felled and ſtrucken ſtark dead, either with the bodies of the trees, or the broken arms and boughs; ſo the reſt of the multitude, affrighted with this unexpected and unhappy accident, were killed by the Gauls that beſet all the ſtreights and paſſages of the wood: and of that great number, they took few priſoners, who making towards a bridge ſtanding over the River, were intercepted by the way, and ſtopped by the enemies that kept the advenue of the bridge: in which place *Poſthumius* was ſlain, for he ſtrived all that ever he could, not to be taken alive. The ſpoils of this General Captain, together with the head cut off from the reſt of his body, the Boians with great joy and ſolemnity brought into the Temple that amongſt them was reputed moſt holy and ſacred. And after they had cleanſed the head, as their manner is, they enchaced and garniſhed the skull with gold, and that ſerved as well for an holy veſſel to ſacrifice and Divine withal, upon high and feſtival dayes, as alſo for an ordinary drinking mazar for the high Prieſt, and other Prelats of that Temple. The booty alſo which the Gauls gained of their enemies, was of no leſs importance than the victory: for although a great part of the beaſts and living creatures was cruſhed and ſqueaſed to death with the fall of the wood, yet all other things, by reaſon that nothing was ſcattered and loſt by flight, were found wholly on the ground, as the ſouldiers lay along in that order as they marched.

The deſeature of *L. Poſthumius* and his army.

Theſe woful tidings being reported, the City was for many dayes in ſuch fear and perplexity, that all ſhop windows were ſhut up, and no ſtirring at all in the ſtreets throughout, from one end to the other, as if it had been night continually. Then the Senat gave the Ædiles in charge to walk all about, and command the ſhops to be ſet open, and to make no more ſhew in the City of publick ſorrow and heavineſs. Then *T. Sempronius* aſſembled a Senate, ſpake comfortably to the LL. of the Councel, and exhorted them, that "as they were not diſmayed with the overthrow "and diſcomfiture at *Canna*, ſo they would not be caſt down and daunted with lighter and ſmaller loſſes and calamities. For if it might pleaſe the Gods to bleſſe them, and give them good "ſpeed (as they hoped no leſs) againſt the Carthaginian enemies and *Annibal*, the war with the "Gauls might without danger and inconvenience either be laid aſide clean, or put off and deferred. As for the revenge of this deceitful practiſe, it ſhould reſt ſtill in the power either of the "immortal Gods, or of the people of *Rome*, to be performed one time or other. But for the preſent, they were to conſult and reſolve concerning *Annibal* their grand enemy, and to grow to ſome point and concluſion of ſuch forces as were meet for that war. And firſt himſelf diſcourſed and laid down what companies of foot and Horſe, what number of citizens, and how many confederats were in the army of the Dictator. After him, *Marcellus* ſhewed and recounted the proportion of his own power and their ſtrength. Alſo, what forces, and of what quality, were with *C. Terentius* the Conſul in *Apulia*, they were required to declare, who might ſpeak upon their knowledge. Then they proceeded to caſt and examine, whether two Conſular armies well appointed and furniſhed, were ſufficient to go through ſo great a war. Thus for that year they let *Fraute* alone, albeit they had good cauſe to be angry, and were provoked that way to follow revenge. The Dictator his army, was appointed unto the Conſul. As for the forces under the leading of *Marcellus*, conſiſting of them that fled out of the field at *Canna*, thoſe they ordained to be ſent over into *Sicily*, there to remain in ſervice ſo long as the war continued in *Italy*: and that thither alſo ſhould be poſted over out of the Dictator his Legions, all thoſe ſouldiers who were able to do leaſt ſervice, there to abide in ſouldiery, without any other limitation of time than that, which the * Laws in that caſe provide for. For the other Conſul, who ſhould be ſubſtituted in ſtead of *L. Poſthumius*, there were aſſigned two Legions of Roman Citizens: and order was given, ſo ſoon as the Auſpices would permit, he ſhould be elected with ſpeed. Likewiſe it was agreed upon and ordained, to ſend for two legions beſides out of *Sicily*: out of which, the Conſ. unto whom thoſe Legions aforeſaid of the City were allotted, ſhould take what ſouldiers he thought needful. Finally, *C. Terentius* the Conſul, had his commiſſion of command continued for another year, without empaiting one jot of the army, which he had in his conduct for the guard and defence of *Apulia*.

* i. The term of ten years.

Amids theſe affairs and preparations in *Italy*, the war went forward nevertheleſſe in *Spain*, and ever to that day proſpered on the Romans ſide. *P.* and *Cn. Scipio* divided their forces ſo, as

Cn. ſhould ſerve by Land, and *Publius* at Sea with the navy. *Aſdrubal* the chief Colonel and Commander there of the Carthaginians, diſtruſting his own ſtrength both by Sea and Land, kept himſelf aloof, and far from the enemy, in ſure places of ſafety; unto whom, after long ſuit and inſtant prayers, were ſent 4000 foot, and 500 horſe out of Affrick for ſupply. Having thus at length, with new helps gathered freſh hope, he encamped neerer to his enemy, and gave order and direction withal, that the Armado ſhould be rigged and decked for the defence of the Iſlands, and the Sea-coaſts. And whiles he was thus beginning hotly to make war again, he was ſuddainly diſtempered and diſquieted with the revolt of the Admirals and great Captains of the navy: who for their fearful abandoning of the fleet upon *Iberus*, having been ſharply checked and rebuked, were never after truſty and ſure, either to the Colonel himſelf, or to the State of *Carthage*. Theſe fugitive renegats had firſt practiſed to raiſe troubles and inſurrections in the Land of the Carpeſii, and by their ſolliciting and inſtigation, certain Cities were procured to rebel, and one of them they had forced by aſſault. Whereupon, *Aſdrubal* turned his forces from the Romans, and bent them wholly againſt that Nation: and with a cruel army entring the frontiers of the enemies, determined to give the charge upon *Galbus*, a Nobleman and renowned chief rain of the Carpeſians, even before the City, that ſome few dayes before was loſt where the ſaid *G. Ibus* with a puiſſant power kept himſelf ſtrongly encamped. Having therefore ſent out before, certain vancurriers lightly armed, to train forth and draw the enemies to ſkirmiſh, he made out withal certain Companies of his Infantry ſundry wayes to over-run and ſpoil the country, and likewiſe to catch up and meet with all ſtragiers, diſperſed in the fields. Whereupon, at one time there was a skirmiſh before the camp: and likewiſe in the fields, they were either ſlain or put to flight. But afterwards, having by divers wayes from all parts recovered again the camp, ſuddainly they ſhaked off all fear, plucked up their hearts, and thought themſelves good enough, not only to defend their fort and hold, but alſo to bid the enemy battail. They ſallied out therefore of the camp in good array, ſhouting, dancing and hopping after their manner ſo as this unexpected boldneſs and courage of theirs, terrified the enemies, who a little before had challenged them to fight. Whereupon *Aſdrubal* himſelf withdrew and retired his power for more ſecurity to an hill of good height, and fitnat for his advantage, with a River likewiſe between him and his enemies. The light armed vancurriers alſo, and the forlorn hope, together with the Horſemen that rode ſcattering abroad, he cauſed thither to repair for their better ſafety. And becauſe he truſted neither hill nor river, he fortified himſelf with a trench and rampier beſides. In this alternat and interchangeable fear on both ſides, there paſſed ſome bickerments: and blows were dealt between. In which, neither the Numidian Horſemen were able to match the Spaniards in that kind, nor the *Moores* archers could make their part good with the light Carpeſians targetiers, who in nimbleneſs and ſwiftneſs were as good as they: and for courage and bodily ſtrength, far better. Theſe Carpeſians ſeeing they neither could provoke *Aſdrubal* to a battail, with all their braving hard under his camp, nor yet eaſily by aſſault win it, they took by force the City *Aſena*, into which *Aſdrubal* when he firſt invaded the Frontiers of his enemies had conveighed ſtore of corn and other victuals: yea, and became LL. of all the country thereabout. And they grew ſo luſty and audacious, that neither in their march and array nor within their camp they would be ruled and ordered by any mans command. This ſecure and careleſs negligence of theirs, when *Aſdrubal* perceived to ariſe (as uſually it doth) upon good ſucceſs and proſperity: after an exhortation made to his ſouldiers, to charge upon the enemies, roving abroad without their colours, he deſcended from the hill, and marched in battail array againſt the camp. So ſoon as the Spaniards were advertiſed by thoſe who came in great haſt, and fled from the Sentinels and *corps de guard* that he was coming, and neer at hand, with a great outcry they gave the alarm. And as every man could get weapon in hand they ran upon the head to battail, without direction and commandment of Captain, without ſignal, enſign, and order confuſedly. When the formoſt in the vanguard were joyned in conflict and come to hand-fight, ſome of their fellows were ſeen running on heaps and by troups, and others were not well come forth of the camp: At the firſt the enemy was terrified with their bold adventure. Afterwards, as they encountred, thin and looſely raied, with the enemies thick and cloſely ranged together, ſeeing themſelves too weak, and not ſufficient, ſo few in number to defend themſelves, they looked back one upon another for ſuccour: and being on every ſide put back, and forced to retreat and loſe ground, they caſt themſelves into a ring, and thus thruſt (as they were) cloſe together, body to body, and armour to armour they were ſo penned and peſtered in ſo narrow a ground, that they had ſcarce room enough to wield their weapons: ſo they were compaſſed and environed round with the enemy, and for a good part of the day hewen in peeces and maſſacred. Some few of them that brake through by dint of ſword, eſcaped to the woods and mountains. With like fear the camp was abandoned: and the day following, the whole nation yeelded, and came under the ſubjection of the Carthaginians.

Long they continued not quiet. For within a while news came from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould make what ſpeed he could with his army into *Italy*. Which rumour being blown abroad through *Spain*, turned in manner all their hearts away unto the Romans. Whereupon *Aſdrubal* addreſſed his Letters immediately to *Carthage*, ſhewing what hurt the fame of his departure had done already: and in caſe he ſhould ſet forward on his journey, and go out of thoſe parts, all *Spain* would turn to the Romans, before he were paſſed the river *Iberus*. For over and beſides, that he had not ſtrength enough to leave behind for a garriſon, nor a ſufficient com-

mander in stead of himself, the Generals of the Roman armies, who had set foot in *Spain*, were p
forth, as he might nard y make head against them with equal puissance. And therefore if they had
any regard of *Spain*, he advised them to send one to succeed him with a strong power: For he
should have his hands full, and enough to do in the Province fall out things as fortunately as they
could. These letters, albeit at the first sight they greatly troubled the Senat, yet because the Ita-
lian affairs seemed of more moment and greater importance, they wrought no alteration in their
intended course, either for *Asdrubal* himself, or his forces. Howbeit *Himilco* was sent with a
complete and competent army, and a greater Armado, both for the holding of *Spain* in their al-
legeance: and also for their defence by Sea and Land. Who having passed over with all his pow-
er as well for Land-service as the Sea, fortified his camp, drawn his ships ashore, laid them up
in drie Land, and empaled them strongly all about; himself in person with his elect and most
chosen men of arms, made what hast possibly he could, through nations partly enemies, partly
doubtful and untrusty, and staied not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his
guard) until he was come to *Asdrubal*. After he had declared unto him the order decreed by the
Senat, and what he had in commission, and taken himself direction likewise from him, in what
manner the war in *Spain* was to be managed, he returned back again to his own camp. In which
voyage to and fro he travailed lately by no one thing more than by speedy expedition. For he was
ever gone from place before the people could agree together, and make head against him. Now
Asdrubal hasted that he dislodged and set his army on foot out of those parts, levied sums of mo-
ney of all the Cities and states under his jurisdiction: for well he knew, that *Annibal* had paid p
sweeny before him for his passage through certain countries: and as well he wist besides, that the
Gauls he was fain to wage for reason, if them no money no men. And if he undertook and en-
tred upon that great expedition, poor and bare of treasure he had never reached so far as the Alps.
Thus having in great hast rifled and collected his monies he came down to the river *Iberus*.

When the Romans heard of the proceedings and deliberments of the Carthaginians and like-
wise of the journey of *Asdrubal* both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to
join their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended at-
tempts: supposing and considering, that if *Annibal* (who by himself alone was an enemy to no
hardy stoutness) were once seconded by Colonel *Asdrubal* and the Spanish army, the Empire
of *Rome* would soon be at an end. Upon these careful cogitations being grieved and perplexed,
they altered all their power never to *Iberus*; and after they had passed over the river, and reg.
committed whether they should encamp themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to fi
them battail or else invading and assailing the allocats and subjects of the Carthaginians, to lay
the enemy and hinder his intended journy: they resolved at length and made preparation to as-
sault *Ibera* (a town of the river side by) the richest and most wealthy City at that time, of all
others in those parts. Whereof when *Asdrubal* was advertised, he for to help his friends, advan-
ced himself likewise to set upon another City lately yeelded to the Romans, and reduced under
their subjection. And so the Romans after they had begun to lay siege to *Iberia*, gave over that en-
terprise, and made head against *Asdrubal* himself. And for some few dayes they lay incamped five
miles asunder one from the other, not without some light skirmishes: but never came to pitch a g
fair field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had been so agreed afore) they hap-
ned on both sides to set out the signal of battail, and to come forth with all their power into the
plain ground. The Romans stood arranged in three battailons: one part of the Infantry was pla-
ced before the standards in the vanguard, another Regiment bestowed behind in the rereguard: the
men of arms flanked the sides like wings. On the other part, *Asdrubal* strengthned his main bat-
tel with Spaniards: in the right point he marshalled the Carthaginians, in the left the Africans.
As for the auxiliar and mercenary Horsemen, whom he waged and hired; such as were Numidi-
ans, he ordained afront the Carthaginians footmen to guard them: the rest that were Africans,
he distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battailons. Neither were all the
Numidians placed in the right flank, but such as after the guise and manner of Vaulters, led two s
Horses apeece: and used often times in the mids of the hottest conflict, to leap armed as they
were from their wearied horse to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so tra-
ctable and well taught to their hands are their Horses. Thus stood they arranged on both sides in
order of battail. The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal: for neither
in number or quality of souldiers was there any great oddes between them: Mary, for courage
and heart-there was great difference and inequality in the souldiers themselves. For the Romans
(not wirhstanding they fought far from home) were so perswaded by their leaders, that they
fought for *Italy* and the City of *Rome*: and therefore as if the whole hope of their safe return into
their country were to be tried and decided in this one battail, they resolved either to win the day
or to dye for it. On the other side, the souldiers were not so resolute, for most of them being Spa-
niards, would have chosen rather to be conquered and overcome in *Spain*, than with conquest
and victory to be drawn into *Italy*. And therefore at the first shock, when scarcely the darts and
javeline were launced and let flye, their main battail retreated: and so soon as the Romans with
great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both flanks the
fight was hot enough. The Carthaginians of the one side, the Africans on the other, charged the
Romans very hard, and fought fore against them, as if they had them invironed round about with-
in their battailons. But when as the whole power of the Romans were once rallied and gathe-
red together in the mids, they were strong enough to remove and set back the wings of the ene-
mies. So they maintained fight in two divers places at once. But both in the one and the other,
the Romans (after they had discomfited the main battail in the mids) were no doubt, much bet-
ter, as well in number, and also in strength and vigour of men. Many a tall fellow was there slain.
And had not the Spaniards at the first when the battail was scarce begun, fled amain by heaps, very
few of the whole battail had escaped and remained alive. The Horsemen fought little or not at all.
For the Moors and Numidians, so soon as they espied the battail to shrink and lose ground, presently
all on a suddain fled as fast as they could, and left the sides and flanks of the said battail naked,
driving afore them the Elephants withal. And even *Asdrubal* himself, who maintained the skir-
mish to the very last, escaped with some few out of the thickest massacre and execution. The Ro-
mans took their camp and rifled it. This battail was of such import and consequence, that it caused
all the Spaniards, who were before but wavering, to turn wholly to the Romans: and left *Asdrubal*
no hope at all, to pass with his forces into *Italy*, nor so much as to make abode with safety in
Spain. The news hereof being bruited abroad and sent to *Rome*, by the letters of the two *Scipio's*,
great joy there was, not so much for the victory, as because *Asdrubal* was tied by the foot, and
staied for coming into *Italy*.

Amids these exploits in *Spain*, * *Petelia* (a City of the Brutii, having endured the siege and ma- * *Belicastro.*
ny assault for certain moneths) was finally won by *Himilco*, one of *Annibal* Captains. But that
victory cost the Carthaginians much blood, and many a sore wound. No force nor violence over-
came the besieged Petelians more, than very famine. For having consumed and eaten up all food
of corn, all flesh of four footed beasts whatsoever: they were driven at length to feed and live up-
on shoomakers lether, weeds, and roots, tender barks of trees, and the crops of briers and bram-
bles: and they gave not over so long as they were able to stand on their legs upon the walls, and
bear their armour.

Annibal after the winning of *Petelia* conducted his army against * *Consentia*, which being not * *cosenza.*
so valiantly defended, was within few dayes surrendred up into his hands. Neer about the same
time, a power of the Brutians also, laid siege unto *Croton*, a City built and inhabited by the Greeks,
and in times past, mighty in men and munition: but now at this time so distressed with manifold
and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make twenty
thousand men. And therefore no marvail, if the enemies were soon masters of the City, being so
destitute as it was of Citizens to defend it. Only the Castle they kept still, into which there were
some that escaped in that tumult when the City was taken, out of the mids of the massacre. The
Locrians likewise revolted unto the Brutii and the Carthaginians, by reason that the common mul-
titude were fraudulently betrayed by the chief and principal Citizens. The Rhegines only of all
that country, continued both true unto the Romans, and also at their own liberty to the very last.
The same disposition to revolt, was to be seen even in *Sicily*, in so much as the very house of *Hiero*
was not cleer and free in all parts from rebellion. For *Gelo* his eldest son, having in contempt
both the olde age of his father, and also (after the overthrow at *Canna*,) the society and friendship
of the Romans, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had, no doubt, made a general alteration
in *Sicily*, but that his death came between and cut him off; which hapned so jump, even when he
was arming the multitude, and soliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himself was
drawn into deep suspition that he took his life away. These were the occurrents that fell out that
year with variable event, in *Italy*, *Affrick*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*.

In the end of the same year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* moved the Senat, and made request, that the
Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And
the Senat made a decree. That *Titus Sempronius*, Consul elect, should so soon as he was en-
tred into his office, propose unto the people, that they would creat two Duumvirs for the dedi-
cation of Temples. And in honour of *Æmylius Lepidus*, who had been Consul twice, and Au-
gur, his three sons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, exhibited certain funeral games for three
dayes space; and a shew in the Common place likewise for three dayes together, of two and
twenty pair of sword-fencers, to fight at sharp to the death. The Curule Ædiles, *C. Lelio-
rius*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, now Consul elect, who in his Ædileship had been General of
the Horsemen, set out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued still for three
dayes. Likewise, the Playes of the Commons, were thrice exhibited by *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and
M. Claudius Marcellus. Now after three years expired of the Punick war, *T. Sempronius* the
Consul, began his government upon the * Ides of *March*. As for the Prætors, *Q. Fulvius Flac-* * 15 of March.
cus, who had afore-time been Consul and Censor, obteined by lot the jurisdiction of the Citi-
zens: and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, of the strangers and aliens. To *Appius Claudius Pulcher* was
allotted the government of *Sicily*: and to *Q. Mutius Scævola* of *Sardinia*. *M. Marcellus* was by
the people allowed to have the authority of a Vice-Consul, in regard that he above all the Roman
Captains, after the defeat of *Canna*, mannaged his affairs and warred prosperously in
Italy.

Now the very first day that the Senat was assembled in the Capitol, they decreed upon the
first motion, that within the compasse of that year, there should be levied a double tax or tri-
bute: and that one single tribute should be forthwith gathered, for present pay to all the soul-
diers, saving those that served at *Canna*. Then concerning the armies this order was set down:
Imprimis, that *T. Sempronius* the Consul, should appoint the two legions of Citizens a certain

day to meet at *Cales*. *Item*, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*. *Item*, that the legions which there were (and those consisted for the most part of the re- H sidue of the Cannian army) *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* the Pretor, should put over Sea into *Sicily*: and as for those that were in *Sicily*, they should be transported to *Rome*. *Item*, unto that army which was appointed to meet by a day, at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent: and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of *Claudius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old army, and to lead it into *Sicily*, *T. Metilius Croto* Lieutenant, was sent by *Ap. Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly for the creating of a Colleague unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for I that year, in regard of his notable good service whiles he was Pretor, there arose much muttering in the Senat house. Which the Consul perceiving: "My LL. quoth he, it was for the good of "the Common-wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into *Campain* to exchange the armies: "and also that the Election of Consuls. should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again "from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Con- K sul, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So there was no more speech of the election, until *Marcellus* was come back again. In this mean time were two Duumvirs created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the dedication of one Chappel to *Venus Erycina*, and *T. Otacilius Crassus*, of another to the Goddess *Mens*. Both stand upon the Capitol hill, divided asunder no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And L as concerning the three hundred Campain Horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to *Rome*, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Denizens of *Cumes*, from the day afore that the Capuans revolted from the people of *Rome* and rebelled. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied flatly that they knew, to whom they did appertain, seeing they had abandoned their old native countrey: and as yet were not enrolled and incorporat into that state, unto which they had retired. After that *Marcellus* was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of *L. Posthumius*, was published. And with exceeding great consent of all men, *Marcellus* was chosen: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracy. At whose first entrance, it hapned to thun- L der: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought he was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it out commonly and bruited abroad, that the Gods were not well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Cons. were elected of the commonalty (a thing never seen before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his room was substituted *Fabius Max.* the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At *Sinuessa* a cow brought forth a horse fole. And at *Lanuvium* in the Temple of *Iuno Hospita*, certain statues or images dropped with bloud: and about that Temple it rained stones. For which showr, there was solemnised, according to the customable manner, a Novendial sacrifice. The other prodigious signs likewise were expiat with great care and heedful regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them. *Fabius* took charge of those M forces which had been commanded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries sent from the confederats. *M. Valerius* the Pretor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicily*. *M. Claudius* the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garison at *Nola*, above *Suessula*. And the Pretors took their journey into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Consuls, whensoever they would assemble the Senat, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak their mind and deliver their opinion in the Councel-House, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunal seats and places of Assizes at the publick Fish-pool, and thither they commanded all writs to be returned, and apparence there to be made. And for that year all pleas and N judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to *Carthage* (from whence *Mago* the brother of *Annibal* was minded to transport and set over into *Italy* 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 gallies) That in *Spain* things went untowardly: and that all the Cities of *Spain* (in a manner) were revolted unto the Romans. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprise of *Italy* into *Spain*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddain, recover again *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of Romans there; and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputy, well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the Sardinians were weary already of the Ro- O mans government, which they had so long endured, as who the year that past was, had tyrannised over them cruelly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributs, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of corn: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relie themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principal actor and procurer hereof, was *Hersicora*, a man in those dayes of greatest authority and power among them. Upon these tidings aforesaid, happing so just at one time, they were both dis-

A disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent *Mago* with his fleet, and other forces into *Spain*: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Asdrubal* surnamed *Calvus*, for the L. General, furnished and appointed with as great a power almost, as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, addressed themselves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Sinuessa* to be the *Rendez-vous*, where the souldiers should meet at a certain day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senat, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *July* next ensuing, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled strong Towns: proclaiming that whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay waste: fell their servants in port sale at the spear, and B set their farms and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (reserved for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for *Valerius* the Pretor, he was appointed to go into *Apulia*, for to receive the army of *Terentius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicily*, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that country; and that the army of *Terentius* should be sent with some one of the Lieutenants. And *M. Valerius* had 25 sail allowed him, to keep and defend all the Sea coasts between * *Brundusium* and * *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned to *Q. Fulvius* the City Pre- * *Brindisi*. tor, for to guard the River side, neer adjoyning to the City of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsul * *Taranto*. had in charge to take up by commission souldiers in the Picene country, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Otacilius Crassus*, after that he had dedicated the Temple of *Mens* in the Capitol, C was sent into *Sicily*, as Lord Admiral of the Armado there.

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most puissant States of the World, there was not a King and Prince, no, nor a Nation under Heaven, but was amused. Among whom *Philip* King of the Macedonians, had an eye thereto, and was more intentive, in that he was neerer unto *Italy*, and only divided from thence by the Jonian Sea. He at the first, when the bruit came to his ears, That *Annibal* was passed beyond the Alps: as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so, as long as it was uncertain, whether nation was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspence, whether of the twain he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battails one after another, *Annibal* and the Carthaginians had gotten the better hand, he enclined to the fortunat side, and D sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*: who sailing off, and desirous to avoid the Havens of *Brundusium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*: and so through *Apulia*, travailing toward *Capua*, chanced to light upon the mids of the Romans *corps de guard*, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levinus* the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before *Nuceria*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principal of the Embassadors, bashed not to say, That he was sent from King *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of *Rome*, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senat likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect. *Valerius* taking great contentment to hear of this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in stead of a trusty friend: and E appointed diverse to accompany him forward, to guide him carefully in the ways, and to shew him what places, what passages and streights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards into *Campania*, and so the next way arrived at the camp of *Annibal*, and made a league and amity with him, under these conditions and capitulations. *Imprimis*, That King *Philip* should with a right puissant Armada (for that he was supposed able to set out 200 sail) pass over into *Italy*, waste and spoil all the Sea coasts, and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. *Item*, That when the war was finished, all *Italy*, together with the very City of *Rome* should be possessed by the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and unto him all the pillage and booty likewise should belong. *Item*, When *Italy* was thus subdued, that they should sail into Greece, and wage war with what Princes there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the Islands which lay to *Macedony*, should fall unto *Philip*, and be annexed to his Kingdome. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General *Annibal*, and the Embassadors of the Macedonians: and with them were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legats, to wit, *Gisgo*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same Temple aforesaid, of *Iuno Licinia*, where there rid closely a ship at anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not so soon launched out into the deep, and had taken the open Sea, but they were descried by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* made out certain Corcyreans, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Whereupon, the Macedonians began to flie, but seeing themselves overmatched in swiftness of sail, and not able to make way with them, they yeelded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral; Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already sped so well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and say, That he was sent from *Philip* unto the Romans: that he came unto *M. Valerius*, because to him only he was able to pass in safety, but could not possibly get beyond *Campania*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began to suspect the Embassadors of *Annibal*: and they being questioned withal, their speech and language bewrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatned to con-

confeſs. Letters alſo were found upon them, ſent from *Annibal* unto *Philip*, concerning the peace between the King of the Macedonians and *Annibal*. Upon theſe matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the Embaſſadors and their Company with all ſpeed priſoners to *Rome*, unto the Senat there, or unto the Conſuls whereſoever they were. To this purpoſe were choſen five Pinnaſſes that were moſt ſwift, under the conduct of *L. Valerius Antias*, who had his direction and charge to part theſe Embaſſadors in ſeveral ſhips, and keep them ſure aſunder: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the ſame time it hapned at *Rome*, that *Au. Cornelius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the Province *Sardinia*, made report in what ſtate the Iland ſtood; namely, that they all enclined to rebellion and war: that *Mutius* who ſucceeded after him, preſently upon his firſt coming, by reaſon of the ill air and unwholſom water, was fallen into a ſickneſs, not ſo quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the ſervice of war: that the army there, as it was ſufficient to guard and keep in good order a quiet and peaceable Province, ſo it could not hold out with the war that was like to enſue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, ſhould levy and enrol 3000 foot, and 400 horſe, and provide that this legion ſhould paſs over with all ſpeed into *Sardinia*: and ſend therewith whom it pleaſed him to conduct and manage the war until *Mutius* were recovered of his diſeaſe. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* ſent Governour; one, who had been twice Conſul and Cenſor, and in his Conſulſhip and ſubdued the Sardinians.

Neer about the ſame time, there was an Armado ſent out from *Carthage* unto *Sardinia*, under the leading of *Aſdrubal* ſurnamed *Calvus*, and being ſore toſſed and beaten with tempeſts, was caſt upon the Balear Ilands: where (ſo far out of order was not only the ſhip-tackling, but alſo the very keels and bodies of the ſhips ſo ſhaken) they drew up the ſhips to ſhore, and whiles they ſtayed there about calking and trimming them again, they ſpent much time.

In *Italy* whiles the wars began to ſlake and wax cold, by reaſon that after the battail of *Canne*, the ſtrength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well allayed and made effeminat: the Campans upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of *Cumes* under their obedience, firſt ſoliciting them to revolt from the Romans: and ſeeing that courſe would not ſpeed and take effect, they deviſed by a fraudulent practiſe to compaſs and entrap them. The Campans uſe yearly to ſolemniſe a ſet feaſt and ſacrifice in a certain place called *Hamæ*: and they gave notice unto the Cumans, that the whole Senat of *Capua* would reſort thither: requeſting the Senat of *Cumes* likewiſe to meet them there, for to confer and conſult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the ſame friends and the ſame enemies, and no other: giving them withal to underſtand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of ſome ſodain and dangerous attempt from the Romans. The Cumans, albeit they ſuſpected ſome treachery, denied nothing, ſuppoſing thereby to colour and cover their own crafty intended deſignment. Now all this while, *T. Sempronius* the Roman Conſul, having ſurveyed and purged his army at *Sinueſſa*, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces ſhould meet together: paſſed over the river *Vulturnus*, and encamped neer unto *Linternum*: where becauſe the Souldiers in the ſtanding camp had nothing elſe to do, he exerciſed them to run often the race and ſkirmiſh in aray, to the end that the raw Souldiers (for ſuch were the voluntaries for the moſt part) might by uſe and practiſe learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battail know their own ranks and enſigns. In theſe kinds of training, the ſpecial care that the General had, and the only thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpoſe, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they ſhould not caſt in any mans teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforetime, thereby to breed any diſcord and heartburning among the companies: and that the old experienced ſouldiers ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be but equal in eſtate to the new learners: and thoſe that were born free unto the voluntaries, who had been ſlaves: reputing them all of birth good enough, and of gentle bloud deſcended, unto whom the people of *Rome* had vouchſafed to commit their armor and enſigns: ſaying, that the ſame fortune which had driven them ſo to do, forced them likewiſe to maintain the fame, and make the beſt of it, now it was done. The Captains were not more careful in giving theſe good leſſons and inſtructions, but the ſouldiers were as diligent to obſerve the ſame: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be ſo linked and united together, that they forgat generally, in what degree and of what condition each ſouldier entred into ſervice. Whiles *Gracchus* was buſied hereabout, the Embaſſadors of *Cumes* certified him, what kind of Embaſſage came unto them from the Campans, a few dayes before, and what anſwer they had returned: advertiſing him that their feſtival day was to be holden three dayes after: that not only the whole Senat would be preſent, but alſo the camp and army of the Campans. *Gracchus* having commanded the Cumanes to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themſelves to keep within their walls: himſelf the day before the ſolemnity aforeſaid of the Campans, removed his power to *Cumes*, and there incamped. Now *Hamæ* is three miles off from thence. The Campans by this time were aſſembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, *Marius Alfius* the chief head Magiſtrat of *Capua*, was incamped cloſely with fourteen thouſand ſouldiers. He, what with preparation of the ſacrifice, and

and contriving withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more buſy and careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three dayes continued this feſtival ſacrifice at *Hamæ*. And ever in the night ſeaſon it was performed: ſo, as before midnight all was done and finiſhed, *Gracchus* ſuppoſing that a good time for his ambuſh to be employed, having ſet certain warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, cauſed the ſouldiers betwixt the ſixt and tenth hour of the day, [from noon until four of the clock] to refreſh themſelves and take their ſleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might aſſemble togather at the watch-word or ſignal given them. And about the firſt watch he commanded to diſplay their Enſigns and advance forward: and thus with a ſtill march, he arrived at *Hamæ* by midnight; ſurpriſed the hold of the Campans, and entred all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reaſon of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along faſt aſleep: others, as they returned unarmed from the ſacrifice. In this night-tumult there were ſlain more than two thouſand, with *Marius Alfius* himſelf their leader: and 43 Enſigns taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the loſſe of fewer than one hundred of his ſouldiers, having won the camp, retired ſpeedily to *Cumes*, for fear of *Annibal*, who lay in fort encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*. And (as he was a provident man and of great forecaſt) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For ſo ſoon as this defeat was reported at *Capua*, *Annibal* ſuppoſing that he ſhould at *Hamæ* find the army of the Romans (conſiſting for the moſt part of raw ſouldiers, and thoſe, bondſlaves) jocund and luſty above meaſure, and inſolent upon their freſh victory, buſie in rifling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage; removed his forces in haſt, and marched apace beneath *Capua*: and encountred with ſome of the Campans that were fled, whom he cauſed between two guards to be conducted ſafe to *Capua*, and ſuch as were hurt and wounded, to be ſet in waggons and carried thither. Himſelf found at *Hamæ* the camp empty and void of enemies, and nothing there but the tokens of a freſh maſſacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there ſcattered. Some there were that adviſed him preſently to advance forward to *Cumes*, and to aſſault the Town. And albeit *Annibal* was willing enough thereto, and paſſing deſirous (ſeeing he could not come by *Naples*) to have *Cumes* at leaſt, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other; yet becauſe his ſouldiers had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in ſuch haſt, he retired back again to his fort and camp upon *Tifata*. From whence, at the importunate prayers of the Campans, the day following he furniſhed himſelf with all the Ordinance and Enſigns meet for the aſſault of a City, and returned toward *Cumes*: and having walked the territory thereof, he encamped himſelf a mile from the Town. Then *Gracchus*, more for ſhame, that he might not ſeem to leave his aſſociates in ſuch neceſſity, (who craved protection and recommended themſelves to him, and to the people of *Rome*) than for any confidence and truſt that he repoſed in the ſtrength of his army, ſtayed in *Cumes*. Neither *Fabius* the other Conſul, who was encamped at *Cales*, durſt ſet his army over the River *Vulturnus*: as having been buſied firſt at *Rome* in renewing the Auſpices and bird-flights: and after that, troubled alſo about the fearful prodigious ſigns which were reported one after another. And when he fought expiation thereof by ſacrifices, the Sooth-ſayers made anſwer and ſaid, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeaſed and pacified for all that he did. Thus whiles *Fabius* upon theſe occaſions was kept back, *Sempronius* was beſieged, yea, and by this time aſſaulted, with fabricks and engins of battery. One mighty great Towre of wood there was erected againſt the Town. Againſt which, the Roman Conſul raiſed another from the very wall ſomewhat higher than it: for that he uſed the wall (which of it ſelf was of good height) in ſtead of a ground-work, and planted thereon ſtrong poſts and piles of timber to bear up the foreſaid frame. From thence, at firſt the ſouldiers within, defended the Town and Walls with ſtones, with long poles and perches and other inſtruments to lance againſt the aſſailants. But at length ſeeing the other turret coming forward even cloſe to the Town wall, they flung thereon at once much firework, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town iſſued out at two gates at once, diſcomfited the guards of the enemies, and drave them into their camp: ſo as that day *Annibal* was more like one beſieged himſelf, than laying ſiege unto others. There were of Carthaginians ſlain about fourteen hundred; forty wanting one were taken priſoners alive, ſuch as about the walls and their *Corps de guard* ſtood careleſs and negligent, fearing nothing leſſe than a ſally out of the Town, and were ſuddainly at unwares taken and ſurpriſed. *Gracchus* ſounded the retreat, and cauſed his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their ſuddain fright could be rallied together. The morrow after, *Annibal* (ſuppoſing that the Conſul in his ruff for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a ſet battail) arranged himſelf in aray between his Camp and *Cumes*. But after that, he ſaw no ſtirring at all from the uſual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the raſh hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to *Tifata*, without any good at all done.

At the very ſame time that the ſiege was raiſed before *Cumes*, *Titus Sempronius* ſurnamed *Longus*, fought fortunately in *Lucania* before *Grumentum*, with *Hanno* the Carthaginian: ſlew more than two thouſand of his enemies, loſt himſelf two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 enſigns. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of *Lucania*, retired himſelf back into the country of the Brutii: And M. *Valerius* the Pretor, recovered by force from the Hir-

pins.

pins, three Towns that had revolted from the Romans. *Vercellius* and *Sicilius* the movers and H
Captains of that Rebellion were cut shorter by the head. More than one thousand captives were
sold at the spear in port-sale, to who that would bid most. All the pillage besides was given to
the souldiers, and the army brought back to *Cumes*.

Whiles these things hapned in the Countries of the Lucans and Hirpins, those 5 ships above-
said (wherein were embarked the Embassadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians as pri-
soners) having set a compass from the upper Adriatick Sea unto the nether Sea of Tuscan, round
about (in a manner) all the Sea coast of *Italy*, hapned to sail along neer the City of *Cumes*: and
being not certainly known whether they were friends or enemies, *Gracchus* put forth out of his
fleet two Pinaces to encounter them. When as by demanding and questioning one with another, I
it was once certified unto them, that the Consul was within *Cumes*, and the ships there arrived
in the haven, the prisoners were brought to the presence of the Consul, and all the letters deli-
vered. The Consul after he had read over the letters, both of *Philip* and *Annibal*, sealed them
up again sure, and sent them by Land unto the Senat of *Rome*, but commanded the Embassadors
themselves to be conducted thither by Sea. When as both letters, and also the Embassadors
were arrived at *Rome*, in a manner, all in one day, and that (after due examination) words and
writings agreed together in one: at the first the LL. of the Senat were pensive and plunged deep-
ly into cares, considering in how great danger they stood of a new Macedonian war, who were
hardly able to endure the Carthaginian. But in conclusion, so far were they off from being K
utterly dismayed hereat, and sinking under the water, that forthwith they began to treat and de-
bate, how they might begin themselves to war with these enemies first, and so stop them from
their entrance into *Italy*. The captive Embassadors they laid up fast in irons: their train and re-
tinue were sold in open market: and besides the five and twenty ships, whereof *Q. Fulvius Flac-
cus* was Admiral, they took order for twenty more to be rigged and decked: which being pro-
vided, furnished and shot into the pool assoat, together with those five barks wherein the priso-
ners were conducted: there were 50 sail in all, that loosed from *Ostia* and arrived at *Tarentum*.
Quintus Fulvius had commission to embark the souldiers of *Varro*, who had been under the lea-
ding of *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant at *Tarentum*, with his fleet of fifty sail, not only to defend
the Sea-coast of *Italy*, but also to hearken and have an eye after the Macedonian war: and in L
case he could learn, that the designment and intent of *Philip* was suitable to those letters and in-
formations of the Embassadors, then he should by his letters certifie *M. Valerius* the Pretor so
much; and that leaving with *L. Apustius* his Lieutenant the charge of the army, he should go to
the Armado at *Tarentum*, and with all speed possible set over into *Macedony*, and there endea-
vour to keep *Philip* play at home within his own realm. As for that money which was sent unto
Appius Claudius into *Sicily* for to be repayed unto King *Hiero*, it was appointed unto him for the
maintenance of his Armado, and manging of the Macedonian war. This mony was by *L. Apu-
stius* the Lieutenant brought to *Tarentum*, and with it, there were sent from *Hiero* * 200000
Modii of wheat, and 100000 of barley.

* Much about 5000 quarter of London measure.

Whiles these preparations and doings passed at *Rome*, one ship of those prisoners which were
sent to *Rome*, chanced to single it self from the other, and to escape away to *Philip*: whereby M
he was advertised, that the Embassadors or Commissioners were taken, and the letters intercep-
ted. But he not knowing what covenants had passed between *Annibal* and his legats, and what
answer they should have brought unto him, sent forth another embassage with the same com-
mission. The Embassadors sent unto *Annibal*, were *Heraclitus* surnamed *Scotinus*, *Cicero* of *Be-
rœa*, and *Sosithenes* of *Magnesia*. These went to and fro between in safety, these caried and reca-
ried their errands fortunatly. But the summer was come and gone, before the King could enter
into action, or execute any enterprise. Of so great moment and importance was the boording of
that one ship at the first with the Embassadors, for the deferring of that imminent war intended
against the Romans.

When *Fabius* had passed over the River *Volturnus*, after the expiation at length of the prodi- N
gious tokens aforesaid, both Consuls together made war about *Capua*. *Fabius* by assault won
these Cities, *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Austicula*, which had revolted unto the Carthaginians:
and within them he surprised the garison souldiers of *Annibal*. Many of the Campans likewise
were taken prisoners. At *Nola* (like as in the year before) the Senat held with the Romans, but
the Commonalty took part with *Annibal*, and plotted secretly, how to murder the Nobility,
and to betray the City. But to stop the proceedings of these mischievous designments, *Fabius*
led his army between *Capua*, and the camp of *Annibal* upon the hill * *Tifata*, and fortified him-
self upon the mountain * *Vesuvius*, in that fort where *Claudius* had encamped before. From
thence he sent *M. Marcellus* the Vice-Consul with those forces which he had, into *Nola*, there O
to lie in garison.

* Monte di Capua.
* Monte di Somma.

Likewise in *Sardinia*, *T. Manlius* the L. Deputy, began to administer those affairs, which had
been forelet, by occasion that *Q. Mutius* the Pretor was fallen sick, and lay of a long and ling-
ring disease. *Manlius* after he had drawn the Gallies ashore at *Caraleis*, and put the mariners
and rowers in arms for Land-service, and received of the Pretor his army, was able to make
22000 foot, and 1200 horse. With this power of men of arms and footmen together, he entred
into the enemies countrey, and not far from the camp of *Hersicora*, pitched his tents. *Hersicora*
himself was by chance gone then, into the country of the Pellidians (a people of *Sardinia*) to a rm

A arm the youth there, for the mending of his strength; and left his son named *Hiostus*, Ruler over
the camp in the mean time. He a lusty hot youth, rashly joyned battail, and quickly was dis-
comfited and put to flight: thirty thousand Sardinians in that field were slain, and upon 1000
taken prisoners alive. The rest of the army first fled straggling asunder over the fields, and through
the woods: but afterwards, hearing by the voyce that went, how their captain was fled to * *Cor-* * Cornelo.
nus the head City of that region, they retired thither also. And surely they had in that one bat-
tail, made an end of all war in *Sardinia*, but that the Armado of *Carthage*, under the leading of
Asdrubal (which by tempest had been cast upon the Baleare Islands) came in time to entertain
the Islanders, in hope to rebel. *Manlius*, after it was noised abroad, that the Carthaginian fleet
B was arrived, retired himself to *Caraleis*: which gave *Hersicora* good opportunity and overture to
joyn with *Asdrubal*. Who having landed his souldiers, and sent the ships back again unto *Car-
thage*, went forward by the guidance of *Hersicora*, robbing and spoiling the Lands of the Roman
confederats: and had come as far as *Caraleis*, but that *Manlius* with an army encountred him
upon the way, and restrained him from so lavish over-running and robbing the countrey. At
the first they encamped one against the other not far asunder: afterwards, they began to put out
certain bands and companies, and to maintain light skirmishes with variable event, until at last
they pitched a set field, and in full battail fought for the space of 4 hours. The Carthaginians held
out conflict a good while, and the victory still remained doubtful (for the Sardinians were ever
used to have the foil) but at last, seeing every quarter full of the Sardinians either lying along
C dead, or running away, they also were discomfited: and as they turned their backs and were a-
bout to flie, the Romans wheeled about with that wing, wherewith they had defeated the Sar-
dinians, and enclosed them round, and so they fell rather to killing than fighting any longer,
12000 enemies were there slain of Sardinians and Carthaginians together, about 3700 were
taken prisoners, and 27 military ensigns won. This was a noble and famous battail, memorable
especially above all, for taking of these prisoners; namely, *Asdrubel* the L. General, *Hanno* and
Mago, two noble men of *Carthage*. *Mago* was of the Barchine house, neer of kin and in bloud
to *Annibal*. *Hanno* was the sollicitor of the Sardinians to rebellion, and no doubt, the principal
Author of that war. Neither was this field less famous for the overthrow of the chief comman-
ders of the Sardinians: for both *Hiostus* the son of *Hersicora* was slain in fight: and also *Hersicora*
D himself, as he fled with a few Horsemen, hearing besides other calamities and losses, of the death
of his son, in the night season, because he would have no man come between to stay his purposed
intent, killed himself. All the rest escaped to the City * *Cornus*, as they had done afore, and there * Cornesso.
as in a place of refuge sought to save themselves. But *Manlius* following the train of his victory,
came against it, and within few dayes was master of it. After this, other Cities also which had
revolted, and turned to *Hersicora* and the Carthaginians, gave hostages, and yeelded by compo-
sition. And when *Manlius* had levied of them certain money for the souldiers pay and corn like-
wise, according to the power and ability or trespass of each of them, he led his army back to
Caraleis: and there having put the Gallies on the water, and embarked the souldiers that he had
brought with him, he sailed to *Rome*, and recounted unto the LL. of the Senat the utter subduing
E of *Sardinia*. The money he delivered to the Treasurers, the corn to the Ædiles, and the prisoners
unto *Fulvius* the Pretor.

Much about that time, *T. Otacilius* the Pretor, having sailed from *Lilybæum* into Affrick, and
wasted the territory of the Carthaginians, as he was bound from thence and set sail for *Sardinia*,
whither *Asdrubal* as the news went had lately crossed over from the Baleare-Ilands, he met with
the Armado returning back into Affrick: and after a skirmish made upon the Sea by his souldiers
lightly armed, he took therewith seven Gallies with their oars and mariners: the rest for fear
were scattered, as it had been with a tempest, all over the Sea. And it hapned about the same
time, that *Bomilcar* with certain companies of souldiers sent from *Carthage* for a supply, and for-
ty Elephants, and good store of victuals came to *Locri*. For the surprising and setting upon him on
a sudden, *Ap. Claudius* leading his army in haste, and marching to *Messana*, under a colour of visit-
ing the Province, put over to *Locris* with the tide. Now was *Bomilcar* passed already from thence
into the Brutians country to *Hanno*, and the men of *Locris* shut the gates against the Romans.
So *Appius*, after much ado and preparation, having effected nothing, returned back to *Messana*.
In the same summer, *Marcellus* made many rodes from *Nola* (which he held with a garrison)
into the Hirpins country, and the Samnits, about *Caudium*, and made such wast there, with fire
and sword, that they in *Samnium* called into their fresh remembrance the old losses and over-
throws which they had received: whereupon there were sent immediately from both nations
Embassadors together, unto *Annibal*, who in this wise delivered their speech unto him. "We The Oration of the Embas-
"have been enemies, O *Annibal* to the people of *Rome*, first of our own selves, and in our own sadors of the Hirpins and Samnits unto *Annibal*.
"quarrel, so long as our armor & forces were able to defend us: but after that our hope therein be-
"gan to fail us, we drew to a side, and took part with King *Pyrrhus*. And when he forsook us
"once, we accepted of peace for very necessity: wherein we continued for fifty years almost, even
"until the time that you entred into *Italy*. Neither was it your prowess, vertue and fortune, ra-
"ther than your singular courtesy and benignity extended toward our country-men and fellow
"Citizens (whom being taken prisoners, you released and sent unto us back again) which hath
"caused us to entertain your amity: in so much, that so long as you remain our friend, alive and
"safe, we would not stand in dread of the people of *Rome*, no, nor of the very Gods themselves (if
"it

"it be lawful so to say) were they never so angry against us. Howbeit assuredly, for this summer H
"season, we have been divers and sundry times so spoiled and wasted, not only whiles you are a-
"live and safe, but also (which is more) present in place, where you might both hear, in manner,
"the wailing and weeping of our wives and children, and also see our houses on a light fire: So it
"seemeth it was *M. Marcellus* and not *Annibal* that had the victory at *Canne*. And the Romans
"boast and say, That you are good at the first push only, and when you have once let slie and lan-
"ced the Javelin (as it were) out of your hands, you are clean done, and can abide no longer. We
"warred almost an hundred years with the people of *Rome*, without help either of forein Cap-
"tain, or army of strangers: save that for two years only, *Pyrrhus* with the aid of our souldiers,
"rather increased his own strength, than by any power of his defended us. But we list not to make I
"vaunt and boast of fortunat succes and brave victories, namely, how we subdued and put under
"the yoke two Consuls, and two consular armies: nor of other noble exploits which hapned to
"our joy and honor. And as for the crosses and adversities that befell us during that time, we may
"report them with lesse grief and indignation, than those that this day light upon us. Then in
"those dayes, mighty great Dictators with their Generals of Horsemen, two Consuls at once,
"with their two royal hosts, entred our territories, having sent out before hand their espials and
"scouts, and led forth their souldiers to make spoil, under their colours and ensigns, arranged in
"good order of battail, and seconded strongly behind. Now are we exposed as it were to be a
"prey of one only garrison, and that but a small one, left for the guard and defence of *Nola*. For,
"now they overrun all our confines and borders, not by bands and companies in warlike wise, but K
"like Theeves and Robbers, more carelesly and negligently, than if they ranged about for their
"pleasure in the Roman territory. The only cause is this, because your self make no reckoning to
"protect us: and all our own youth (which if they were at home were able to defend us) serveth
"under your banner and standard. But I know neither you, nor your army at all: if I should not be
"perswaded and believe that he whom I wot well to have discomfited and put to fight so many
"Roman armies, were soon able to defeat and suppress these robbers that wander about our coun-
"try, straggling without leaders, and without their colours disordredly whither they list, according
"to the vain hope of pillage that haleth them here and there, and, as every one gapeth for prizes,
"which they shall never get. No doubt but if you put forth a few of your Numidians, they will
"soon fall into their hands: Send but unto us a garrison to succour us, you shall quickly displace L
"that other at *Nola*; in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your con-
"federats) now, unworthy to be defended after you have received us into your protection. Here-
"to *Annibal* made this answer again, and said; That the Hirpins and Samnits hudled up all at
"once together: they declared their calamities and losses, they craved aid and succour, and they
"made complaint that they were neither guarded by him, nor regarded of him. Whereas they
"should have first made declaration of their harms: after, sued for help: and last of all, if they
"might not obtein, then and not afore they should have complained, that they had besought his
"helping hand in vain. Howbeit he promised, that he would not bring his army into the territory,
"either of the Hirpins or the Samnits, lest himself also should be chargeable and troublesome unto
"them, but into the next quarters belonging to the allies of the Romans: by spoiling and wasting M
"whereof, both he would fill his souldiers hands, and also with the terrour thereof, set their ene-
"mies far enough off from them. And as for the managing of the Roman war, like as the battel
"of *Thrasymenus*, was more noble than that of *Trebia*; and the field of *Canne* more memorable,
"than that of *Thrasymenus*: even so would he make the memorial of *Canne* dim and obscure, in
"regard of one greater victory yet, and more renowned than the other. With this answer, and
"with honourable rewards besides, he dismissed the Embassadors; and gave them their dispatch.
"And leaving a small guard to keep the Hill *Tifata*, he marched in person with the rest of his ar-
"my against *Nola*. Thither also was *Hanno* come, out of the country of the Brutii, with the sup-
"ply that he brought from *Carthage*, and the Elephants. Where, after *Annibal* had pitched his
"Tents not far from the Town, and made diligent enquiry, he found, that the case was far other-
"wise, than it was reported by the Embassadors of his associats. For *Marcellus* bare not him- N
"self in any of his actions, so as it might be truly said, that he blindly committed ought to the ha-
"zard of fortune, or rashly adventured upon the enemy. For he never went a plundring without
"his scouts and espials, without setting strong guards in due places, whereunto he might retire
"himself in safety: but had a good eye afore him, and a wary regard and needful forecast, as if he
"were to encounter with *Annibal* in person. And even then at that time, when he perceived,
"that the enemy approached and was coming, he kept his forces within the City: commanding
"the Senators of *Nola*, to walk up and down upon the walls, and to survey all over, and espie
"what the enemies did, or were about. Amongst whom, it hapned, that *Hanno* being come under
"the very wall, espied *Herennius Bassus*, and *Herius Petrius*, whom he called out to a parle. And O
"when they were gone forth unto him by the permission & leave of *Marcellus*, thus he spake unto
"them by his interpreter. First, he highly extolled the vertue and fortune of *Annibal*, debasing and
"treading under foot the dignity and Majesty of the people of *Rome*, growing now old in time, and
"decaying in force and strength. "Which if they were (quoth he) on both sides equal, as some-
"times they were, yet seeing they had good experience, how heavy and grievous the government
"of the Romans was to all their Allies, and again, how indulgent & gracious *Annibal* is, even to all
"the captives of the Italian nation and name, they should with rather to be in league & amity with
"the

The answer of *Annibal* to the Embassadors.

The speech of *Hanno* to *Herennius* and *Herius* Nolans.

A "the Carthaginians, than with the Romans. If both Coss. were with their armies at *Nola*, they
"were no more able to match with *Annibal*, than they were at *Canne*: much less might one Præ-
"tor with a few raw and new souldiers hold out and keep *Nola* against him. And as for the No-
"lans themselves, it concerned them much more than it did *Annibal*, to consider, whether he
"should win *Nola* by force, or enter upon it by surrender and composition. For to be Lord: herof
"he made no doubt, like as he was Master already of *Capua* and *Nuceria*: but what odds and diffe-
"rence there is between the state of *Capua* and of *Nuceria*, the Nolans know best themselves, who
"are seated (as it were) in the mid way between both. Loath he was to prognosticate so much un-
"to *Nola*, what calamities might befall the City, if it were conquered by assault: rather yet would
B "he give his word and promise, That if they would deliver *Marcellus* with his garrison, and yield
"up *Nola* into *Annibal* his hand, they should themselves, and none but they set down and capitu-
"late under what conditions they would entertain alliance & friendship with *Annibal*. To this
motion *Herennius Bassus* framed his answer in this sort. "For many years already there hath been
"continuall amity between the people of *Rome* and *Nola*, and neither of both to this day hath
"repented therof. As for the Nolans themselves if they had been disposed to turn with the wind,
"and to change their faith and alleageance, together with their fortune, they would have done it
"long before this: for now it was too late to start & alter. If they had minded to yield themselves
"unto *Annibal*, they would never have sent for a garrison of Romans: but since they were now
C "come to protect and defend them, they had imparted & communicated all their state with them
"already, and would take such part as they, so long as they had an hour to live. This emparl put
Annibal clean besides all hope of gaining *Nola* by treason. Therefore he beleaguered the town on
every side, and invested it round about like a garland, to the end, that in one instant he might give
the assault on every part of the walls. When *Marcellus* saw him under the walls he set his people
first in battel aray within the gate, and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly sallied out.
At their first shock and onset divers of the enemies were beaten down and slain: but after that,
they ran from all parts to battel, and were come together with equall forces, the fight began to be
hot and sharp, and a memorable conflict it had been and few like it, but that it rained and poured
down so fast, and with so many storms and tempests, that it parted both the battels, and staid the
fight. So for that day, having with that smal skirmish kindled their courages, and let their bloud in
D heat, they retired back, the Romans within the City, and the Carthaginians to their Camp. How-
beit, of the Carthaginians there were slain, upon the first sally and charge given, not above thirty,
and of the Romans not one man: This tempestuous shower of rain lasted all night long, and con-
tinued still, and never gave over untill nine of the clock before noon the next day. And therefore,
albeit they were sharp set, and their fingers itched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day
they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day *Annibal* sent out certain companies in-
to the territory about *Nola*, for to forrage and fetch in booties; which, so soon as *Marcellus* un-
derstood, he presently set his men in array, and entred the field, neither was *Annibal* for his part
behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very near, between the City and the enemies Camp. In
this space between (for all about *Nola* is plain and champian) they encountred and joyned battel.
E The shout that they set up on both sides, reclaimed and caused to return unto the fight already be-
gun the neareſt of those cohorts and bands which were gone a forraging into the country. The
men of *Nola* likewise came unto the Romans, and mended their battel: whom *Marcellus* com-
mended for their forwardnes, and gave them in charge to abide in the rereward, to help as occa-
sion served, and to carry forth of the skirmish those that were hurt and wounded, and to forbear
fight in any case, unless they had a signall and token given them by him. The fight was doubtfull,
for both the Generals gave encouragement effectually, and also the souldiers did their best, and
fought right manfully? *Marcellus* was earnest with his men to press hard and charge still upon
their enemies, whom they had defeated not three daies ago, who not many daies past were put
to slight, and driven from *Cumes*, and who the year before were beaten from *Nola* under his con-
F duct by other souldiers, saying, "That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone
"ranging abroad in the country, for to hale booties, and get prizes. As for them that fought they
"were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in *Capua*, such as with
"wine-bibbing in every tavern, whore-hunting in every Stews and Brothel-house, all the whole
"winter, were become enfeebled in body, spent and wasted utterly. As for that lively strength and
"vigour of theirs, it was clean gone: those able and lusty bodies were decaied, those couragi-
"ous hearts abated, wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean mountains, and the high cliffs of
"the *Alps*. There remained now nothing but the reliques and shadow of those men to fight, who
"are scarce able to bear their very armour, to lift up their arms, and carry their own bodies.
"Adding withall, that *Capua* was another *Canne* unto *Annibal*: there died his warlike prowess,
"there, lost he his military discipline; there was the glorious fame of former daies buried: there
"the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled. As *Marcellus* by reproving these and such
like things in his enemies, animated his own souldiers: so *Annibal* rebuked his men with more
sharp words and bitter checks. "I know these to be (quoth he) the same arms and weapons,
"the very same ensigns and standards which I saw and had at *Trebia*, at *Thrasymenus*, and last
"of all at *Canne*. But forsooth me thinks, when I went to *Capua* there to winter, I caried with me
"thither, other manner of souldiers than I have brought again from thence. Have ye indeed so
"much ado to maintain fight with a Roman Lieutenant, Leader of one only Legion and cornet;

The answer of *Hannibal* to *Herennius*.

The speech of *Marcellus* to his souldiers.

The words of *Annibal* to his souldiers.

" whom heretofore two full Consular armies were never able to abide in the field? Shall *Mar-* H
" *cellus* with young and raw souldiers of his own, seconded only with the aid of the Nolans,
" challenge and bid us battel the second time? Where is that souldier of mine that unhorsed C.
" *Flaminius* the Consul, and stroke off his head? What is become of him that at *Canne* slew L.
" *Paulus*? What? is the edge of the sword dull, and the point blunt? Or are your right hands
" asleep and benummed? Or what strange and wonderfull accident is befaln you? Ye that were
" wont, being few in number, to vanquish many, are ye now, being many in number, hardly able
" to withstand and abide the violence of a few? Ye spake big, and gave out great brags and
" proud words, that if any man would lead you, you would win *Rome*, that you would. Behold,
" now, a smaller piece of service. Here I would have you prove your strength, and make triall of I
" your valour. Let us see now, win me *Nola*, a City scituate in the Champian, on a plain, defen-
" ded neither with sea nor river. Out of this so wealthy a City, will I be ready to lead you, la-
" den with rich pillage and poil, whither soever ye will, or follow you, whersoever ye would
" have me. But nothing availed either his chearfull words, or his checking rebukes, to encou-
rage and confirm their hearts. For the Carthaginians being forced on every side to retreat,
(whiles the Romans grew more and more animated, not only through the comfortable
speeches of their own Captains, but also the Nolans themselves, who with their loud shou-
ting in token of their love and affection, enkindled their courages to hot fight) turned their
backs, and were driven into their hold. And when the Romans were desirous to assail the
same. *Marcellus* reconducted them to *Nola*, with great joy and congratulation even of the Com- K
mons there, who before, were more enclined and affected to the Carthaginians. There were
of the enemies slain that day above one thousand, sixteen hundred were take prisoners, nine-
teen military ensigns won, two Elephants gotten alive, and foure slain in the conflict. Of Ro-
mans there were not killed all out one thousand. The morrow after they spent (upon a truce
concluded) in burying the dead that were slain on both sides. Of the spoiis of the enemies
Marcellus made a great fire, upon a vow pronounced unto *Vulcan*. On the third day, 1172
horsemen of Numidians and Spaniards, one with another (upon some spleen and anger I be-
leeve, or else for hope of more liberall entertainment and commodious gain) fled from *Anni-*
bal and turned to *Marcellus*: whose valiant and faithfull service stood the Romans in very good
stead oftentimes during that war. And after the war was ended, the Spaniards in *Spain*, and L
the Numidians in *Affrick*, in reward of their vertue and prowess, were endued with fair lands
and large possessions. *Annibal* sent *Hanno* back from *Nola* to the Brutii, together with the
forces that he came with: himself went to the wintring harbours of *Apulia*, and lodged about
Arpi.

Quintus Fabius so soon as he heard that *Annibal* had taken his way into *Apulia*, conveyed all
the corn from *Nola* and *Naples* into his Camp, which he had pitched above *Suessula*: and ha-
ving well fortified the hold, and left there a sufficient garrison to guard the place for that winter
time, removed himself nearer to *Capua*, and there encamped: and so wasted the Campan Ter-
ritory with fire and sword, that the Campans little trusting in their own forces, were constrai-
ned to issue forth of their gates, and fortifie themselves in Camp before the City, in the open M
plain. Six thousand they were in all. Their footmen were weak and not for service: their horse-
men were far better and more able: so that oftentimes they charged their enemies with their
horse, and provoked them to fight. Among many brave men of arms that the Campans had,
one *Jubellius*, surnamed *Taurea*, a Citizen of *Capua*, was the worthiest and best horseman of them
all, by many degrees: insomuch, as when he served under the Romans, *Claudius Asellus* only,
a Citizen of *Rome*, was able to match him in glory of good horsemanship, and horse service. This
Taurea when he had ridden all about the troops of his enemies, casting his eye every way to see
if he could espy *Claudius Asellus*, enquired at length closely, after silence made, where about
he was, and made this challenge unto him. That seeing he was wont in words to contend with
him for valour and prowess, he should now determine the question by the spear-point and N
dint of sword, and either be despoiled of his glorious armour, if he were overcome, or else
gain the same with the victory. Which defiance being brought into the Camp to *Asellus* his
ears, he made no more to do, but went presently to the Consul, to know whether he might
with his good leave and licence out of his rank fight extraordinarily with his enemy that bad
him combat. After leave obtained, he armed himself immediatly, mounted on horseback,
and rode before the enemies *corps de guard*, oftentimes calling upon *Taurea* by name, and bidding
him come forth to encounter whomsoever he durst. Now were the Romans by this time gone
forth of the Camp in great number to behold this combat: the men of *Capua* likewise filled not
only the rampier of their hold but also the walls of the City to see this fight. When as they
had made some goodly flourish afore hand with brave swords and stout speeches, to set out the O
action: they set spear in rest, and put spurs to horse, and justled together amain. Afterwards,
having gotten the liberty of the ground they dallied one with another, trisling out the time, and
making along peece of work of it, without giving or taking wound. Then quoth the Campan
Knight to the Roman, This will be but a fight of horses, and not of horsemen, unless we ride
out of the open plain ground here into this hollow way, where having no such scope to prick
out at large, we shall soon come to hand gripes, and close together. The word was not so soon
spoken, but *Claudius* turned his horse head, and rode into the foresaid way. But *Taurea* a stouter
champion

A champion in word than deed: Oh, take heed of all things (quoth he) how you ride a gelding in
a ditch: Which grew afterwards to a by-word, used among the country people. *Claudius* after he
had rode in and out, up and down, a long time in the lane, and never met with his enemy, retur-
ned again into the open plain: and rating the cowardice of his enemy, with great joy and gratula-
tion, rode back as conquerour into the Camp. Some Annals and Chronicles do record and add
to this combat of horsemen, a strange and wonderful thing (no doubt) if it be true, as by the
common opinion it is reputed no less: namely, that when *Taurea* fled back into the City *Clau-*
dius followed hard after him in chace, entred with him at one gate standing open, and rode out
clear at the other unhurt, to the great wonder and astonishment of the enemies. Upon this the
B standing Camps were quiet on both sides: and the Cos. removed backward farther off from the
City, that the men of *Capua* might sow their grounds: neither did he any harm unto their fields,
before the corn was come up and so well grown that the blade thereof yielded good forrage and
food for the horses; which he gathered and brought into the standing Camp and hold of *Cl-*
dius above *Suessula*, and there he built winter harbors for to make his abode. And he gave order
to *M. Claudius* the Vice-Consull, to keep still at *Nola* a competent garrison for defence of the City;
and to discharge the rest of the souldiers, and send them to *Rome*, that they should neither be cum-
brous to their Allies, nor chargeable to the Common-weal. *Tib. Gracchus* also whiles he led his
Legions from *Cumes* into *Apulia* to *Luceria*, sent *M. Valerius* the Prætor from thence to *Brun-*
dusium, with that army which he had at *Luceria*, commanding him to keep the sea-coast of the
C Salentines Country, and to provide for all things necessary against *Philip* and the Macedonian
war.

In the end of this summer, wherein these acts were atchieved, whereof I have written, there
came a packet of Letters from *P.* and *Cornel. Scipios*, importing how great and how fortunate ex-
ploits they had performed in *Spain*: but there wanted money for pay: and apparell and corn to
serve both souldiers and mariners. And albeit all these things were away, yet as concerning mo-
ney, if the City Chamber and common Treasure were not stored, they would make some shift to
raise it of the Spaniards: but for all the rest, needs it must be sent from *Rome*, for otherwise nei-
ther could they keep the Army together, nor hold the Province in their allegeance. When the let-
ters were read there was no man there but acknowledged that they wrote a truth, and deman-
D ded that which was reasonable. But they considered withall, what great armies both on land and
at sea they maintained: and what a mighty Armada they must prepare and set out anew, in case
the Macedonian war went forward. As for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which before the wars began, paid
tribute, were scarce able to find and keep the garrisons, that lay there for the guard of the Pro-
vinces: and that they were to trust upon their own revenues and tribute for the maintenance of
the charge they were at. But as the number of them that paid rent and conferred tribute, was
greatly diminished by so great overthrows of the armies, both at the pool *Thrasymenus*, and also
at *Canne*: so those few that remained, if they were burdened with many exactions and payments,
should be plagued and undone another way, therfore it was concluded, that unless the Common-
weal maintained not herself by her credit and borrowing money, she were not able to be sustai- E
ned by her own wealth and riches. So it was agreed, That *Fulvius* the Prætor must needs assem-
ble all the people together, and lay abroad and declare unto them the necessity and exigent that
the Common-weal was driven unto, and to exhort all them that had enriched themselves and en-
creased their livings, by renting and taking to farm the revenues and commodities of the City,
should now do good to the Commonweal for a time, by which they were grown to that wealth,
and undertake the provision at a price, and furnish the army in *Spain*, with all necessaries thereto
belonging, to be contented and paid therefore with the first, out of the common Chest, when
it were stored with money. Thus the Prætor made declaration of these matters in the open as-
sembly of the people, and withall determined and set down a certain day, whereupon he minded
to put forth the souldiers liveries and apparel, and corn to be provided for the Spanish Army,
and all things else requisite for the mariners. When the day was come, there presented them-
selves unto him three companies of nineteen men, for to take this bargain. Who made two re-
quests and demands, the one, that for that three years next ensuing, there should be no other Pub-
licans or farmers of the City: the other, that whatsoever they shipped, the Common-weal
would make good against all force of enemy, or violence of tempest. Both being granted,
they took upon them the matter, and so the Common-weal was served by the money of private
persons. This was the deme and not this was the loving affection to their country, that went through
all degrees of men (as it were) after one sort and manner. And like as they undertook with
great courage to serve the army so with singular fidelity they performed every thing, in such sort,
as there was nothing at all wanting, no more than if they had been maintained from a rich trea-
sury, as in times past. At what time as this provision came the town of * *Illiturgi* was assailed * *Aldea el rio.*
by *Asdrubal*, *Magos*, and *Amilcar* the son of *Bomilcar*, because it revolted unto the Ro- *or Anduiar el*
mans. *rio.*

Amidst these three several Camps of the enemies, the two *Scipios* passed into the City
of their Allies, that made resistance against, and with great loss of men; and brought corn
with them: whereof there was great want: and after they had encouraged and exhorted the
townsmen that with the same resolution they would defend the walls as they had seen the Ro-
man army to fight for them and in their quarrell: they led forth their power to give an assaule

upon the greatest Camp, whereof *Asdrubal* was the General. Thither also repaired the two Captains and two Armies of the Carthaginians, when they saw that the whole triall of the matter was there to be determined, and so they issued out of their tents and fought. Threescore thousand enemies were that day in field, and about 16000 Romans: and yet the victory went so clear with the Romans, that they slew more of their enemies than they were in number themselves, took prisoners more than three thousand men, and not many under a thousand horse; and withall won 60 military ensigns wanting one, and killed five Elephants in the battel: and to conclude, were Lords that day of three Camps. After that the siege was raised from *Illiturgi*, the Carthaginian armies were led to the assault of the town *Incibili*, having their companies made up and supplied again out of the Province, (as being a nation of all others most desirous and eager of war, so there be hope of pillage or good recompence) and at that time especially full of young and lusty men. Where there was a second field tought with like fortune of both sides as before. There were slain above thirteen thousand enemies, and more than 3000 taken prisoners, besides two and forty military ensigns, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all the Cities of *Spain* revolted to the Romans. And far greater exploits were that summer performed in *Spain*, than in *Italy*.

* *chetus.*

The four and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and twentieth Book.

HIerome, *King of the Syracusians (whose grandfather* Hiero *had been a friend unto the people of* Rome) *revolted unto the Carthaginians, and for his cruelty and pride, was by his own people murdered.* Titus Sempronius Gracchus *the Pro-Consul, had a fortunate battel near* Beneventum, *against the Carthaginians and* Hanno *their General, through the help especially of the bondslaves, whom for their good service, he commanded to be made free.* Claudius Marcellus *the Consul laid siege unto* Syracusa *in* Sicily, *which wholly in main r was fallen away and turned to the Carthaginians. War was proclaimed against* Philip, *King of the Macedonians, who in a night-skirmish was surprised, discomfited, and put to flight: and with his army well near disarmed, escaped into* Macedonie. *To manage that war,* Valerius *the Praetor was sent. This book containeth also the acts atchieved in* Spain *by* P. *and* Cn. Scipios *against the Carthaginians.* Syphax *King of the Numidians, having entred into amity with the Romans, fought against* Masanissa *King of the Massilians: who stood for the Carthaginians, and being overcome, passed over into* Spain *with a most mighty army unto* Scipio, *lying over against* Gades, *where the narrow sea runneth between* Affrick *and* Spain. *The Celtiberians also were received into friendship, whose aids the Romans sent for: and this was the first time that mercenary souldiers were waged and served in the Roman wars.*

The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

HAnno was not so soon returned out of *Campane*, into the country of the *Brutii*, but by their help and guidance he tollicited to rebellion the Greek Cities which continued the more willing ly in league and alliance with the Romans, because they saw that the *Brutii*, whom they both hated and feared, sided with the Carthaginians. And first he assaied and went in hand with *Rhegium*, where he spent certain daies to little or no purpose. In this mean time, the Inhabitants of *Locri* were busie in carrying away with great haste the corn, wood and fewel, and all things else, necessary for the use of man, out of the country into the City; because they would leave nothing for the enemy to prey upon. And daily more and more of them went out of the gates by heaps, so as at last there was no more left in the City, than those that were compelled to repair the breaches of the walls and the gates, and to bring into the turrets and bulwarks store of darts and other shot. Against this multitude and confused mixture of all ages, sexes, and degrees ranging over the fields, whereof most were altogether unarmed *Amilcar* the Carthaginian sent out his Cavalry, giving them direction, and charging them to hurt no person. These horsemen opposed their troops between them and home, only to exclude them out of the City, when they were scattered one from another in flight. The General himself in person encamped on a high ground from whence he might view the country and the City. And gave commandment to a cohort of the *Brutii* to approach the walls, to call forth the principall Citizens of *Locri* to parley, and by making promise of *Annibal* his friendship, to perswade and exhort them to yield up the town. At the first they gave no credit at all unto the *Brutii*, whatsoever they said: But afterwards, when they discovered *Hanno* and the Carthaginians upon the hils, and heard by some few

A few of their own Citizens that were fled back & escaped, how all the rest of the multitude were slain within danger of the enemies, they made answer, that they would confer and consult thereupon with the body of the people. So immediatly they were assembled together. The most light headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance: they also, whose kinsfolk and friends were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the City, had their minds engaged and bound sure enough, as if they had put in hostages: and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart, & liked of constancy and true loyalty, yet durst not be known thereof, and shew themselves to stand to it: so as, they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians. And after they had closely conveighed into the haven, and embarked *L. Atilius* the Captain of the garrison, and all the Roman souldiers that served under him to the end, that they might be transported to *Rhegium*, they received *Amilcar* and the Carthaginians into the City, with this condition, that presently there should be concluded a league upon equall and indifferent covenants and capitulations between them. But the promise in this behalf (when they had once yielded themselves) was nothing well performed: whiles *Amilcar* charged the Locrians, with fraudulent dismissing and letting go the Romans: and they again alleaged for their excuse, that they fled away, and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land; if haply either the tide might cause the ships to stay in the current within the straight, or drive them a land. But those whom they pursued, they could not overtake: marry, other ships they espied, crossing the streights from *Messana* to *Rhegium*. Roman souldiers they were sent from *Claudius* the Praetor, to lie in garrison there, and to keep the town. Whereupon they presently departed from *Rhegium*.

As for the Citizens of *Locri*, they had peace granted them by expresse order and direction from *Annibal* upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That they might live free under their own lawes: *Item*, That both the City and the haven should remain still in the hands of the Locrians. The substance of the covenant rested and was established upon these terms, That the Carthaginians and Locrians should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and war. So the Carthaginians retired from the streights notwithstanding the muttering and murmuring of the *Brutii*, because they had left *Rhegium* and *Locri* untouched, which two Cities they made full account to have sacked and rifled. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in arms a power of fifteen thousand of their own youth, marched forward to assail *Croton*, a Grecian City likewise, and seated upon the sea. Assuring themselves, much to better their estate, if they could be possessed of a port and sea-town, fenced with strong wals and Bulwarks. This only troubled and perplexed their minds, that they durst not, but send unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing lest they might seem to have entred into action and war, without regard of the common good of their confederats, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the General of the Carthaginians should prove again, rather an arbitrator of peace, than a coadjutor in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of *Croton*, as they had done before against the City of *Locri*. Whereupon they thought best to send Embassadors unto *Annibal* for his warrant, and to be secured from him, that if *Croton* were recovered by the Brutians, it should be subject unto them. *Annibal* made answer, that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore he put them over to *Hanno*, from whom they received no certain answer to trust unto. For willing they were not, that a noble and rich City, as it was, should be spoiled: and besides, they were in good hope, that in case the Brutians should assail it, and the Carthaginians all the while not seen, either to allow or help them in their enterprize, the Citizens would the more willingly revolt unto them. The Inhabitants within *Croton* were not of one mind, and affected alike. For there was one malady that had infected all the Cities of *Italy*, namely, the dissention between the Commons and the Nobles. The Senators inclined to the Romans, the Commoners on the other side took part with the Carthaginians. This division within the City, the *Brutii* were by a fugitive runaway advertised of in these terms: namely, that *Aristomachus*, the ring-leader and head of the Commons, minded to betray the City: that it was a wide, vaste, and desolate town, taking a great circuit of ground: and all the walls being decaied and in sundry places broken down, the Senators and the Commons kept their severall guards and watches in sundry quarters far asunder. And look (quoth he) where the Commons waid, there ye may enter at your pleasure. Upon this intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the *Brutii* environed the City round about: and being let in by the Commons at the first assault were masters of all places, saving the Castle. The Nobles held that piece, foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure refuge. Thither fled *Aristomachus* also, pretending that he meant to deliver the City to the Carthaginians, and not to the *Brutii*. Now this City *Croton* had a wall (before *Pyrrhus* coming into *Italy*) twelve miles in compass: but after it was laid waste by that war, scarce the one half of the town was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the midst of the town passed now along the wals without those streets where the houses stood thick and well peopled, far from the parts inhabited.

Six miles without the town there stood a noble Temple of *Lacinia Juno*, more renowned than the City it self, as being honoured with great religion and devotion of all the Cities and nations thereabout. A sacred grove there was in that place compassed with a thick wood, of tall fir trees, having in the midst within it divers pleasant and fruitfull pastures, wherein were fed beasts consecrated unto the goddess, of all sorts, without any keeper and pastor. And albeit the cattell went forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their own kind, severed by themselves, yet at night they used to return back again to their own pens and stalls, without harm received either by the

wait-laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitfull fraud of men. Great encrease therefore and much commodity accrued by those cattel, insomuch as thereof was made a massie Column or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous, as well for riches, as holiness and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that to such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an altar in the very porch of the Temple, the ashes lying whereupon, no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to *Croton*. The Castle thereof on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was only by the naturall situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part whereas *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind, by craft and guile sometime won it. This Castle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles seized and kept, notwithstanding the *Brutii* and their own Commons besieged them. At length the *Brutii* seeing the Castle impregnable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessity to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assaied to draw and urge the Crotoniats to yield, upon these conditions, To suffer a Colony of the *Brutii* thither to be brought, and there planted; and that thereby a City lying so waste and desolate, might be replenished and peopled again, as in ancient time: could not move and perswade any one of them all, but *Aristomachus*. For all besides, protested and said, they would die before they would be intermingled with the *Brutii*, to change their own rites and manner of life, their customes, their laws, and within a while their language also, for others that were strange and forrain. *Aristomachus* alone, seeing that he could not prevail neither by perswasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the Castle like as he had done the town before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certain Embassadors from *Locri*, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entred the Castle, and perswaded them to be content for to be translated to *Locri*, rather than to abide and stand out the extremity: saying, that they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto *Annibal*, and had got a grant at his hands, that they might so do. So they abandoned *Croton*, and the Crotoniats were brought down to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to *Locri*.

In *Apulia*, the very winter season was not quiet between the Romans and *Annibal*. *Sempronius* the Consul wintred at *Luceria*, and *Annibal* not far from him in *Arpi*: and as they could spy opportunity, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes between them. But the Romans had alwaies the better, and every day more than other, became more wary and secured from all trains and deceitful snares of the enemy.

In *Sicily* the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that King *Hiero* was dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew, or sons son, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like to use his own liberty with moderation, and much lesse to sway the Kingdom and Scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends gladly entertained the protection and government of such a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickedness. Which King *Hiero* foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left *Syracusa* free and at liberty; to the end that so noble a kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and shame of the world, be ruinate and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail crossed this his desigonment, and made full reckoning, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*: who were the principall guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for an aged man, now fourscore years old and ten, so hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to intend private regards, and the publike consideration of the State. "And therefore he left fifteen tu-
"tors to oversee and governe the child, whom he besought upon his death-bead, even when he
"was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unspotted, the faithfull allegeance to the
"Romans, which he had kept and oblerved inviolate for the space of fifty years: and to set to
"their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to
"follow that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings last will and testament, and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people, and well near fifteen years of age he was.) Where some few, such as were bestowed here of purpose within the press of the assembly for to shout and shew testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open voice, and allowed the Kings will: whereas all the rest fared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their King, and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was interred, and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjects, more than with any studious care and diligence of his own friends that were nearest to him. After this, *Andronodorus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving out oftentimes, that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by depossing the Protectorship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him and usurped the power and authority of them all. Hard it was even for a right good King and well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the Syracusians: so heartily they affected and loved King *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if he had been willing and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great misse of his grandfather, and wish again for him; at the very first sight, when he [illegible] himself abroad in open

place, declared unto the world what difference and great odds there was. For they who so many years together had never seen *Hiero*, not his son *Gelo*, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other Citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regall Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed pensioners: yea, and otherwhile, after the manner of *Denis* the Tyrant, riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a Chariot drawn with four white steeds. This proud pomp and stately array was accompanied and suited with semblable qualities and conditions. He contemned and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants: and sent them away with reproachful terms and taunts. And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his lusts and delights whereunto he gave himself, were new and strange: his cruelty that he exercised outragious and inhumane. So dread and terrible was he to all, that some of his Tutors, either by making themselves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruell torments. Of whom three only, who alone had more familiar recourse into the Court, to wit, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*, the sons in law of King *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Thrasо*, had little or no ear given unto them in other matters; but whiles two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Thrasо* to the Roman alliance: with their arguing, debating, and dispute, they otherwhile turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracy intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one *Calo*, the companion and playfellow of *Hieronymus*, and of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracy, could appeach and nominate all the conspirators, only *Theodorus*, by whom himself was made privy to the treason, and sollicited to be a complice therein. The party was apprehended incontinently, and delivered unto *Andronodorus* to be tortured; Who at the first without delay, confessed himself to be guilty, but concealed all the rest that were accessaries. At the last, when he had been torn, mangled, and dismembred, with most dolorous torments, and intolerable for any man to endure: pretending and making semblance that he could abide no longer pains; disclosed not for all this the guilty persons indeed, but accused the innocent, and said falsly, that *Thrasо* was the first deviser of the whole plot: and unless they had born themselves, and relied upon so mighty an head, to set them on work, they would never have attempted so dangerous an enterprise. He appeached also some other of the Tyrant his guard and houshold servants and daily waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and paines, and whom amidst his groans he imagined to be such, as whose lives might be best spared, and deaths least lamented. The naming of *Thrasо* especially made the Tyrant to beleeve, that the detection founded to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediatly led to execution and put to death; and the other innocents, as clear as himself, tasted of the same cup, and suffered with him for company. As for the conspirators themselves, albeit one of their fellows was a long while put to bitter and extream torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancy and faithfull promise of *Theodorus*: and such power and strength had *Theodorus* himself, to keep close the secrets committed unto him. Now when *Thrasо* was once dispatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in, and to bind them to their alliance and alleageance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to enclineto rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young Gentlemen, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* unto *Annibal*: From whom also they were sent back again in Embassage. These were both born at *Carthage*, but descended in bloud from the Syracusians by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mothers side meer Carthaginians. By entercourse of these two Embassadours, a League was concluded between *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracuse*. And *Annibal* was content that they should abide still as Leigers in the Tyrants Court.

When *Appius Claudius* the Prætor and Lord Deputy of the Province of *Sicily* heard these news, he addressed streaight waies Embassadors unto *Hieronymus*: who saying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had scornful audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by *Hieronymus* with a frump, demanding of them by way of a scoff, "How they had sped at the battel of *Canne*. For I can hardly beleeve
"(quoth he) that all is true which the Embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly
"know the certain truth & thereupon deliberate and take counsel, which side I were best to take.
The Roman Embassadors said, they would repair again unto him when he could begin once to give audience with gravity and in good earnest to their embassage: and so after they had warned & admonished, rather than praied and entreated him, not to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then *Hieronymus* sent his Legates to *Carthage*, for to confirm the League with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and amity made with *Annibal*. In which it was capitulate and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would shortly come to pass, in case they sent thither ships and a power of men) the river *Himera*, which (as it were) divided the Island in the midst, should confine and limit, both the Syracusian kingdom, and the dominion of the Carthaginians. After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember and call to mind, that not only King *Hiero* was his grandfather, but also King *Pirrhus* by the mothers side: he sent Embassadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to understand, That he deemed

med it right and meet, that all *Sicily* wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of *Italy* only belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity and vain-glorious humour they neither wondred at, as a strange thing in a giddy-brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, so long as they might estrange him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romans. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For whiles *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were sent afore with two thousand souldiers for to sound and sollicit the Cities rebellion, that were held by the garrisons of the Romans: and himself in person entred the country of the Leontins, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together: certain conspirators, who chanced all to be his own souldiers, and bare arms under him, possessed themselves of a rake house, standing over a narrow lane, through which the King was wont to go down into the market place of the City: there, when other stood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the King should pass by, one of the conspirators (whose name was *Indigemines*) had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the Kings body, when the King approached near unto the door of the said house, to find some occasion or other, in that straight passage, to slay the troop and train that followed behind. And so he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For *Indigemines*, lift up his foot, making as though he would loose and slack a straight knot of his sho-latchet, which hindring his going, whereby he staid the company that followed after, so long, that the King passing by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assaulted mean while, and recieved sundry stabs and wounds, before they could come to rescue and save him. Hereupon arose an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard let flie at *Indigemines*, who by this time was ready to oppose himself, and to award all venues: howbeit he was hurt only in two places, and so escaped. The guard seeing the King there lying dead, fled away as they could. The murtherers, some of them betook themselves into the market-place unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to *Syracuse*, to intercept and prevent the designments of *Andronodorus*, and other favourits and followers of the late King.

Whiles things stood in these uncertain and doubtful terms, *Appius Claudius* foreseeing war like to ensue, and that very shortly, addressed his letters unto the Senat of *Rome*, certifying them that *Sicily* enclined already, and was at hand to side with the people of *Carthage*, and with *Annibal*. Himself in the mean time bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that Kingdom, to withstand and hinder all the proceedings and enterprises of the Syracusians.

In the end of that year, *Q. Fabius*, by order from the Senate, fortified *Futeoli*, a town of merchandise, and which in time of wars began to be much resorted unto and frequented, and there he placed a garrison. From whence as he was in his journey toward *Rome* against the grand Election of Magistrates, he proclaimed the solemn assembly of the people for that purpose, to be the next Comitiall day that followed upon his arrivall thither: and so it fell out, that he went along the City side immediatly upon his journey, and came down into *Mars* field before he entred the City. Upon which day when it hapned that the Century of the younger sort was drawn out by lot, and had the prerogative, and by their voices nominated *T. Otacilius*, and *M. Æmylius Regillus* for Consuls, then *Q. Fabius* after silence made, rose up, and delivered this or such like speech.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius* to the people of *Rome*.

"If either we had peace in *Italy*, or war at least wise with those enemies, with whom if we dealt "neither negligently or unadvisedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and "danger: I would think, that whosoever disturbed and crossed your favours and free affections "which ye bring hither with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bestow honours and dig"nities upon whom ye please, had but small and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But since "that in this war and with this enemy, never any General of ours faulted in the managing of his "affairs, but it cost us dear, and we had some great foil and overthrow: it behoveth you, that "with what mind and carefull regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the same ye "should come hither into this *Mars* field in your gowns, and so proceed by your suffrages to "elect your Consuls: and that every one of you should thus say to himself, I am to nominate a "Consul to match with General *Annibal*. No longer since, than this very year, when as before "*Capua*, *Jubellius Taurea*, the bravest horseman and Cavalier of all the Campans defied the Ro"mans, and challenged them to fight man to man, *Asellus Claudius*, the nobleft Knight of all the "Romans, and best man at arms, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaul "that offered combat upon the bridge over *Anio*, our ancestors sent out *Manlius*, a couragious, "resolute, and puissant Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon such another occasion, not ma"ny years after, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, who took arms likewise against ano"ther Gaul that challenged single fight. And even as we are desirous, & wish to have our foot and o"horsemen both, more valorous and hardy than our enemies, or if that will not be, at least wise "equall unto them, and able to countermatch them: even so let us be carefull to find out a Gene"rall of our own comparable every way to the chief commander of our enemies. And when we "have chosen the best warrior and Captain in the whole City, then presently without any longer "delay, being elect and created for one whole year, he shall be sent to match with an old captain, "that hath ever continued in the field, one who is not enclosed within compass of time, nor re"strained & gaged within the straight bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing, "according as the occasions and present occurrences of war do require: whereas, by that time that

A "that we can make all ready, and dispose every thing in order; and set in hand to begin our affairs,
"the year is come about and clean gone. Now for as much as enough hath been said, what manner
"of Consuls ye ought to create: it remaineth to speak somewhat of them, whom the preroga-
"tive Century so highly favoureth, and is so much affected unto. As for *M. Æmylius Regillus*, he
"is the Flamin of *Quirinus*, whom neither we may take from his ministry of Sacrifice, nor yet
"retain and keep him still, but we shall neglect either the service of the gods, or the due care and
"regard of the wars. *Otacilius* hath married my sisters daughter, and hath fair issue by her. But
"your favours and good turns shewed both to me, and also to my ancestors, are not of so small
"account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-weal before all private re-
B "gards and alliances whatsoever. Every mariner, yea, and any passenger is able to steer and rule
"a Ship in a calm water: but when a blustering tempest is up, and the vessel tossed in a troubled
"surging sea, and carried away with violent force of the winds, then there had need to be a man
"indeed, and a skilfull Pilot to sit at the stern, and to guide the helm. We sail not now in a still
"and quiet sea: but we have been drenched, and in a manner drowned, with some storms alrea-
"dy: and therefore we ought to have exceeding great care and be well advised aforehand, whom
"we have to be the steers-man. In a matter of less consequence and importance, we have made
"triall, O *T. Otacilius*, of your knowledge and service: and you have not given us yet so good
"proof of your vertue and prowess therein, that we should put you in trust with the managing
"of greater affairs. A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands
C "this year for three causes: first, to annoy and spoil the sea-coast of *Affrick*: secondly to defend
"and keep to our behoof the ports and havens of *Italy*: last of all, and above all, to empeach and
"stay all supplies and new succours, together with money munition, and victuall, for being trans-
"ported unto *Annibal* from *Carthage*. If *Otacilius* have performed, I say not all these things,
"but in any one quit himself well, to the good and benefit of the State, Elect him Consul hard-
"ly, and good leave have you. But if it appear, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all
"things (that a man would have) passed out of the country unto *Annibal*, with as great safety
"and security, as if the seas had been open and void of enemies: If, I say, the sea coast of *Italy*
"hath all this year been more in danger, and subject to sustain harm, than that of *Affrick*: what
"reason can you alledge, wherefore the people of *Rome* should choose you above all others, to
D "oppose as Captain, to confront their enemy *Annibal*. If you were Consul in place already, we
"would judge it requisite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the exam-
"ple of our forefathers: neither could you take snuff or be offended, that there should be found
"in the City of *Rome* a better warrior, and more sufficient than your self. And surely it concerneth
"no man more than you, O *Otacilius*, to see that there be not imposed a burden upon your
"shoulders, under which you should fail and fall down right. Wherefore I advise and exhort you
"all, as much as possibly I can, in electing of Consuls this day to carry that mind, and use that care-
"full providence, as ye would, in case ye were standing armed in battel array; and to choose out
"of hand two Generall Captains, under whose conduct and government ye should presently
"fight a field: and make choise of such Consuls, unto whom our children were to take the oath
E "of allegeance: at whose commandment, they should come and assemble together, and under
"whose charge and protection they might willingly serve as souldiers. The pool *Thrasimenus*, the
"plain before *Canne*, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they serve for good prece-
"dents unto us to teach us how to avoid the like mischief another time. So the prerogative Cen-
tury of the younger and puny sort, was called again to a new scrutiny, and to give their voices a-
gain. Whereat when *T. Otacilius* began to cry out aloud and say very stoutly, that *Fabius* his drift
was to continue Consul still, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troublesome to the assem-
bly: the Consul commanded the Lictors to go unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And forasmuch as yet he had not entred into the City, but came down straightwaies into the *Mars* field pre-
F sently from his journey, he put them in mind, that the knitches of the rods together with the axes
within them should be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began
afresh to give their voices: and by it were nominated Consuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth
time, and *M. Marcellus* the third time: and all the Centuries besides without any jarring and
variance elected the very same. One of the former Prætors likewise was chosen again namely *Q.*
Fulvius Flaccus. And other new created, that is to say, *T. Otacilius Crassus* the second time. *Q.*
Fabius the Consul his son, who at that time was Ædile of the chair and *P. Cornelius Lentulus*. After the Election of the Prætors was ended and finished, there passed an Act and decree of the Se-
nate that *Q. Fulvius* should extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Prætor there: and
that he above all other, when the Consuls were gone forth to the wars should be President and
Governour of the City of *Rome*. There fell great rain and much snow that year, whereby the *Tiber*
G overflowed the fields, overthrew many houses, and overwhelmed much cattel and people, so as
they utterly perished.

Thus in the fifth year of the second Punick war, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M.*
Claudius Marcellus the third time, when they entred their Consulship, set the City on thinking and
musing of them more than usually had been known. For in many years there had not been the
like couple of Consuls. And old men would talk and say, that even so were *Max. Rullus* and
P. Decius declared Consuls against the Gauls war: and after them likewise, *Papyrius* and *Carvi-*
lius against the Samnits and Brutii; against the people also of *Lucania* and *Tarentum*. Mar-
cellus

cellus was created Consul in his absence, whiles he was with the Army abroad: and *Fabius* being H himself present and president of the Election, was ordained to continue still in his Consulship. The occasion of the time, the necessity and occurrence of the wars, and the peril and hazard of the whole State were such, as no man looked nearly into the example and precedent to find fault withal, nor had the Consul in any jealousie of ambition and desire of rule: but rather every man commended his noble and hanty mind, who seeing that the Common-wealth stood in need of an excellent Captain, and knowing himself without all question to be the man, made less reckoning and account of the envy and ill will of men, that thereby haply might accrue, than of the good and profit of the Common-wealth. The same day that the Consuls began their office, they assembled the Senators in the Capitoll: and the first thing they did, was a decree, that the Consuls should either cast lots, or agree together between themselves, whether of them two should assemble the people for the election of Censors, before he set forward to the army. After this all they had their authority prolonged and continued still, who were employed abroad with the forces; and their commissions were renewed and sealed again, for to abide in the government of their Provinces: to wit, *T. Gracchus* at *Luceria*, where he abode with the army of the Voluntaries: *C. Terentius Varro* in the Picene country: *M. Pomponius* in the Province of Gaul (on this side the *Alps*.) It was enacted also, that of the Prætors of the former year, *Q. Mutius* as Vice-Prætor should govern *Sardinia*: that *M. Valerius* at *Brundusium* should scoure the river, look to the sea-coasts, and have an eye to all the attempts and enterprises of *Philip* King of the Macedonians. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, the new Prætor, was appointed to rule the Province of *Sicily*: and *T. Otacilius* to be admiral of the same Navy, which the year before he had the charge of against the Carthaginians.

Many prodigious and strange signs were reported that year and so much the more as they were beleeved to be true of the simple and superstitious sort of people. Namely that within the chappel of *Sospita Juno* in *Lanuvium* the Ravens builded their nests. In *Apusa* a green palm tree was on a light fire. At *Mantua* a pool maintained by the overflowing of the river *Mincius*, appeared red with bloud. At *Cales* it rained chalk, and at *Rome* in the beasts market it rained bloud. In a village, called *Iſtacus* a spring under the ground, brake out and yielded such abundance of water, that it overturned, tumbled up and down and carried away (as it had been the stream of a river) divers vessels as pipes tuns, barrels and tercs that were in the place. The open and publike hall I within the Capitoll: the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Mars* field: a nut-tree in the Sabins country: the high street, the wall, and a gate at *Gabii*, were all blasted with lightning and fire from heaven. And by this time other miraculous and monstrous signs were commonly blown abroad, to wit, that the spear of *Mars* in *Preneste* of its own accord, stirred and moved forward: that an oxe was heard speak in *Sicilia*: that the Infant within the mothers womb, in the Marrucins country was heard to cry *Io Triumphe*, at *Spoletum*, a woman turned to be a man. At *Hadria* there appeared an Altar in the skie, and apparitions or shews of men discovered about the same, arraied in white. At *Rome* also within the City was seen, now the second time, a swarm of Bees in the very market-place: a thing wondred at because it was rare and seldom known. Some there were also, that avouched how they descried armed Legions on the hill *Janiculum*: Whereupon the City rose up M in arms, and when they were come into the *Janicle*, they said plainly, that there were none there appeared but the ordinary inhabitants of the hill. These prodigious sights by direction from the Aruspices [*i.e.* the Soothsayers] were expiate, and the gods pacified with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at *Rome*, and had their chappels there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls proposed unto the Senat concerning State-matters, and especially about the managing of the wars. Namely, what forces should be prepared, what numbers of souldiers levied, and where they should be bestowed severally. And agreed it was That there should be eighteen Legions employed in the wars. Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two apiece: the Provinces likewise of N *Gaul*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia* should be guarded each of them with other twain. *Q. Fabius* the Lord Deputy of *Apulia*, was to have two Legions under his hand to command the Province: and *T. Gracchus* other two of voluntaries, to keep the country about *Luceria*: and *C. Terentius* the Pro-Consul, to have the charge of one in the Picene country: and *M. Valerius* another, for the Navy about *Brundusium*: and last of all, twain were left behind for the guard and defence of the City of *Rome*. For to make out this full number of Legions six of necessity were to be levied new. And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enroll them: and likewise to provide an Armada that year of 150 Gallies, together with those ships which ride in the river along the coasts of *Calabria* for the defence of that Country. When the muster was done and the new ships haled and shot into sea, *Q. Fabius* assembled the Centuries for the election of Censors: wherein were O created *M. Attilius Regulus* and *P. Furius Philus*.

The rumour still encreased, that *Sicily* was out and up in arms. Whereupon *T. Otacilius* was commanded to go thither with his fleet. And because there wanted saylers and mariners the Consuls, by vertue of a decree of the Senat published an Edict, That as many as in the time of *L. Æmylius*, and *C. Flaminius* Censors, either themselves or their fathers were assessed in the Subsidy book from 5000 Asses unto 100000 in goods, or who afterwards grew to that worth should find one mariner, and six months pay. *Item*, That whosoever were rated above 100000 unto 300000 should

A should be charged with three mariners, and one years pay. *Item*, That whosoever were valued in the Censors book between 300000 and 1000000 should allow five mariners. *Item*, That those above that proportion should set out seven. And every Senat should provide eight mariners, and furnish them with a whole years pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were set out well armed and appointed by their Masters, and having with them aforehand meat dressed and sodden to serve them thirty daies, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Roman Navy was furnished with sailers and mariners, at the proper charges of private Citizens.

This extraordinary preparation more than usuall, terrified the Campans most of all other, for B fear left the Romans would begin war that year, with laying siege to *Capua*. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requesting him to come nearer unto *Capua* with his forces. For why? at *Rome* there were new armies levied, for to assail that City: and the Romans were not discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And forasmuch as this message was delivered in such haste and fear, *Annibal* thinking it good to make speed, left the Romans prevented him, dislodged and removed from *Arpi*, and encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*, in the fort, where he kept of old. Then, leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him both to guard the Camp, and also to defend *Capua*, he went down with the rest of his army to the Lake *Avernus*, preretending in shew there to sacrifice, but in very deed to sound and sollicit *Puteoli* and the garrison there for to rebell. *Maximus* was no sooner advertized that *Annibal* was departed from *Arpi*, and in his return to *Campania*; but he journied night and day, and never staid, untill he was come again, C and repaired to his army. And withall, he gave order and direction unto *T. Gracchus*, to remove with his power from *Luceria*, and to draw near to *Beneventum*: likewise unto *Q. Fabius* the Prætor, (who was the Consul his son) to supply the room of *Gracchus* at *Luceria*. At the same time the two Prætors took their journey, and went into *Sicily*, *P. Cornelius* to the army there on land, and *Otacilius* to keep the sea-coast, and to be admiral of the Navy: and the rest spred them every one into their several Provinces. They also who had their authority and government continued, ruled the same countries that they did before.

Whiles *Annibal* abode at the Lake *Avernus*, there came unto him from *Tarentum*, five noble young Gentlemen (Roman associats) which had been taken prisoners, some at the pool *Thrasymenus*, others at *Canne*, whom he had sent home in the same manner of curtesie, as he had shewed D ever to all the Allies of the Romans. These Gentlemen, in remembrance of his favours and benefits, made report unto him, "That they had perswaded and induced a great part of the youth of "*Tarentum*, to entertain rather the amity and alliance of *Annibal*, than of the people of *Rome*: "and for this intent they were sent Embassadors from them, to request in their name, that it "might please him to come nearer with his forces to *Tarentum*. For, say they, if they might but "once see from out of *Tarentum* his standard and ensigns, and himself near encamped, the City "would without delay be surrendred up into his hands. For the younger people had the com-"mons at their beck and commandment, and the commons ruled the whole state of *Tarentum* "at their pleasure. *Annibal* after he had commended and thanked them, and withall loaden them E with many fair and great promises, willed them to return home, to hasten and set forward, and effect these intended designments, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time. With these hopes the Tarentins took their leave, and departed. *Annibal* himself was wonderfully desirous to be Master of *Tarentum*. He saw it was a noble City and a wealthy, seated also by the sea-side, and a very commodious Port, looking and lying toward *Macedonia*: and well he wist that King *Philip* if he should pass over into *Italy*, seeing the Romans were possessed of *Brundusium*) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the Sacrifice for which he thither came, and (whiles he made his abode there) forraged all the Territory of *Cumes*, even as far as the Cape of the Promontory *Misenum*: suddenly he turned his army and marched to *Puteoli*, for to surprise and give a camisado to the fort and garrison there. There were six thousand of them within the F town: and the place not only by naturall situation strong, but also surely fortified by industry of man. *Annibal* having staied there three daies, and assailed the fort and the garrison on every side, seeing he could not prevail, nor effect any thing, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the wasting of the Territory of *Naples*, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the City. The Commons of *Nola*, who long time were discontented with the Romans, and at deadly fewd with their own Senators, upon his coming into the territory and confines so near unto them, began to rise in a commotion. Whereupon, there came Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requiring him to advance to *Nola*, upon assured promise, that the town should be delivered into his hands. But *Marcellus*, who was sent unto by the Nobles, prevented this their plot and designment: and in one day he reached to *Suessula* from *Cales*, notwithstanding he made some stay to ferry over the river *Vulturnus*. And so the next night he sent into *Nola* 6000 footmen, and 300 horse, for to aid and defend the Senat. And like as the Consul bestirred himself with all speed and diligence, to make *Nola* sure to him aforehand, so *Annibal* contrariwise temporized, being not so ready now to credit the Nolans; as having twice before given the like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and therefore he trifled out the time, and made small haste.

At the same time also, *Q. Fabius* the Consul came against *Casilinum*, which was kept by the garrison of the Carthaginians, to see if he could surprise it. And to *Beneventum* at one time (as if they had been so agreed) came on the one side, *Hanno* from the Brutii, with a great power of foot and horse; and on another side, *Gracchus* from *Luceria*: who entred the town first. From whence so

soon

soon as he heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river *Calores*, H
and there watted the Country, he himself issued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the ene-
my: where he assembled all his souldiers together, purposing to make a speech unto them. He had
with him the Legions that consisted most of voluntaries, who already two years before, had been
more willing to deserve their freedom in silent manner, than to challenge and demand it with o-
pen mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began
to murmur and grumble in the army when they marched: and to complain in this wise. What shal
we never serve in the quality and condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Se-
nat, and shewed unto them, not so much what they desired, as what they deserved to have: certi-
fying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: and wanted nothing I
save only their freedom, but they might go for true and lawful souldiers. Whereupon the Lords of
the Senat had put it unto his discretion for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the
Common-weal. Thereupon, before that he should join battell with the enemy, he pronounced
these words before them all, and said: "That now the time was come, of obtaining and acqui-
"ring that liberty, which so long they hoped after. For the next morrow they were to affront
"their enemies with banner displaied, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without
"fear of any ambush the triall might be made with meer force and true valour: Whosoever there-
"fore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure & will is, to make free immediatly: and
"who so loseth ground and retreateth, him will I chastise as a bondslave ought to be punished.
"Now every man hath his state and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom. K
"not only my self will assure you, but for further warrant, ye have the allowance of *M. Marcellus*
"the Cos. and generally of all the LL. of the Council, whose advice I fought, and who committed
"unto my hands the ordering of your liberty. And withall he read the Consuls letters, and the de-
cree of the Senat in that behalf. Whereat they set up a mighty cry, in token of their assent and ap-
probation, and called for battel, and earnestly urged to give the signal out of hand. Then *Gracchus*
having pronounced the next day for battel, dismissed the assembly. The souldiers were joyous e-
specially such as were to have their freedom in reward of one daies service, and bestowed the rest
of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after, so soon as the trumpets
began to sound: they were the first of all other that presented themselves before the General his
pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the sun rising *Gracchus* led forth his men into L
the field in order of battel. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to en-
counter them. They were in number seventeen thousand of footmen, most of them Brutii and Lu-
cans: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the rest were in
manner all Numidians and Moors. The fight was sharp, and continued long, and for four hours it
was not seen which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more, than their
enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the souldiers liberty. For as any had killed their
enemies lustily, they were fain fast, with much ado, to cut off their heads, within the troublesome
press and tumult, and so to lose time: and after that by reason that their right hands were employ-
ed and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out, that the best souldiers gave over fighting,
and the feebie dastards and fearfull cowards only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the M
Marshals of the field and Colonels reported unto *Gracchus* and namely, that there was not a soul-
dier of the enemies standing that was wounded and hurt any more: but they that lay along were
hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his own souldiers instead of swords, held
their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haste, that upon a signal given, they
should fling away their heads from them, and charge afresh upon the enemies. For their valour
and prowes (saith he) was well enough seen already, and evidently testified, and so long as they
were so hardy men, and bare themselves so manfully, they should not need to doubt of their liber-
ty. Then the conflict began to be renewed and withall the horsemen charged the enemies whom
the Numidians received with equall valour: insomuch as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely
performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory seemed doubtfull, to N
which part it would encline: whiles in both hosts the Generals reproached and debased the ad-
verse part. *Gracchus* said that the Brutii and Lucans were so often vanquished and subdued by the
Roman ancestors: and *Hanno* again girded at the Romans, calling them bondslaves, and souldiers
let loose out of prison and houses of correction. At the last, *Gracchus* declared aloud, and said,
They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unless that day their enemies were discomfited and
put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat, that they raised a fresh
shout, & as if they had been cast again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies so violent-
ly that they could no longer be resisted and withstood. First, they that fought in the vangard of the
Carthaginians were put out of order; then they about their standards and ensigns: and last of all,
the whole battel was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and
fled so fast one upon another into their Camp, in such fear and fright, that not so much as at the
very gates, nor upon the rampier, they staid once, and turned again to make head: so as the Ro-
mans following them hard at the heels into their camp as it were in one train pel-mel made a new
skirmish even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not so cumbersome by
reason of the streightness of the room wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution
was as cruell and bloudy. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused con-
flict and tumult joyned themselves and stuck close together: and having caught up some weapons,
helped

A helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians slew them,
or else hindred them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all
out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the General himself:
all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military ensigns were carried away forty
five twain. Of the Victors there died fast upon two thousand. All the spoil, but only the prisoners,
was granted to the souldiers. The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirty daies the
right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned laden with
booties and pillage into the Camp there were almost 4000 of the voluntary souldiers, who had
fought but faintly, and brake not into the Camp with the rest: who for fear of punishment seized
B a little hill not far from the Camp, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after being fet from
thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the camp, at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned
his souldiers to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old souldiers
with military gifts, according to each one his prowes and good ervice in that battell: then as
concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much, That he had rather they were all commended by
him good and bad, one with another, than that one of them that day should taste of any punish-
ment: and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God, to the benefit, happiness,
and felicity, both of Common-weal, and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their
voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness and alacrity: and one while they clipped and embraced
one another in their arms, with gratulation and great joy: another while again, they held their
C hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessing for the people of
Rome, and for *Gracchus* especially. "Then (quoth *Gracchus*) Before that I had made you all alike,
"and to have equall part in the right and privileddge of freedom, I would not set upon any of you,
"either the mark of a stout and hardy souldier, or the note of a faint-hearted and beastly co-
"ward. But now that I have discharged my self of the trust committed unto me by the Common-
weal, to the end, that all difference between prowes & cowardise, should not be forgotten al-
"together and perish: I will take expres order, that the names of them, whose conscience accused
"them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battell, and therefore erewhile withdrew
"themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called forth every one by his
"name, I will compell them to take a corporall oath (quoth he) that unless it be upon sickness, so
D "long as they shall continue in souldiery, they neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet.
"And this punishment (I am sure) you will willingly take in good part: when ye shall consider bet-
"ter of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame, for your false
"hearts and slender service. Then he gave the signall to truss up bag and baggage, and sounded
the remove, and so dislodged: and thus the souldiers carrying and driving before them their boo-
ties, all the way disporting themselves so merily and jocund, returned to *Beneventum*, as if they had
come from some great dinner, upon a solemn and festival day, and not from fighting a bloudy bat-
tell. All the people of *Beneventum* came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, wel-
comed the souldiers, had them joy, embraced them, and invited them to their houses, to give them
entertainment and lodging. The boords were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished
E with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merry with them, and requested *Grac-
chus* to give his souldiers leave to feast and make good chear. And *Gracchus* was content, but up-
on this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things
were brought forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The voluntaries took their re-
past and refection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their crown with white
wooll, some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their
meat, and fed with them together. This was such a worthy sight and solemnity that *Gracchus* after
he was returned to *Rome*, caused the representation and resemblance of the celebration of this
day, to be drawn and portraied in colours and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddess
Liberty, which his father caused to built in the mount *Aventine*, of certain fines and forfeits, and
F afterwards there dedicated it.

Whiles these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having spoiled and harried the ter-
ritory about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when
the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for *Pomponius* the Pro-Prætor, together with that
army which lay encamped above above *Suessula*, and provided to meet with the enemy, minding
presently to bid him battell. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the
dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farthest from the enemy, giving him in charge to
cast about closely, and fetch a compass, and fair and softly to follow the enemy, as he marched:
and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward, and set upon him behind
on his back. But whether it were that *Nero* missed of the way, or having not time enough, could
not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his absence the armies joyned battel, wherein (no
doubt) the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there
in due time, the order of the direction failed, and took not effect. And notwithstanding that
the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot upon them, but soun-
ded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above
2000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sun set, *Nero* who
all the day and night past had tired horse and man, and done no good, and now returned, without
so much as a sight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the Cos. insomuch, that he gave him this

check to choak him, That it was long of him and none elſe, that they had not cried quittance H with the enemy, for the overthrow & loſs received at *Canna*. The day following *Marcellus* came down again into the field, ready to give battel. But *Annibal*, as one that ſecretly confeſſed himſelf to be overcome, held himſelf cloſe within the ſtrength of his Camp. And on the third day, giving over all hope to get *Nola*, (an enterpriſe that never ſped well) he departed in the ſtill time of the night toward *Tarentum*, upon a better and more aſſured hope to gain it by treaſon.

The civill affairs at *Rome* were managed with no leſs courage at home, than the wars in the field abroad. For the Cenſors, who by reaſon that the City treaſure waxed low, were eaſed of their care of ſetting out the publike works of the City by the great: and having nothing elſe to do, employed themſelves in reformation of mens manners and chaſtiſing of vices and enormities, which ſprung upon war: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingring ſickneſs grown weak, ever and anon breed new diſeaſes. And firſt they convented before them thoſe Citizens, who after the battel at *Canna*, were (by report) minded and diſpoſed to leave the Common-weal, and to depart out of *Italy*. The ring-leader of them all was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, who hapned then to be Treaſurer of the City. He, with the reſt of that crue, who were culpable in the ſame crime, were commanded to make their anſwer, and plead their cauſes: but when they were not able to clear and quit themſelves, the Cenſors charged them openly, that they had given out certain words, and made ſpeeches againſt the State, tending to a ſedition and conſpiracy, for to abandon *Italy*. Next after them were cited to appear, thoſe cunning and crafty companions aboveſaid, who with their over-ſubtill interpretation and conſtruing of words, would ſeem to avoid their oath: thoſe captives, I mean, K who being on their way to *Rome*, came back ſecretly into the Camp of *Annibal*, and took themſelves freed and diſcharged, becauſe they had ſworn to return again. But theſe and the others afore rehearſed, as many as ſerved upon the City horſes, had their horſes taken from them, were diſplaced out of their Tribe, and condemned all to loſe their voices, and to ſerve without City pay. Neither were the Cenſors careſull to correct the Senat, and reform the degree of the Knights only, but alſo they proceeded to raſe out of the publike checkroll of the younger Citizens, the names of all thoſe, who for four years ſpace had not ſerved in wars, as many, I ſay of them, as could not juſtly plead and alledge, either ordinary immunity by law, or ſickneſs for their excuſe. And of theſe were found guilty above 2000: who were awarded to be *Ærarii*, and all of them to be removed out of their tribe. And beſides this ſhameſull diſgrace and note of ignominy awarded by L the Cenſors, there paſſed a heavy decree of the Senat againſt them, to wit, That all they whom the Cenſors had thus ſcored and noted, ſhould be bound to ſerve on foot in the wars, and be confined and ſent over into *Sicily*, to the reſidue there of the army that remained at *Canna*. And no other time of ſervice and warfare was limited unto this ſort of the ſouldiers, but untill the enemy were driven clean out of *Italy*.

Whiles the Cenſors, as is aforeſaid, upon occaſion that the Cities ſtock was ſo decayed, gave over and forbare to bargain for the repairing and maintenance of the Churches and holy Temples, and for the finding and proviſion of chariot horſes for the State, and ſuch like: there reſorted unto them a great number of thoſe that were wont at the ſpear to take theſe bargains at their hands by the great, and for a groſs ſum of money: who exhorted the Cenſors to deal in thoſe matters, M ſtill, and to ſet, let, and enter into bargain with them, as if the City Chamber wanted no money: making this offer that none of them all would demand paiment out of the common Cheſt, before the wars were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Cenſors the Maſters of thoſe bondmen, whom *T. Sempronius* had manumited and ſet free at *Beneventum*, ſaying, that they were ſent by the Triumvirs, out of the office of the Bankers, called *Menſarii*, for to receive again their monies, according as they prized and valued their ſlaves: howbeit, they would not, before the war was finiſhed. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus favourably affected, to ſuſtain and ſupport the poverty of the treaſurehouſe; ſo the ſtocks of money alſo that belonged firſt to Orphans, and afterwards to widows, began now to be beſtowed in the Chamber of the City: and they that preſented and brought in M thoſe moneys, beleeved aſſuredly, that they could not lay them up more ſure and ſafe, than in the publike credit and ſecurity of the City. And whatſoever out of theſe ſtocks was diſburſed and defraied, for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphans or widows aforeſaid, the treaſurers kept a book thereof, and noted it down in a regiſter. This kindneſs and benevolence of private perſons unto their country, extended it ſelf from the City, even as far as to the Camp: inſomuch, that neither horſeman nor Centurion would take their wages, but rebuke and rate them, that could find in their hearts to receive their pay, terming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now *Q. Fabius* the Conſul lay in Camp before *Caſilinum*, which City was kept with a garriſon of two thouſand Campans, and ſeven hundred of *Annibal* his ſouldiers. They had for their Captain and Commander, one *Statius Metius*, ſent thither by *Cn. Magius Atellanus*; who for the ſame year was * *Mediaſtuticus* of *Capua*. He put the bondſlaves and Commons in arms, intermingled one with another, for to enter upon the Camp of the Romans, whiles the Conſul was buſied in aſſaulting *Caſtlinum*. *Fabius* was nothing ignorant of all theſe things, and therefore he ſent unto *Nola* to his Collegue there, ſignifying unto him, that there was need of a ſecond army to make head againſt the Campans, whiles the other was employed about the aſſault of *Caſtinum*: and telling him beſides, that either he muſt himſelf come in perſon, leaving a mean garriſon behind him at *Nola*: or elſe if he might not be ſpared from thence, for fear of danger from

* The head Magiſtrat, as Lord Maior.

A *Annibal*, he would ſend for *T. Gracchus* the Pro-Conſul, from *Beneventum*. Upon this meſſage, *Marcellus* having left in *Nola* a guard of two thouſand ſouldiers, with the reſt of his forces, preſented himſelf before *Caſilinum*: upon whoſe coming, the Campans who were ready to ſet forward, ſtaid themſelves and were quiet. So both Conſuls together jointly began to aſſault *Caſilinum*: where the Roman ſouldiers that raſhly came under the walls received much hurt: and *Fabius* ſeeing little good done, judged it beſt to ſurceaſe and give over the enterpriſe, being a ſervice of ſmall conſequence, and nevertheleſs very dangerous: and to depart from thence, ſeeing there was buſineſs toward of greater importance. But *Marcellus* contrariwiſe was of opinion, and ſaid, that as there were many things which great warriors were not to attempt: ſo it they were once B taken in hand, and the adventure given, they were not lightly to be given over and laid aſide; foraſmuch as in it lay matter of great conſequence, for fame and reputation, both waies: and ſo he prevailed, that the enterpriſe was not neglected and abandoned. Whereupon there were mantilets, and all other kinds of fabricks and engines of battery and aſſault, bent againſt the City: ſo as the Campans beſought *Fabius*, that they might depart to *Capua* in ſafety. And when ſome few were gone forth, *Marcellus* poſſeſſed himſelf of that gate where out they went: & then they fell to kill and ſlay one with another, firſt about the gate: and after they had ruſhed once in, they put to like execution thoſe alſo within the City. Fifty there were or thereabout of the Campans that firſt got out of the town, and fled for mercy to *Fabius*: and they by his guard and ſafe conduct arrived at *Capua*. But ſee *Caſilinum*, through the lingring ſlackneſs of the Inhabitants that craved C protection, was (by advantage taken of their long parley, and temporizing) won by the enemies. The captives, ſo many as were either Campans or *Annibal* his ſouldiers, were ſent to *Rome*, and there clapt up faſt in priſons. But the multitude of the townſmen were diſtributed into ſundry Cities adjoyning, and there kept in ward.

At the very ſame time that the Conſuls after their conqueſt, retired from *Caſilinum*, *Gracchus* being in the country of the Lucans, and having gathered and enrolled certain cohorts and companies of ſouldiers out of thoſe parts, ſent them out a forraging, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies, into the territories of the enemies. *Hanno* encountred them as they ſtragled in ſcattering wiſe out of order, and ſet upon them, and paid his enemies again with the like defeat and loſs, or not much leſs than that which he had received at *Beneventum*: and in great haſt withdrew himD ſelf into the country of the *Brutii*, for fear leſt *Gracchus* ſhould overtake him.

The Conſul *Marcellus* returned back to *Nola*, from whence he came, and *Fabius* went forward into *Samnium*, to ſpoil and waſte the country, and to recover by force of arms the Cities which had revolted. The Samnits about *Caudium* were pitiouſly and grievouſly damnified: their villages in all places ſet on fire, their fields laid waſte and deſtroyed, and great booties both of cattel and people driven away. Six towns forced by aſſault, namely, *Compulteria*, * *Teleſia*, *Coſſa*, *Melæ*, *Fuiſula*, and *Orbitanium*. In the Lucans country, the town of * *Blanda*: and in *Apulia*, the City * *Ance* was aſſaulted. In theſe towns and Cities, there were taken priſoners and ſlain 25000 of the enemies: of fugitives and runnagate traitors there were recovered 370, whom the Conſul ſent home again to *Rome*, and being thither come, they were all beaten and ſcourged with E rods in the *Comitium*, and then pitched down headlong to the earth, from the rock *Tarpeia*. Theſe exploits were atchieved by *Q. Fabius*, within the compaſs of a few daies. But *Marcellus* by occaſion that he lay ſick at *Nola*, was hindred from performing any feats of arms. The Prætor likewiſe *Q. Fabius*, who had the charge and juriſdiction of the province about *Luceria*, won by force about the ſame time the town *Aecas*, and fortified a ſtanding camp planted before *Ardonæ*.

* *Theſtſci*
* *Velvedeti*.
* *Callipoli*.

Whiles the Romans were thus employed about theſe affairs in divers other places, *Annibal* was come unto *Tarentum*, to the exceeding great damage and detriment of all places where he journeyed: but being once arrived in the territory of *Tarentum*, he began to march and lead his army moſt peaceably. There he did no harm at all, made no havock nor once went out of the F high way. And it was evidently ſeen, that all this was done not upon any modeſty that appeared either in ſouldier or Captain, but only to win unto him the hearts of the Tarentins. But when he approached the walls of the City, and ſaw no commotion, nor inſurrection from thence upon the diſcovery of his Vanguard, as he thought he ſhould, he pitched his Camp almoſt a mile from the town. Now had *M. Valerius* the Vice-Prætor, who was Admirall of the Fleet at *Brundiſium*, ſent *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant unto *Tarentum*, three daies before that *Annibal* ſhewed himſelf before the wals. He had muſtred and enrolled the flower of the Nobility, and ſo beſtowed at every gate, and about the walls where need required, good guards for defence: with ſuch vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunity and advantage either to the enemies to adventure any aſſault, or to the doubtfull and untruſty friends to practice any treaſon. So *Annibal*, having ſpent there certain daies in vain, and ſeeing none of them who repaired unto him at the Lake * *Avernus*, either to come themſelves, or to ſend meſſenger or letters: and perceiving now that he had raſhly and fooliſhly followed vain promiſes, and ſo was deluded; diſlodged and removed from thence. And even then alſo he ſpared the territory of *Tarentum*, and did no hurt at all: and albeit his ſained and counterfeit lenity and mildneſs hitherto took no effect: yet he hoped ſtill thereby to corrupt their faithfull alleageance to the Romans: and ſo he went to *Salapia*. And (by reaſon that midſummer was paſt, and he liked well of that place for a winter harbour) he conveyed thither all the corn from out of the Territory of *Metapontum*

* *Lago di Virgulo*.

and *Herbitea*. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out H
of the Salentine country, and all the woods and chases next unto *Apulia*, from whence they drave
of other cattell small store: but of horses especially they brought away great numbers, of which
there were four thousand divided amongst the horsemen to be handled, broken, and made
gentle.

The Romans seeing there was like to be war in *Sicily*, & the same not lightly to be regarded: &
that the death of the Tyrant there, rather gave the Syracusians good Captains, than wrought any
change in their minds; or alteration in the cause: assigned unto *M. Marcellus*, one of the Consuls,
that Province to govern. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus*, first the souldiers in the Le-
ontin country, began to mutine and make an uproar, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings I
death should be expiate, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the bloud of conspirators.
But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of liberty and freedom restored
unto them: and that there was good hope that the souldiers should have a largess dealt amongst
them out of the Kings Treasure, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and ha-
ving besides all this, a bedroll rehearsed unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul facts, and of
more filthy and loathsome lusts: their affections were so altered, that they suffered the body of their
King to lie above ground unburied, whom a little before, they so greatly desired and wished for.
Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and pos-
sesse themselves of the army, *Theodorus* and *Sosis* took the Kings horses and rode post, as hard as
ever they could to *Syracusa*, for to surprize upon a sudden all his followers and favourites (who K
knew nothing of that which was done) and fall upon them at unawares: but they were preven-
ted not only by the fame (which above all other things in such cases is most swift) but also by a
courrier one of the Kings servants. Whereupon *Andronodorus* had seized beforehand of that part
of the City which is called the Island, together with the Castle, and all other places that he could
come at: which were thought of any good importance: and them he fortified with good guards.
* The City of *Syracuse* was divided into four parts, *Hexapylos* (which *Acradina* and *Tyche*. * In other authors called, *Tyche*, or *Fortuna*, whose Temple there stood. * *Archradine* of others. *Theodorus* and *Sosis* being entred within the City at * *Hexaplos* after sun-setting, in the twy-light L
and shutting in of the evening: and shewing the Kings royall robes all embrued with bloud, and
the ornament and attire likewise of his head, he passed through * *Thica*, and called aloud unto the
people to fight all at once for their liberty, and to arm themselves, and willed them to repair into
* *Acradina*. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others stood in their entries and
porches, divers looked out at the windows from within their houses, and asked what the matter
might be? Every place shone with torch and cresset-light, and was filled with sundry garbolls and
hurlyburlies. As many as were in arms gathered together in the open places of the City: those that
were unarmed, took down off the Temple of *Jup. Olympius* the spoils of the Gauls & the Illyrians,
which the people of *Rome* had given as a present to K. *Hiero*, and which he set aloft for a memori-
all: praying unto *Jupiter* that he would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those
sacred weapons & harness upon them that meant to arm themselves therewith, for the defence of
their country, for the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods, & for the recovery of
their liberty. This multitude also joyned with the *corps de guards*, that in the principal quarters of
the City were bestowed in places convenient. But *Andronodorus* amongst other places that hefor- M
tified made sure also with strong guards of armed men the publike garners of the City within the
Island. There was a place encloled round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a
forress: this was possessed by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that
quarter: and they sent messengers into *Acradina*, to signifie that the garners and the corn were
kept by them to the behoof of the Senat. And on the morrow at the break of day, the whole peo-
ple, as well armed as unarmed, assembled together in *Acradina*, within the Palace. And there before
the altar of *Concordia* which in that place stood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens,
named *Polyneus*, made an Oration unto them all, with frankness of speech enough, tending unto
liberty and yet seasoned with modesty & moderation, in this wise: "Men (quoth he) that have ex-
"perience of servitude and other indignities, fall to abhor the same, and their stomacks rise a- N
"gainst them as known evils. But as for civill discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with
"it, the Citizens of *Syracuse* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That
"ye have been so ready to take up arms and weapons in hand, I commend you for it: but I would
"con you more thank, if ye used them not, unless ye be driven thereto by extream necessity.
"For the present, I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto *Andronodorus*,
"to intimate unto him, yea, and to require and charge him, to submit himself unto the Senat and
"people, and by them to be ordered: to set open the gates of the Island, to put away from about
"him his guard, and deliver up the castle and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence
"of being guardian or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to usurp it to his own use;
"he must be given to understand, by mine advice, that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the O
"hands of *Andronodorus*, more fiercely and forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon
this assembly, embassadors were sent. Then the Senat went together and sat in Council: for, as du-
ring the raign of *Hiero*, there was set an ordinary publike Councill of State: so after his death
unto that day, the Senators were neither called together, nor their advice taken or sought in any
matter. When the Embassadors were come unto *Andronodorus*, and had delivered their mes-
sage, he was himself (verily) for his own part moved with the generall consent of the Citizens;
but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possessed by the ad-
verse

A verse side, that one part also of the Island, which was the strongest, was betrayed (as it were) and
held out against him. But when the Embassadors called still upon him to come forth, his wife *De-*
marata, daughter of King *Hiero*, puffed up still with the proud mind and haughty stomack of a
Prince, and full of the vain humour and spirit of a woman, put him oftentimes in mind of a saying,
that *Denis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, "That a man should not ride on horse-
"back to be deposed from his royall dignity and estate of tyranny, but be led fair and softly a foot-
"pace, and go to that, as a bear to the stake. An easie matter (quoth she) it is for one to yield and
"forgo the possession of high place and honour, and a thing that may be done in the turning of an
"hand, whensoever one will: but to compass and attain thereto is a right hard matter, and of all
B "other most difficult. You were best therfore to borrow some respit of time of the Embassadors,
"for to take farther deliberation of this main point, and in the mean while, to use the advantage
"thereof, to send for the Souldiers out of the Leontin country: unto whom, no doubt, if you
"would promise a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall be Lord of all. This perillous un-
happy counsel of a woman *Andronodorus* neither despised and rejected altogether, nor yet present-
ly accepted and embraced: supposing it a better and safer course, if he meant to aspire unto high
dignity and great puissance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the necessity of the
time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senat this answer from him, That he
submitted himself, and would be ordered & set down by the Senat and the people. The morrow
after, so soon as it was day-light, he caused the gates of the Island to be set open, & shewed himself
C in the market-place of *Acradina*: where he assended up unto the altar of *Concord* from which the
day before, *Polyneus* had made a speech unto the people. He began his Oration with an excuse of
his late coming and long stay behind, and craved pardon therefore: alledging, "That he had kept The Oration
"the gates shut, not because he meant to separate his own affairs from the State, and not to take of *Andronodo-*
"such part as the City took: but when swords were once drawn he feared what would be the end *rus.*
"and issue of murders and massacres, and whether men would stay their hands, when there was
"assurance of liberty effected, (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant) or whether,
"as many as either in bloud and kindred, or in affinity and alliance, or in other offices or service,
"were toward the K. and his Court, should be counted culpable in the fault of another & so like-
"wise have their throats cut. For after that (quoth he) I understood once, that they who had de-
D "livered and set free their country, were minded and willing to save & preserve it, thus enfranchi-
"sed: and that there was consulting on all hands indifferently, for the good of the State, I made no
"longer doubt of the matter, but to yield both mine own person, and also all that ever was under
"my hand (as committed unto me upon trust and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he,
"who put all into my hand, is through his own folly & outrage overthrown and brought to con-
"fusion. Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling unto *Theodorus* and *So-*
"*sis*, A noble and memorable piece of service ye have already done, (quoth he) but trust me truly,
"your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not throughly finished and performed: nay, a great
"danger is yet behind, unless ye see to the generall concord and unity of all parts, that the com-
"mon liberty of the City turn not into pride and insolency beyond all measure.
E After this speech ended, he laid down the keys of the gates, and of the Kings treasure, at their
feet. And so for that day, when the people were dismissed from the assembly, with joy and mirth
they went in procession and supplication with their wives and children, round about all the
Churches & Chappels of their gods. The day following, the solemn election was held for the crea-
tion of Prætors. And first, before all others, *Andronodorus* was chosen, and the rest for the most
part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected also two that were absent, to wit, *Sopater* and
Deomenes. Who being advertized of all matters that passed at *Syracuse*, delivered up the Kings
treasure which lay in the Leontins country, and was now brought unto *Syracuse*, into the hands
of the Treasurers: who for the same purpose were created. Likewise that which was in the Island,
and in *Acradina*, was committed over unto their custody. That part also of the wall, which divi-
F ded the Island from the rest of the City, and was supposed too strong a bar between, was by com-
mon consent cast down and raised. And as their minds were thus affected and enclined to procure
and maintain liberty, so all other matters sorted sutable and followed after accordingly.

Hippocrates and *Epicides*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would
fain have had concealed, and therefore slew the messenger that brought news thereof) being for-
saken of the souldiers, returned to *Syracusa*; supposing for the present, that to be the safest
course they could take. Where, because they would grow into no suspition, nor to be noted to seek
for some opportunity and occasion of change and alteration in the State, first they presented
themselves before the Prætors and Governors of the City, and so by their mediation, they had
access to the Senat. They gave out, "That they had been sent from *Annibal* unto *Hieronymus*
G "as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by
"their own Generall and Commander. Now their desire was, to return again unto *Annibal*. But
"forasmuch as they might not travell in safety, for the Roman forces, that ranged all over
"*Sicily*, they craved a convoy and sufficient guard to conduct them, as far as to *Locri* in *Sicily*:
"assuring them, that by this small curtesie and desert of theirs, they should reap great thanks of
"*Annibal*, and come into high favour with him. The suit was soon obtained. For desirous they
"were, that those Cavalies that used to lead the King, and were expert and skilfull besides in war,
"and therewith needy and audacious, should be sent away: but they made not so good speed to

put this their desire in execution, as they should have done. For in the mean season, these young and lusty matiall men, and such as ever had conversed with the souldiers, went up and down, one while to them, another whiles to the fugitive strangers that were revolted, (who for the most part were sailers and sea men that came from the Romans) yea, and sorted themselves with the basest and most abject persons of the Commoners, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears sundry suspitious matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, saying, that they plotted and practised closely under hand nothing else, but that *Syracusa*, under a colour of reconciliation and accord, should be reduced to the obedience of the *Romans*: and then, the side and faction and some few with them that are of councell to renew the association, might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes, every day more than other to *Syracusa*: whose ears were tickled, and itched still to hear such surmises, and were apt enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, but *Andronodorus* also good hope of an alteration, and a new world. For he (being at length overcome with the importunate suggestions of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to usurp and take upon him the rule of the State, whiles all things were troubled, and in a confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty; whiles the souldiers were presented in their way, to be dealt withall, and daily maintained and fed out of the Kings Exchequer: and whiles those captains sent from *Annibal*, by reason of their acquaintance with the souldiers, were present to set forward, and further his designments) first therefore acquainted *Themistius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter, with his complot: and after a few daies (full unadvisedly) imparted his mind also, unto one *Aristo*, an Actor of Tragedies, whom he used aforetime to make privy unto his other secrets. This *Aristo* was well born, and descended of a worshipful house, a man in good place and of honest reputation: and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of shame to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, bewrayed & disclosed all the treason unto the Prætors. Who finding by good proofs and certain evidences that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council, by their warrant and direction, set a guard of armed men about the door of the Senat House, and so soon as *Themistius* and *Andronodorus* were entred in place, slew them outright. And when there began some uprore upon this fact, which in shew seemed very horrible and hainous (especially to all the rest that knew not the cause:) at length they appeased the tumult and caused silence, and brought the informer into the Council House, that had detected the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular: namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung first from the marriage of *Harmonia* the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wedded unto *Themistius*: that divers auxiliary souldiers of Africans and Spaniards were appointed and provided to massacre the Prætors, and other principal Citizens: that their goods were promised unto the murderers to be ransacked and rifled: that besides, there was a band of mercenary souldiers (such as were wont to be at a beck, and ready to execute the commandment of *Andronodorus*) set in a readiness to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practises were and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and shewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy: & namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senat were likewise verily perswaded that they had deserved such an end, and were as justly murdered as *Hieronymus*. But without the Councel-House door, the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people who were doubtfull of the matter, and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatned before the entry and porch of the Senat, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soon husht: so as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the publike place of assembly. Unto whom, *Sopater*, by order from the Senat, and his fellow Prætors, was commanded to make an Oration.

Sopater his speech to the people of Syracusa.

He began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men at the bar) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*: "For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus*, nay, "what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and stripling, and scarcely come all "the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled "all, and managed the kingdom at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heavy load lay upon "him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at least wise together with him, they "had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the "gallows had already groned, ceased not still, after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new "mischiefs, one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodo-*
"*rus* by shutting the gates of the Island, entred by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and "sought to seize in his own right, and immediat heir apparant, upon those things that he held "under the Prince, only during his nonage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the "Island, & besieged round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the *Acradina*) "seeing that in vain he had attempted to be King by apert and open force: he fought means now "to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning sleights. Neither could he be so much as reclaimed "and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the free-
"dom

"dom of the state, was notwithstanding advanced to be Prætor, among other redeemers of the li-
"berty of their country. But no marvel it was (quoth he) that these men were of this haughty
"spirit, and longed to be Kings: for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters,
"one of King *Hiero*, and the other of his son *Gelo*.

At these words, the people from all parts of the assembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one besides of the Kings stock and linage ought to remain upon the face of the earth. See the nature and disposition of the multitude; Either they serve basely, or rule proudly. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the skill to despise with reason, or the grace to entertain in measure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be sure, as at all times else) ready instruments and firebrands, to help forward, and kindle more anger, such, as seeing the Commoners distempered already, and bloudily minded of themselves, put them forward to murder and massacre. As it appeared then; For immediatly, as the Prætors put up a bill, that all the Kings stock should be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguished: before in manner that it was all read out and published, it passed clear, and was granted. And presently there were sent out certain persons from the Prætors, that murdered *Demarata* and *Harmonia* the daughters of King *Hiero* and *Gelo*, the two wives of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*. Now there was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, wife to *Sosippus*, who having been sent as Embassador from *Hieronymus*, to King *Ptolomeus*, chose a life in voluntary exile, and lived not with his wife. She having an inkling given her aforehand, and knowing that the murderers were coming also toward her, took her two daughters, virgins: and together, with their hair loose hanging down their shoulders, and in other most poor array and rufull habit, able to have moved pity and compassion, they were fled into a privat Oratory or Chappell unto their house-gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murtherers fell to entreating them most pitiously, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father *Hiero*, and her brother *Gelo*: "Beseech-
"ing them not to suffer her (an innocent and guiltless person) to fare the worse, and be punished
"upon hatred that was born unto her nephew *Hieronymus*. As for me (quoth she) I reaped no
"good by his Reign and Kingdom, unless it were the banishment and absence of my husband:
"and as by the life of *Hieronymus*, my fortune was not so good as my sisters: so after he was mur-
"dred and dead, my cause is not so bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and besides, in case *Andro-*
"*nodorus* had effected his designments, my sister should have been a Queen, and reigned together
"with her husband: but as for me, I must have been a subject and servant with the rest. Again,
"if there were any messengers sent unto *Sosippus*, to report the death of *Hieronymus*, and the re-
"stitution of *Syracuse* to liberty: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embar-
"ked and take the seas, and return again into his country? But how much are men put besides
"their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have seen
"in a freed state his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the
"common liberty, or the course of laws? What danger can come to any person from us, one de-
"solate lone woman, and in manner a widdow, and two young maidens livings as Orphans fa-
"therless? And if it be said again, that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us;
"but only the Kings bloud and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth she,
"let us be sent away far from *Syracuse* and *Sicily*, and confined over to *Alexandria*, the wife to
"her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither give ear to her
words, nor encline their hearts to pity and compassion: then because she would not spend longer time in vain (for now she saw some of them drawing their swords forth) she gave over all entreating for her self, "and besought them instantly to be good yet, to the young silly girles, and
"spare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heat of anger for-
"bare to offer violence: and that seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants, they would not play
"the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickedness, which they seemed to hate in others. A-
midst these words the murderers (sent from the Prætors) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell, and cut her throat: and when they had so done, they assailed and fell upon the maidens, besprent with the bloud of their mother: who for sorrow of heart and fear together being past themselves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzy, ran against them, and got out of the Chappell: minding, if they could have escaped forth, and recovered the street, to set the whole City on an uprore. And so shifted for themselves, poor wenches, by running to and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that for a good while they escaped amongst the thickest of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yea, and when they had caught hold of them, notwithstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and those so strong, yet they wound away from them all: untill at length after they had received many a wound, and filled every place with bloud, they fainted and sunk down, and yielded up their innocent spirits. This murder, no dout, was of it self pitious; but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after came a messenger with express commandment, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sudden the hearts of the people relented, and enclined to mercy. But when they heard there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethink themselves and repent, nor space to cool upon their heat, they fell pity and compassion into an extream fit of anger and choler. The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmur, and called to have an election of Prætors in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius* (for they were both of them Prætors) which

The pitifull words of dame Heraclea.

The tragicall murder of Lady Heraclea and her two daughters, young virgins.

new

new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other Prætors in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time, it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which, the same voices came thick and threefold still, so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there assembled, were a confused sort intermingled, as well with a number of souldiers, as of a company of Citizens and Commoners; yea, and many of them were strangers fugitive, shuffled among, such as rather than their life desired a generall change and alteration. The Prætors at first dissembled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcome at last with the common accord and consent of the people: and I fearing withall a mutiny and sedition pronounced and declared the men aforenamed for Prætors. Neither would they, at first hand so soon as they were created, set that abroach which was in their mind and desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much, both for that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten daies: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed to treat for the renewing of the ancient league with the Romans.

At the same time (*Ap. Claudius*) the Roman Generall lay at *Murgantia* with an Armada of 100 gallies, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liberty. And much about those daies, when as the Syracusian Embassadors were sent from *Appius* unto *Marcellus* now coming into *Sicilia*, *Marcellus* himself after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other Embassadors to *Syracuse*, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prætors, concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in the same quiet tune and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after news came that the Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of * *Pachinus*, confidently, and without all fear buzzed in the ears one while of the mercenary souldiers, another while of the fugitive traitors, many false surmises against their brethren in Office, and namely, that they went about to betray *Syracuse* to the Romans. But *Appius* began to keep his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, listning to know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had, to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those slanders and lewd suggestions: in so much as at the first, the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hurry and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this troublesome confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, whiles some drew one way, others haled and pulled another way, and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principall and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publike peace, and thus he said: "Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of assured safety, or to "fear of utter destruction, than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together, "and with one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were "not a City under the cope of heaven, whose state were more happy and fortunate than ours. "But in case we de distracted, and the Common-weal go divers waies, there would not be more "bitter and cruell war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians "themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, "and each side have their forces, their armor, and their Captains of their own. And therefore "we ought of all hands to endeavour what we can, that all may be of one mind and draw in the "same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and alliance be the better "and more commodious, the Romans or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far lesse moment and "importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and "allies, we are to be directed by the authority and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Hieronymus*: and "to prefer that amity which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for "the present unknown, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to "resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, "we need not presently go to war with them: but with the Romans we must out of hand make "account either of peace, or else of hot wars. This speech of his the less that it savoured of factious partiality and affection, the more authority and sway it carried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Prætors and choice Senators, the advice also of the martiall men were taken. And therefore the Captains of all their own ensigns and companies, yea, and the great Commanders of the auxiliary forces of their allies were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last, because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be others also from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontins country there arrived certain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their marches. This Embassage seemed to come very fitly and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the unruly and disordered multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders. So

* Porto Longobardo, or Cabo Passaro.

The Oration of *Apollonides*, to the people of *Syracuse*.

So *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenary souldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to four thousand. This expedition and journey contented greatly as well the senders and setters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For these of the one side had a good occasion and opportunity now offered them, to contrive a change in State (the only thing that so long they had desired) and those of the other, were right glad, that the sink (as it were) of the City was now well scoured and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a sore, and a lightning for the present of a sick body: whereby it might soon after by relapse fall back, as it were, into a recidive, and a worse disease and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at first to make rodes by stealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and there to waste & spoil: afterwards when *Appius* had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederats, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof, when *Marcellus* was advertized, he dispatched Embassadors incontinently to *Syracuse*, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never be wanting some occasion or other of quarrell and war, unless *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and sent far enough out of the way, not only from *Syracuse*, but also quite out of *Sicily*. *Epicides* for fear left if he remained present in the City, he might be charged and brought in question, for the fault and trespass of his brother absent, or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new war; went himself also in person into the Leontins country: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romans, began also to alienate and turn their hearts from *Syracuse*. For in these terms he suggested and informed against the Syracusians: namely, "how they had capitulated with the "Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, should be subject unto "them and within their jurisdiction: so as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their liberty, unless they rule also like Lords and Kings. I would advise and counsell you therefore, to "send word unto them and give them to understand, that the Leontins likewise deem it good "reason, that they should themselves be free: in regard either that the tyrant was killed within the "ground of their City, or because the first alarm for liberty began there. For they leaving and abandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to *Syracuse*. And "therefore they are (saith he) to raise that aforesaid article out of the instrument of the covenants, "or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude perswaded hereunto. And therefore when the Embassadors of the Syracusians came to the Leontins, both to make complaint for killing of the Roman *Corps de guard*, and also to command peremptorily, that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* should depart either to *Locri*, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their waies and voided clean out of *Sicily*: they returned unto them this stout answer again: that neither the Syracusians had any commission and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any confederacy made by others than their own selves. This answer the Syracusians made report of to the Romans, and said plainly, "That the Leontins were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and "censured by them: and therefore, any thing comprised in the league with them notwithstanding, the Romans might war against them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they "would not for their parts fail them, but do their best: upon condition, that when they were once "subdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth against the Leontins, and sent for *Appius* also, to assail them on the other side: and so hot were his souldiers in this service, and bare themselves so resolute, for anger that the guard was slain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between that at the very first assault they won the City. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they saw the wals scaled, and the gates of the City broken open, betook themselves for their safety, with some few into the Castle, from whence by night they made a secret escape, and fled to *Herbessus*.

As the Syracusians marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward, as far as to the river *Myla*, they met with a messenger, who told them that the City *Leontium* was forced. They reported other news besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townsmen and souldiers indifferently without respect were put to the sword; that he thought verily, there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upward; that the City was put to the sack, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this so fearful and horrible news, the army staid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders *Sosis* and *Diomenes*, consulted what to do. This loud lie arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistaking of a matter. For there were scourged and beheaded of fugitive traitors, to the number of two thousand. But of Leontins and other souldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was lost. And every man had all his own goods restored unto him again: saving that only which in the first hurlyburly of a City newly won, hapned to miscarry and perish. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the Leontins, complaining and grieving that their fellow souldiers were so betrayed and murdered, nor yet to abide there still for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Prætors perceiving their minds disposed to revolt, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to *Megara* and went them-

themselves in person with a few horsemen toward *Herbesus*, hoping to gain the City by treason, H
whiles they all there were affrighted. But seeing that enterprise would not prevail, they minded to
use forcible means. The morrow after they dislodged and raised their Camp from *Megara*, purpo-
sing with all their forces to assail *Herbesus*. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* supposing this to be the only
way for them, although at the first sight not the safest, (considering all hopes besides were cut off)
namely, to put themselves into the hands of the souldiers, who were for the most part acquainted
with them, and besides, upon the bruit of the execution and massacre of their fellow souldiers,
throughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The former ensigns in the forefront, hapned to
consist of those six hundred Cretensians, who in the wars of *Hieronymus* had served under them,
and received a favour and benefit at *Annibal* his hands. For being taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus*, I
among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were set at large and sent away with-
out ransom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habit, and fashion of
their armour, they held out branches of olives and other vails and tokens of suppliants, beseeching
them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchsafe to protect them, and not to
deliver them into the hands of the Syracusians: by whom they should soon be yielded unto the
people of *Rome*, for to be murdred and cut in peeces. At this they all cryed aloud with one voice,
and willed them to be of good chear, for they should fare no worse than their own selves. Upon
this communication the ensigns staid, and the army stood still and marched not forward: but the
generall Captains wist not as yet what the cause might be of this stay. After the rumour was spread
that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the host throughout by a generall applause K
seemed to like well of their coming: the Prætors incontinently set spurs to horse, and rode for-
ward apace to the forefront of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretensians, what manner and fa-
shion this was of theirs? and how they durst be so bold, as to parl and talk with enemies? and
without license of their Prætors to entertain them within their companies? And herewith they
gave commandment, that *Hippocrates* should be apprehended and bound sure with chains. At
which word the Cretensians set up such a cry, and the rest so answered it again with the like, that
it was well seen, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred
themselves no small danger. And thus in great perplexity, and fear of their own lives, they comman-
ded to turn ensigns, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came; and dispatched messen-
gers presently to *Syracuse*, to signifie in what terms they stood. *Hippocrates* seeing the souldiers gi- L
ven to be suspitious and ready to believe every thing, devised a cunning shift besides in this man-
ner. After he had sent out certain of the Cretensians to beset the wales between them and *Syra-*
cuse, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which he read unto the
souldiers, and were indeed framed and indited by himself. The tenor of the letters ran in this form:
"The Prætors of *Syracuse* to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting. After these salutations and com-
"mendations premised, as the manner is it followed written thus: you have done well and or-
"derly in sparing none at all of the Leontins. But all other mercenary souldiers besides are in the
"same Predicament: neither will *Syracuse* be ever in quiet, so long as any forrain aid be either in
"the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counsell is, that you would endeavour
"to get them into your hands, who with our Prætors are encamped before *Megara*, and by exe- M
"cution of them to deliver and set *Syracuse* free in the end.

The contents of these letters were not so soon read, but with such an outcry and alarm they
ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Prætors amidst this garboil were fain to ride away as
fast as they could gallop toward *Syracuse*. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheless
continued and was not appeased: for the souldiers fell upon the Syracusians that were in the camp
amongst them, and they had all drank of the same cup, and not one escaped, but that *Epicides* and
Hippocrates came between, and opposed themselves against the multitude in this their furious
rage not upon any pitifull compassion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but be-
cause they would not cut themselves from all hope of return: and besides, they were not only de-
sirous to have the souldiers themselves affectionate unto them and faithfull, and withall instead N
of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great desert, first to gain and win unto them the kins-
folk and friends of those souldiers, and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast by so good a pawn
and gage, remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puff and gale
of wind the common people turneth every way, they suborned a souldier, one of them who was
besieged within the City of *Leontium*, to carry news to *Syracuse*, suting with those false tidings
that were reported at the river *Mylas* yea, and to aver the same confidently upon his own know-
ledge, and tell things that were doubtfull, as if they were most certain, and by himself seen and
known: thereby to stir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credited of
the common multitude, but also being brought into the Council-House, he greatly moved the
Senat: insomuch as some of them, more light of belefe than others, gave it out openly and said, O
"That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus discovered among the
"Leontins. And god bless us from them here. For if they set foot once within *Syracuse*, they
"would commit the like outrages, yea, and worse too a great deal, and more horrible; as they
"should find there greater matter to work upon, and to satisfie their covetous and greedy appe-
"tite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in generall, to shut the gates, and to stand upon their
guard, and defend the City. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the mar-
tiall men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the
Romans:

A Romans: the Prætors, and some few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the huff, and
possessed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a mischief that
was more imminent and near, and ready presently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time
Hippocrates and *Epicides* were come before *Hexaplos*. Within the City, the kinsfolk and friends
of those Citizens whith were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among them-
selves to set the gates open, and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended
against the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicket of *Hexaplos* was opened, and
they ready to enter in thereat, the Prætors came upon them in the manner. And first they com-
B manded by word of mouth, and threatned them; after that, by vertue of their place and autho-
rity, they seemed to fright and terrifie them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevail, forget-
ting their own dignity and majesty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to be-
tray their country to those, who aforetime were the instruments and suppofts of the Tyrant,
and now the corrupters of the army. But so deaf ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and
furious fit unto the Prætors, that they within, as well as without, set their hands to, by all forci-
ble means, to burst down the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the army was let in
safe, and received within the *Hexaplos*. The Prætors fled for refuge with the youth and strength
of the Citizens into *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the souldiers that were left
in *Syracusa* (of them who served the King) joyned to the army, and augmented their forces. And
C so *Acradina* also, was upon the first assault won. All the Prætors, but those that escaped by flight,
and saved themselves in the midst of this hurry, were slain: and the night coming upon them, staid
the massacre. The day following, all bondslaves were called to receive the cap, and made free: the
prisons were set open, and the prisoners let go at large. And this confused rabble and multitude of
all sorts created *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Prætors. And thus *Syracuse*, having for a short time li-
berty shining favourably upon it, fell again into her old servitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans, incontinently they dislodged and removed the camp
from *Leontium*, and marched directly towards *Syracuse*. It hapned the same time that the Embas-
sadors sent from *Appius* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galleace of five banks of
ours: but another galley of four banks which was sent before, was not so soon entred into the
D mouth of the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embassadors hardly, and with much ado escaped
in the other. And now, the world there was grown to this pass, that no laws of peace, no, nor so
much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken clean: at what time as the Roman ar-
my lay in camp a mile and an half from the City, at *Olympium*, the Temple of *Jupiter*. For when it
was thought meet to send Embassadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their follow-
ers encountred them without the gate, and charged them upon their perill not to enter the City.
The Roman Orator alledged, and said, "That he came not to proclaim war against the Syracusi-
"ans, but to bring aid and help, as well unto those, who having escaped out of the midst of the
"slaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as also unto them, who being kept under with fear, en-
"dure bondage and thraldom more miserable than banishment, yea, and death it self. Neither will
"the Romans (saith he) put up that shamefull and cruell murder of their Allies without due re-
E "venge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for succour unto them, may return home
"safely into their country: if the authors of that massacre above said, be delivered into their hands:
"and if the Syracusians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, there shall not
"need any hostility or war. But in case these conditions be not performed, they would persecute
"with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whosoever.

To this *Epicides* framed his words in this wise: "If (saith he) ye had any message and commis-
"sion to parl with my brother and me, we would return you an answer accordingly. In the mean
"while ye were best be gone for this time, and return again when the City and state of Syra-
"cuse shall be under their governance, unto whom ye were sent. As for war, if the Romans think
F "it good to deal that way, they shall find and know by experience, try when they would, that it is
one thing to assail *Syracusa*, and another to set upon *Leontium*. And so leaving the Embassadors,
he made the gates fast against them.

From this time forward the Romans laid siege unto *Syracuse*, and began to beleaguer it both
by sea and land at once. On the land side at *Hexaplos*, by water at *Acradina*, upon the walls
whereof the sea beateth. And like as they won the City of the Leontins, by terrifying them at the
first assault, and therefore distrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also, one side or
other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built so scattering, one part far asunder
from another, they approached with all their fabricks, engins, and ordnance of battery against the
walls. Which enterprise of theirs, so resolutely begun, and so hotly and forcibly followed, had sped
well and taken effect, if one man at that time had not been in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was he, a singu-
G lar Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation and beholding the sky with the Planets, and other
stars therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineir for devising and framing of artillery, ordnance,
fabricks, and instruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at ease, check and
frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with so great difficulty had prepared for to give
the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engins of all sorts upon
the curtain of the wall, which stood on certain hills, and those not of even height: and having for
the most part high places that yielded hard accesse, and some other low again, whereunto men
might come on even & plain ground, he fitted and furnished every place accordingly. Now *Mar-*
cellus

cellus from out his gallies of five ranks of oars, assaulted the wall of *Acradina*, which (as is above-
said) is washed and dashed upon, with the sea. And from the other gallies, the archers, slingers,
yea, and the light armed darters (called *Velites*) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be
unhandsome to be lanced back again (by those that have not the cast and skill of it) so assailed the
defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the walls without hurt and danger;
These I say kept their gallies far distant from the wall, because archers and darters had need of some
space and compass to lance and let drive their shot. But unto the gallies of five course of oars,
there were adjoyned other two of either side: for which purpose the oars within were taken a-
way that they might close larboord to starboord, and so be coupled one unto the other. And thus
being rowed as one entire gally, by the help of the utmost oars without, they carried upon I
them platforms of timber, framed with floores and losts of planks, and other engins and instru-
ments within them to batter and shake the walls. Against this artillery from the gallies, *Archi-
medes* bestowed and disposed upon the walls counter-engins of sundry sizes, some greater, some
smaller. Against those gallies that were furthest off he weighed and discharged stones of exce-
ding main weight, and those that were nearer, he annoyed with lighter bullets, but those he shot
far thicker upon them. And last of all, to the end that his own Citizens might, without taking
harm, make a counter-battery against the enemies, and so annoy them, he caused certain barba-
cans or loop-holes almost a cubit deep to be pierced through the walls, and to stand thick from
the foot thereof, to the parapet; and all to flank the enemy, through which overtures, they with-
in shot closely against the enemies, some arrows out of bows, some quarrels out of scorpions and K
brakes of mean and indifferent bigness. And against those gallies, which approached more close
and near under the walls (because they would be within the shot, and that they within might carry
and levell over them) he devised a crane or swipe to be planted aloft upon the walls, having at
the one end, which hung over the sea, a drag or grapling hook of iron like an hand, fastned thereto
with a strong chain: which took hold upon the prow of a galley, and when the heavy counter-
poise of lead at the other end weighed it down to the ground, and therewith drew with it the
prow up on high, whiles it hung thus aloft in the air, the galley stood in a manner endlong upon
the poop. And then the swipe being let go again all at once suddenly with a sway, dashed the gal-
ley tumbling (as it were) down from the top of the wall, with such a swinge and violence against
the water (to the exceeding fear of the mariners) that if it had fain directly downright upon the L
keel, yet needs it must have received good store of water into it. Thus all their provision for as-
sault by the sea-side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from
thence, to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall likewise, was as well furnished with
all manner of engins and ordnance, provided at the great charge of *Hiero*, and by his carefull fore-
cast for many years together: but devised and framed by the artificial cunning and skill only of *Ar-
chimedes*. Besides, the naturall scituation of the ground was a great help: for that the rock, upon
which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part so steep and bending forward, that
not only the shot leveled out of an engine, but also what soever was but rolled & tumbled down,
with the very own weight and poise, came with a great force & violence upon the enemy. Which
foresaid cause made the assailants to have difficult climing up, and as unstedfast footing and kee- M
ping of their hold. Whereupon they went to counsel. And considering well, that all their attempts
and enterprizes were thus deluded and mocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over
assault, and only by long and continuall siege, to cut them off from all victuals both by land and
sea. In the mean while *Marcellus* with one third part (well near) of the army, went forth in expe-
dition, to recover again those Cities, which taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to
the Carthaginians. And he gained *Pelorus* and *Herbessus*, which yielded on their own accord. As
for *Megara*, which he won by assault, he rased it down to the ground; and sacked it, to the fearfull
example of the rest and especially of the Syracusians.

And much about that time, *Himilco* also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape *Pa-
chynus* with his Armado disbarked and set aland at *Heraclea* (which they call *Minoa*) 25000 foot-N
men, 3000 horsemen, and twelve Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with
his fleet under *Pachinus*. For after that *Hippocrates* had taken and held the possession of *Syracuse*,
he went to *Carthage*, where being sent unto both by Embassadors from *Hippocrates*, and also by
letters from *Annibal* (who moved him and remonstrances, That now the time was come to re-
cover *Sicily* again with much honour and glory: and being himself there present in person no bad
sollicitor by word of mouth to further and follow the cause) he easily perswaded the Carthagini-
ans and prevailed that as great a power both of horse and foot as might possibly be raised, should
pass over into *Sicily*. Being arrived at *Heraclea*, within few daies after *Agrigentum* was delivered
up into his hands. And all other Cities, which had banded and taken part with the Carthaginians,
were put in so good hope to drive the Romans out of *Sicily*: that even they who were besieged O
within *Syracuse*, to take heart unto them; and were so in their ruff, that supposing part of their
forces sufficient enough to defend their City, they parted between them the charge and managing
of the whole war in this manner: That *Epicides* should remain behind for the guard and defence
of the City, and *Hippocrates* joyn with *Himilco*, and war joyntly against the Romans. He with
12000 foot, and 500 horse, set out by night: and passed between the *Corps de guard*, where none
at all warded, and encamped about the *Acerre*. As they were fortifying their Camp, *Marcellus*
came upon them as he retired back from *Agrigentum*, possessed now by the adverse part: whither
he

A he had made great haste, but in vain, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore: but
little thought he (and nothing less) than in his return from thence, at that time and in that place,
to meet with an army of Syracusians that should make head against him. Howbeit, for fear of *Hi-
milco* and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to
make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumspectly as he
could, having his eye on every side, and led his army in good order of battell against all occurren-
ces whatsoever might happen by the way. And so as good hap was, that carefull forecast and dili-
gence, which he was provided with against the Carthaginians, served him in very good stead
against the Sicilians. Finding them therefore busie in pitching their tents, without order, and scat-
B tered asunder, and most of them unarmed, he environed soon all the Infantry that they had, and
put them to the sword. But the Cavalry after a slight skirmish begun, fled with their leader *Hip-
pocrates* to *Acre*. *Marcellus* after he had by his flight repressed and kept in the Sicilians, who
were at hand to fall away and revolt unto the Romans, returned to *Syracuse*: and after some few
daies, *Himilco* joyned with *Hippocrates*, and encamped about eight miles from thence, upon the ri-
ver *Anatis*.

Likewise about the same time, or very near, it hapned that 55 war-ships of the Carthaginians,
under the conduct of *Bomilcar*, Admirall of the Armado put into the great haven of *Syracuse* out
of the deep and main sea: and also the Roman fleet of thirty Gallies, with five ranks of oars, ar-
rived at *Panormus*, and landed the first Legion there: and thus the war was turned and diverted
C from *Italy*. So wholly seemed both nations, as well Romans as Carthaginians, amused upon no-
thing now but *Sicily*. *Himilco* making full account to prey upon the Roman Legion which was
set a land at *Panormus*, as they should come to *Syracuse*: missed of the right way to meet with
them: for he marched and led his power far within land higher in the country, but the Legion
coasted along by the sea side, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them: and came
to *Pachinus* unto *Appius Claudius*, who with part of his forces went out to meet them on the way.
But the Carthaginians made no long stay about *Syracuse*. For *Bomilcar* having small trust and con-
fidence in his ships, considering that the Romans were coming toward him with a fleet, and were
twice as many in number: and withall seeing, that by so journing there, he did no other good but
with his company impoverish and eat out his friends, spred and hoised up sail, and with a merry
D wind passed over into *Affrick*. *Himilco* also, who had dogged and followed after *Marcellus* in
vain as far as *Syracuse*, to espy some good opportunity and vantage to bid him battell, before he
joyned with a greater power: seeing that he was hereof disappointed, and the enemy lying about
Syracuse safe and secure, as well in regard of their fortifications, as their forces: because he would
not spend any longer time to no purpose in sitting there still, to look upon their Allies how they
were besieged, he dislodged and removed from thence: attending, whersoever there were any
hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romans, thither to come with his army, and shew him-
self in person, to encourage and animate by his presence those that favoured his part. And first he
recovered *Murgantia*, where the Roman garrison was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered
unto his hands. Into which City the Romans had conveyed great store of corn, victuall, and pro-
E vision of all sorts. Upon this revolt, other Cities also took heart unto them, and the Roman garri-
sons were either thrust and driven out of the Castles and Fortresses, or else were treacherously be-
trayed, surprised, and destroyed.

The City *Ænna*, seated upon an high hill, and on every side inaccessible, as it was by naturall
situation of the ground impregnable, so it had a strong garrison within the Castle, and a Captain of
that garrison, one, that was not so easie to be compassed and over-raught by deceitfull trains. His
name was *Pinarius*, a witty man, and hardy withall, who reposed more trust in his own diligence
to prevent, that he might not possibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians.
And at this time more than ever before, he stood upon his guard, and took heedfull care of him-
self and his charge, by occasion that he heard of so many treacheries and treasons, so many revolts
F of Cities, and massacres of garrisons: and therefore as well by day as night, he looked that the
Castle was well provided and furnished of good watch and ward continually. & the souldiers ne-
ver departed from their armour nor their appointed place. Which when the chief Citizens of
Ænna perceived, who already had covenanted with *Himilco*, and promised to betray the fort and
the garrison: and saw that the Roman Captain was so wary, that he lay not open unto the oppor-
tunity of any fraudulent and guilefull course, they resolved by apert and open means to effect
this their designed enterprise. They alledged therefore unto *Pinarius*, "That the City and Castle
"both ought to be in their power, since that they entred into league and amity with the Romans
"as freemen, and were not yielded as slaves to be kept in dures and prison, Reason would there-
"fore, and meet it was (as they thought) that all the keys of the gates were delivered unto them.
G "With good and trusty allies, their own faith and truth is the surest bond. And no doubt, the
"people and Senate of *Rome* would con them greater thank, and esteem more dearly of them, if
"so be they of themselves, not by constraint, but of willing mind, would abide and continue in
"their found allegeance and fast friendship. *Pinarius* made answer again, "That he was by his
"General placed there Captain of the garrison: at his hands he received the keys of the gates, and
"the Constableship of the Castle, and the same to hold and keep neither at his own will, nor at
"the pleasure of the men of *Ænna*, but at his disposition, who sealed him his Commission. Now
"for a Captain to abandon his fort (quoth he) is a capital crime among the Romans, by vertue of

"a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death H
"of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul *Marcellus* is not
"far off, ye may, if it please you, send your Embassadors unto him, of whom you may be certified,
"under whose power, commandment, and government I am. "Tush, say they, we will never send
"unto him. But if words and reasons may not prevail, we will work some other means to reco-
"ver our liberty again. Then quoth *Pinarius* to them, If ye think much to address your messen-
"gers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Councill of the people for my
"sake, that I may know whether these demands proceed from some few, or from the whole
"body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a generall assembly should be proclaimed
against the morrow. Then *Pinarius* after that he was departed from this parly, returned into the I
fortresls, and calling his souldiers together, spake unto them in this wise: "I suppose ye have heard
"already (my souldiers) in what sort the Roman garrisons have, these daies past, been betrayed
"and murdered by the Sicilians. That treachery hitherto ye have avoided and escaped; first & prin-
"cipally through the goodnesse of the gods: next and immediatly by your own valour and pro-
"wesse, & by continuall watch & ward, standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to
"God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice either to en-
"dure and suffer such horrible mischiefs: or to execute and commit a fearfull example of cruelty.
"This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cautelously all this
"while, & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surprise us, they would seem now
"openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their K
"hands. Which we should not so soon part with & render unto them, but presently *Ænna* would
"turn to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and hewn in pee-
"ces, than the garrison was at *Murgantia*. Much ado I had to obtain of them respit of this one
"night to take further counsell: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I &
"you stand. To morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the
"people, and to make a speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stir them up against you. And
"to morrow is the day that the City *Ænna* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the
"Inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall lose all that you have if they surprise you:
"so in case you prevent them and begin the fray there shall no peril at all betide you. Look who
"first laieth hand on his sword and draweth it, he shall carry away the victory clear. Therefore yet
"must be there prest in your armor, and attentive to expect a signal from me. I my self will be
"present in the assembly, and with parling and debating temporise and draw out the time, until
"ye be all in readinesse and every thing in order. And so soon as I shall give you a sign with my
"gown, then let me hear you set up an outcry, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down
"with them and spare not, and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them
"escape your hands and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or
"force. And now I beseech thee O Dame *Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*, and all other gods
"in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this City, these holy lakes and sacred groves,
"wherein ye are honoured and worshipped, to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us;
"in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against M
"us, and not to offer mischief unto other: and not otherwise, I would use more words unto you
"my friends and souldiers, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal
"with men in arms: but since they are naked, unarmed, & unwarned, you shall kill and slay them
"at your pleasure, and satisfie your selves with their blood. And to the end that you need not fear
"any harm from *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, loe the Consul himself lieth encamped near
"at hand. After this exhortation they were dismissed, to take their refection and rest. The next
day, they were bestowed in sundry parts of the City, some to beset all the streets; others to stop
the passages and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of
them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected as being used heretofore to
behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain *Pinarius* was by the Magistrates N
brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleaded, That it lay not in his hands but
in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and herein
rated for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began
gently, some few by little and little; afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver
up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him so to do: and
when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter, they menaced and threatned fiercely, yea,
and seemed as if they would no longer forbear but proceed to extream violence. Then the Captain
made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the souldiers who
had their eyes upon him, waiting wistly for the signall and were ready for execution, set up a loud
cry and ran some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them; others stood thicke
at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against
them. Thus the men of *Ænna*, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay
tumbled one upon other; not they only that were killed, but such also as fled one over anothers
head: the sound fell upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps.
Then there was running from thence sundry waies; and as if the City had been taken upon assault
by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and fu-
rious were the souldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged worthily

Pinarius his speech to his souldiers.

A thily and justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or choler raised in set battel, had provoked them thereto. Thus *Ænna* was held still for the Romans by this means: were the deed simply ill, or by circumstance needfull and necessary; *Marcellus* misliked not of the fact & granted the pillage of the Citizens of *Ænna* to the souldiers: supposing that the Sicilians throughly frighted by this fearfull example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune of this City, (standing, as it did, in the very heart of *Sicily*) was in one day divulged and noised thoughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous and renowned town it was, either for the natural situation so exceeding strong: or because all places in it were accounted sacred and holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*; who in times past left her footing & traces there, at B what time as she was stolne away & ravished [by *Pluto*.] Now it was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this cursed and detestable massacre had defiled and polluted not only the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who stood but doubtful and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romans, and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then *Hippocrates* retired to *Murgantia*, and *Himilco* to *Agrigentum*: who were sent for by the conspirators and traitors within *Ænna*, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. *Marcellus* returned to the Leontins country: and after he had brought into the Camp corn and other victuals, and left there a meanguard, he presented himself to the siege that lay before *Syracuse*. And when he had sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome* to sue for the Consulship, he committed the charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old leaguer unto *T. Quintius Crispinus*. Himself C erected and fortified his wintring harbours five miles from *Exaplos*, at a place which men call *Leontia*. And these were the affairs of *Sicily* unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer the war began likewise with King *Philip* which long before had been suspected. For there came Embassadors from *Oricum* to *M. Valerius* the Prætor Admiral of the fleet, for the defence of *Brundusium*, and the sea-coast thereabout of *Calabria*, and made report that *Philip* first affiled to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty light gallies, or foists with two ranks of oares against the stream: and afterwards, seeing he could not effect his purpose so speedily as he hoped, privily by night he approached with his army to *Oricum*: and that the City, situate upon a plain, neither strongly fenced with walls, nor well manned with souldiers, nor yet furnished with armor and munition, was at the first assault surprised D and won. And as they recounted these newes, so they besought him to grant aid and succour: and to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romans, either by Land or forces at Sea, and to chase him away from them: who for no other reason were by him assailed, but because they were neer neighbors to *Italy*. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant General, with a fleet of ships well rigged, furnished & appointed; and having embarked these souldiers (which the gallies for war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden, arrived at *Oricum* on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and slight garrison, which *Philip* when he departed from thence had left there, recovered it without much resistance. Thither repaired to him embassadors from *Apollonia*, who brought word that they were besieged, because they refused to revolt from the Romans: and were not able to hold out any longer against E the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romans were sent unto them. He promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand electe and choice souldiers in gallies, and sent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a Captain of Asties *Numitius Crispus*, an industrious man, and an expert souldier. He having landed his men, and sent the gallies back to *Oricum* (from whence he came) to the rest of the Armado, conducted his souldiers higher in the country, far from the river side, by a way that was not beset nor held by the Kings forces: and in the night-season, unawares to all the enemies, entred the City. The day following they rested, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of *Apollonia*, of their armor and the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and perused all, thereupon he was well appaid and encouraged to fight, and withall, he had learned by the scours and spies, how retchless, F idle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without any noise, and entred the Camp of the enemies so carelesly guarded as it was, and lying so open: that by credible report, there were above one thousand men got within the trench and rampier, before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hands, and not faln to killing, they might have passed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they slew the warders next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon, they were all so frighted and terrified, that not only there was never a souldier took weapon in hand, and went about to repulse the enemy out of the Camp: but even the King himself, half naked as he was, and newly wakened out of his sleep, clad in simple apparell, scarce decent for a common souldier, much less I wot, for a G King, was fain to run toward the river side to his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled disordered in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either slain or taken prisoners in the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the rifling of the camp the Apollonians met with *Catapults* and *Balists*, and other engins provided for the assault of the City, which they conveighed all to *Apollonia*, to serve for defence of their walls against the like occasion of needfull service. All the booty besides of the camp was granted unto the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to *Oricum*, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armado as far as to the mouth of the river, that the King might not flie away and escape by sea with his ships: whereupon *Philip* distrusting his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match

the Romans, drew up some of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and so by land went into *Macedony*, with a great part of his souldiers disarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at *Oricum* with *M. Valerius*. H

The same year in *Spain* the affairs went variably on both sides. For before that the Romans passed over the river *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* defeated a mighty host of Spaniards, so as, all the farther part of *Spain* had faln from the Romans, but that *P. Cornelius* made haste to transport his army over *Iberus*, and came in good time to settle the wavering and doubtfull minds of the allies. At the first the Romans encamped at * *Castrum Album*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The Castle was well fortified, and thither afore they had conveyed corn. But because all those quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and sundry times their Cavalry had charged the I Roman footmen, and gone clear away without any harm, whereby there had been slain at times upon two thousand of them, which either made small haste away, and staid behind, or straggled loosely over the fields: the Romans departed from thence, nearer unto places of more security and peace, and fortified themselves in camp upon the mount of *Victoria*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a ful army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romans abovesaid. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certain light armed souldiers, was gone out closely to discover and take view of the places thereabout: howbeit, not so covertly, but he was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a shrewd foil in the open plain champian, but that he took a little hill thereby for his vantage. Where he was environed and beset round about: but by K the coming of his brother *Cneus*, he was delivered out of that danger.

* chasteau haut.

Castulo, a famous and strong City in *Spain*, and so near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that *Annibal* from thence married his wife, ranged to the Romans. The Carthaginians came against *Illiturgum*, and began to assault it, because a garrison of the Romans lay there: and like they were to be Masters of the town, by occasion especially of a great dearth and scarcity of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garrison, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies skirmished with them, slew many of them, and entred the City. The morrow after he sallied out, joyned in fight with the enemy, and sped as well: so as in both battels there were slain of them above twelve thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 36 military ensigns carried away. L Thus the siege brake up at *Illiturgum*. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto *Bigerra* (a City also confederat with the Romans.) But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raised that siege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against *Munda*, and the Romans followed them thither straight after. There they encountred together, and fought a set battel with banners displayed, for the space well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themselves bravely, and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was sounded, by occasion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt sore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the souldiers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that stay and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the souldiers, but the Elephants also were driven already so far as the trench, and even there upon M the very bank, 39 of them were sticked with darts and pikes. In this battell likewise were killed (by report) twelve thousand men, almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 military ensigns won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City *Auringi*, and the Romans followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breath themselves after their flight. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battel the second time, and got the victory clear: but fewer of the enemies were slain by the one half than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to be ever fighting, and cannot give over) they soon repaired and made up their forces. For *Asdrubal* had sent his brother *Mago*, to levy and gather new souldiers: whereupon they took fresh heart again to try another field. These, being for the most part other souldiers (new come) fought N as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few daies space had so often taken the foil, and demeaned themselves as couragiously as they before, and sped as unto vardly. For there were slain of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with military ensigns 58. In rifling of them there was found very much spoil of the Gauls, as rings of gold, carkanets, collars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Mœnicaptus* and *Civismarus*, were slain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affairs in *Spain* went thus fortunatly with the Romans, they began at length for very shame to thinke of *Saguntum*, a town that was the cause of all these wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and possession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms O they recovered it, drave out of the town the garrison of the Carthaginians, and restored it again to the ancient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had escaped these broils of war. As for the Turdetans, who were the occasion of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians, they subdued them, and brought them under their subjection, sold them in port sale, and destroyed their City utterly. These were the atchievances in *Spain*, during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At *Rome*, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once entred into their office, presently *L. Metellus*

A *L. Metellus* one of the Tribunes aforesaid, arrested the Censors *P. Furius* and *M. Attilius*, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer the year before, his horse of service allowed him by the City, cassed and displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him *Ærarius*, and all, for being a party with them at *Canne*, who complotted to abandon *Italy*. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the Censors should come to their answer whiles they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the sessing and numbring of the Citizens. And when *M. Attilius* surrendred up his Magistracy. *Q. Fabius Max.* held the solemn B assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius Max.* the Consul his son, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, both absent. For Prætors, there were elected *M. Attilius*, and with him, they who at that time were Ædiles of the chair, to wit, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*.

This year, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plaies first set out by the Ædiles of the chair, and continued four daies. This Ædile *Tuditanus* above-named was he, who at *Cannæ* when all besides him for fear were astonied, in that wofull calamity) brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consul had finished the Election, then the new Consuls Elect were sent for, to repair unto *Rome*, and they entred their Magistracy. Then they assembled the Senat for to consult and take order for the war, for the Provinces as well their own, C as those that were under the Prætors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The war with *Annibal*, whereso ever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Coss. with the charge of one army, which *Sempronius* himself had before under his conduct: and of another, commanded by *Fabius* the Consul. And those were two legions. *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the forreiners, had committed his authority unto his Collegue *Atilius*, the Prætor of the Citizens of *Rome*, that he might govern the Province about *Lucria*, and those two legions, over which *Q. Fabius*, now Consul, had the command, whiles he was Prætor. To *Sempronius* the Prætor befell the Province of *Ariminum*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Suessula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fulvius* should have the leading of the legions D of Citizens, and *Tuditanus* receive his from *M. Pomponius*. The government of the forrein Provinces continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled *Sicily*, so far as the dominion of King *Hiero* extended: and *Lentulus* the Vice-Prætor, had the charge of the old Province. *T. Otacilius* was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in *Greece* and *Macedony*, with one legion, and the Armado which he had before. *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputy in *Sardinia*, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affairs in *Picenum*, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustred and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides levied of Allies and Associats. With these Captains and these forces above said, they provided for E the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of *Rome*, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out the rest, before that they set foot out of the City, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearfull and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of *Rome* were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Aricia*. Other vain objects and illusions also of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were beleeved for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tarracina* certain resemblances and shews of Gallies, whereas indeed there were none such. And in the Temple of *Jup. Vicilinus*, which standeth in the Territory of *Cossa*, there was heard, forsooth, rustling of armor: and the river of *Amiternus* seemed to run with blood. When satisfaction was F made for these strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction set down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the Camp at *Suessula*, as Lieutenant and assistant unto his son. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meet him, and his Serjeants or Ushers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the Consul commanded the Serjeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Usher called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horse back: and at last, he set foot aground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Consul or no.

G "There came that night secretly to the Consul while the Camp lay there, one *Cassius Altinius*, "an Arpinate, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his "service, he would betray *Arpos* into his hands. *Fabius* then proposed this matter unto his "Councill, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that *Altinius* was to be whipped and put to "death, fugitive runnagate and false knave as he was: a common enemy, and a dangerous to either "part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the over-"throw at *Canne* (as if he might turn with the wheel of fortune, and go from his word and faith-"full promise, and change ever as the changeth) ranged himself unto *Annibal*; and by his exam-

" ple, drew with him *Arpos* to revolt and rebell: now after that he seeth the Roman estate to rise H
" again and hold up head (and that, beyond his hope, & contrary to his desires) he would play the
" villain and turn-coat again, and come with a new practice of a more shamefull treason than be-
" fore: as if treachery and falshood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in Sep-
" temviral court: and as if he might be allowed to carry two faces under a hood, and alter every
" hour. Faithless friend, that he is, not to be trusted, and slippery enemy, not to be regarded. A
" good deed it were, that together with that same traitor of *Falerii*, and the other of King *Pyr-*
" *rhus*, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to teach all rogues
" and runnagates hereafter, how they run from their Lords and Masters. On the other side, old *Fa-*
" *bius* (the Consuls father) replied, and said, That men now adaies had forgot how to make diffe-
" rence of seasons, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reasoned and gave their opinion and cen- I
" sure of every thing and person, as in a free time of open peace: when, as indeed, we are to think,
" consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of our allies re-
" volt from the people of *Rome*, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is star-
" ted aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a reviling and rebu-
" king of him, and bitterly to say that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it
" may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawfull to return again unto the
" Romans no man need doubt, but shortly the Roman Empire will be forsaken of all her confe-
" derats and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of *Italy* linked and confedered in
" fast league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that
" thinketh *Altinius* worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean course K
" & middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore, that for the present he should
" be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a
" prisoner, and only be kept forth-coming in some confederat and trusty City, not far from the
" Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it
" good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment
" than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of
old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and both himself and his company
delivered over and put in custody, and a good roun sum of gold, which he then had brought with
him, was by commandment reserved for his use. At *Cales* he made his abode: where all the day
time he used to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him L
close prisoner. But at *Arpi*, where his home was, they of his own house began first to miss him,
and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City, that he was out of
the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the loss of a principall per-
son as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of an alteration in the State, presently the
news thereof was sent to *Annibal*. Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long afore
he had the party himself in jealousie and suspition as one neither fish nor flesh, a man of no cre-
dit, and hardly to be trusted: and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to seize up-
on the goods of so rich and substantiall a Citizen and to make sale thereof. But to the end that
the world might think that he was more angry against his person, than greedy of his substance, he
joyned with cruelty, a grave course also of judiciall severity, that the one might serve as a file to M
give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined
them straightly, for to know whither he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left
behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned enough of them touching every par-
ticular, and as much as he desired, he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from *Suessula*, purposed the first thing that he did to assail *Arpi*. Where
he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after he had well viewed by near approach, the si-
tuation of the City, and considered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, and
therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest
assault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordnance and engins, requi-
site for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the N
whole army and set over them certain Tribunes and Marshals, valorous and doughty good men,
and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred souldiers (for so many he thought sufficient
for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the
reliefe of the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place aforesaid. Now there
stood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason
that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but stood void. That gate he gave them order first to
scale and clime over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within-forth to break down
the bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Masters of that quarter of the City, then to
wind the horn, and give signall to the rest of the forces for to approach and come hard to the O
town, saying, That he would have all things in readiness, and in good order. This direction was
performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have
been an hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them most,
that they were not descried. And that was a smoaking shower of rain that began after midnight,
which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their standings, forsake the Sentinels, and to
flie into the houses for covert. The first noise of the storm pouring down with such a force, made
that the rumbling of the souldiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gate; and
as

A as it grew after to rain more softly, and so kept still at one, it sounded gently and sweetly in their
ears, untill it brought a good many of them fast asleep. Now after they had seized the gate, the
Marshals gave order, That the Cornettiers should be bestowed in that void street aforelaid, di-
stant equally asunder, and to wind their horns, for to waken and raise the Consul. Which being
done, according as it was before agreed, the Cos. commanded the standards and ensigns to be
brought forth: and somewhat before day-light entred at the said broken gate into the City. With
that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves, for now the shower and storm was past,
and the day approached. There was a garrison in the City at hand of five thousand of *Annibal*
his souldiers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpins of themselves were 3000 strong. Those
B the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorn hope, and opposed them against the enemy,
for fear of some treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First, they began to
arrange themselves to fight in the dark, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romans had filled and
taken up not only all the streets, but also the houses that were next the gate, to the end, they might
not be gauled with shot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at length to
meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and to began to commune and talk to-
gether. The Romans asked what the Arpins meant to rebell; for what offence and harm given of
the Romans, and for what desert and benefit received from the Carthaginians should they (being
natural Italians) maintain war for Aliens, strangers, and barbarous nations, against the Romans
their old friends and ancient Allies; and so to bring *Italy* in subjection to *Affrick*, to do ho-
C mage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay pension unto it? The Arpins excused
and cleared themselves, saying, that they (simple men, and ignorant in all things) were bought and
sold by their great rulers and principall Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under
the command of some few persons, that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of
them grew to parling and conference. At length the Prætor of *Arpi* himself was by his own peo-
ple and Citizens brought and presented before the Consul: where, after faithfull promise passed
between the ensigns and the battels; the Arpins immediatly bent their forces on the Romans
side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under a thousand
men) after they had capitulat and agreed with the Roman Consul, nothing but this one article,
That the garrison of the Carthaginians might be sent forth and pass away safe without harm:
D came with their colours to the Consul. Then all the gates were set open for the Carthaginians to
depart: and being sent away upon safe conduct without any harm at all or damage unto *Annibal*,
arrived at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* was restored again to the Romans, without the loss and detriment
of any one man, but one only old traitor and new fugitive revolt. The Spaniards were appointed
to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good, faithfull, and valiant service ma-
ny times after to the Common-weal.

When one of the Consuls was in *Apulia*, and the other in *Lucania*, one hundred and twelve
men of arms, Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Capua*, having licence granted by the Magistrates to
go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country, and to fetch in booties
and prizes, came directly into the Romans Camp, lying about *Suessula*. And meeting with the
E *Corps de guard*, declared who they were, and that they would parl with the Lord Deputy. Now
Cn. Fulvius was the General and Commander of the army there: who being advertized and cer-
tified hereof gave order that ten only of all that number should be brought before him unarmed.
When he heard their suit and demand, which was nothing else, but that when *Capua* was recove-
red by the Romans, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into
his protection. The other Prætor also *Sempronius Tuditanus*, won by force the town *Cliternum*:
where there were taken prisoners above seven thousand men: and a good deal of copper and sil-
ver coin gained besides. At *Rome* there chanced a fearfull and pitifull fire, which continued two
nights and one whole day. All between *Solina* and the gate *Carmentalis*, together with the *Æqui-*
melium and the street *Jugarium*, were burned down, and made even with the ground. Likewise
F without the gate the fire spred far all about, and in the Temples of *Fortuna* and Dame *Matuta*,
and *Spes*, consumed much, as well hallowed as prophane.

The same year, when all things prospered well and had good success in *Spain*, *P.* and *Cn.* both
Scipios having recovered many associats and those of ancient league, that came in again to him and
yielded themselves; and besides, gained some new confederats: conceived good hope, and took
heart to proceed farther, even into *Affrick*.

Syphax King of the Numidians, on a sudden fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their
professed enemy. Unto him the *Scipios* addressed three Centurions as Embassadors, to treat with
him about a league and alliance: and to promise withall, that if he went on still to trouble and
molest the Carthaginians, by making war upon them, he should do an high favour to the Senate
and people of *Rome*: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place,
G he should be well requited for that kindness, and receive at their hands a double recompence
with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous King right well. And after he had conferred
and reasoned with the Embassadors, concerning military affairs, and the knowledge of warfare:
and heard those old & experienced souldiers talk of war, he soon found his own wants, and how
unskilfull himself was in many points and feats of arms, in comparison of that methodicall and
orderly discipline, whereof they had discoursed. "The first thing then that he requested at their
" hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithfull Allies, two of them would go

" back

"back with their Embassie unto their Generals, and that the third might remain with him, to H
"read unto him a lecture in the military science of warfare, Saying, that the nation of the Numi-
"dians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmens service, and only nimble and practised in
"fight on horseback. So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors used
"to war: & so have we from our childhood been enured to fight. Mary, an enemy I have, trusting
"and presuming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all
"kind of service. Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? my Realm is po-
"pulous, and yieldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant we are, how to fit them with
"armor, how to marshall them, how to order and set them in battell array: insomuch as all my
"people in battell go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude hudled and thrumbled together at a I
"venture without skill, without discretion and advisement. The Embassadors answered and said,
That for the present they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withal, they had his
faithful promise & word of a Prince that he should immediatly send back their companion again,
in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. *Q. Statorius* his name was, that staid
behind with the King. So *Syphax* sent by the two Romans his answer to the foresaid Embassage
into *Spain*: and besides, with them other Numidians, Embassadors of his own, to receive farther
assurance and security from the Roman Generals: unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith
they should sollicit, perswade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary souldiers unto the
Carthaginians, and served in any Camp, City, or garrison Town of theirs, for to abandon them and
come to him. And *Statorius* for his part, having muttered a great multitude of serviceable young K
men, chose forth and enrolled a power of footmen, to serve in the Kings wars: and when he had
forted them into bands and companies, and ordred them in battell array, as near as possibly he
could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours:
he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he ac-
customed them to travell and do work: and so acquainted them with other military orders and
exercises, that within short time, the King reposed as good confidence, and was as mighty in his
new Infantry, as in his old Cavalry: and in a set pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the
Carthaginian with banner displaied, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the
Kings Embassadors into *Spain*, was to the Romans also a matter of great consequence and impor-
tance: for upon the rumour and fame that went thereof the Numidians began to fail away apace, L
and to come thick unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joyned in amity and friendship
with King *Syphax*.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance, they addressed immediatly their Embassadors to *Gala*, who raigned in another part of *Numidia*, over a nation called *Massyla*. This *Gala* had a son named *Masanissa*, of seventeen years of age, but a youth of such towardness, and so forward in vertue, that even then he made good and apparant shew, that he would another day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flourishing and mighty Kingdom than his father should leave it unto him. These Embassadors declared unto *Gala*, "That forasmuch as *Syphax*
"had entred league, and was banded with the Romans, to the end that by their alliance and so-
"ciety, he might be more mighty and puissant against other Kings and nations of *Affrick*: it M
"were also better for him and much more commodious to joyn with the Carthaginians in all
"convenient speed: before that either *Syphax* passed over into *Spain*, or the Romans into *Affrick*:
"And *Syphax* (say they) may soon be defeated and overthrown now, while that he hath gained
"naught yet but the bare name of the Roman League. *Gala* was soon perswaded to send a power
of men especialy at the earnest instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and to have
the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquished *Syphax*, and gave
him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain, by repoort, in one day thirty thousand.
Syphax himself in person, with some few Numidian horsemen, fled back to the Mauritans, that in-
habit the farthest coasts, hard upon the Ocean over-against *Gades*. But the barbarous people at
the same of his coming so resorted in great numbers to him out of all parts, that in a short space N
he was able to arm a mighty host. And before he could with them cross over into *Spain*, which
was divided from *Affrick* with a narrow arm of the sea, *Masanissa* was come with his victori-
ous Army: who in that place, of himself, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave
Syphax battell to his great honour and singular glory. In *Spain* no memorable exploit was atchie-
ved, but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and serviceable manhood of
the Celtiberians, for the same hire and stipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians:
and sent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of the noblest parentage into *Italy*, to solli-
cit their countrymen, who served under *Annibal* as auxiliaries to follow them and take part with
the Romans. This only, touching the affairs of *Spain* that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and
remembred. That the Romans never waged souldier to serve in their war before that time, when O
the Celtiberians began to be their mercenaries, and first received pay.

The

A

The five and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

B

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and twentieth Book.

PUblius Cornelius Scipio, *surnamed afterwards* Africanus, *was made Ædile, before he was of lawfull years.* Annibal *won the City* Tarentum (*all but the Castle, into which the Roman garrison was retired*) *by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went by night a hunting. The solemn plaies in the honour of* Apollo, *were now first instituted, upon occasion of certain prophetical verses of* Martius, *wherein the overthrow at* Cannæ *had been foretold.* Q. Fulvius *and* Ap. Claudius *Consul, fought fortunately against* Hanno, *a Duke or Captain of the Carthaginians.* T. Sempronius Gracchus *the Pro-Consul, was by a Lucan (his host that gave him entertainment)*
C *trained into the danger of an ambush, and slain by* Mago. Centenius Penula, *who had served in the wars as a Centurion, having made suit unto the Senat, to have the leading of an army, and promised, if this petition were granted, to win the victory of* Annibal; *and to vanquish him, took the charge of eight thousand footmen, and gave battell to* Annibal: *but he was slain himself, and his whole army defeated and put to the sword.* Cn. Fulvius *the Prætor fought unfortunately against* Annibal, *and left the field: in which fight there died sixteen thousand men. Himself, with two hundred horsemen fled and escaped.* Capua *was besieged by* Q. Fulvius, *and* Appius Claudius, *the Consuls.* Claudius Marcellus *in the third year of the siege won* Syracuse, *and bare himself in that service like a worthy and noble Knight. In that tumult and hurly-burly when the City was taken,* Archimedes, *whiles he was busily occupied*
D *about certain Geometricall figures and forms that he had drawn in the dust, was killed. The two* Scipios, Publius, *and* Cornelius, *after so many and so worthy exploits performed fortunately in* Spain, *came to a wofull and heavy end, being themselves slain there, with the loss well-near of their whole Armies, in the eighth year after that they went into* Spain. *And the main possession of that Province had been quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industry of* L. Martius, *a Knight of* Rome, *who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, so encouraged them, that by their valiant service two several encamped holds of the enemies were won, seven and thirty thousand of the enemies slain, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich booty obtained. Whereupon he was called Captain* Martius.

E

The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

WHiles these affairs thus passed in *Affrick* and in Spain, *Annibal* employed the summer season in the territory of *Tarentum*, in hope by treason to be Master of the City of the Tarentins. In which mean while, certain base Cities of the Salentins, and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those twelves States of the *Brutii*, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthaginians, the Consentins and Thurins were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of *Rome*. And more of them had returned likewise, but for *L. Pomponius Veientanus* Captain of the Allies: who after he had made certain rodes into the country of the *Brutii*, and sped his hand
F well with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonel, and was no less reputed: and having gathered a power of men, suddenly in haste, without good advisement, fought with *Hanno*. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either slain or taken prisoners. But, as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rabble of rustical clowns and bondslaves: and the least loss of all other, was the Captain himself, who amongst the rest was taken captive: a man as then, the author of a rash and fool-hardy fight, and had been aforetime a Publican or farmer of the City revenues, and alwaies (through his naughty practises and cunning fetches and shifts wherein he was become skilful) a disloyal person, and dangerous both to the publike State, and also to those private companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and dealing. *Sempronius* the Consul, lying in the Lucans country made many light skirmishes, but not
G any one worth remembrance, and won certain poor towns, and of smal regard, belonging unto the Lucans.

The longer that this war continued lingring, whiles prosperous succes and adverse mishap interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men: as in their outward state and fortune: such religious zeal and superstition (and the same for the most part in forrein ceremonies) had so seized & possessed the City, that either the men or gods therof, were suddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. Insomuch as now the Roman rites and holy observations were contemned, not only in secret, & within doors at home in their

private

private houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea, and in the common place and Capitoll: to where there flocked alwaies a sort of women that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor said their praiers, and did their devotions according to the use and custome of their native country and City. Certain odd Priests and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whose number was the greater by reason first of the rurall people and peasants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reason of the long wars, and many invasions and rodes that laid all waste, and so retired into the City: afterwards by the ease occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the errour of others, whom they soon seduced and abused: which trade they used and practised openly, as if it had been a lawfull art and mystery. At the first, divers good and honest persons began secretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in proteſs of time the matter was presented before the LL. of the Councill, and brake forth to open complaint in publike places. The Ædiles and Trimvirs Capitall were blamed much, and sharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand to rid the common place of this multitude, and to cast down, over-turn, and fling away the preparation and provision for their sacrifices and oblations, they had like to have been misused and mischieved by the people. When this malady and misorder seemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meaner and inferiour Magistrate, *M. Æmylius*, Prætor of the City for the time being, received Commission by order from the Senate, to see that the people were eased and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only read unto them in a publike assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but also made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that whosoever had any books of propheſies or prayers, or treaties written of this art and science of sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Calends of *April* next ensuing. *Item*, that no person should sacrifice either in publike place, or sacred Church, after any new form or forrein rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publike Priests, to wit *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-Prelate, or high Priest: and *C. Papyrius Maſſo*, the son of *Caius* a Bishop. Also *P. Furius Philus* an Augur, and *C. Papyrius Maſſo* the son of *Lucius*, a Decemvir deputed for holy mysteries. In place of *Lentulus* and of *Papyrius*, were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cepio* substituted high-Priest and Bishop. For Augur there was created *L. Quinctius Flaminius*: and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* was chosen Decemvir over sacred ceremonies and divine service.

Now the time drew near of the solemn election of new Consuls: but because it was not thought good to cal the old away, (busied as they were in the wars) *T. Sempronius* one of the Consuls, nominated for Dictator, to hold that election aforesaid, *C. Claudius Cento*, who named for his Generall of the Cavalry *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. This Dictator, the first comitiall day following, created for Consuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* abovenamed, his Generall of horsemen, and *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, who in his Prætorship had the jurisdiction and government of the Province of *Sicily*. Then were the Prætors elected, *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Syllanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. When the Election was ended the Dictator resigned up his place.

That year was Ædile *Curule*, together with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, one *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose surname afterwards was *Africanus*. When he stood and made suit for the Ædileship, and the Tribunes of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of that office for that he was not of lawfull age to be a competitor, and to put in for it: If (quoth he) all the Quirites and Citizens of *Rome* will choose me Ædile, I have years enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suit, there was such running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices that the Tribunes suddainly surceased their purpose to hinder him. And this was the largest and donative that the Ædiles bestowed. The Roman Games were, according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and set out with great state and magnificence and continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street throughout the City, was allowed a N *Congius* of oyl. *L. Villius Tappulus* and *M. Fundanus Fundulus* Ædiles of the Commons, accused certain dames and wives of the City before the people, of dishonest and incontinent life: and some of them being condemned, they forced into banishment. The Games called *Plebeii*, were renewed for two daies: and by occasion of these games a solemn feast or dinner was kept for the honour of *Jupiter*.

* About a wine gallon.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entred the Consulship, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot to have the jurisdiction both of Citizens and strangers, which before was executed by twain. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero* was allotted *Sueſſula*: and *M. Junius Syllanus* his hap was to have the rule of the Tuscans. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war with *Annibal*, and to have under their command two legions apiece: and that one of them should receive his legions of *Q. Fabius*, the Cos. of the former year: and the other take his at the hands of *Fulvius Centimalus*. As for the Prætors, *Fulvius Flaccus* had Commission for the conduct of the legions at *Luceria*, which served under *Æmylius* Prætor there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of those that were under the hand of *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*: and that they should provide themselves of supply to make up the full number of the Companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of Citizens mustred the year before to serve in *Tuscany*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*,

A *Gracchus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* continued still in the government of their Provinces, the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*, and kept their own forces. Likewise *P. Lentulus* governed the old Province in *Sicily*: *M. Marcellus* was Lord Deputy of *Syracuſe*, and so far as the Realm and Dominion of King *Hiero* reached. *T. Otacilius* Admirall of the Navy. *Greece* was governed still by *M. Valerius*. *Sardinia* by *Q. Mutius Scævola*. *Spain* by *P.* and *Cornelius Scipios*. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the Coſſ. So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 23 Legions.

When the Consuls should muster the souldiers, they were hindred by occaſon of a lewd prank B plaied by one *M. Posthumius Pyrgenſis*, to the great trouble and disquiet of the State and publike peace. This *Posthumius* was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for crafty and deceitfull dealing, for avarice and covetousnes, had not his fellow in all the City. but it were *L. Pomponius Veientanus* again; the same man, whom the year before as he forraged the territories of the Lucans rashly and unadvisedly, the Carthaginians by the conduct of *Hanno* had taken prisoner. These two (forasmuch as it was covenanted and indented before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea, should be warranted by the City against all danger of tempest; and that all dammage and loss of goods that way miscarrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicans, who had undertaken by great to serve the armies, but be made good again out of the common Chest and Treasure:) these publicans (I say not only gave false information of certain shipwracks, but also if they brought word at any C time truly of some ships that were perished, they were such only as were lost by their own fraud and deceit, and not cast away by chance or violence of weather. For they would fraight & charge certain old vessels and shaken bottoms, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sink for the nonce in the deep sea, and save the mariners and sailers with small pinaces and cockboats prepared aforehand for the purpose: and when they had done, lie shamfully and say that they had lost merchandise and commodities in those ships of sundry sorts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had been the year past revealed and notified to *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, and the Senat by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senat devised for the chastisement of the offenders: because the LL. of the Coun- D cill in no case would offend the company and society of these publicans and farmers, in such a time especially, when there was some need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, for to proceed with more severity against these lewd and fraudulent practises. At length, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, *Sp.* and *Lucius* both *Carvilii*, aroſe up and shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and infamous an indignity this was, and not to be suffered, they brought *M. Posthumius* in question, and laid an action and set a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand * Asses. When the day of triall was come, whether the fine aforesaid * 625 lib. ster. should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted: and that the Commons were assembled in so great number, that the great Court-yard of the Capitol would scarcely hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himself and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he seemed to have was E this, in case *C. Servilius Saſca* a Tribune of the Commons, a friend and near kinſman of *Posthumius*, would by vertue of his place come between and stop the course of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes and wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes abovenamed, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, and their depositions being taken, commanded the people to void and make way: And the lottery casket or foſſer was brought forth to cast lots in what Tribes the Latines should give their voices. All this while the Publicans were earneſt with *Caſca*, to dissolve the assembly by one means or other, and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other side called on hard and gainsaid it. And as it fell out, *Caſca* sat formost in one of the points and corners of the assembly. He wist not what to do, his mind was so perplexed for shame of the one side, if he did not help his friend and kinsman, and for fear on the other side, because he see the people so eagerly bent. The Publicans seeing F small hope of help in him, with full intent to make some stir, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes and the people, rushed in upon them, and fell to quarrell and braul both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: insomuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Consul, "See ye not (quoth he to the Tri- "bunes) how basely ye are accounted of and made of no better reckoning among them, than pri- "vate persons? See ye not a riot and mutiny toward, unleſs ye make haſte and break up the as- "sembly? So the Commons were dismissed, and a Senate called: Where the Consuls made relati- on unto the Lords of the Councill, and complained how the solemn Seſſion and Court of the The com- Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicans disturbed: "That Court (I say) plaints of the G "wherein M. *Furius Camillus*, upon whose exile ensued the destruction of the City, suffred Consuls to the "himself to be condemned by ungrateful Citizens: wherein the Decemvirs afore him by vertue Romans. "of whose laws the City is governed, and we live at this day: and wherein my principall Ci- "tizens afterwards have been content to be set down and judged by the people. Moreover how "*Posthumius Pyrgenſis* by force wreſted from the Commons, the liberty of their voices and suffra- "ges: subverted and made void, the judiciall Seſſion of the Commons: curbed the Tribunes and "had no regard of them: came as it were in warlike manner against the people of *Rome*: and got "for their vantage the higher ground, to keep the Tribunes from coming unto the Commons:

"and

"and to stop the tribes for being called to scrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing else it is
"was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding blood, but the patience of the Magi-
"strates themselves: in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and malepart fanci-
"ness of a few: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together
"about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himself with force & arms was rea-
"dy to stop and hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to
"quarrel, which was the only thing that they sought for. When this matter with all the circum-
stances was throughly scanned of, and the best men there had spoken their minds, and given their
opinion according to the outragiousness and indignity of the thing: and thereupon the Senat de-
creed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (a I
most dangerous precedent to be suffered) then without more ado, the two *Carvilii* Tribunes of
the Com. laid aside clean all debating about the penall fine aforesaid, and indited *Posthumius* of a
capitall crime: and commanded him to be attached by a principall Serjeant, and to be led to pri-
son, unless he put in good sureties for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound
for him body for body. *Posthumius* put in bail: and made default at his day. The then Tribunes
called the Commons together, preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to pass as an act, in
this form: That if *M. Posthumius* came not forth & made appearance before the * Calends of *May*, * 1 of *May*.
and being cited and called that day, answered not to his name, and no lawfull excuse alleaged for
his absence, they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in
port-sale and himself to be excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to
lose the benefit of a Citizen for ever. This done, they began also to endite all those, one after ano-
ther, of a capitall crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and stirrers of a sedition and com-
motion of the people, and to call for personal pledges. At the first they committed as many of them
as could find no such sureties: and afterwards, those also that were sufficient to put in bail. For the
avoiding of which danger, most of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the
Publicans fraudulent dealing: and this was the issue of their audacious enterprise, in defence and
maintenance of their guile and deceit.

After this, a solemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius
Cethegus* newly elected Prelate, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were,
who sued for that Preiacy, and strived earnestly one against the other: namely, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, t
Consul for the time being, who also had before been twice Consul, and Censor besides; also *T.
Manlius Torquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewise dignified with a dou-
ble Consulship, and one Censorship; and last of all *P. Licinius Crassus*, who as yet, was to sue for
the Ædileship: howbeit, this young man in that sute and contention was superiour, and carried
it away from those grave, ancient, and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hun-
dred and twenty years, there had not been created any one, the highest Priest, (save only *P. Cor-
nelius* * *Calussa*) but had sit before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Consul had * *Scipula ra-
much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of souldiers, by reason that thes.*
the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnish out the new legi-
ons of Citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer M
them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be cho-
sen two Ternions of Triumvirs: the one sort of them to be sent out, within the compass of fifty
miles every way from *Rome*, the other to go farther; with commission, to take good view and sur-
vey, both within that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market towns: in boroughs
and places of frequent assemblies; of all persons of free condition that they could set eye on: and
so many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the
lay full age for service, to press them for souldiers. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the
Commons, if they so pleased, should put up a bill, that all under seventeen years of age, who had
bound themselves by military oath, should have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled soldi-
ers at seventeen years or upward. By vertue of this decree, the two Ternions aforesaid of the N
Triumvirs being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the country over for free-born men
accordingly.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of *Sicily*, concerning the demands of
those souldiers who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate House. That army
consisted of the residue which remained after the field lost at *Canne*, and was confined into *Italy*
(as hath been said afore) with this condition, not to return back into *Italy* before the Punick
war should be ended. These souldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to send as Embassadors un-
to *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principall men of arms, such as served on hor-
ses allowed by the City, the chiefe Centurions also and the bravest souldiers and choice flower
of the Legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having liberty granted them for to speak, made O
his oration in this wise. "We had come to you into *Italy*, O *M. Marcellus*, when you were Consul, The Oration of one of the Embassadors of the confined souldiers unto *Marcellus*.
"immediatly upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unreasonable,
"yet surely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be sent into this Pro-
"vince (so generally trembled and out of order by the death of the KK. there to be employed
"in some dangerous and cruell war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once,
"and so with out bloudshed and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our trespass unto the
"Magistrates and rulers of *Rome*. Like as in our fathers daies, they which were taken prisoners
"by

A "by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the
"same *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not see, [my LL. of the Senat] for what ill desert of our parts, ye
"either have been displeased aforetime, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks,
"I see both Consuls, and the whole body of the Senat of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Mar-*
"*cellus*: whom if we had had to our Consul at *Canne*, it would have gone better both with the
"Common-weal, and with our selves, then it did. For I beseech you, suffer us now, before I
"I make moan, and complain of our hard state and condition, to purge our selves of that crime
"for which we are blamed. Set case, that neither the wrath of the Gods, nor destiny and fatal
"necessity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible
B "course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated & over-
"thrown at *Canne*, but our own selves, and our default was the occasion: let us see then, whose
"fault it was, the souldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a souldier,
"and of my Captain and General I will never speak but well: of him especially, unto whom I
"know the Senat rendred thanks, for that he despaired not of the common-wealth: and whose
"government ever since his flight and running away, hath been prorogued from year to year, and
"who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise,
"who escaped that unfortunat foil and defeat, I mean our military Tribuns and Colonels, who
"(as we hear say) sue for dignities, bear honourable offices in City, yea, and rule whole Provin-
"ces as LL. Presidents in forein parts. It is so indeed my LL? do ye so easily pardon and forgive
C "your own selves and children? and deal ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us base ab-
"ject persons, and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonor imputed to the Consul and
"other great personages of the City, to flie, when there was no other hope? and were the poor
"souldiers sent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up, and none to escape? At
"the battail of *Allia*, the whole army in a manner fled away: Also at the straights of *Caudium*
"(to say nothing of other shameful foils of our armies) the host yeelded up their armor to the
"enemy, before they joyned battel, and fought one strok. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies
"sustained any infamy and shameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered
"again by the means of those Regiments which fled from *Allia* to *Veii*, and also the Caudine le-
"gions which returned to *Rome* naked, were sent again into *Samnium* well armed: who subdued
D "and brought under the yoke of subjection the very same enemies, who had taken such pride and
"joy in that dishonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Canne*, is any man
"able to come forth and charge them justly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved
"themselves unseemly, and not like souldiers? Where were slain in field above fifty thousand men:
"from whence the Consul fled with fifty Horsemen, and no more: and of which company there is
"not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, weary with killing, spared and left. I remember,
"at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransome, then
"every man commanded and praised us, for laying and reserving our selves against another day, to
"be employed in the service of the Common-weal: for resurging unto *Venusia* to the Consul,
"and for making a good shew of a compleat army. But now, in worse case are we, than in our
E "fathers dayes, captives have been that were taken prisoners. For they only had their armor and
"weapons changed for worse, their rank in the battel shifted, their place in the camp where
"they should quarter, altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered again all at once, by per-
"forming their good devoir to their country, and winning a victory in one fortunat battel. Not
"one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beside hope to be dis-
"charged from souldiery by serving out his full time: and to be brief, they were set to fight with
"some enemy or other, where they might once for all, either lose their life, or end their dishonor.
"And we, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unless it be this, that we were the cause,
"and none but we, that some citizen of *Rome* might be said to remain alive of all those that were
"at the battel of *Canne*: we I say, are sent far enough off, not only from our native country, and
F "*Italy*, but also from all enemies: where we wax old in exile, to the end, that we should have no
"hope, no occasion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our disgrace, to mitigate and paci-
"fie the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of
"shame, nor reward of vertue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be
"permitted to make proof of our courage, and shew our prowess. Pains and perils we seek for,
"and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave souldiers. Two years
"already there hath been sharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carthaginians won by
"force, other some the Romans took likewise by assault. Whole Regiments of foot, many troops
"and corners of horse encounter together, and assail one another. At *Syracuse* there are great
"enterprises and worthy feats of arms, both by Sea and Land. The shouts of them that fight, the
G "very clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and
"we sit still like idle lusks, and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with.
"*T. Sempronius* the Consul, with legions of bond-slaves, hath bidden battel to the enemies,
"and fought with them in plain field so oft, that they are well recompensed for their labour with
"gaining their freedom first, and then the Burgeoisie of the City. Let us yet, in place and quali-
"ty at least wise, of bond slaves taken up and bought for money against these wars, fight with
"those enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight try, whether we can regain our en-
"largement and liberty. Will you your self, O *Marcellus*, make tryal of us, and of our valour, by Sea,

" by Land, in pitched field, and battel ranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled Towns? H
" Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises,
" are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that be times, and at once, which we
" should have come unto at *Cannæ*: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined
" to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfie their request. Howbeit, write to the Senat he would: and according as the LL. should give advice and direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Consuls, and by them read in the Senat-house. And after deliberate consultation about their contents, the Senat passed this decree: That as concerning those souldiers, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before *Cannæ*, the Senat saw no reason, why they should be put in trust any more with the affairs of the Common-wealth: but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided alwayes, that not one of them be dispersed with, and freed from service or charge of souldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimony and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into *Italy*, so long as the enemy made abode there. I

After this, the Pretor for the City, by vertue of a decree from the Senat, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners K called *Quinqueviri*, for the reedifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of Triumvirs, the one for taking an inventary of all sacred things, and to sign and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedifying the Temples of *Fortune* and dame *Matuta*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, and likewise of *Spes* without the gate, which the year past were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempests hapned this year. On the Alban mount it rained stones continually for two dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning from Heaven; and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and fort above *Suessula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels striken stark dead. The wall and certain turrets thereon at *Cumes*, not only smitten, but also shaken down and overthrown with lightnings and thunder-bolts. At *Reate* there was seen an huge stone to flie to L and fro in the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to bleud. In regard of these prodigious sights, there was a solemn Procession and supplication all one day; and the Consuls for certain dayes together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the Novendial Sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time already both *Annibal* hoped, and the Romans also suspected that the Tarentins would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastned it the rather. There was one *Phileas* a Tarentine, who having abode long at *Rome* under colour of an Embassador leger, a busy headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found means to have access unto the hostages of the Tarentins. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with M the less attendance and careful eye, because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostages he had oftentimes solicited and perswaded by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two sextons and warders of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in safe custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, and directed them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noised throughout the City: Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having overtaken them at *Terracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to *Rome*: where in the N *Comitium*, they were by the consent of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down headlong from the cliff *Tarpeia*.

The cruel rigor of this punishment, caused much anger; and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Grecian Cities in *Italy* to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in private particularly: according as any man was either in bloud joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were about thirteen noble Gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together and the chief of them were *Nico* and *Philomenes*. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought best to speak and confer with *Annibal* first: and so having gone forth of the City under a pretence as if they went to the chace a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew neer unto O the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neer unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philomenes* only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were brought before *Annibal*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complot and upon what occasions they entred into that designment they were highly commended, and promised great rewards, and willed and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their contry-men in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them into the City, certain cattel of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding; and

A and herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any impeachment and resistance whensoever. Thus these yong Gentlemen were seen to bring in good store of cattel: and as they were known to make this adventure the second time and oftner still, men marvailed the lesse at the matter, and suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Annibal*, they covenanted with him upon his faithful promise in these terms. *Imprimis*, for the Tarentins themselves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. *Item*, to pay no pension nor tribute unto *Annibal*, nor be forced to receive a garrison against their wills. And last of all, to betray the garrison souldiers of the Romans, and all their fortresses and places of strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When these conditions and capitulations B were agreed upon, then *Philomenes* used much oftner to go forth and come in again in the night: and as he was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds following him hard at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntsmen: and lightly ever he took some wild beast or other with his hounds, or else got something from the enemy, that of purpose lay ready for his hands: and alwayes as he brought home ought with him, he would bestow it either upon the Captain of the Roman garrison, or deal it among the warders of gates. And they all, verily believed and were perswaded, that his going out and in thus, most by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accustomably that he had made it an ordinary practise, in so much, that at what time of the night so ever he had but once lured or whistled, the gate was streight set open for him: then *Annibal* thought it time, to put the C plot above said in execution. Three dayes journey he was off. Where became he would have men the lesse marvail, why he kept a standing camp so long still in one place: he feigned and made himself sick. The Romans also, that lay in garrison at *Tarentum*, gave over to suspect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward *Tarentum*, he picked out ten thousand foot and horsemen together, whom he supposed for nimble bodies, swift footmanship, and lightness of armor, to be most meet for expedition: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his ensigns. And having sent one afore-hand fourscore Numidian light Horses, he commanded them, to ride about and scour all the wayes on every side, and to cast their eye to espie and discover all the coasts, that no country people a far off might descry and view the army on foot, but they should be seen: and withal to D bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountred: to the end that the Peasants there inhabiting, might think they were Theeves and Robbers, rather than the vantcurriers and fore-riders of an army. Himself in person marching with great speed and celerity, pitched his camp almost 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there, be known unto his men of his purpose, nor tell them whither they should go: only he called his souldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not suffer any one to turn aside, nor in the march go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and commandment from their Captains, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for himself, he would when he saw his time, let them know his mind, and what the service was that he would have done. And about the same very hour and instant, news came as far as *Tarentum* that E some few Numidian Horsemen forraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At which tidings, the Captain of the Roman garrison was no more moved, nor made any other hast, but only gave order, that some of the Horsemen the next morning by day light should ride forth, to keep the enemy from farther excursions. In the mean time, they that had this charge, bare themselves so carelesly in providing themselves to execute that which they were commanded, that contrary-wise, they took those outrodes of the Numidians for a good argument, That *Annibal* with his army was not dislodged, but abode still in leaguer where he lay first. *Annibal* when it was once dark and dead night, began to set forward. *Philomenes* was there ready to be his guide, loden with his game hunted as his manner was. The rest of his conspiracy waited their time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordred between F them afore, that *Philomenes* coming in at the usual little wicket, with his venison that he had hunted, should bring in with him some armed men: and *Annibal* on another part, come to the gate called *Temenis*, which looked toward the East, and stood on the Land side of the City, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When *Annibal* approached the said gate, he made a fire, in token that he was come (as it was devised between them before) and it flamed forth and gave a shining light. The like did *Nico* again. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And *Annibal* in great and still silence, led his army close to the gate. *Nico* came suddainly at unawares upon the watchmen fast asleep, killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. *Annibal* entred with his Regiment of footmen, and commanded the cavalry to stay behind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need, G and as occasion required. Now by this time, *Philomenes* also was come neer to that little gate on the other side, where he used to make his egress and ingress to and fro. And when he had raised the watchman with his voyce so wel known, and with his whistle wherewith now he was familiarly acquainted, & said withal, that he was troubled with tugging and lugging of a soul & heavy beast: therewith the wicket was set open. Two lusty fellows there were carrying in the wild bore between them, and he himself followed with one of the huntsmen, lightly & nimbly appointed, and whiles the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beast, wondring at the bigness of the bore, and took no heed to himself, *Nicon.* thrust him through with his spear. Then

tred in after them, about thirty men armed, who killed the reſt of the watch, and brake down the great gates withal: and immediatly there entred the companies with banner diſplayed: and ſo, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noiſe, and there joyned themſelves to *Annibal*. Then *Annibal* divided two thouſand Gauls into three Regiments, whom he ſent into ſundry parts of the City: and gave order to the Tarentins and the Affricans, to get poſſeſſion of the moſt principal and populous places of the City: and when the cry and ſhout was once up, to kill all the Romans whereſoever, and to ſpare the Townſmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, he gave direction to the yong Gentlemen aforeſaid of *Tarentum*, that ſo ſoon as they eſpied a far off, any of their own Citizens and Country-men, they ſhould bid them be quiet and ſtill, to hold their peace, to be of good cheer and fear nothing. By which time, they began to ſet up a ſhout and cry, as men uſe to do in a City taken by aſſault, but what the matter ſhould be, no man of the Town or garriſon could certainly tell. For the Tarentin inhabitants ſuppoſed verily, that the Roman ſouldiers of the garriſon were riſen up to ſack the City: the Romans on the other ſide, thought that the Townſmen mutined, and they were in doubt of ſome traiterous practiſe. The Captain himſelf awakened and raiſed at the firſt tumult, eſcaped to the key, where he took a ſmall Barge or whirry-boat, and fled to the Caſtle. The Trumpet alſo that ſounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman Trumpet, provided aforehand for the purpoſe by thoſe Traitors, and a Grecian blew it, one who had no skill; and ſo it was doubtful, both who he was that ſounded, and who they were that he gave ſignal unto. When day appeared, and the Romans ſaw the armour of the Carthaginians and Gauls, then they wiſt well in what door the wind was, and how the World went: and the Greeks ſeeing the Romans lying along every where ſlain, were ſoon aware that the City was taken by *Annib.l*. But after it was broad day light, and that the Romans who remained unkilled, were fled into the Caſtle, and the noiſe and hurliburly began by little and little to ſlake and give over: then *Annibal* commanded the Tarentins to be called to a general aſſembly, and to preſent themſelves without arms. When they were all come together, but only thoſe who with the Romans were fled for company into the Caſtle, there to abide ſuch fortune as they; *Annib.l* ſpake kindly unto the Tarentins, gave them good and friendly words, rehearſed with great proteſtation what favors he had ſhewed to all their Citizens, whom he had taken priſoners either at *Thraſymenus*, or at *Canna*: and withal, after he had bitterly inveighed againſt the Lordly and proud rule of the Romans, he commanded every man to repair home to his own houſe, and ſet his own name upon his doore: for that ſo many houſes as had not the name written upon them of the Maſter thereof, he would preſently upon ſound of Trumpet, command to be rifled. Over and beſides, that if any one ſhould hap to write his own name, and ſet it on the door or lodging-houſe of a Roman (for he ſaw divers of their houſes empty) he would take him for an enemy, and deal with him accordingly. After this ſpeech ended, and the aſſembly diſſolved, when the doors were marked with their titles and inſcriptions aforeſaid, whereby the houſes of friends and enemies were known diſtinctly one from another: the ſignal was given by ſound of Trumpet: and then there was running every where from all parts to ranſack the lodgings of the Romans. And ſome prety ſprinkling of pillage they met withal. The next day after, he advanced againſt the Caſtle to aſſault it, which after he ſaw impregnable and not poſſible to be won, either by forcible aſſault, or by artificial devices of fabricks and engins, by reaſon that both the Sea came to it, wherewith the greater part therof was compaſſed, in manner of a demy Iland, and alſo fortified beſides on another part with exceeding high and ſteep rocks: and withal, fenced from the City with a ſtrong wall and deep ditch: therefore, becauſe he would neither let nor hinder himſelf from atchieving greater affairs, whiles he was carefully buſied onely about defending the Tarentins nor yet leave them without a ſtrong guard, for fear leſt the Romans from out of the Caſtle, might at their pleaſure come upon them, he determined to raiſe a rampiar for a partition between the Caſile and the City, for their defence againſt the ſaid garriſon. And he was not out of hope, but that when the Romans ſhould offer to iſſue forth to hinder the ſaid work, they might alſo be fought withal: and in caſe they adventured raſhly to run on, and engage themſelves too far, they might be cut off in their heat, & the forces of the garriſon might be ſo diminiſhed & abated by ſome great ſlaughter & execution, that the Tarentins of themſelves ſhould be able with eaſe to defend their City againſt them. The ſaid work was not ſo ſoon begun, but the Romans all of a ſuddain, ſet open the Caſtle gate, ſallied forth & charged upon the pioners as they were labouring about their bulwark. The guard that attended for the defence of the workmen, and ſtood before their work, fell off and ſuffered themſelves to be put back, to the end that the enemies upon their firſt ſucceſs, ſhould be more adventurous: ſuppoſing that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chaſe them. Which being perceived, the Carthaginians whom *Annibal* had kept cloſe for this purpoſe, and had in readineſs very wel appointed, roſe out of all parts, and made head again. Neither were the Romans able to abide their forcible violence. And flie they could not in multitudes by occaſion that the ſtraightneſs of the place would give no leave: and beſides, many things lay in their way: partly, the work that was begun, and partly, other proviſion of ſtuffe brought for the ſame, which mightily hindred and impeached them. Moſt of them fell headlong into the trench: and to be ſhort, more periſhed in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this, the fortification went in and agair, and none durſt venture to hinder it. So he caſt a mighty deep ditch, & raiſed an high rampier within it. Alſo behind it, a prety diſtance off, he went in hand to

to build a mure or wall to it, in the very ſame quarters that they might be able even without any guard at all, or ſtrength of men, to defend themſelves againſt the Romans. Howbeit, he left them an indifferent band of ſouldiers, which might withal help out ſome what in making of the wall. Himſelf then departed with the reſt of his army as far as the River *Galeſus* (five miles off from the City) and there encamped. From which ſtanding camp, he came back once again to ſurvey the work: and finding that it went better forward than he looked for, he began to conceive ſome good hope that the citadel alſo might be won by aſſault. For why it was not defended ſurely by ſituation on high ground, as others are, but ſeated on a plain and divided from the City, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be aſſailed with fabricks, and artillery deviſed of all ſorts, there hapned a new ſupply to be ſent from *Metapontum* to aid the garriſon: whereby the Romans took heart unto them, in ſo much as in the night time of a ſuddain, and before they were looked for, they ſet upon the fabricks and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: ſome they caſt down and overthrew, others they fired and conſumed. And there an end of *Annibal* his aſſault of the Caſtle from that ſide.

The only hope behind now, was in continual ſiege: and yet that hope promiſed no great effect, becauſe they that held the Caſtle, had the Sea free at their command, all that ſide, whereas the ſaid ſort (ſtanding as it were in an half Iſland) overlooketh the mouth of the haven: and the City contrary-wiſe, was wholly ſecluded from al entercourſe of paſſage and commodities coming in by Sea, and liker were they that beſieged the fortreſs, to feel the want and ſcarcity of victuals than thoſe that were beſieged within it. Then *Annibal* after he had called together the principal citizens of *Tarentum*, laid open unto them all, the preſent difficulties, ſaying: "That he "neither ſaw any way to win by force the Caſtle ſo ſtrong and fortified as it was, nor had any "hope at all to gain it by ſiege, ſo long as the enemies were Lords of the Sea. But if they had "ſhips once, whereby they might hinder and ſtay the coming in of their victuals and other "commodities, the enemies immediatly would either quit the peece, or yeeld themſelves. The "Tarentins held well with that, and approved the device. But (ſay they) he that giveth us that "counſel, muſt alſo affoord us means to effect the ſame. For the Carthaginian ſhips if they were "ſent for, and fet out of *Sicily* might well do the feat: mary, as for our own which lie ſhut up "as it were, within a little creek and bay, conſidering that the enemy keepeth the mouth and entry of the haven, how is it poſſible that they ſhould get out from their harbour into the open "Sea, and paſs without danger? Paſs (quoth he?) Paſs they ſhall, make no doubt of that. "Many things, I tell you, conſidered in their own nature are cumberſome and difficult, but by "pollicy and wit of man are eaſily welded and wrought with a ſleight. Ye have a City here ſeated "upon a plain and champain ground, the wayes anſwering to every ſide of it are even, large, and "broad enough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuſe that way which croſſeth the midſt of "the City, and paſſeth along to the haven and the Sea, and ſo will carry and tranſport the ſhips "upon wains, with no great ado and trouble. And ſo, both the Sea ſhall be ours clear, which "now the enemies keep, and alſo we ſhall beſiege the Caſtle round, as well by Sea as by Land: "nay, more than that, within ſhort time we ſhall either enter it, being abandoned of the enemies, or elſe be maſters both of it and them together.

Theſe words not only put them in good hope, that the enterpriſe would be effected, but alſo ſet them in a wonderful good conceit and admiration of the Captain himſelf. Then out of hand, all the wains and carts were taken up from all places as many as could be had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers cranes and other inſtruments were ſet to, for to draw up the ſhips to Land, the way made plain and level, that the carts might go more eaſily, and paſs away with leſs trouble and more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen, cart jades and other labouring beaſts, yea, and men alſo for to draw: and thus the work was luſtily begun, inſomuch, as within few dayes, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and dreſſed, was brought about the Caſtle, and rid at anchor even in the avenue & entry of the haven. In theſe terms ſtood *Tarentum*, when *Annibal* left it, and returned back to his wintering harbours. But authors write diverſly of this revolt of *Tarentum*, whether it hapned the year paſt, or at this preſent. But the greater number of them, and thoſe that lived neerer to that time, when the remembrance of theſe matters was freſh, affirm that it was this very year.

At *Rome*, the Conſuls and Pretors both remained ſtill until the *fifth day before the Calends of *May*, by occaſion of the Latin holy-dayes, upon which day, when they had performed a ſolemn ſacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the *Alban* Hill, they departed every one to his ſeveral charge and Province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new ſcrupulosity of conſcience upon certain prophetical verſes of one *Martius*, a noble and famous Prophet in times paſt. Now, by reaſon that in the year before, there was diligent ſerch and inquiſition made, for ſuch books of *Fortune*, according to a decree granted out of the Senat, thoſe verſes came to light, and to the hands of M. *Æmylius* Pretor of the City, who ſat upon that commiſſion. And he immediately gave them to *Sulla* the new Pretor. Of two Propheſies of *Martius*, the one, which afterwards caried the greater authority with it, by reaſon of the event that hapned ſo right, and declared it ſo evidently, cauſed the other alſo, whereof the time was not yet come, to be of credit and believed. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at *Canne*, in theſe or ſuch like words:

From Trojane line, O Romane once descended,
Flie Canna *River, neer to* Cannæ *Town:*
Leſt ſtrangers born, who have thy death intended,
Force thee to fight on Diomede *his down.*
But warning mine, thou wilt not reſt upon,
Until with bloud thou firſt do fill the plain;
And then to Sea from fruitful Land, anon
Thy men ſhall down the ſtream by thouſands ſtain.
Thy fleſh muſt bait the fiſh in Ocean deep,
And lure the foules that flie from high to prey,
And feed wild beaſts, on earth below that keep.
Mark well my words. Jove *thus me taught to ſay.*

And they who had been ſouldiers, and ſerved in thoſe wars, knew as perfectly *Diomedes* his plains, and the River * *Canna*, as they did the very defeat it ſelf, and loſſe at *Cannæ*. Then was the other Propheſy likewiſe read, which was the darker of the twain: not only becauſe future things are more uncertain, than thoſe which are paſt already; but alſo by reaſon of the kind of writing, which was more obſcure and intricate, in theſe terms:

* The ſame that Aufidus.

If enemies ye would expel, if botch and plaguie ſore
** Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more;*
To Phœbus *(Romans) I adviſe, ye vow, from year to year*
To ſet forth playes in ſolemn wiſe, with mirth and merry chear.
From publick ſtock, the people muſt, part of the charge diſburſe:
The reſt ſhall ye, for you and yours, defray with privat purſe.
The ſoveraign Pretor muſt procure theſe games to be perform'd,
Who ſits in place, mens pleas to hear, and ſee all wrongs reform'd.
Then ſhall the ten Decemvirs hight, the Greekiſh rites obſerve,
In ſlaying beaſts for ſacrifice, and nothing from them ſwerve.
If all be done accordingly, your joy ſhall aye increaſe,
Your State ſhall daily grow in wealth, and fruits of bleſſed peace.
For God Apollo will you ſave, he will your foes deſtroy,
Who at their pleaſure waſt your fields, and work you much annoy.

* *Apollo* is called in Homer Ilia. 2. *Ekhebolos*, i. ſhooting afar off.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this propheſie, they took one whole day. And the morrow after, there paſſed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs ſhould peruſe and look into the books of *Sibylla*, about the exhibiting of thoſe ſaid games, in the honour of *Apollo*, and celebrating likewiſe of the ſacrifices. And when all was peruſed, and relation made before the Senat: the Lords made an Act, and ſet down an order: Firſt, to vow and ſet forth ſolemn paſtimes accordingly, to the honour of *Apollo*. *Item*, After the Games were done and finiſhed, to allow the Pretor * twelve thouſand Aſſes, toward the expenſes of the divine ſervice, and two greater beaſts for ſacrifice. There paſſed alſo another Act of the Senat, That the Decemvirs ſhould celebrate divine ſervice, and ſacrifice after the obſervance and rites of the Grecians: and offer upon the Altar theſe beaſts, to wit, an Ox with guilded horns, and two white femal Goats, with guilded horns likewiſe, for *Don Apollo*: and a Cow with horns, in like manner guilded, for Dame *Latona*. The Pretor, when he was to repreſent the Games within the *Circus Maximus*, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of thoſe ſolemnities, ſhould contribute money, for an offering to *Apollo*, every man according to his ability, and as he might well ſpare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games and Playes exhibited for to obtein victory, and not for to eſcape ſome plague or peſtilence, as moſt men ſuppoſe. And when they were celebrated, the people ſtood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City went in proceſſion, and made ſupplications. Every mans doore was ſet open, and they feaſted and made good chear generally through the City in the open ſtreet; and a high holyday this was, ſolemniſed with all kind of ceremonies that could be deviſed.

* 37 *lib.* 10. *ſt.* *ſterl.*

But to return again to *Annibal*, who was about *Turentum*; and both Conſuls remaining in *Samnium*, but ready, as it ſeemed, to beſiege *Capua*: it fell out, that the Campans already were diſtreſſed with hunger and famine, (a calamity that uſually followeth long and continual ſiege) and the reaſon was, becauſe the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindred their ſeedneſſe. Therefore they diſpatched Embaſſadors to *Annibal*, beſeeching him, that he would take order for grain to be brought into *Capua*, from all parts neer adjoyning, before that the Conſuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the wayes beſet, and paſſages ſtopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, *Annibal* gave direction to *Hanno*, that he ſhould remove out of the country of the Brutii, and paſſe over with his forces into *Campania*, and endeavour ſo, that the Campans might be provided of ſufficient ſtore of corn. Then *Hanno*

Hanno diſlodged anon, and departed with all his power out of the * Brutians countrey, purpoſing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the Conſuls, who lay in *Samnium*: and when he approached neer to * *Beneventum*, he pitched his Tents three miles from the City it ſelf, upon a high ground. After which, he commanded, that the corn ſhould be brought to him into his camp, out of all the aſſociat and confederat Cities thereabout, into which it had been carried in the ſummer afore; and allowed a good guard for the ſafe convoy thereof. After this, he ſent a meſſenger to *Capua*, to give them notice, upon what day they ſhould attend, and be in readineſſe to receive their corn; and againſt the time, provide out of the countrey for the carriage, carts, wains, and draught-beaſts, and pack-horſes of all ſorts. But the Campans, like as they carried themſelves in all things elſe, idly and negligently, ſo in this they were very ſlack and retchleſs: for they ſent little above forty carres, and ſome few beaſts for carriage beſides. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*; becauſe that hunger, which canſeth the very dumb beaſt to beſtir it ſelf and make hard ſhifts, was not able to prick them forward to be more careful about their own buſineſs. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corn, and to come more furniſhed and better provided for carriage. All this being reported to the men of *Beneventum*, with the circumſtances and particulars, as it was, they addreſſed with all ſpeed ten Embaſſadors to the Roman Conſuls, encamped then about *Bovianum*. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at *Capua*, they took order, and agreed between themſelves, that one of them ſhould conduct an army into *Campania*. And *Fulvius*, who undertook that charge, marched by night to *Beneventum*, and put himſelf within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertiſed by them that dwelt neer hand, That *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corn; that there were 2000 carts come, with a rude and diſorderly multitude beſides of people, without armor; that all that they did was in hurry, in haſt, and great fear; and finally, that the camp was out of form and faſhion, and all good military order clean gone, by reaſon of a rabble & multitude of country clowns, come out of thoſe quarters, and entermingled amongſt them. The Conſul, I ſay, being enformed for certain by credible perſons of theſe things, gave his ſouldiers warning to make ready againſt the next night enſuing, nothing but their enſigns and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the Carthaginians. And ſo they ſet forward at the relief of the fourth watch, leaving their packs and truſſes with all their bag and baggage behind them at *Beneventum*: and preſenting themſelves before the camp, ſomewhat before day, they put them into ſuch a bodily fear, and ſo terrified them, that if it had been pitched upon a plain ground, no doubt, it had been won at the firſt aſſault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications beſides, which could not poſſibly be entered upon, without climing upon the ſteep hill with much difficulty, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a luſty aſſault given, and a hot skirmiſh begun, but the Carthaginians not only defended and kept their rampier, but alſo (as having the vantage of the ground) they chaſed and thruſt the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, reſolute hardineſſe overcame all hardneſs and difficulties whatſoever; For in diverſe places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it coſt bloudy blows firſt, and the death of many a ſouldier. The Conſul therefore calling the Coronels and Marſhals together, ſaid, it were not amiſſe to give over that raſh and heady attempt, and, as he thought, it were the ſafer courſe, for that day to retire the army to *Beneventum*, and on the morrow to encamp themſelves afront the enemy, to the end, that neither the Campans might get forth, nor *Hanno* return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the ſooner effected, and with a great deal more eaſe, he would ſend for his Colleague alſo with his army, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But theſe devices of the Captain general were ſoon daſht. For as he was about to ſound the retreat, the ſouldiers with a loud voyce cried out, that they could not away with ſuch faint Captains; they ſcorned to be commanded in ſo cold and ſlothful ſervice: they would none of that: and ſo put the Conſul out of his bent. It hapned, that next unto the gate entring into the enemies camp, there ſerved a cohort or company of the Peligni, led by Captain *Vibius*, who caught the banner out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier, and with that, fell to curſing himſelf and his company both, wiſhing a plague light upon him and them to, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himſelf the way, and brake firſt through the trench, and over the paliſado into their camp. Now by this time the Peligni fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Coronel of the third legion, from another ſide fell to upbraid the Romans, and hit them in the teeth with their beaſtly cowardice, for ſuffering their allies to have the honor of entring and taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedanius* (a centurion of the Regiment called *Principes*, and ſerving in the firſt place thereof) took likewiſe an enſign from him that carried it, and withal, Now ſhall, quoth he, this enſign, and this Centinere (meaning himſelf) preſently be within the rampier of the enemies: let me ſee who dare follow, and ſave it from being taken by the enemy. At firſt, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he clambred to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewiſe. By this time, the Conſul alſo ſeeing his ſouldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpoſe, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling and reclaming his ſouldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, ſhewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens beſides. They all therefore let to, and every man did his beſt: and notwithſtanding there was many a dart driven and javelin lanced, notwithſtanding the enemies oppoſed

* *Abruzza.*

* *Beneventi*, or *Concordia Carthaginenſis.*

posed their armor and bodies full against them, yet they never stinted to assay every place, as well H high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried this mind and strove withal, to die yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning of an hand the camp was won, as easily as if it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confusion of pell mell within the camp. Slain there were of enemies more than six thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, together with the Campan purveiors for corn, and all the provision of wains, carts, and labouring beasts. Besides, another huge booty was taken, which *Hanno* when he went a foraging all abroad, I had raised out of the country of the associats of the people of *Rome*. Then the Consul after he had cast down all the fortifications of the camp, returned from thence to *Beneventum*. And there both the Consuls together (for *Ap. Claudius* also thither came after a few dayes) made sale of all the prizes and pillage, and divided the same. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principal centurion of the third legion, by whose forward and singular good service, the camp of the enemies was forced, were rewarded especially above the rest. *Hanno* then together with some few forragers whom by chance he had with him returned from *Cominium Ceritum* (whither the news came of the losse of the camp) into the Brutians country, more like one that fled in rout, then marched in warlike order.

The Campans also having heard, as well of their own losses as of their allies, sent Embassadors K unto *Annibal*, to certify him; "That both the Consuls were at *Beneventum*, that the war was "within a dayes journey of *Capua*, and but a step from the very gates and walls of the City: and "unless he made good hast to succour and rescue them, *Capua* would sooner come under the "obedience and subjection of the enemies, than *Arpi* did. And he was not to make such a reck- "ning of all *Tarentum* (much less then of the Castle alone) as in regard thereof to leave *Capua* un- "defended, and yeeld it to the people of *Rome*, *Capua* I say, which he was wont to compare and "make equal with the City of *Rome*. *Annibal* promised that he would take care for the good estate of the Campans: and for the present he sent two thousand Horsemen with the Embassadors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invasion and spoil.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected not the safety of the Castle of *Tarentum*, and the garrison there beneged. For *C. Servilius*, Lieutenant, by order and L authority of the Senat, was sent by *P. Cornelius* the Prætor into *Hetruria*, to purvey for corn, and to buy store: who with certain ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of *Tarentum*, passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whose coming, they that before whiles they had but small hope, were oftentimes by way of parly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side, now themselves began to perswade and sollicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garrison surely was strong enough, considering that the souldiers which lay at *Metapontum*, were drawn from thence to the defence and keeping of the Castle of *Tarentum*. And therefore the Metapontins, so soon as they were delivered of the fear whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revolted unto *Annibal*. Semblably did the Thurins also, who inhabited the same tract by the Sea side, M They were moved and perswaded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the Tarentins and Metapontins, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joyned neer in blood (over and besides that they were descended as well as they, out of *Achaia*) as with anger toward the Romans for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinsfolk dispatched letters and messengers unto *Hanno* and *Mago* (who were in the country of the Brutii neer at hand) offering to deliver the City into their hands, if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, Captain there over a small garrison, whom they supposed might be easily drawn forth of the Town to make some rash and inconsiderat skirmish, presuming not so much upon his own souldiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and flour of the Thurians, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished N with armor against the like occasions of service. The Carthaginian Captains afore named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entred into the territory of Thurii: and *Hanno* with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners displayed before the City: *Mago* with the Horsemen, staid behind close among the Hills, over-against the Town, and there lay secretly in ambush. *Atinius* then, who by his espials was enformed only of the squadrons of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falshood and treason of the Townsmen, and also of the covert trains and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whiles the Romans being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the Thurins looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any hast to fight themselves and help: and withal, the squadrons of the Carthaginians gave ground for O the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the side of the Hill, under which, on the other side their Horsemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so soon come, but the Horsemen made hast to shew themselves, with a great outcry, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered company and multitude of the Thurins: who were not very fast and sound in heart to them on whose side they fought. The Romans, albeit they were environed round, whiles the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the Horsemen charged them a-fresh on the other side, yet they maintained fight, and held out a long while: but at last, they likewise turned their back

A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conspirators being gathered together on heaps, so soon as they had let in at the gates standing wide open, the companies of their own citizens: when they saw once the Romans running apace in disaray toward the City, made a false alarm, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the City, unless they made better hast to shut the gates. So they excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hewn in peeces by their enemies. Howbeit, *Atinius* with some few, was received within the Town first. After this, there was some mutiny and dissention between the citizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to stand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yeeld unto fortune of B the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in conclusion, fortune and bad counsel together, (as for the most part it falleth out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought *Atinius* and his souldiers to the haven side, unto their ships for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild and just government, and therefore were ready to save him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the City.

The Consuls then led the legions from *Beneventum* into the territory of *Capua*, not only to make spoil and marre the corn, that was laid up already in strong Towns against winter, but also to assail *Capua*: supposing they should make their Consulship renowned unto posterity, by the destruction of so rich and wealthy a City: and besides, do away that great dishonour and shameful C blemish of the Empire of *Rome*, in suffering a City so neer unto them to continue now three years in rebellion, without revenge and condign punishment. But to the end that *Beneventum* should not be without a guard, and that against all suddain accidents and occurrences of war, in case *Annibal* should come to *Capua*, for to rescue and aid his allies, (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be Horsemen to withstand his violence: they commanded *T. Gracchus* to come out of *Lucania*, with the cavalry and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave some other to govern the legions and the standing camp, for the guard and defence of those parts there.

Gracchus before he dislodged out of the Lucans country, hapned to have a fearful and prodigious token, as he offred sacrifice. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two D Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entrails of the beast, and fell to eat the Liver: and so soon as they were espied, suddainly glid out of sight and were no more seen. Now, when as the bowel-pryers had given advice to kill a new sacrifice, and so soon as the inwards were opened and laid foorth, to tend and look unto them more heedfully; the Snakes came again, as it is reported, the second and third time: and when they had once given as it were an assay, and tasted the Liver, they went cleer away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothsayers aforesaid, had given an *Item*, and foretold, that this prodigious sight perteined properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of some close persons and secret practises: yet his fatal destiny of death that hung over his head, could by no forecast and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a Lucane, the principal head of E that bend and side of the Lucans, which when the other faction revolted unto *Annibal*, took the Romans part: and having been by them chosen the Prætor, had continued in that place of Magistracy a year already: this man all on a suddain chanced his mind and affection, and seeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Annibal*, could not be content to revolt himself, and to draw with him the Lucans to rebellion; unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies, and sealed it with the murder and bloud of his General: of him (I say) who being entertained and lodged in his house, he purposed villanously to betray. He entred therefore into secret speech and conference with *Mago*, Governour over the *Brutii*, and having capitulated with him, under his faithful word and promise, That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands, the Lucans might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the Carthaginians; he told him of a place into which he would bring *Gracchus*, with a small company and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horse in arms, and in such a place aforehand, where- in he might bestow closely and secretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practise. This done, *Flavius* cometh to the Roman General *Gracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterprise of great consequence, for the accomplishment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Gracchus* himself: "Namely, he had perswaded with all the Prætors and Go- "vernors, who in that universal and general trouble of all *Italy*, had revolted unto *Annibal*, for "to return again into the league and friendship of the Romans: seeing that the Roman state and "their Dominion, which by the overthrow at *Canne* was come in a manner to the lowest ebb, "and fain into extream despair, flowed now again, and grew every day more than other, greater "and mightier: whereas contrary-wise, the puissance of *Annibal* decayed much, and was well- "neer come to nothing: besides, the Romans were men that might be appeased and reconciled "again, especially the trespass being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation un- "der the sun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have "they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and "ancestors? These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words. Mary "they had rather hear *Gracchus* himself speak, and hear the same from out of his own mouth:

"they

"they would more gladly talk with him in person, and take hold of his right hand, which as the H
"assured pawn of his faithful promise, he carieth alwayes with him wheresoever he goeth, and
"they desire no more, I have therefore (saith he) appointed a convenient place of enterview and
"conference: lying out of the way and forth of sight, but yet not far from the Romans camp.
"There the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the name and nation of the Lucans,
"reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of *Rome*. *Gracchus* suspecting no fraud
nor harm neither in his words nor deeds, sounding all to a great likelihood of simplicity and truth
in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only
with a cornet of Horsemen: and so by the guidance of his own host, in whose house he lodged,
was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambush of his enemies: Who suddainly arose: I
and *Flavius* because he would put it out of doubt that he was a traitor, went to their side and
joyned with them. Then they let flie arrows, and shot darts against *Gracchus* and his Horsemen
on every side. "Whereupon *Gracchus* alight from horseback, and commanded the rest to do the
"same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would
"grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us, (a small handful unto them)
"invironed as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and
"woods, but present death? This only we are to resolve upon, Whether in this present amaze-
"ness and heartless fear, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge again; or
"turning wholly our timorous expectation and suffering of death, into choler and courage, fight
"adventurously and manfully, and bathing our hands in the blood of our enemies, lose our lives K
"and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gasping themselves under us.
"Ah! that Lucan, that fugitive rogue and rebel, that treacherous and false traitor, see ye all lay at
"him. Whose hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Priest, to sacrifice and send him to the Devil,
"he shall win an honourable prize, and find no small solace and comfort in his own
"death.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arme (for they had not brought forth with them so much as their shields) and charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was far greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romans lay open most unto the shot. And thus overcharged on all sides from the higher places: as being in the valley subject to the volley of their darts, they were soon pierced through. When *Gracchus* was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having espied among the enemies his good host and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickest presse: where he was so fully bent to mischief him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have left the lives of many other. He was not so soon dead, but *Mago* sent him streight wayes unto *Annibal*, and commanded that his body together with the knitches of rods (belonging to his Magistracy) should be presented and shewed before the Tribunal seat of the General. And this is the true report of the end of *Gracchus*: to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains which are called *Veteres Campi*. There be some that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied with his Serjeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the camp within the M
territory of *Beneventum*, neer unto the River * *Calor*, for to wash himself: where there chanced his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and salows that grew by the bank side, and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he could with slinging at them pible stones such as the River afforded and carried down with the stream, and so was slain. Others write, that by advice of the Bowel-pryers, he went out of the camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and clean place, those prodigious tokens above rehearsed: and there was beset and environed round about with two troops of Numidian Horsemen, who hapned there to lie in ambush. See how variable and uncertain the same goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person came by his death. Nay, the very funeral and sepulture also of *Gracchus*, is diversly delivered. Some say he was N
entered by his own souldiers within the Roman camp. Others give out and say (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of *Annibal* he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funeral fire made in solemn wise to burn his corps; that the whole army justed and ran at tilt and torniment in their compleat armor; that the Spaniards leaped and danced Morrice; and each nation according to their guise and manner performed sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that *Annibal* himself in proper person, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be devised, both in word and deed, solemnized the obsequies in the best maner. This say they that affirm the thing to have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man should believe them, who record how he was slain at the River *Calor*, then the enemies gat nothing of him but only his head. Which being O
presented unto *Annibal*, he sent *Carthalo* immediatly with it into the Roman camp, unto *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer or Questor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of the General, and both army and citizens of *Beneventum* together solemnized the same right honourably.

Gracchus killed by his host, a Lucan.

Calor.

The Consuls being entred into the territory of *Campan*, as they forraged all abroad, straggling one from another, were by the Townsmen of *Capua* which sallied out, and by the Horsemen of *Mago*, put in fear; whereupon in great fright and hast, they rallied the souldiers to their colours, that

A that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embattail them, and set them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very lusty and exceeding audacious, insomuch, as they offered to skirmish sundry times with the Romans, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately atchieved, made the Consuls more circumspect and wary afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence hapned, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldness of the other. For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other; it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the camp one *T. Quintius Crispinus*, linked in special friendship and familiarity with *Badius*, a Citizen of *Capua*. Their acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This *Badius* upon a time, before the revolt of *Capua*, fell sick at *Rome*, and lying in *Crispinus* his house, was liberally and kindly used, yea, and tenderly seen unto by him, during his sickness. This *Badius* having put himself forward before the standing guards, that warded at the gate of the Roman camp, willed, that *Crispinus* should be called out unto him. Which being told unto *Crispinus*, he supposed no otherwise of it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were at enmity, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and band of hospitality, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come in sight and interview one of the other, I B challenge thee, O *Crispine* (quoth *Badius*) to combat: let us mount on Horseback, and trye it out between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To this *Crispinus* made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom we may make proof of our manhood: as for me, if I met and encountred you in the very battail, yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you lest I should defile and stain my hand in the murder and bloudshed of my guest and friend. And with this he turned from him, and went his way. But the Campane contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and rating at him for his effeminat cowardise and dastardliness, letting flie at the harmless and innocent man, all spightful terms and reproachful language: which himself I wot (if he had his due) was well worthy of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him, C that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But if (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I *Badius* a Campane, renounce all hospitality with thee *T. Quintius Crispinius* a Roman, and so farewel all friendship for ever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance, no hospitality will the guest have with the host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. *Crispinus* drew back a long time, and was loth D to enter into the action, but at last his fellow Horsemen, serving in the same troop and cornet with him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campane, thus to insult over him without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whiles he went unto the L. Generals, to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him, took his weapon, mounted on Horseback, and calling upon *Badius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to sing'le fight. The Campane made no stay, and so with spear in rest, set spurs to, and they ran their Horses full carier one at the other. *Crispinus* with his lance pierced *Badius* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, and when he was falen to the earth with the push, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But *Badius*, before his enemy seised upon him, left his target behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows. *Crispinus* then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the bloudy point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the souldiers, brought honourably to the Consule, and presented before them. At whose hands he was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Annibal having dislodged out of the territory of *Beneventum*, and removed into *Capua*, within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campans in his absence, had but few dayes before sought fortunately, the Romans now would be so much lesse able to abide his royal army so often used to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun; the Roman battailons of the Infantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemen, who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and Javelins, until the signal was given to their own Cavalry also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now whiles the men of arms were busy in sight on both sides, it hapned that the Regiment of *Sempronius* [*Gracchus* lately slain] were descried marching a far off under the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, lest they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they sounded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed so

to

to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horsemen. From thence, the Consuls intending to draw *Annibal* away from *Capua*, departed sundry wayes, *Fulvius* into the territory of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into the Lucans Country. The next day, when *Annibal* was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies, being at first uncertain whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to *Capua*. And *Annibal* happed also upon a new occasion presented, to have a good hand of his enemies in those parts.

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chief Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good Captain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his brave mind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senat-house, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Council, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in coasting those quarters, he would do some great deed, and atchieve a piece of notable service: and look, by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vain and unadvised in making this offer, but they were as foolish and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy souldier were all one. And so, where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederats: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good Company of Voluntaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucans Country, where *Annibal* abode after that he had followed *Claudius* in vain, and to no effect. But a man that had but half an eye might see what the sequel and event would be of the conflict between General *Annibal*, and Centinere *Centenius*: between both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiers used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and yong beginners, yea, many of them taken up suddainly in hast, and slenderly armed by the halfs. For so soon as both hosts had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it & fight: soon were they on both parts arranged in order of battail. And albeit the Romans had many disadvantages, yet they mainteined skirmish more than two hours: and that so hotly and couragiously, that they shrunk not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foot. But after that he once was stricken down and slain, who [illegible] not only in regard and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowess, but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashness, presented himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinently the Roman battalion was discomfited and put to flight. And so hard bestead they were, in seeking wayes and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the Horsemen) that of so great a multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean time, *Capua* was streightly beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to assault it in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needful unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveighed to *Casilinum*, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River *Volturnus* (where now the City standeth) was the sconce and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea so neer, and the whole River also might be at their command. Into these two fortresses standing on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of *Sardinia*, as also that which *Mutius* the Pretor had bought out of *Hetruria*, was transported from the Port of *Ostia*, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Over and besides that losse received in the Lucans country, the army likewise of the *Volones*, i. Voluntary souldiers (which during the life of *Crassus*, had served truly and faithfully) now a bandoned their colours; as if by the death of their Captain they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

Annibal made no small account of *Capua*: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there, should not be forsaken and left in so great peril wherein they stood: and yet upon that fortunat success which happed unto him through the rashness of one Roman Captain, his fingers itched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advantage to surprise and overthrow both Captain and army. Whereas therefore certain Apulian Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor, (who at the first in assaulting of certain Cities in *Apulia*, which had revolted unto *Annibal*, bare himself like a wise and prudent Captain: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happy speed in those affairs, whereby himself and his souldiers had made up their mouths and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himself and his men were grown so idle, and so dissolute, that no good government nor military

discipline remained among them: hereupon *Annibal* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few dayes past) in how small stead an army serveth, when it is directed by an unskilful Leader, removed his stores into *Apulia*. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretor, encamped about *Herdonia*. And when the news came thither, that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the souldiers be reclaimed and stayed, but they would in all hast pluck up standards and ensigns, and straight wayes go into the field and bid them battail, without commission and commandement of their Pretour. And no one thing more held them back, than the assured hope they had, to do it at their pleasure whensoever they would. *Annibal* the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tumult in the camp, and that most of the souldiers mightily importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battail, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given them, should all at once upon a suddain, start up and leap forth of their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to *Mago*, with two thousand Horsemen or thereabout to keep all the wayes whereas he supposed they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordred all things beforehand in the night time: at the break of day he entred the field with his army, and embattailed himself in warlike manner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind; not induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed, as drawn and haled thereto through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiers. And therefore as they came forth to battail upon a head and heat, inconsiderately, so they were set in array as disorderly: even at the pleasure of the souldiers, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again, as the toy took them in the head left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or cornet of Horsemen were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawn and stretched out in a great length: notwithstanding the Knight-Marshals and Coronels cried out, that within, there was no strength nor power at all; and that the enemies wheresoever they should hap to charge, would break in upon them and go through. But no wholesome counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay, they would not so much as lend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time *Annibal* was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and aranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onset. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution far short of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his souldiers in fear and great perplexity; recovered his horse in great hast, and with some two hundred horsemen fled away and escaped: all the army besides, beaten back affront, beset behind, flanked on the sides, and environed round, were so killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were masters of the camp.

When these losses one in the neck of another were reported at *Rome*, the City was set in a great fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the main chance, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the lesse troubled at these by-blowes and cross misfortunes. Whereupon they addressed *C. Lectorius* and *M. Mitilius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed reliques and remainders of the two armies; also to have an eye and heedful regard unto them, that upon fear and desperation they yeelded not themselves to the enemy (as it happed after the Cannian overthrow;) and last of all, to make diligent search and seek out those *Volones*, or voluntary servitors, that had abandoned their ensigns and cassed themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levy more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, fairs, and places of frequent resort, That those *Volones* should be found out and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforetime. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Appius Claudius the Consul, after he had made *D. Junius* Captain of the sconce erected upon the mouth of the River *Vulturnus*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta* Governour of *Puteoli*, with commission, That as any ships [with corn] from out of *Hetruria* or *Sardinia* arrived there, they should immediatly send the corn to the camp; went back himself to *Capua*: where he found *Q. Fulvius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Casilinum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Cos. jointly together besieged the City: and sent unto *Claudius Nero* the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suessula* out of the old camp of *Claudius*. Who likewise leaving a small garrison there to defend the peece, with all his power and forces, descended into the plains before *Capua*. So there were three royal pavillions pitched for three LL. Generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie, erecting bastions and forts in places not far distant: yea, and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua*, whensoever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at last to keep within their gates and walls. But before that those rampiers and trenches aboveseid were fully finished, and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto *Annibal*, to complain in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grieved,

ved, that he had forſaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands: and with- H all, to beſeech him earneſtly, that now or never, he would reſcue and ſuccor them, being not only beſieged, but alſo ſhut up and almoſt trenched about, as within a priſon. *P. Cornelius* likewiſe the Prætor of the City of *Rome*, ſent his letters unto the Conſuls, adviſing them before they had fully inveſted *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this liberty, That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whoſoever went forth before the
* 15. of March. * Ides of *March*, ſhould enjoy their freedome and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there ſtill behind, ſhould be reckoned no better than very enemies. Theſe intimations were made known unto the Campans, but ſo light they ſet by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romans, with moſt reproachful taunts and ſpightful terms. *Annibal* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by I force or fraud to gain the Caſtle. And ſeeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence, and took his way to *Brunduſium*, ſuppoſing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there alſo and loſt his time in doing nothing, the Embaſſadors of the Campans arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requeſts both at once. Unto whom *Annibal* made this glorious and lordlike anſwer with a Majeſty: Once already have I raiſed the ſiege, and never will the Conſuls. I trow, abide my ſecond coming. The Embaſſadors having received their diſpatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themſelves within *Capua*, ſo incloſed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

It fortuned at the very ſame inſtant, when *Capua* was thus ſtreightly beleaguer'd, that the ſiege alſo and aſſault of *Syracuſe* came to an end: helped forward and haſtned by intelline treachery K and treaſon withal, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the ſpring, doubtful in himſelf and hanging in ſuſpence, whether to bend his whole forces toward *Agrigentum* againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*, or ſtill proceed to beſiege *Syracuſe*: albeit he ſaw the City might not poſſibly be won, either by forcible aſſault, (conſidering it was by ſituation both by Sea and Land invincible) or piningfamine, by reaſon the paſſage in manner lay open to and fro between it and *Carthage*, for ſafe tranſporting of all ſort of victuals: yet becauſe he would leave no ſtone unrolled, but try all wayes that could be deviſed; he commanded certain revolts from the Syracuſians (for there ſided with the Romans ſome of the nobleſt perſons of the City, who at the time of the firſt backſliding from the Romans, becauſe they miſliked and abhorted all rebellion and change in the ſtate, were driven out and baniſhed the L City) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to ſound the hearts (I ſay) of ſuch as were their followers, and to ſollicit them to their part: and withal to aſſure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means *Syracuſe* were betrayed, they ſhould live in freedome, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themſelves. But no opportunity could they eſpie for to parly and talk with them. For by reaſon that there were many ſuſpected to encline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practiſed, but ſoon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-ſervant toward one of the baniſhed perſons aboveſaid happed to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverſe part unto them: who happing to meet with ſome few, began to move and broach ſuch a matter. After which, certain others lying cloſe hidden under the nets in a fiſher boat came about M by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with thoſe former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practiſed in the ſame manner, by divers and ſundry perſons, until at length they were a crew of fourſcore in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, neer upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *Attalus* (a falſe brother among them, who took ſnuff that he was not ſpecially truſted in the matter) diſcloſed the conſpiracy unto *Epicides*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extream torture, and ſuffered death every one. When this plot would ſpeed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occaſion and occurrence that preſently offred it ſelf. There chanced one *Damaſippus* a Lacedemonian, ſent from *Syracuſa*, as a meſſenger to King *Philip* for to be taken priſoner by the Roman armado. Now both *Epicides* was very deſirous and N exceeding careful how to ranſome him, and alſo *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to grant the ſame. For even then the Romans began to affect the friendſhip of the Ætolians, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederat, and in league. So, when there ſhould be commiſſioners and delegates ſent on both ſides, to parle and treat about his redemption the moſt indifferent
* Stinſtino, * Scala Graca. place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of * *Trogili*, ſaſt by a turret which they call * *Galeagra*, as being juſt in the midſt between, and moſt convenient for both parties. It happed now, that as they had recourſe oftentimes thither about this buſineſs, one of the Romans well viewed the wall neer by, he counted the ſtones that appeared in the forefront of the wal, and made eſtimate to himſelf of their quadrature and proportion; and withal, giving a gueſs as neer as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and meaſure the wall might be rand ſuppoſing it was a O good deal lower than either he himſelf or others had alwayes before taken it to be and eaſy to be ſcal'ed with ladders, even of a mean ſize and middle ſort, he relateth the matter and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But for aſmuch as there was no acceſs unto that place by reaſon, that for the lowneſs thereof, it was the more carefully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for ſome opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it ſelf preſently unto them by means

A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a ſolemn feaſt of *Diana* at that time within the City, and the ſame continued three dayes together: alſo he ſaid, that for want of other things, during this ſiege to make good chear withal, they ſpared for no wine, but made merry therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why? not only *Epicides* had bountifully beſtowed wine upon the whole Commons, but alſo the great men of the City had in every ward and pariſh where they dwelt, allowed a proportion beſides, of their own charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him ſome few of his Colonels and knight Marſhals, and conferred with them: and when they had ſorted out certain choice and elect Centurions and ſouldiers, fit and ſufficient men to adventure and execute ſo great a peece of ſervice, and withal provided ladders
B ſecretly; to all the reſt he commanded a watchword and warning to be given, That they ſhould betimes take their refection of meat and repoſe of ſleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of ſervice. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feaſted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to reſt, and newly fallen ſound aſleep, he commanded one enſign or company of ſouldiers, to cary ladders; and beſides them, there were upon a thouſand well armed and appointed, marching with ſilence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place. When the formoſt without any ſtir or noiſe at all had ſcaled the top of the wall, others followed in their courſe. For the forward and reſolute boldneſs of the former, was able to animate and encourage the reſt, if they had been fals-hearted. By this time now, the thouſand armed ſoldiers had ſeized
C that part, when the reſt of the ladders were ſet to: and upon more ladders ſtill, they gat up to the wall in diverſe places, upon a ſignal given them from the gate *Hexapylos*. Unto which places the Romans were now come, and found no ſtirring at all, but exceeding ſilence and deſolation, for aſmuch as a great ſort of them had made good chear within the turrets, and either were faſt aſleep with drinking wine already, or elſe were bibbing ſtill, notwithſtanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts aſleep. And yet, ſome few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto *Hexaplos* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave ſignal by ſound of trumpet: and alſo from all parts they went not to work any more by ſtealth, but plainly and openly without diſſimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epipolæ*, a place full of
D watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and ſtrucken into fear, and no longer to be deal't withal by craft and guile. And it fell out ſo indeed, that they were mightily ſcared. For they heard not ſo ſoon the ſounding of the trumpets, and the ſhouting and outcry of them that were poſſeſſed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, ſome ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or elſe were born down headlong, with the preſs of others that were affrighted. And yet many there were, who were not ware at all of this miſery and extremity, both becauſe generally they were all dead aſleep, and alſo by reaſon that the City was ſo wide and large, that a thing felt and ſeen in ſome remote parts, reached not ſtreightwayes throughout, to all the reſt. The gate *Hexapylos* was broken down ſomewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entred the City. He wakened them all, and
E ſet them to their buſineſs: he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly ſurpriſed and taken. *Epicides* made haſt from the Iſland (which they themſelves call *Naſos*) with a company of ſouldiers about him, making full account to drive them out again: as ſuppoſing that they were but ſome few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were ſcared and in fear, he ſaid unto them eſtſoons, that they themſelves made more ado, and every thing worſe than there was cauſe, reporting all in greater meaſure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he ſaw all places about * *Epipolæ* full of armed men, after ſome ſmall volley of ſhot, and little skirmiſh with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them, rather than did any good elſe) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into *Acradina*, not fearing ſo much the vio-
F lence and multitude of the enemies, as leſt ſome inteſtine miſchief by this occaſion might ariſe, and that he ſhould find in this tumult and hurliburly the gates of *Acradina*, and the Iſland ſhut againſt him. *Marcellus* being entred within the walls, took his proſpect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the moſt goodly and beautiful City of all others in thoſe dayes, (by report) he wept and ſhed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpoſe to good a paſs, and partly in compaſſion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them ſunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puiſſant armies, together with the loſs of two moſt noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory ſo many wars fought againſt the Carthaginians, with ſo great peril and hazard: ſo many and ſo mighty Tyrants and Kings that
G raigned and kept their ſeat and royal court there: and amongſt the reſt, he could not chuſe but think of King *Hiero*, of freſh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gifts which his own vertue and fortune had graced and endued him withal, was recommended eſpecially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*. When all theſe things preſented themſelves to his remembrance, with this cogitation beſides, how all that beauty and glory within one hours ſpace was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be conſumed into aſhes: before that he advanced his enſigns againſt *Acradina*, he ſent before, thoſe Syracuſians who had converſed (as is aforeſaid) amongſt the guards and garriſon of the Romans, to perſwade the enemies with mild and gen-

* Some make it the fifth part of *Syracuſa*.

tle speech, yet, to yeeld the City. It so fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and walls both, of *Acradina*, were certain fugitive revolts fled from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be pardoned. These would suffer none, either to approach the walls, or to parle and speak with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after he saw that enterprise frustrate and disappointed, commanded to retire with the ensigns unto *Euryalus*. This *Euryalus* is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the City remote far from Sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and very heart of the whole Island: a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Unto whom there was sent from *Marcellus*, *Sosis*, one of them that murdred the tyrant: and after long communication, *Sosis* with crafty words abused by him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of respite and deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trifling out the time of purpose, until *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his forreits, the whole army of the Romans being now enclosed within the walls, should be overthrown and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* seeing that *Euryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced possibly it could not be) encamped himself between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (so are two parts of the City named, and may for their bigness go well enough for two entire cities of themselves:) for fear lest if he were once entred into the populous and most inhabited places of the City his souldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run loosely up and down to rifle. Thither came unto him from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embassadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with sacred veils and infules, humbly beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of bloud, and firing the City. *Marcellus* calling his Councel about these their petitions, rather than demands, after mature deliberation, by general consent of all, gave express and streight commandment to the souldiers, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the body of any free-born person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should be their booty. Now was the camp of *Marcellus* defended on both sides with housing in stead of a wall, and he bestowed a good *corps de guard* at the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: lest when the souldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be assailed. Then upon the sound of Trumpet the souldiers fell to their business, ran into all parts, brake open dores, set all on a fearful hurry, but spilled no bloud: and they never gave over ransacking and rifling, until they had cast out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been a gathering a long time, during their wealthy and prosperous estate. Amid these stirs, *Philodemus* also seeing no hope of succours and rescue, after he had covenanted for his security, to return safe and without harm to *Epicides*, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendred it up to the Romans.

Now whiles every man was turned another way, and busied in that part of the City which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, gat forth of the haven of *Syracuse* with 35 ships, and having Sea-room, hoised up sails, and away he went with a merry gale of wind, leaving 45 behind for *Epicides* and the Syracusians: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the state of *Syracuse* stood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred sail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treasure of King *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* possessed now of the forteress *Euryalus*, and having planted there a garrison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, lest if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, enclosed now as they were, and encumbred within the walls.

After this he besieged *Acradina*, and invested it round about, and fortified three several camps (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up into such streights, that they should be driven to extream scarcity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes, the guards of the one side and the other had rested quiet, suddainly upon the arival of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himself fast by the great Key, and given a signal to them that kept *Acradina*) assaulted the old camp of the Romans, where *Crispinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* also sallied forth, and brake upon the *Corps de guard* of *Marcellus*: and withal, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the strand that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that *Crispinus* might have no aid sent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater stir and tumultuous alarm, than any skirmish to speak of: for *Crispinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulse, and drave him from the defences of his own camp, but also followed him in chace, as he fled fearfully in hast away: and *Marcellus* forced *Epicides* to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their suddain sallies and irruptions.

A great pestilence in *Syracuse*.

Over and besides all these troubles, there hapned a common calamity unto both, the plague and pestilence: in such manner, as it might soon have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For, besides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harvest season of the year, the place it self by nature unwholsome, stinking and corrupt (but much more without the City than within) the extream and intolerable heat of the weather

A weather mightily distempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the first, by occasion of the distemperature of the season, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spred and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were faln sick perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance; or if any came about them, to keep them and minister unto them, they were infected and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go no where, but either death, or corses carried forth to their graves, were presented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their B hearts were so hardned and made savage again, by continual usage to this misery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them unto their sepulchres with due mourning and doleful plaints but also to carry them forth and to inter them: so that the breathlesse bodies lay scattred all abroad on the ground in the sight of them, that looked every hour for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the sick: the sick infected the sound, partly with fear, and partly with the corruption and pestiferous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would die rather upon the swords point, than of this maladie, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their misery. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans, by reason of corrupt water, and much slaughter committed there, C and so long siege about *Syracuse*. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the first, so soon as they saw the sickness to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and stole every man home to the Cities neer adjoyning. But the Carthaginians were fain to stick by it still, as having no place to retire themselves unto, and so, they together with their Generals themselves *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one escaped. *Marcellus* when he saw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the City, where the houses and shadowy places yeelded some good refreshing to the sick and weak bodies: howbeit, many also of the Roman army went of it, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-souldiers of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had served under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themselves into certain Towns, which were not D great, yet sure and strong both by natural situation, and also by strength of walls and other defences; the one of them three miles from *Syracuse*, the other fifteen miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveighed from out of their own cities adjoyning, all manner of victuals, and sent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while *Bomilcar* set sail once again with his fleet for *Carthage*, where he made relation of the state of their confederats in such terms, that still he fed them with some hope, That not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some sort forced and taken the City) might be surprised and taken there themselves: and in conclusion perswaded and prevailed so with them, that they granted not only to send with him a great number of hulks and caricks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with E more ships of war, to encrease his Armado. Whereupon he departed from *Carthage* with 130 Gallies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to set him over into *Sicily*. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape *Pachynus*.

The same and rumor first of *Bomilcar* his coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romans and Syracusians, ministring one while fear, another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicides* fearing lest if the same Easterly winds which then held, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again into *Affrick*, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the Captains of the waged and mercenary souldiers, sailed to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward *Affrick*, and fearing a conflict at Sea, not so much F because he was inferiour to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had many more than the Romans) but for that the winds stood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he perswaded him to try the fortune of a battail at Sea. And *Marcellus* for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the Island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great store of victuals: for fear lest at any time whiles he was shut up within the enemies City, he should be assailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at *Syracuse*. Thus rid two armadaes of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, ready to joyn battail, so soon as the calmness of the weather would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the East wind began to lie, G which for certain dayes had blustred and raged, first *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado seemed to gather still into the deep, only because he might more easily gain the Cape and promontory aforesaid. But so soon as he saw the Romans ships make way toward him, (I wot not what suddain accident it was that affrighted him) he set up all his sails and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had sent certain messengers to *Heraclea*, willing them for to set again their hulks home into *Affrick*, himself coasted all along *Sicily*, and shaped his course for *Tarentum*. *Epicides* disappointed thus on a suddain, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not return again to the siege of a City, whereof a great part was lost already, saileth to

Agrigentum, there to abide and expect the event and small issue, rather than to stir himself and try any more, how to help them with any succour from thence.

These things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quit *Syracuse*; that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Iland of *Sicily*, and in manner yeelded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had sounded first their minds who were besieged, by talk and conference with them, they sent Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of surrendring the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all, That the Romans should have the signory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws; the Embassadors aforesaid called forth to a parley, those unto whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that as they were addressed Orators unto *Marcellus*, so they were from him sent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the besieged, as those who were without the danger of the siege, should be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the same fortune: and that neither the one side nor the other should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speak unto their kinsfolk and friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and composition betwen *Marcellus* and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safety, they perswaded with them so far forth, as to joyn with them, and all together, for to set upon and assault the bodies of the Captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely, *Polyclitus*, *Philistio*, and one *Epicides* surnamed *Sydus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a general assembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things (for which they were wont to murmur secretly among themselves:) "And albeit "ye are distressed (say they) with so many miseries and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for- "tune therefore, so long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from "them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not hatred, but meer "love and charity, that moved them to come against *Syracuse* for to assault it. For when they "heard that the government of the state was usurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the ministers "first belonging to *Annibal*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay siege unto it, inten- "ding not the overthrow and destruction of the City it self, but to put down and depose the "cruel tyrant that ruled the state. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded "from *Syracuse* his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their "hold and possession of *Sicily*, both by Land and Sea, what reason have the Romans, but to be "willing and well content, that *Syracuse* should continue in safety now, as well as if *Hiero* him- "self were living, the only maintainer and observant upholder of the Roman amity? And there- "fore, if ought but well should happen either to the City, or to the Citizens, ye may thank your "selves and none else, for letting slip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and attone- "ment with the Romans. Never look to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this "instant is pretented: if ye had the grace to see what a door is opened for you, to be delivered "from the yoke of most insolent and proud tyrants. This speech they gave ear unto with ex- ceeding accord and general applause. But before that any Embassadors were nominated to be sent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addressed unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, spake in this wise. "Neither we Syracusians (quoth he) O *Marcellus*, at the first re- "volted from you Romans, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was; yet nothing "so much hurtful to you as to us: nor afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder "of the tyrant, was it any citizen of *Syracuse*, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the Kings right "hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, and with deceiva- "ble sleights on another side) that made the brack, and were the troublers and disturbers of this "peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and say truly, that ever we were at our own liberty, "and entertained not peace and amity with you. And now also I assure you, so soon as by the "massacre of these, that held *Syracuse* in such oppression and bondage, we began again to be our "own men and to have the law in our own hands; the first thing you see that we do, is this, to "come and present our selves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yeeld our bo- "dies, our City, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that it shall "please you Romans to impose upon us. As to your self, O noble *Marcellus*, the Gods have "given you the honour of conquest, over the most noble and beautiful city of all other in *Greece*. "Behold now, what memorable acts soever that we have at any time atchieved, either by Land "or Sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See "you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-say and the trump of fame, how great "and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remain for all posterity "for a mark and worthy spectacle to behold: to the end, that whosoever hereafter, shall resort "thither by Land, whosoever shall arrive there by Sea, it may present unto them, both our Tro- "phees and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians; and also this of yours over "us the bravest conquest of all the rest. See (I say) that you leave for your house and family, "the City of *Syracuse* whole and sound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and "linage of the *Marcelli*, and to hold of them as of their soveraign LL. in chief and in villenage.

"That

A "That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater stroke "with the Romans, that the ancient name of King *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memory. "Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye "have tasted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madness of *Hieronymus*, hurt none "of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might "have obteined at the Romans hands: all was cleer there, and no danger from thence. But a- "mong their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief. "For the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over "into their hands, and not comprised within the terms of the composition and protection, drave

B "the auxiliaries also that were waged souldiers into the same scruple and fear. They hastily there- "fore took arms, and first killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Syra- "cusians. Look whom they hapned to meet, them they murdred in this furious fit of choler. "Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handsome for them, they rifled. And because "forsooth, they would not be without their leaders, they created six provosts or Captains, that "three should govern *Acradina*, and other three *Naso*. At the last, after the uprore was "appeased, the mercenary souldiers aforesaid, followed the matter throughly by search and "diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans: and "then began the very truth to appear, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far "different.

C These Embassadors in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were caried away with a wrong surmise and false suspition, and the Romans had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of *Acradina*, a Spaniard named *Mericus*. Unto him there was sent for the nonce among those of the retinue and train of the Embassadors aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary souldiers, serving under the Romans: who finding *Mericus* alone without other company, gave him to understand especially above all "things, in what terms he had left *Spain* (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the "Romans there were grown mighty, and held a great hand over them with their forces. And "that himself, in case he had a mind to do some worthy deed, might soon rise, and be a great man "in his country: chuse whether he list to serve under the Romans, or return again into his own

D "home. Contrary-wise, if he went on still in this course he had begun, and minded still to be "besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from Sea and Land? *Mericus* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should be addressed new Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, sent his own brother with them, who by the self-same Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protection granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to *Acradina*. Then *Mericus* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspition of treason, and that he intended nothing lesse, than to betray *Acradina*, gave it out, That he liked not, and would no more of this recourse, ever and anon, of Embassadors between; and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that

E all the guards should be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the City, and assign to every one his ward by himself, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himself befel the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or well *Arethusa*, unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans. Whereupon *Marcellus* caused a great Hulk, laden with armed souldiers, to be fastned by an haling rope unto a Gally of four course of oars, and so in the night by strength of oars to be rewed and drawn up after it into *Acradina*, and landeth the souldiers over against the gate, that is neer to the fountain *Arethusa*. This being done about the relief of the fourth watch, *Mericus* received the souldiers that were set ashore at the gate, according as before it was agreed. And *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camisado upon the walls of *Acradina*, in such manner, that not only he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept *Acradina*, but also from *Naso* there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put back the violence and assault of the Romans. In this turmoil and trouble, certein Barges appointed and furnished thereto aforehand, were brought about to *Naso*, & there set other souldiers aland: who coming at unwares upon the *corps de guards* that were left half naked and very weak, by reason of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which erewhile the souldiers ran out, with small ado were masters of *Naso*, left, as it was, forlorn of warders, who in fear made hast to run away and escape. And none of them all had lesse means to defend themselves, or smaller mind to tarry still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their own fellows, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape. *Marcellus* so soon as he understood, that *Naso* was won, and likewise that one quarter of *Acradina* was held and kept for him, and that *Mericus* with his guard had joyned to his souldiers, sounded the retreat: for fear, that the Kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the souldiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in *Acradina*, had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians delivered

livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent Orators unto *Marcellus*, craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his Councel together, and those Syracusians likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quoth he) more benefits and good turns for the space of "fifty years received at King *Hiero* his hands by the people of *Rome*, than detriments and mis- "chiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have seized and possessed the "City of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lighted upon their heads right "justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves "have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of *Rome* "would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before "*Syracusa*; not, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be reserved safe and "sound for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders "of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and so hold it in captivity and oppression. How "much the Syracusians might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example ei- "ther of those Syracusians who conversed among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish "Captain *Mericus*, who yeelded up his garison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the "end taken (although it were with the latest) by the Syracusians themselves, may sufficiently "testifie the same. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pain which I have un- "dergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Sy-* "*racusa*, both by Land and Water, thus long; I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as "this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer *Syracusa*.

Syracusa won and ransacked

Then the Questor was sent, attended with a guard, unto *Naso*, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the same in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the souldiers: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to save the same. Amids many cruel, spightful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetousness, which hapned to be committed during the time of this saccage, it is reported That in so great hurliburly as possibly might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry souldiers run to rifling, *Archimedes* was busily occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and hapned to be slain by a souldier, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especial order, that he should be honourably enterred: yea, and caused his kinsfolks to be sought out: and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name sake, were not only saved, but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what means especially, *Syracuse* was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in *Carthage*, if it had been forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with *Rome*, and maintein war with equal force and power.

Archimedes killed.

Some few dayes before the winning of *Syracuse*, *T. Oëtacilius* with fourscore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*, and being entred the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caricks charged with corn. After he was disbarked and set a Land, he wasted grievously part of the territory about *Utica*, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from *Lilybæum* he returned thither again with 130 caricks full of corn and other booty: and that corn he sent forthwith to *Syracuse*: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extream and grievous famine.

In the same summer, the Roman Generals in *Spain* (who almost for two years had done no memorable act there but warred by policy and stratagems, more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forts and winter harbors, and joyned their armies together. Then they called a Councel, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion, That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to empeach and stay *Asdrubal* from all means of passing over into *Italy*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the war in *Spain*. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the Carthaginians had in *Spain* then, no fewer than three armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five dayes journey: *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in *Spain*, was somewhat neerer with his whole power, before a City named *Anitorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: mary, this was their only doubt and fear, lest upon the discomfiture of him, the other *Asdrubel* and *Mago* would for fear retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so maintein a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of *Spain*. And thus they agreed to part their forces: namely, That *P. Cornelius* should lead two third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdrubal*: and that *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war against *Asdrubal* the Barchine [*i.* son of *Amilcar* above-said.] Both these Captains with their hosts set out together in their journy, putting the Celtiberians

before in the vanguard, and encamped neer the City *Anatorgis* in the sight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And there *Cn. Scipio* staid behind, and made his abode with the power aforesaid: but *P. Scipio* went onward to perform that part of the war which he purposed and intended. *Asdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romans, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians; as one that could well skill of the falshood and treachery of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a souldier: by reason that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he used by the means of reciprocal commerce of their language, for to have secret speech and conference with the principal heads of the Celtiberians, and so treated with them, that in consideration of a great sum of money, they were perswaded and yeelded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the slip. And this they supposed was not so heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their swords upon the Romans, and to war against them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to sit still, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to bear arms and fight: and last of all, rest it self, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captains themselves were no sooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude. Over and besides, to strike it dead sure, they stood in no fear of the Romans (being so few as they were) that they could possibly keep them perforce. And surely, this might well serve, to be a Caveat for Roman Captains ever hereafter, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in stead of good lessons indeed, to teach them how they trust again the aids of foreiners; and never to relie themselves so much upon them, but that they always have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural souldiers. All on a suddain therefore the Celtiberians dislodged, pluckt up standards, and departed from them, and never bad them farewel. And when the Romans demanded the cause of this change, yea, and besought and importuned them to tarry, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home, by occasion of wars in their own country. *Scipio* seeing that these Allies of his were so slippery, and could neither be intreated nor enforced to stay: and that himself alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyn again with his brother, was a thing impossible: for want of all other good means, for the present, when he saw no remedy else, determined to retire himself as far backward as he could: having this especial care above all things, not to encounter and joyn battail with the enemy in plain field, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his dismarch.

About the same time *P. Scipio* stood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy, and that was *Masanissa* the young Prince, who then was a friend and pensionary souldier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans. He with his Numidian Horsemen first encountred *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very shrewdly: in such sort, that not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and straging far from the camp, a fuelling or foraging, and send them short of home; but also ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea, and enter upon the thickest of the standing *corps de guard*, and make foul work and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many starts upon a suddain, and assail the gates of the camp and the rampier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no place could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of some shrewd turn or other by him: so as they were driven to keep within their rampier, cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more streightly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in case *Indibilis*, who was coming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Suessetans, were once joyned with the Carthaginians. Whereupon *Scipio* a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwise, driven to these hard extremities, and forced to make shifts, entred into a rash and inconsiderate designment, even to go on and meet (forsooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place soever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battail, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a mean guard to keep the camp, and *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, as Provost and Captain, he set out at midnight, and meeting with his enemies, joyned battail with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and pight field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a confused and disorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom *Scipio* thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a suddain flanked the sides of the Romans, and mightily terrified them. Against these Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head again afresh, behold a third sort of enemies also charged upon his back, even the Carthaginian Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to maintain battail on all hands, and were at a stand, and in doubt with themselves against which enemy to turn first, or what way with a close couched squadron to give the venture for to break through. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his souldiers, presenting and opposing himself forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right side of his body with a Lance: and that massive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thick battailon,

P. Scipio slain.

battailon, which environed their Captain, seeing *Scipio* falling from his Horse ready to die, in great joy and mirth set up a cheerful shout, and ran all over the army, and caried glad tidings that the Roman General was slain. This voice being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtedly for victors, and the Romans to make no other accompt but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their Leader, began forthwith to flie out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and break through among the Numidians, and other auxiliary souldiers lightly armed; so to escape and go cleer away from so many Horse, and Footmen also, who were as swift on foot as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in manner slain in their flight now, then in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on apace and overtook them. The Carthaginian Captains, and those also of *Affrick*, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their business, nor made delay: but presently after the battail, scarcely allowing their souldiers so much sleep as would content nature, marched in great hast toward *Asdrubel* the son of *Amilcar*: making accompt assuredly, that when they had joyned their power with his, they should break the neck of this war, and end it once for all. When they were come to him, great joy and gratulation there was between the Captains and the hosts of both sides, for this fresh victory newly atchieved: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole army, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The news verily of this so great a foil and overthrow, was not yet come unto the Romans: but yet they were strucken into a sad dump and deep silence, and more than that, into a secret presage and fore-deeming of some unlucky tidings: as commonly mens minds use to fore-give and tell aforehand, when there is some mischief and ill toward them. The General himself besides that he saw he was abandoned and forsaken of his associats, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily reenforced; by good conjectures and gnesses, yea, and by very reason was induced to suspect some loss and calamity received already, rather than enclined to hope after any good success and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himself: How is it possible that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* should bring their armies together without conflict, unless my brother be slain in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withstood them not? or how hapneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fast upon their backs? At least wise, if he had not been able to keep them asunder, but that both Captains and armies must needs meet and joyn in one, yet he himself me thinks, at leastwise would have come by this time to his brother, and brought his own power to his. In this perplexity and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himself back from thence as far as he could: and so all that one night unwares to his enemies (who so long only were quiet) he marched a great way, and won much ground of them. The next morning, so soon as the enemies perceived that the Romans were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light Horsemen, and began to follow after them apace, and pursued them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavalry had overtaken them, and skirmished one while with the tail of their march, another whiles at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereat the Romans made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their army as well as they could: yet with great wariness and regard of security, *Scipio* encouraged them so to fight, as they might march on still and gain ground, before the Infantry overtook them. But as one while the army was one foot, and another while stood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And *Scipio* seeing the night draw on apace, reclaimed his souldiers from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, no sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an army, especially so troubled and affrighted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to bestow the baggage and cavalry in the mids within his forces: and at first the infantry ranged round about in a ring, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian Horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached, their Captain *Scipio* perceiving that he was never able to keep that place without some fortification, began to cast his eye about, and to bethink with himself, by what means possible he might empale himself round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the soil of the ground besides so stony and craggy, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a pallisado nor earth meet to make turfs for a bank, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things untoward and unhandsome for a mound, and to fortifie withal. Neither was there any place there, to speak of, so steep and upright, but the enemy might at ease mount up and climb it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some shew and resemblance yet of a rampier, they were forced to take their pack saddles, with their packs tied fast unto them, and so round about to pile them and raise them to the usual height of a mure: And where there wanted pack saddles to make up the work, there they were fain to heap together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them between the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, matched very easily up against the Hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very strange unto them, so as at the first the souldiers marvelled much

and were attonied thereat, and stood still. But their Captains on all sides cried out upon them. And why stand ye gaping (say they) so; and do not pull in peeces and pluck away that foolish bable there, good to make sport with? A very toy, that women and children would scarce stand about thus long? Why, the enemie is taken already in a pinfold, and lieth lurking and hiding himself behind the trusses and other carriages. After this manner (I say) the leaders raised the souldiers. But it was not so easy a matter, either to get over that Barricado of the packs, or to remove and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them; nor yet to unfold and unwrap the pack-saddles, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packs, and entangled together with them. Thus they were hindred and staid a long time: and when at length they had put this bag and baggage aside that was set in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, and that in divers places, the camp and tents were soon taken on all sides, ere a man could turn about: and so being few to many, and frighted men to late conquerors, no marvel if they were killed and hewn in pieces in every place. Howbeit, many of the souldiers having fled for refuge into the forrests neer by, escaped into the camp of *P. Scipio*, whereof *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant had the charge. As for *Cn. Scipio* some write that he was slain upon that mount at the first onset and assault made by the enemies: others report that with a few others he fled into a Tower hard by the camp: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were burned, which by no violent means otherwise they could break open, the enemies entred and took it, and they within were killed every one, Captain and all.

Thus *Cn. Scipio* came to his end, in the seventh year after that he went into *Spain*, and on the nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented no les over all *Spain* than at *Rome*. For among the citizens at home one part of their sorrow they took for the loss of the armies, another part went for the distraction and alienation of the Province: and a third again was spent in the cogitation of the publick calamity: but *Spain* from one end to the other, mourned only for their Governors and Captains, and had a great misse of them. And *Cneus* of the twain, was more bewailed, because he had been longer time their ruler, and had won the favour and affection of men, and possessed their hearts before the other: and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a proof and tast of the Romans just and temperat government.

When the army was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as *Spain* seemed utterly lost, there arose one man yet, that recovered all again, and brought the decaied state to the former perfection. There was in the army one *L. Martius*, the son of *Septimius*, a Gentleman and Knight of *Rome*, a forward young man: for courage and wit, far above the degree and condition wherein he was born. Besides this excellent and most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great helps by the discipline and instruction of *Cn. Scipio*: under whom, for so many years he was trained and had learned all military knowledge and skill meet for a souldier. This *Martius*, what by rallying the dispersed souldiers who were fled, and what by drawing others out of sundry garrisons had raised and assembled together a reasonable good power, and joyned with *T. Fonteius*, the Lieutenant aforesaid of *P. Scipio*. But the Roman Knight, above all others, grew to so great credit and reputation among all the souldiers, that when they had fortified their camp within the river *Iberus*, and were determined among themselves, to chuse one General over the armies, in a solemn assembly of souldiers, even by their own military election: they went one by one in course one after another, unto the main *corps de guard* that defended the rampier, and to the other wards belonging unto the camp, until they had all given their voyces: and so by general consent created him their General. All the time which they had after, (and that was but small) they employed in fortifying their hold, and conveying thither corn and victuals: and what charge soever was imposed by him upon the souldiers, the same they executed readily and willingly, and without any shew that their hearts were dismayed, and cast down any jot at all. But after that news was brought, that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, was coming against them, to dispatch clean the reliques of the war: that he had passed over *Iberus* and approached neer: and the souldiers saw once the signal of battel put forth unto them by this new General; calling to mind, what noble warriors they had served under but a while before: what worthy leaders they were wont to have, and with how puissant armies they used heretofore to go to the field; they fell a weeping every one, shaking and beating their heads: some lift up and stretched out their hands to heaven, blaming and accusing the Gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling every one upon his own Captain by special name. Neither could their piteous moans and plaints be staid notwithstanding the Centurions encouraged what they could the souldiers of their companies: notwithstanding (I say) that *Martius* himself sometimes spake them fair, sometimes rebuked them, for giving themselves to such foolish and vain pulling, like women: and not rather resolve to raise up their hearts, and with him to quicken and whet their stomacks in defence of themselves and of the commonweal: and not to suffer their former Captains and Leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this time now all on a suddain the shout of the enemies was descried, and the sound of the trumpets were within hearing, being come close under the rampier. Whereupon all at once turning their sorrow and weeping into anger and indignation, they run every man to his armor and weapon: and as if they had beenho'n mad they hasted from all parts to the gates and entries of the camp, and charged upon the enemies as they came carelessly and without order and array. Immediately this unexpected and suddain object, stroke an exceeding fear into the Carthaginians:

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as wondring from whence so many enemies should start up so soon, considering the armies were H
so lately clean in a manner destroyed; and how it came to passe, that being newly vanquished
and put to flight, they should be so stout, so bold and confident of their own selves; who a Gods
name, should be their General, after the two *Scipios* were slain; what Captain and Governor
had they over the camp; and who gave out the signal of battail: marvelling (I say) at these pre-
misses, and so many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at first hand they wist not
what to do, but as amazed men, began to give ground and retire; but afterwards, being still
fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten back and put to flight.
And verily, either there had been a foul havock and slaughter of them that fled, or a rash and
dangerous enterprise for them who would have followed the chace: but that *Martius* hastined I
to sound the retreat, and opposing himself against the foremost ensigns of the vanguard, yea, and
taking hold of some of them himself, staid the main battail and repressed their violence, who were
upon the point already to pursue them with heat. And so he reduced them back again into the
camp, as greedy as they were still of murder, and thirsty of bloudshed. The Carthaginians, who
at the first were driven from the rampier, and for fear hastined away; after that they saw none to
follow them, supposed they had been afraid, and therefore staid still: whereupon they departed to
their camp again in rechless manner, fair and softly. And as careless as they were in their retire
thither, so negligent were they in guarding the same: for although their enemies were neer, yet
they remembred and thought again, that they were but the tail and reliques of two armies, van-
quished and defeated a few dayes before. Upon this resolute perswasion of theirs, and base con-g
ceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their camp: whereof *Martius* ha-
ving by his espial, certain intelligence, resolved upon a designment, which at the first sight seemed
more like a project of hazard, than an enterprise of hardiness; and it was no more, but even up-
on a bravery to set upon the enemy in his own camp, and give him a camisado. For as he thought
it an easier emprese, to force the hold and pavilions of *Asdrubal*, being but one, than to defend
and keep his own, in case three armies and three Captains should joyn together: so he considered
withal, that either if he sped well in this exploit, he should restore and set upright again unto the
Romans, the decayed and prostrate State of *Spain*: or if he were discomfited and put back, yet by
giving the adventure first upon the enemies, he should not be altogether contemned, and of no
reputation. But lest this attempt so suddain, and the terror and error which may fall out in the
night-time, should happen to trouble this his designed plot, and the course of his good fortune;
he thought it not amiss, to make a speech unto his souldiers, and to exhort and encourage them
afore-hand. And therefore calling them together to a general audience, in this manner he dis-
coursed unto them of his intent and purpose.

The Oration of *Martius* to his souldiers.

"My valorous and loyal souldiers, either the reverence and affectionat love of mine, toward-
"our chief Captains during their life, and after their death; or rhe very present condition and
"state wherein we all now stand; may be a sufficient testimony and proof to any man whoso-
"ever, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right
"honourable, so it is in truth, and in very deed, to me most weighty, and full of care and trouble.
"For at what time as (but that fear took away all sence of sorrow) I was not so much master of M
"my self, as to seek out and find some comfort and solace for mine own pensive soul and heavy
"spirit; I was forced being but one, (which is a most hard matter for a man to do in time of
"grief) to minister consolation unto the common misfortune and calamity of you all. And
"surely I have no list at all (the harder is my case) to avert my mind from continual grief of heart,
"not so much as even then, when as I am to study and devise, by what means I may be able to
"preserve (for the behoof of my country) these small remnants of two armies. For why? the gric-
"vous and bitter remembrance of calamities past, is ever before me. The two *Scipios* trouble me
"all the day time with careful thoughts, they disquiet me in the night season with fearful dreams,
"they make me oftentimes to start out of my sleep, willing and charging me, to suffer neither
"them nor their souldiers (who were your fellows and companions, and for the space of eight N
"years in those parts where they served, never received foil) nor yet the Common-wealth, to
"continue unrevenged; warning me withal, to follow their discipline, their precepts, rules, & good
"institutions. And like as, whiles they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than
"my self to their directions and commandments; even so after their decease, whatsoever in my
"conceit, I judge they would have had especially done in all occurrences, the same my desire is,
"that you also (my souldiers) would like of and approve for the very best. I would not have you
"to weep, wail, and lament still for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever, (for they live
"still, and shall, so long as the world endureth, and continue immortal in renown and fame of
"their worthy and noble acts) but rather so often as you remember and think of them, to go like
"hardy and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them speaking unto you, or saw them g-O
"ving out the signal of battel. Neither was it (I assure you) any other object but that, presented
"yesterday unto your eyes and minds, which effected so memorable a piece of service as it was:
"by which ye have made good proof unto your enemies, and given them to understand, that the
"Roman name died not together with the *Scipios*; and that the vigour and vertue of that people
"which was not extinct and buried, by the overthrow at *Canne*, will ever rise again (ye may be
"sure) out of all adversities, let cruel fortune storm and rage as much as ever she can. And now,
"since ye have shewed such valour and hardiness already of your own accord, I have a mind-
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A "and would gladly see, how bravely ye will bear your selves upon the direction and command-
"ment of your Captain. For yesterday, when I sounded the retreat unto you, at what time as
"you followed so freely upon the enemy, being troubled and disarrayed; my desire and meaning
"was not to repress and abate your bold courage, but to defer and reserve it against some greater
"opportunity of advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploit: that anon upon the
"first occasion, you being prepared and provided, might surprise them at unawares, and not han-
"ding upon their guard, armed and wel appointed, assail them disarmed & naked; and that which
"more is, whiles they are in their beds fast and sound asleep. And the hope that I conceive of this
"good opportunity and effect thereof (my souldiers) ariseth not upon some fantastical imagina-
B "tion of mine own brain by hap-hazard, and upon vain presumption, but grounded upon good
"reason and present experience. For verily, if a man should demand even of you your own selves,
"What the reason was, that being but few in number, and lately discomfited, ye were able to de-
"fend your camp, against many more than your selves, and those heartned with fresh victories; ye
"would make no other answer but this, That you, fearing that which followed, had both fortifi-
"ed your camp in every respect with strong munitions, and were your selves well appointed and
"furnished, yea, and ready to receive them whensoever they came. And surely, so it is, and we find
"it true by experience: Men are least sure and secured against that which fortune saith is fearless,
"and need not to be prevented, because that which we neglect is evermore open and exposed to
"all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing less at this time, then that we, who were so lately
C "our selves besieged and assailed by them, will now come to give an assault upon them in their
"hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would believe that ever we durst enterprise,
"and the self-same cause which seemeth to make the thing most difficult, shall effect it soonest of
"all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noise at all in
"great silence. Well entormed and assured I am, that in their camp the Sentinels are not relieved
"in due course and order, neither yet the ordinary *corps de guard* kept as they ought to be. Your
"shout and outcry shall not so soon be heard at the gates, nor your first charge and assault given,
"but ye shall surely be masters of the camp. Then let me see you perform that slaughter and exe-
"cution among them heavy and dead asleep, affrighted with an unexpected alarm, and taken on
"a sudden unarmed, and in their beds: from which yesterday ye thought much, that ye were cal-
D "led away and reclaimed. I wot well, that this seemeth unto you an audacious enterprise and ful
"of hazard, but when things go cross and stand in doubtfull terms, and when other means for the
"hardiest attempts, yea, and the most venturous and desperate courses, are ever safest and speed
"best. For if a man stay never so little at the very instant when a thing is to be done (whereof the
"opportunity passeth and flieth away ere one would think) immediatly when it is once gone, he
"may fling his cap after well enough, and complain thereof and say, had I wist, but never the
"nearer. One Army they have hard at hand, and two more are not far off: now if we venture of
"them here, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs. And once already ye have
"made triall of their forces and your own: put we it off another day, contenting our selves with
"the bare name of yesterdaies sally, and give over so, it will be great doubt and danger, lest all
E "the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And shall we then be able to hold
"our own against three Generals and three hosts, whom *Cn. Scipio* having about him his whole
"puissance, fresh and in good plight, could not withstand nor abide? Our Captains by dividing
"their forces, and dismembring one compleat army, were defeated and overthrown: semblably
"may our enemies, parted while they be, and severed asunder, be discomfited and brought to
"nought. Lo, this is the only way for us to war and none other. And therefore let us wait no lon-
"ger than the commodious opportunity of the next night. Go ye then a gods blessing, make much
"of your selves, take your repast and repose, that ye may be fresh and lusty to break into your ene-
"mies hold with the same resolute courage, wherewith erewhile ye defended your own. The
souldiers, as they gladly gave ear to this new counsel: of their new captain, so the more audaci-
F ous and adventurous that it was the better it pleased them. The rest of the day behind they spent
in furbishing and making ready their harnesse and weapons, and in cherishing their bodies, yea,
and the better part of the night they slept quietly. And so at the relief of the fourth watch they
set forward.

Now were there other companies also of Carthaginians, beyond this next camp above said, a-
bout six miles distant from thence. A hollow way and valley there lay between, standing thick of
trees. In the midst of this wood, for a furlong space well near, he bestowed closely a cohort of foot-
men, yea, and certain horsemen of Romans: but by his leave this was but a crafty and slie trick,
borrowed of the Carthaginians. Thus the midst way being intercepted and taken up, the rest of
the forces were conducted in a still march toward the enemies in the next camp. And finding no
G guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entred in as it had been into their
own hold, and no man made resistance: then they sounded trumpets, and gave the alarm. Some fall
to killing of the enemies half asleep: others fling dry litter and straw for to kindle fire upon their
huts and pavilions; other some again keep the gates, that none should issue forth. So the fire, the
outcry, and massacre all together, put them out of their right wits, and made them, as it were, be-
sides themselves; that neither hear they could, nor yet make any shift for themselves. Unarmed
and naked men fell among the bands of armed souldiers. Some run in hatte to to the gates, others
finding the waies and passages beset run up to the rampier: and look as any escaped and got away

from thence by that means he flieth straight waies directly toward the other camp. Where they were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the cornet of horsemen, which rose up suddenly out of their Ambuscado: and being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so swiftly, and with so great expedition, the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were slipt away a forraging, fuelling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their corpse de guard, the souldiers themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates, and under the rampier. With these souldiers so secure, so retchless, so disarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blound, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And so within the Camp there was a hot and cruell fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and scuffling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen all bloudy were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of a former execution; and thereupon drave them into a mighty fear. This fearfull fight caused them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps wheresoever they could make shift to find way, and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the compass of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Martius*, there were two encamped holds forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, saith *Claudius* who translated the Annals of *Acilius* out of the Greek tongue into the Latine and 830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty. In which pillage there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. *Valerius Antias* recordeth, that the camp only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slain: and that in another battell with *Asdrubal* upon a tally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth, that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hot and disorderly chace (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambush. But all writers do blaze on the great honour and fame of Duke *Martius*. And besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely that as he made the Oration unto his souldiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head without any sense and feeling of his, to the great wonder and fear of the souldiers that stood about him: and that in the memoriall of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Jup.* untill the Capitoll was burned, that foresaid shield, with the Image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Martius* his shield. After this, *Spain* was quiet for a long time, whiles both sides after so many overthrows given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in *Spain*, *Marcellus* upon the winning of *Syracuse*, having set all other things in order throughout *Sicily*, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that not only he greatly augmented his own glory, but also enlarged the majesty of the people of *Rome*, brought over to *Rome* all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in *Syracuse*. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artisans: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which staid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the Temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate *Capena*, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well-near of *Sicily*, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike, so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of *Syracuse* had either not rebelled at all, or became reconciled and in favour again, they were accepted in the quality of faithfull Allies, and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of *Syracuse* yielded were reputed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small reliques of war about *Agrigentum* for the Romans to dispatch namely, *Epicides* and *Hanno*, the Captains of the former war: and a third, sent of new from *Annibal* in the room of *Hippocrates*, a Citizen of *Hippo* (his countrimen name him *Mutines*) descended from the *Libyphenices*, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had been brought up and taught all feats of arms, and skill of warfare. Unto his charge were committed by *Epicides* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over-ran all the countries belonging to the enemies: he went unto all the Confederats, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within

within short time he got himself a great name throughout all *Sicily*, so as the favorits and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicides* the Syracusian, who for a time had been pent up within the walls of *Agrigentum*, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of *Mutines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of *Agrigentum*, and upon the river *Himera* encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and sate him down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they did or went about. But *Mutines* gave him neither opportunity or place to rest him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terrour, and tumultuous noise assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yea, and the morrow after gave them battell as it were in a pitcht field, and drave them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to *Heraclea Minoa*) he went to appease their moods, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and express warning, not to fight with the enemy, howsoever they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended thereat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already male-content, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinketh *Mutines*, a base African and not of the right stamp neither, to gage and rule me a Carthaginian General, sent with Commission from the Senat and people? He perswaded therefore *Epicides* effectually to pass over the river, and to strike a battell: for, quoth he, if we should stay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, all the honour no doubt shall redound to *Mutines*.

Be ye sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignity, that he who had repulsed at *Nola Annibal*, even when he bare himself so bravely upon his fresh victory at *Cannæ*, should give one foot to these petty enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his souldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigns. But as he was arranging his men in battell array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse neck, ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligences, assuring them, "That their countrimen, who first were offended and discontented by occasion of that mutiny aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away to *Heraclea*: and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practice of those other Captain, who maligned and envied his glory, sent far enough out of the way, even against the very day when the battell should be fought; were not disposed at all to fight, but would sit still and not stir. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promise: howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them, (for there was a speedy pursevant or courrier sent throughout the battallions, from company to company, for to signifie unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other) so the enemies were mightily dismaied and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deep fear lest their own horsemen would set upon them. By which occasion the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shock given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battell, seeing their own fellows turn back and flie, bare them only company for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste for fear to *Agrigentum*: fearing also themselves there to be besieged among them, slipt away every one to their own Cities. Many thousands were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in *Sicily*: upon this victory he returned to *Syracuse*. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at *Rome* the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Prætor should send letters to the Consuls, lying before *Capua*, purporting this tenour: That forasmuch as *Annibal* was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at *Capua*; the one of them (if they thought so good) should repair to *Rome*, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed between themselves and took order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the solemn election of Magistrates: and *Fulvius* remain still at *Capua*. So *Claudius* created new Coss. *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the son of *Servius*: a man that had not born any curule office of state before. After these were Prætors chosen, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpitius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. Unto *Piso* befell the jurisdiction within the City. *Sulpitius* had the government of the Province *Sicily*. *Cethegus* of *Apulia*: and *Lentulus* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had the government of their Provinces prorogued for to continue one year longer.

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The six and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the six and twentieth Book. I

ANnibal *encamped himselfe at three miles end from* Rome, *fast upon the river* Anio. *Himself in person, accompanied with two thousand men of armis, rode to the gate* Capena, *for to view the site of the City. And notwithstanding that for three daies space the armies of both sides were come into the field ready embattelled, yet they never joyned in conflict, by reason of the tempestuous and stormy weather: But ever as they were returned again into their Camp, presently it proved fair.* Capua *was won by* Q. Fulvius, *and* Appius Claudius *the Pro-Consuls. The Nobles and principall Citizens of* Capua *poisoned themselves. When as their Senators stood bound to stakes (for to be whipped) and there to lose their heads, there came letters from the Senate of* Rome *unto the Pro-Consul* Q. Fulvius, *with direction to spare their lives: but before that he would read them, he put them up into his bosome, and willed* K *the ministers or executioners to let the Law have its course, and to do their office, and so he went through with the execution. It hapned that in a solemn assembly of the people there was much debate and question, who should govern as L. Deputy the Province of* Spain: *and when no man was willing to undertake that charge,* P. Scipio, *the son of that* Publius *who was slain in* Spain, *made offer to go that voyage, and by the voyces generally of the people, and with one accord of all he was thither sent. In one day he assaulted and also forced* New-Carthage, *being a young man, not fully 24 year old. And there went an opinion of him, that he was descended of some heavenly race: both for that himself, ever he was come to seventeen years of age, and had put on his mans robe, conversed within the Capitoll, and also because there was a snake or serpent seen oftentimes in his mothers bedchamber. This book containeth besides the affairs in* Sicily: *the amity concluded with the* Ætolians: *and the war against the* Acarnanians *and* Philip *King of the Macedonians.*

The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

CNeus Fulvius *Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the Consuls, when they had entred into their Magistracy upon the Ides of *March*, assembled the Senators into the Capitoll, where they consulted with the LL. about the state of the Common-weal, concerning the administration of the wars, and as touching the Provinces and the Armies. *Q. Fulvius* and *Ap. Claudius*, the Consuls of the former year, continued still their rule and full command, with M the charge of the same forces which they had before under their hands. And over and besides, they were expresly commanded, not to depart from *Capua* (before which they lay at siege) untill they had forced and won the City. For at that time the Romans among all their other affairs were most amused upon it: not so much for anger and malice, (wherof they had never against any one City greater and juster cause) as in this regard, that being a state so noble and mighty, like as by revolting first it had drawn and induced certain other Cities to do the same: so if it were recovered and regained, like it was to reduce their affections again, to look back and return unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted signiory of *Rome*. The Prætors also of the former year, *M. Junius* in *Tuscany*, and *P. Sempronius* in *Gaul* continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a piece under their conduct the same which they had before. And so *M. Marcellus* re- N mained as Pro-Consul behind in *Sicily*, for to finish and dispatch the reliques of the war there, with the power of that army which he had already: and had commission (if need were of new supply) to make up the number of his companies, out of those legions which were commanded by *P. Cornelius* the Vice-Prætor in *Sicily*; provided alwaies, that he chose no souldier out of those bands, unto whom the Senat had flatly denied, either licence to be discharged, or pasport to return home into their country, before the war was fully ended. Unto *C. Sulpitius*, whose lot it was to govern the Province of *Sicily*, were assigned those two legions, which *P. Cornelius* had before with a fresh supply out of the army of *Cneus Fulvius*, which the last year was shamefully defeated, beaten and put to flight in *Apulia*. These souldiers, all the sort of them, had the time limitation of service and no other, appointed and set down by the Senat, as those former who remained O after the overthrow at *Canna*. And this disgrace they had besides, as well the one company as the other, That they might not winter within any town, nor build them any standing camp for wintring harbours, within ten miles of a City. *L. Cornelius* the Lord Deputy in *Sardinia*, was allowed to have the conduct of those two legions which were under the leading of *Q. Mutius*. And order was given unto the Consuls, to levy and enroll a new supply thereto, if need required. *T. Otacilius* and *M. Valerius* were appointed to guard and defend all the sea-coasts of *Sicily* and *Greece*, with the

A the help of those Legions and Armadoes which they had already. The Greeks had fifty sail in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Sicilians had one hundred ships, and two Legions to furnish them. So that in this year the Romans maintained three and twenty Legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the year, when the letters of *L. Martius* were read and scanned in the Senat house, the LL. there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spake highly in the praise of his worthy acts: but many of them were offended at the superscription, because he took upon him the honourable title of a Pro-Prætor in his stile, and wrote thus, [*L. Martius the Pro-Prætor to the Senat*] considering, that his command was neither granted by the people, nor allowed and B confirmed by the Senat. "An ill precedent (say they) it is, and of bad consequence, that Generals "of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnity of Elections, so devoutly begun "in the name of the gods, and with the religious observation of the Bird-flight, should now be "transferred into the Camps and Provinces far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to "the inconsiderate wills of rash affectionate souldiers. And when some there in place were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the Council Table, it was thought better to defer that consultation, untill those gentlemen of service, that brought the Letters from *Martius*, were gone and departed. As concerning corn and apparell for the army, they agreed to write back unto him, that the Senat would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any cause to give him this addition, and to write [*To Martius the Pro-Prætor*] lest that they might C seem to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and doom aforehand, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen aforesaid had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded was it, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deal with the Tribunes of the peoples, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure was should be sent L. Deputy into *Spain*, for to have the government of that army, whereof *Cn. Scipio*, L. Generall, had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treated of with the Tribunes, and a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in terms, that had possessed their minds already. For *C. Sempronius Blesus* had commenced a criminall action against *Cn. Fulvius*, accusing D him for the lois of the Army in *Apulia*. and ceased not in all the assemblies of the people to make invectives against him, charging him, "That being Captain General, through his much fol- "ly, ignorance, and rashness, he had brought his army into a place of danger: reproving him more- "over, and saying, That never any Captain but *Cn. Fulvius* had corrupted, marred, and infected "his legions with all kind of vices before that he betraied them to the enemies: in such wise, that "it might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoiled and defeated before they had a "sight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by *Annibal*, but by their own Colonell and "Commander. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections, and how no man, when he is to "give his voice doth well weigh and consider, who it is that he chuseth a General & unto whom "he committeth the charge of an Army. Behold the difference between *Cneus Fulvius*, and E "*T. Sempronius*. This man having the leading of an army of bondslaves, by discipline, good or- "der and government, within short time brought his souldiers to that good pass, that there was "not one of them all throughout the army remembred and regarded how basely he was born, "and of what parentage descended, but all in generall bare themselves so, that they were to their "friends assure defence, and to their enemies a fearful terror: and after that he had recovered them "at *Beneventum*, & other Cities, (as it were, out of the chaws of *Annibal*) he restored and deliv- "red them safe & found to the people of *Rome*. Whereas contrariwise *Cn. Fulvius* having received "an army of Roman Citizens, well and worshipfully born, liberally and honestly brought up, had "taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and so trained them, that with their friends and allies they "were stout, proud, and unruly: and among their enemies were cowards & very dastards: & so far F "short they were to bear off the violence of the Carthaginians that they were not able to abide "so much as their first cry and shout. And no marvel I assure you, that the souldiers could not stick "to it in the battel, and hold out manfully; when the General himself was the first that ran away "beastly. I rather wonder at it that any of them stood to it and died in the field, and were not all "of them as fearfull as *Cn. Fulvius*, and took not heels with him for company. Yet *C. Flamini- "nius*, *L. Paulus*, *L. Posthumius*, both *Scipios*, as well *Cn.* as *Pub.* chose rather to lose their lives in "battel, than to forsake their armies when they were environed round with enemies. But *Cn. "Fulvius*, he was in manner the only man that returned to *Rome* with news of the army defea- "ted and overthrown. Now verily, a great indignity it is, and a shamefull manner of proceeding, "that the residue of the army, after the overthrow at *Canna*, because they fled out of the field, G "were confined and transported over into *Sicily*, with expres condition, not to return again from "thence, before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of *Italy*; & that the very same "rigorous and heavy decree passed likewise, and was executed against the Legions of *Cn. Fulvius*; "and *Cn. Fulvius* himself, who fled out of the battell which was through his own folly and rash- "ness begun, should go away clear, and escape without all punishment: that himself I say should "lead his old age in taverns, stews, and brothel-houses, where already he hath spent his youth- "full daies: while his poor souldiers (who had faulted in nothing, but that they were like unto "their Captain) be sent far enough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure shame-

The Oration of *T. Sempronius Blesus* against *Cn. Fulvius*.

"full and ignominious souldiery. Lo, how unequally at *Rome* the freedom of the City is parted
"between the rich and the poor; between men of nobility and high calling, and those that are of
"mean parentage and low degree.

The answer of *Cn. Fulvius*.

Thus much spake the plaintiff *C. Sempronius Blæsus*. The defendant on the other side, shifted all the blame from himself, and laid the whole fault upon his souldiers, alledging and pleading thus, "That when they called upon him hastily, and with great wilfulness for to give battell, he
"brought them forth into the field not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late
"in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet and convenient for
"the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattelled, yet were
"they not able to sustain either the fame, or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether. And
"when they all fled away amain, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout: like as *Varro*
"the Consul, at the battell before *Cannæ*, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good
"could he have done to the Common-weal, in case he had staid behind alone? unless perad-
"venture his death might have cured and remedied the publike sores and maladies, or made
"amends for the common losses. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he light at un-
"awares upon places of disadvantage and danger; nor yet, because he was entrapped within the
"trains of an ambush, marching one foot forward, without sending his espials before, that he was
"overcome; but even by mere force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a pight battel. And it
"was not he could do withall if his own men were fearfull and timorous, and the enemies hardy
"and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his own nature to be
"either bold or heartless.

Two several daies was he judicially accused, and at both times a fine of money only set upon his head in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produced forth, to be deposed and give evidence: and after that he had been shamefully reviled, and charged with all manner of reproaches, there were very many upon their oath testified, That the first beginning of the fright and flight both, was occasioned by the Prætor himself: and that the souldiers seeing themselves forsaken by him, and supposing verily that their Captain and Leader was not affraid of his own shadow, but had great reason to fear, they likewise turned their backs and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that they cried all with one voice, to commence a capitall action, for that he was worthy to die. Whereupon arose a new debate and controversie: for whereas the Tribune had twice before laid a penall action upon him of money, and now at the third time said that he would have a jury of life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to mitigate this rigour of the Tribune. But when those his Collegues made answer again and said, that they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his course, but that he might proceed in the suit at his own good pleasure, *more majorum, i. e.* [according to the ancient manner used by their forefathers,] either by order of law, or rule of custome, and bring him being but a private person to the triall either of a capitall crime, or penall trespass: then *Sempronius* spake and said flatly, that he laid upon him a criminal action of treason against the State; and requested of *C. Calphurnius* the L. chief Justice of the City, for to have a day of hearing and judiciall triall by the people. Then the defendant cast about to help himself by another remedy, namely, in case he could compass that *Q. Fulvius* his brother might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to be Master of *Capua*. But when this said *Q. Fulvius* had requested so much by letters, endited to that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commiseration and pity in behalf of the life of his brother, the LL. of the Senat returned this answer unto him again, That it was not for the good of the State that he should depart from *Capua*: thereupon, before the Sessions day was come, *Cn. Fulvius* departed of his own accord into exile to *Tarquinii*, and the Commons made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for his offence.

During these businesses at *Rome*, the whole strength and force of war was bent against *Capua*, and yet the City was rather straightly beleguered than forcibly assaulted; insomuch as neither the servants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer: and send unto *Annibal* any messengers, they possibly could not, by reason of the straight watch and ward that the Romans kept, so near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numidian offered to go and to escape clear away, who having taken letters unto *Annibal* to put him in mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the midst of the Roman camp, and put the Campans in very good hope, to issue forth at all the gates, and to make a sally upon the enemy, whiles their power and strength served them. And verily in many scusslings and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in horse-fight: but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much pleased when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were discontented and ill apaid, to receive a foil in any kind of service of them, who were not only besieged, but in manner overcome already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industry and policy the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certain lusty young men such as for clean strength of body, and lightness withall, were most nimble and swift,

swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or targer, shorter than commonly horsemen have, and seven javelins or darts apiece, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those Javelins have, which they use to lance that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and used them, both to sit the horse and ride, and also to leap down on foot, with great activity and agility, at the signall and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it nimble enough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, lying between their camp, and the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Campans as they stood arranged in battell array: and so soon as they were come within a darts cast, the light javelottiers aforesaid, dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, out of the Cavalry there was a battaillon of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the enemies, and let flie their shot with great force, dart after dart, which they lanced so thick, that they galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their fear was much greater, by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted, set too hard, and charged them upon lustily, chased them and beat them down even to the City gates. After this, the Romans were the better in horse-service also. And hereupon began the manner from henceforth to entertain such light armed javelottiers, called *Velites*, even among the Legions. The first deviser of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen they say was one *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the General for his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at *Capua*, *Annibal* was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Castle of *Tarentum*, or to rescue and save the City of *Capua*. At last the regard of *Capua* prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way; as being a City like to give the very triall and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in the Brutians country, and all his souldiers heavily armed, he made haste into *Campania*, with an elect power of foot and horse, such as he supposed most meet and best appointed for expedition and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirty Elephants, and so he sate him down closely in a secret valley behind the mountain *Tifata*, which overlooketh the City *Capua*. At the first coming he forced the fort called *Galatia*, and compelled the garrison there to quit the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies who besieged *Capua*. But he dispatched certain courriers afore unto *Capua* to signifie unto them at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romans: that they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no fore-knowledge by their espials of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for *Annibal* himself assailed them one way, and all the Campans as well foot as horsemen (together with the garrison souldiers of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Bostar* and *Hanno* their captains) sallied out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so sudden and fearfull a case, had an eye to this, not to make head altogether one way, and so to leave the rest quite without defence; therefore they divided their forces in this manner among themselves: *Appius Claudius* opposed himself against the Campans: and *Fulvius* against *Annibal*. *Claudius Nero* the Vice-Prætor, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way that leadeth to *Suessula*: and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant with the horsemen of Allies, took up his standing, and planted himself over-against the river *Vulturnus*. The battell began not after the usuall manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men neighing of horses, and rustling of armour, there was a multitude of Campans good for no other service of war, placed upon the wals, who together with ringing and sounding of basons and vessels of brasse (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the eclipse) made such an hideous noise, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amused thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campans from the trench and rampier. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deal with *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants passed forwards as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell of the Romans: but they were in suspence between doubtfull hope and present danger, thinking one while to break through and pass into the Camp: and doubtfull another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. *Fulvius* seeing this fear of the Legion and peril wherein the Camp stood, encourageth and exhorteth *Q. Navius* and other principall Centurions, to assail valiantly, to kill and hew in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fighting under the counterscarp. "For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extream hazard:
"for either you must give the enemies way, and then wil they more easily enter into the camp, then
"they had already pierced through the thick squadrons of the battell; or else ye must defeat and
"slay them in the place even under the trench. And that (quoth he) were no difficult piece of ser-
"vice, considering they are but few in number, severed and shut out clean from the succour of
"their fellows: and the same Roman battaillon which seemeth now disbanded and open, whiles
"it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turn both sides upon the enemy, were able to
"com-

"compass round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yea, and cut them in pie-
"ces within the midst. *Navius* had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught
the ensign of the second band of *Hastati* from the ensign-bearer, and displaied it in the faces of the
enemies, threatning to sling it among the midst of them, unless his souldiers made the better haste
to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body,
his brave armor besides set him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his
ensign on high, drew every mans eye upon him as well enemies as friends. But when he was ap-
proached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but lan-
ced at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him, But
The singular valour of Navius. neither the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to repress and rebut the I
violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Attilius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first
band of the *Principes*, belonging to the same Legion, to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and
troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the
guarding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Ele-
phants upon the very counterscarp, as they were passing over and entring the camp. And by occa-
sion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as
it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very car-
kases of the Elephants, there was a cruell slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp,
the Campans and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very
gate of *Capua* which openeth upon the river *Vulturnus*, there was another skirmish, where the K
Romans striving to enter the town, were not so much put back and withstood by force of armed
men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engins of ordnance, which being mounted and planted
upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drave the enemies farther off. Over and
besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romans was danted and suppressed, by reason that
their General himself, *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the
very forefront of the vangard, happed to be wounded with a dart above in his brest under the left
shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate, and the
rest were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. *Annibal* also perceiving
the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended
even to the death: gave over farther assault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward L
all his footmen, interposing his horsemen behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them
on the tail. The legions were exceeding eager to pursue after the enemies: but *Flaccus* comman-
ded to sound the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things,
to wit, that both the Campans saw in how little stead *Annibal* served them; and also *Annibal*
himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down that
of *Annibal* his Army there were slain that day eight thousand men, and of Campans three thou-
sand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campans eighteen. But in others,
I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fright was much more than the skirmish:
for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at una wares into
the Roman Camp, those Elephants as they passed through the midst thereof, overthrew and M
laid along many of the tents and pavilions; and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there
for carriage, with great noise brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down all
afore them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, *Annibal* dealt
fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latine tongue (for some
such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commandment (since that the Camp
was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himself, and flie to the next mountains.
But this deceit was soon espied and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of
enemies: and the Elephants were coursed out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell
was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that *Capua* was yielded up and N
surrendred.

The *Mediastituticus* (for so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of *Capua*)
for that year, was one *Seppius Lesius*, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth,
that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and
under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious domestical portent, that happed in her house,
was told by the Soothsaier out of his learning, that one day the chief government of *Capua*
should befall to that child: whereat, she seeing no likelihood nor hope at all of any such matter,
said thus again, You talk of a poor City of *Capua*, when that day comes; and God save all, when
my son shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spoken at
random and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens
were driven to great straights, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recovery: in O
such sort, as they that were of quality and born for honour, refused to be in place of authority,
this *Lesius* complaining that *Capua* was forlorn, betraid, and abandoned by her own nobility took
upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the last of all the Campans that bare soveraign rule in
that City.

Annibal perceiving that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor pos-
sibly he could break through their camp for to come unto *Capua*: for fear lest that the new Con-
suls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveyance of victuals, determined to dislodge
without

A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from *Capua*. And as he cast and tossed to and fro in
his mind what course to take, and whither to go: it came into his head to make no more ado, but
to march directly to *Rome*, the very head and seat-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of
all, and the empresse that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed
him, that he had over-slipt the opportunity when it was, even presently upon the battell at *Cannæ*:
so himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overseen. And yet the thing was not so far
past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon some sudden fright and unexpected tumult, he
might seize of some quarter of the City or other. And if *Rome* were once in that hazard, then ei-
ther both the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediatly leave the siege of *Capua*.
B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister ei-
ther unto him, or to the Campans, some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled
his mind was this, for fear lest that as soon as his back were turned, the Campans would yield
themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberall rewards inciteth a certain
Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook)
to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, counterfeiting him-
self to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when he espied his time, to slip secret-
ly from the other side of the camp to *Capua*. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto
them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he
"meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from *Capua* to the defence of their
C "own City of *Rome*: willing them not to let fail their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient
"abiding some few daies they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made
stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river *Vulturnus*, and commanded
them to be brought to *Casilinum*, which he had fortified aforetime with a pile or Castle to guard
and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges
and bottoms upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made
provision of victuals for ten daies, brought down his army by night to the river side, and crossed
the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly, but be-
fore that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certain runnegate fugitives: where-
upon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of *Rome*, and gave notice thereof. At
D which tidings men according to their sundry fansies and humours were diversly affected: and as
so fearfull an occurrence required, incontinently the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius, surnamed *Asina*, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever
should be called home out of all parts of *Italy*, without regard of *Capua* or any other exploit be-
sides, save only the defence of the City. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was a dishonest, lewd, and a
shamefull part, to depart from the siege of *Capua*, and to be scared to turn here and there, and to be
carried away with every copy of *Annibal* his countenance, and with his vain threats and mena-
ces. He that won a victory at *Cannæ*, and durst not then go forward to the City, hath he con-
ceived any hope now to win *Rome*, being also lately repulsed from *Capua*? No, he marcheth to-
ward *Rome*, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from *Capua*. And however it
E be, I am assured (quoth he) that *Jupiter* (the witness of covenants broken by *Annibal*) and o-
ther gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the
City. Between these two opinions *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the mean, and prevailed: for he having
a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other; thought good to write unto the
Colonels that lay before *Capua*, and to certifie them what strength they had of able men to de-
fend the City: as for the forces of *Annibal*, and what power was needfull to maintain the siege
at *Capua*, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Consuls there, and
part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to *Rome*, and nevertheless, the siege conti-
nue with the conduct of the other Pro-Consul, and the rest of the army: then *Claudius* and *Ful-
vius* should so order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain still be-
fore *Capua* at siege, and the other repair to *Rome*, for to defend and keep their native country from
the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto *Ca-
pua*, *Q. Fulvius* the vice-Consul who was to go to *Rome*, by reason that his Collegue was sick of
his hurt, chose out of the three armies certain companies of souldiers, and so with fifteen thousand
footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river *Vulturnus*. Then having certain intel-
ligence, that *Annibal* minded to march along the Latine street way: he took his journey through
the towns and burroughs situate upon the way *Appia*, and sent his courriers before unto *Setia*, *So-
ra*, and *Lavinium*, which are seated near unto it, not only for to lay provision of victuals ready for
him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring
their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their towns for their own de-
fence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their state, as well publike
as private.

Annibal the same day that he had crossed *Vulturnus* encamped not far from the river. And the
morrow after entred into the territory of the Sidicins, and led his host near unto *Cales*. There,
after he had staid one day, forraging and spoiling the country, he marched by *Suessula*, into the
territories of *Allifæ* and *Casinum*, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town *Casinum* he
abode in camp two daies, and raised booties here and there in every place. From thence leaving
Interramna and *Aquinum*, he came into the country about *Fregellæ*, as far as to the river *Liris*,
whose

where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans for to impeach and let his journey. *Fulvius* likewise was staid at the river *Vulturnus*, by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by *Annibal*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcity of timber and wood, to make punts and boats for to set over his army. But *Fulvius*, after he had once transported his men in such boats and planks as he made shift withall, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey: but found not only store of victuals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right curteously. Then the souldiers as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they went to the defence of their naturall country. Now there was a post sent from *Fregellæ*, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in exceeding fear. The running together I besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent somewhat of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself, and set the City in an uprore. And not only the women were heard to weep and wail in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the Altars with the tresses of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods, pouring out their prayers and supplications, That they would vouchsafe to preserve the City of *Rome* out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abuse. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magistrates in the common place, ready to give K them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the Magistrates, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundry guards were bestowed in the Castle, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alban mountain also and the Castle of *Tusculum* were furnished with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul was departed from *Capua*, and onward on his journey to *Rome* with an army. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree granted out of the Senat-House, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commission of rule and command as the Consuls themselves. *Annibal*, after he had made fouler work and havock in the territory of *Fregellæ*, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges a- L gainst his coming, led his army through the Frusinat, Ferentinat, and Anagnine countries, and came forwards into the territory *Lavicos*: and so by *Algidum* he marched toward *Tusculum*. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he descended beneath *Tusculum*, on the right hand to *Gabi*: from whence he conducted his army into *Pupinia*, and eight miles from *Rome* encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater slaughter was made of the peasants that fled from him, by his vancurriers, the Numidian light-horsemen whom he sent afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his army entred *Rome* at the gate *Capena*: from whence he went through the midst of the City, along the street *Carinæ* into the *Exquiliæ*, M and from thence he went forth, and between the gates *Exquilinæ* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the Ædiles of the Commons brought victuals: the Consul and the Senate resorted to him into the camp, where they sate in Councel about the State of the Common-weal. And agreed it was, That the Consuls should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Exquilina*: that C. *Calpurnius*, Prætor of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Castle with a guard, and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compass of the *Forum*, what need soever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time *Annibal* was come forward as far as to the river *Anio*, and within three miles of the City lay encamped, where he kept a standing Leaguer. But himself in person with 1000 horsemen advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as far as to *Hercules* his N Temple, and rode all about as near as he well could, to view the walls, and the situation of the City. *Flaccus* took foul disdain thereat, and thought it a shamefull indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure so scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certain of his own Cavalry, and gave commandment, That they should set the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them back into their Camp. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the Consuls gave order, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Romans (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the Aventine hill) should pass through the midst of the City to the *Exquiliæ*: supposing that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Castle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the O descent of the hill, called *Clivus Publius*, they ran crying about the City, The Aventine is taken, The Aventine is taken. Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the Camp of *Annibal* had not been without the walls, the fearfull multitude doubtless would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their houses, and got every man up to the terrasses and leads thereof: from whence they pelted with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appear, by reason that the waies were so pestered with

A with a number of the country peasants, and of cattell besides, whom sudden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay all disorders and uprores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or born the office of Censors, should have their full power and authority until such time as the enemy was clean departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundry garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same stilled and appeased by that means.

The next day *Annibal* passed over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. B Neither were *Flaccus* and the Consuls behind hand for their parts, but ready for battell. When both armies stood arranged in order on both sides, amused upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of *Rome*; there fell such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and so troubled both hosts, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their severall Camps, fearing nothing less than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the like tempest parted them asunder. And they were not so soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful fair, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this for an ominous presage to them of illluck. And *Annibal* was C heard (by report) to say, That one while his mind, another while his fortune, would not give him leave to win the City of *Rome*. There were other occurrences besides, as well small as great, that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whiles he lay with his host in arms before the walls of *Rome*, he understood, there were certain companies with banners displaied sent into *Spain* for to supply the armies there. Of less reckoning was this, that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he took to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornfull indignity, namely, that there should be a chapman found at *Rome*, to make purchace of that piece of land, which he was possessed of and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the publike crier and trumpet, and gave com- D mandment unto him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankers and money changers at that time about the *Forum* in *Rome*. Nevertheless, hereupon he was moved to dislodge and retired his camp backwards from the City to the river *Tueria*, six miles from *Rome*. From whence he took his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereabout were certain Capenats, who used to bring thither the first fruits of their corn and revenues yea, and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by means whereof they had adorned and garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Annibal* from thence, there were found great heaps of brass, by reason that the souldiers upon touch and remorse of conscience, had cast in many brazen pieces. The sacking and pillage of this Temple, E all writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Cælius* saith, That *Annibal* as he went toward *Rome* from *Eretum*, turned thither, and he fetteth down the beginning of his journey from *Reate Cutil*æ and from *Amiternum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Samnium*, and from thence into the country of *Peligni*, and so passed beside the City *Sulmo*, to the Marucins, and then by the territory of the Albenses into the Marsians land, and from thence he marched to *Amiternum*, and so forward to the town *Foruli*. Neither is there any errour or doubt in all this, because the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could not within the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether he came to the City of *Rome*, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way aforesaid.

F Now was not *Annibal* to resolute to defend *Capua*, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof. For he sped himself so fast another way in his voyage back, first out of the Lucans country to the Brutians, and so on still to the streight [of *Sicily*] and to *Rhegium*; that with his sudden coming thither, he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrival. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence it was no less straightly beleagured, yet it felt the coming again of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvell there, why *Annibal* returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forlorn of *Annibal*, and that the Carthaginians were past all hope to keep and hold *Capua* still to their own use. There was an Edict moreover of the Pro-Consul, passed by order from the Senat, and the same published and divulged among the enemies, That what Citizen soever of *Capua* would turn to the Romans before such a certain day he should have a generall pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands. more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as no one man at all privatly on his own head came over to the camp of the Romans, so there was no good order taken by publike councill for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state-matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the Senat.

And

And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bare. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall of assemblies: but shutting themselves within doors in their privat houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon *Bostar* and *Hanno* Captains of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and more carefull were they of their own welfare, than fearfull for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two wrote letters unto *Annibal*, endited not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betraied *Capua* into the hands of the enemies, but also I "delivered and exposed them and the garrison to the cruell clutches of the Romans to be mas-"cred and executed. That he was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the *Brutii*, as "one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his own eyes the loss "of *Capua*. But, I wot the Romans contrariwise could not be withdrawn from the siege of Ca-"pua, no, not by the assaulting of the City of *Rome*: so much more were the Romans resolute "enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to *Capua*, and "bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of *Capua* would be ready "to sally forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alps with intent to "war with the Rhegins and Tarentins; no, but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the "armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at *Canna*, thus at *Thrasymenus* were the victories ar-"chieved, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the "fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Flaccus* in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives unto his side: hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in *Capua* there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the adverse part. But behold, there hapned a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughty-pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeit fugitives aforesaid kept.) she enformed the Generall of the Romans, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin pretended to flie unto his part and had letters about them unto *Annibal*. This would she stand to, and be ready to aver to the very face of one of them, who bewrayed & disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, & made it very strange & pretending stoutly that he knew not the woman: but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and so in the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit, that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as threescore and ten, and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to *Capua*. This pitious spectacle and sight of so fearfull execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campans. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-House, and compelled *Lesius* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatned the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from publike consultations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the ears into the street. For fear hereof the chief Magistrate had a frequent and full assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had been the chief cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, spake to the point in this manner.

The Oration of *Vibius Virius* in the Senat of *Capua*.

"They that talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either N "what they would have done, in case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or what "themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present sur-"render of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans "our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the Samnits? And "have we so soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we for-"sook and abandoned the people of *Rome*? Also, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and "shamefully killed their garrison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? "Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at siege, and how mischievously "minded we were unto them, yea, and how we have sallied upon them in their camp? Over and "besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Annibal* to surprise and defeat them? O "and (that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from hence to give the "assault to *Rome*? On the contrary side, mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have "attempted and practised all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what account to "make of them, and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and forrain enemy "within *Italy*, nay, when they had *Annibal* their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all "was on a light fire: they passed by all other affairs, yea, they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent "both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besiege and force *Capua*. This is the "second

A "second year that they keep us entrenched round about, penning us up, and pining us with ex-"tream famine and hunger: during which time, they themselves as well as we, have endured the "utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travels: of-"tentimes being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally "driven almost out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak no more of these ordinary "matters, seeing it is an old and usuall case for them to abide painfull toil, and incur many pe-"rils, who besiege and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies: See a manifest sign of their "deadly feud, and execrable hatred against us. *Annibal* with a puissant power of foot and horse-"men both, assailed their Camp, yea, and in some part was Master of it. Think ye that in so great "danger of theirs they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Vul-*
B "*turnus*, and burnt the territory of *Cales*: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies re-"ceived, stirred not they one whit, nor gave over their enterprise. He commanded to march for-"ward with banner displayed against the very City of *Rome*: they made as little account of that "dangerous tempest toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched "his tents within three miles of the City: nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a bra-"vado even under the gates: to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced "to make *Rome* too hot for them unless they levied the siege before *Capua*: and yet they gave not "over but beleaguered us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they mad-"ded never so much with blind rage and woodness against one, yet if another go to their dens,
C "and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones: "but the Romans, notwithstanding *Rome* was besieged, their wives and children in danger; whose "pitious cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even hither; notwithstanding their al-"tars, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchers of their Ance-"stors, were profaned, abused, and polluted, could not be drawn away from *Capua*. So eager, so "hungry are they to be revenged of us, so thirsty are they to drink our bloud. And good rea-"son, haply, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the semblable, if fortune had "given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortall gods is otherwise: and conside-"ring that I owe nature a death; in my power it is (whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own
D "man, and master of my self) to avoid torments, to shun shamefull ignominies and reproaches "(whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart) and that by one kind of death, which as it is "honest, so it is also easie and gentle? Never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fulvius* "proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and "haled bound with chains through the City of *Rome*, to make a shew, and to serve for a spectacle "and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prison, or tied openly to a "stake, yield my back and side to be rewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon "the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloudy axe of the Romans. Never will I behold "my native country sacked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chast married dames of *Ca-*"*pua* to be forcibly ravished, the fair and beautiful maidens shamefully deflowred, and the well-fa-"voured young boies and freeborn, unnaturally abused. They raised *Alba* in times past from the
E "top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof; *Alba* I say, from whence they "had their off-spring, and were first descended: to the end that there might remain no memory at "all of their stock and first originall. And shall I ever beleeve they will spare *Capua*, & receive into "mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent than against *Carthage*? There-"fore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see "these so many miseries and wofull calamities, I have at home a supper this night well furnished "and provided for you all: and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally, "the same waffell cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and "that one draught shall deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish "and contumelious disgrace: keep your eyes from beholding all cruell acts, your ears from hearing
F "all shamefull indignities which follow and attend upon conquered persons. There shall be also "in readiness certain servitors of purpose to make a mighty great fire within the base court-yard "of mine house, and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the only honest way to death, and "beseeming us who are free born and gentlemen indeed. In which doing, our enemies will won-"der at our vertue and valour: yea, and *Annibal* himself shall well know that he hath forsaken "and betraied his trust and magnanimous allies.

This Oration of *Virius*, there were more men present that heard with applause and good li-king than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they so well allowed & appro-ved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemency of the people of *Rome*, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them: concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield *Capua* into the Romans
G hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied *Vibius Virius* home to his house, and supped with him; and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking in their wine, (thereby to withdraw their minds from the sence and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drunk all of the poysoned cup abovesaid. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, took one another by the hand embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a finall adieu and fare-well, and bewailing together with plenteous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable state

Vibius Virius and divers Senators of *Capua* poyson themselves.

of their country; some staid behind to be burned in one and the same fire for fellowship, others brake company and departed to their own houses. Now, by reason that their veins were filled with full feeding and drinking wine so liberally, the poyson was not so quick of operation, nor so effectuall as to hasten their death. And therefore most of them languished all night long, yea, and continued drawing on a piece of the next day, before they let their last breath: but yet they all had yielded up their ghost before that the gates were set open for the enemies.

Capua delivered to the Romans.

The day following, the gate of *Jupiter* which stood next over against the Roman Camp, was by the commandment of the Pro-consul opened. Thereat entred one legion and two corners of horsemen, under the leading of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant: who after he had first above all other things given expres order, that all armor of defence, and weapons of offence (which was to be found in *Capua*) should be brought forth and presented unto him; placed and disposed at all the gates, warders sufficient to see that no person might possibly go forth, or be let out: then he laid hold upon the garrison of the Carthaginians, and commanded the Senators of *Capua* to repair into the Camp, before the Roman Captain Generals themselves. So soon as they were thither come to the Camp, before the Roman Captain Generals themselves, and were commanded to make tender unto the treasurers of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounted to 70 pound weight: the silver rose to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twenty of the Senators were sent to *Cales*, eight and twenty to *Theanum*, to be kept safe in ward. Even those who were known for certain to have principally moved and perswaded the revolt from the Romans. Concerning the punishment of the Senators of *Capua*, *Fulvius* and *Claudius* could not agree. *Claudius* was more tractable and exorable, and might have been soon entreated for a pardon. *Fulvius* was more rigorous, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon *Appius* put over the whole deciding and determination thereof unto the Senate of *Rome*. Alledging, that it was meet and requisite, that the LL. of the Councill should have the examination of the cause, and namely, upon these points. *Imprimus*, whether they had complotted and combined in this action, with any of the free burroughs and Cities belonging to the state of the Latines. *Item*, whether they had any help and relief from thence in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever? But *Fulvius* in no case would condescend thereto, nor suffer that the minds of faithfull and loyall allies should be disquieted with doubtfull surmises and suspitions of any crimes; and called in question upon the appeachment and delatory information of those that never yet made reckoning of conscience, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he protested to suppress that manner of proceeding, and crush that inquisition for ever. After this communication they departed asunder: and *Appius* made no doubt but that howsoever his Collegue fared and took on, giving out so shrewd and bitter words, he would yet take pause and stay for the letters from *Rome*, concerning so weighty a business as this was. But *Fulvius*, because of his designment, brake up his keeping of state in his royall pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinary train out of the way, because he would not be hindred and empeached by them, in the course of his designment: and commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies, to give warning unto two thousand chosen men of arms, for to be in readiness and present themselves at a third sound of the trumpet. With this power of horsemen he set forward by night, and marched to *Theanum*: and by break of day entred the gate and kept his way on into the market-place. At the first entrance of the horsemen, the people ran together from all parts: then he causèd the chief Magistrate (a Sidicin) to be called, and charged him to produce his prisoners the Capuans, whom he had in custody. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence he rode upon the spur to *Cales*: where so soon as he was set on the Tribunall seat, in place of judgement, and the Capuan prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake: there came a horseman in post from *Rome*, and when he had delivered letters from *C. Calphurnius* the Consul, and the people of *Rome* unto *Fulvius*; there ran a tumour from the Tribunal through all the assembly, that the whole process against the Campans was to be put off and reserved entire to the censure and doom of the Lords of the Senate. And *Fulvius* supposing it to be no less indeed after he took the letters, never brake them up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commandment to the Crier, to charge the Lictor or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at *Cales* were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order set down by the Senate: but it was too late now, to stay that which was done already and past and which indeed was hastened with all speed that might be, for fear it might have been crossed and prevented.

The Senators of *Capua* executed.

Now as *Fulvius* was arising from the bench, *Taurea Jubellius*, a Campan, passing amidst the throng, called by name aloud upon *Fulvius*. Whereat *Flaccus* wondring what the man meant, sat him down again upon his seat, and demanded what he would: Mary (quoth he) command me also to be killed that thou maiest boast and glory another day, that thou hast done to death a better man by far and much more valiant than thy self. Surely (quoth *Flaccus*) this fellow is lunatick and not well in his wits: and again, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by vertue of the act of the Senate. "Then (quoth *Jubellius*) since that my country is forced and lost, "my kinsfolk and friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand murdred my "wife and children, because they should suffer no villanous indignity; and may not my self to "much as die this death which my countrimen here have suffered before my face, I will seek by "vertue and manhood to ease my self of this life, so tedious, so irksome, and odious unto me: and with

with that, he drew forth the skein which he had hid under his garment, and stabbed himself in the breast quite through his body, and there at the feet of the L. General fell down ready to dye in the place. Forasmuch as both the execution of the Campans, and also the most part of other matters were performed according to the will of *Flaccus* alone: some there be that write how *Appius Claudius* died about the time that *Capua* was yielded. And that this very same *Taurea* neither came to *Cales* of his own accord, nor killed himself: but that as he was a binding to the stake, because the words which he uttered could not be heard for the confused noise of the people, therefore *Flaccus* commanded silence, and then *Taurea* spake those words before rehearsed, namely, That himself a right valiant and hardy man was put to death by a meaner person than himself, and much inferior to him in valour and vertue. Whereat by the commandment of the Pro-Consul the crier pronounced and said: Go to Serjeant, let this brave and valiant man have the more store of rods bestowed upon him, let him have good scourging, lay on load, and set the lashes surely on, and let him be the first that you proceed against. let him have the law to the full. Some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beheading; but because there was this branch or clause within the act, That if he thought so good, he should reserve the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senat: he construed it thus, that it was put to his discretion for to weigh and consider what was more profitable to the Common-weal. This done, he returned from *Cales* to *Capua*. *Atella* and *Calatia* were both surrendred into his hands; where they also who were the chief heads of those states suffered the like punishment. Thus there were about fourscore of the Senators put to death: and to the number well-near of three hundred Capuans (born of noble blond) committed to prison. Others of them were bestowed in safe custody within divers Cities of the Latines, and came to sundry unhappy ends. The multitude besides of the Campan Citizens were sold outright.

Jubellius killeth himself.

It remained now to put to question and debate, what was to be done with the City and the Territory thereto belonging. And some were of mind, that a City so exceeding mighty, so near a neighbour, and so dangerous to *Rome*, should be utterly rased and destroyed. But the consideration of a present commodity and gain took place and prevailed. For in regard of the territory and land lying about it (which was well known to be the most fertile soil in all *Italy*, and yielded all manner of fruit) the City was saved: whereinto those husbandmen that tilled the grounds might retire themselves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof, there was a multitude reserved of the Inhabitants which were there already, namely of Libertines and enfranchised bondslaves, Merchants factors, retailers, artizans, and craftsmen who kept there still and remained. But the whole territory, and all publike edifices were seized to the use of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, order was taken, that *Capua* should be inhabited only, and replenished with people like a City: but no form of Common-weal, no Corporation, no Senat, no assembly of Commons, nor Magistrate of their own should be allowed there. For without a common Council of State, without magistracy and government, without intelligences and reciprocall commerce, as in the body of a Commonalty, they supposed, that they would never agree together in any complot, but be far unmeet to contrive a conspiracy and compass alteration. As for a Provost or Governor to minister law, and execute justice among them, they purposed to send them one yearly from *Rome*. Thus were the affairs ordered and composed at *Capua*, by a good policy and commendable course every way. For those that were most in fault and guilty were punished with rigour, and that speedily. The number of Citizens were scattered and dispersed sundry waies, without all hope to return again. The bare houses and walls that had not offended they were spared, and neither burned nor pulled down. And besides, the commodity and gain that accrewed unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding, they won some name of clemency and mercy among their Confederates and Allies: in that they saved a most noble and wealthy City, at the ruins whereof all *Campane*, and as many States as bordered about *Campane*, would have grieved much, and groaned again. By this means also the enemy was constrained now to confess, and could not otherwise chuse, how powerful and mighty the Romans were to chastise and punish their faithless associats, yea, and how feeble *Annibal* was, and not able to defend and maintain those whom he had received into his protection.

The Roman Pro-Consuls after they had finished and performed their charge at *Capua* assigned unto *Claudius Nero* six thousand foormen out of those two Legions which he had before *Capua*, and three hundred horsemen which he had chosen himself: also of Latine Allies as many foot in number, and 800 horse besides. This army *Nero* embarked at *Puteoli*, and transported into *Spain*. When he was arrived at *Taracon*, after he had there landed his souldiers, and laid up his ships in dock, and armed with all his mariners (to make the greater number) he marched to the river *Iberus*, where he received the forces of *T. Fonteius*, and *L. Martius*, and from thence advanced toward the enemies.

Asdrubal the son of *Amilcar* lay encamped at a place called the *Black-stones*, in the Ausetans country: it lieth between the towns *Illiturgis* and *Mentissa*. Now *Nero* kept the narrow streights of the forrest there. *Asdrubal*, because he would not be pent up in so streight a room, sent an herald or messenger of peace to him, who should make promise in his name, that if *Nero* would permit him to pass peaceably from thence, he would withdraw all his forces out of *Spain*. The Roman Captain took this message joyfully: and *Asdrubal* requested, That they might empart the next day, and devise together how the Romans would set down conditions and articles in writing,

ting, as touching the tendry and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prefix-
ing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthagi-
nians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. *Asdrubal* having obtained
his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and all night long the heaviest and
most cumbersome part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the
gullet of the forrest. But he gave especiall direction, that they should not over many of them
that night go forth, because their small number was not only fitter to deceive the enemy, and
not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and diffi-
cult passages. So the morrow they came to an enterview and parl: where the time was spent of
purpose in much needless talk, and drawing of books, more than cause was: whereupon the day
being far gone, the business was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing between, mi-
nistred *Asdrubal* more time to send others away. And yet could not they make an end that day
neither. Thus there passed certain daies, employed in open shew about dispute and reasoning
of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the
Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his host was gone
away clear, then he began to wrangle and jar, yea, and to go from some offers that he had
voluntarily made, and ever they were further and further off from agreement. For *Asdrubal* the
less that he feared, the less also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his Infantry
were got out of the forrest, and the next morning, not only the forrest, but all the plains about
were overcast, and covered with a thick and soggy mist. Which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he sent
a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to defer their farther conference and communication to the
morrow; pretending, that the present day was a festivall holy-day among the Carthaginians,
and therefore they made scruple upon it, to follow any other business but serve God. All this while
there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdrubal* had no sooner obtained respite for that
day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with his Elephants, dislodged, and without
any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day
the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might
discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature left therein. Then at length, *Clau-
dius* perceiving that *Asdrubal* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length
thus over-raught by his falshood and cunning practice, began to make out after him, minding
to bid him battell. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit there passed some
small skirmishes between the rereward of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and van-
courriers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of *Spain*) neither they who revolted
after the overthrow of the Romans returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than
before.

At *Rome*, the Senate and people after the recovery of *Capua*, took as great care for *Spain* now,
as for *Italy* it self. And agreed they were in generall, that the army there should be strengthned
with new forces and a Generall thither sent: but who should be the man was not yet concluded,
Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sent thither,
where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compass of thirty daies, and to
succeed in the room of those twain. Whiles some nominated one, and some another, at length
they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assembly (as it were, purchased)
for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into *Spain*. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed
a set day for the said assembly. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took
themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves, and prefer their own
names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to nothing, every man began afresh
to retricate and renew the former grief, and mourn again for the losses received, and to find the
want and miss of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being
sad and pensive, and in manner destitute of all good counsell, and not resolved what to do in this
hard case, came yet down into *Mars* field upon the day appointed for the election. Every
mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the countenances of their great men and Rul-
lers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling, that the State was at so low
an ebb, and the Common-weal grown to so desperate a case, that no man durst be seen to take
upon him the government and Province of *Spain*. Then all of a sudden, *P. Cornelius* (his son
that was slain in *Spain*, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed him-
self, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him: and therewith stepped up into
an higher place, from whence he might be seen and there he stood. Upon whom, when all men had
cast their eyes, and viewed him well, in a generall accord and favourable affection unto the man,
they wished unto him straightwaies a happy and fortunate government. And when the assem-
bly was willed to give their suffrages, and go to a scrutiny, there was not one Century from the
first to the last, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Scio-
pio*, for to take a voyage as L. Deputy into *Spain*. But after the thing was passed, and their passi-
onate heat of affection once allaied, they were on a sudden driven into a still silence and deep
dumps to think what a strange and new deed they had done. And that which they bethought
themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried them away in this action more than the
due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in dread and horror the omi-
nous fortune also of that family: and the name of him that out of two mournfull houses was to
go

go into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle.
When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in so hasty a fit, the people grew to
be heavy and pensive; he called them to an open audience, and there before them all discoursed
of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he was to
manage: and that with so noble courage and hauty spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled a-
gain the former zeal and heat that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured
hope than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents
past, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderfull
man, not only in regard of those true vertues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed
himself even from his young and tender years, by artificiall means, to the better setting out of
those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making shew and semblant before the multitude,
that the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and appa-
ritions, or else suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above; were it that he was in-
perstitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his policy he might effect
his designments, and have his commandments performed with more expedition, as if they were
directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he
made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very
first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his mans gown, there was no day went
over his head, but before he began his own private business, or enterprised any publike affairs, he
would go into the Capitoll: and so soon as he was entred into the Temple, there sit him down,
and alone by himself bestow a good time in some secret Ile and corner thereof. This ordinary
manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerately, or by chance
unadvisedly) made divers men beleeve verily, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly
supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father. Which deep and setled imagination
of the people, resembled and renewed again the like fame (in all the word) to that which went
before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of
folk, was the very same and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a
mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigi-
ous and wonderfull thing, and ever as any body came in, it would wind away of a sudden, and va-
nish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himself elevate and dis-
credit as toies and vanities, but rather cherish and encrease the opinion thereof, by a certain cun-
ning cast of his own, in that he would neither deny and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirm
plainly and verifie the same. Many other devices he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly
feigned and counterfeit, which caused men beyond all measure to have this young man in won-
derfull admiration. Upon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the City at that time
conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his unripe years) so great a government, and
a world withall of weighty and important affairs.

Besides, the forces which remained in *Spain* of the old army, and those which were transported
over from *Puteoli* with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one
thousand horsemen: and to assist in the conduct of his wars, he had as coadjutor appointed unto
him *M. Junius Syllanus* the Pro-Prætor. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Galleys there were
all of five banks of oars) he took the seas, and set sail from the mouth of *Tybre*, and coasting along
the Tuscan seas under the *Alps*, and through the gulph of *Gallia*, he doubled at length the point
and cape of *Pyrene*, and disbarked at *Emporiæ* a City of Greeks: (for descended they are also
from *Phocæa*) and there he set his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships
should follow after, he marched by land to *Taracon*, which he appointed for the *Rendezvous*,
where all his allies and confederats (for at the wonder and fame of his landing, there flocked Em-
bassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a generall Diet.
There he commanded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, save only three Galleys
(of three ranks) which came from *Massiles*, and upon curtesie and kindness accompanied him from
home, and those were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hung in
doubtfull suspence by reason of the variety and of sundry changes and chances that lately had hap-
ned, and to them he began to return answer, and give them their severall dispatches: but with
such a spirit and boldness (upon confidence that he had in his own rare vertues) that he let not
fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favoured of rigour, and yet whatso-
ever he spake, it carried an exceeding majesty with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from
Taracon, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintring camps of the army:
where he highly commended the souldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two
shrewd blows, upon two so great defeats one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province
still, and kept the field; and not suffering the enemies to reap and taste the fruit of their fortunate
victories, and kept them out of all the countries lying within *Iberus*, and defended faithfully all
their confederats according to the trust reposed in them. *Martius* he had in his train alwaies about
him: whom he so highly honoured, that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any
other man should eclipse or shadow his glory. Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the
new souldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the
Cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be
done, retired and withdrew himself to *Taracon*.

The fame of *Scipio* was no leſs bruited among the enemies, than it was rife with his own Citizens and loving allies: and a certain preſage went withall of the future event, which carried (as good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was leſs reaſon that could be rendred more aſunder. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſgo* even as far as to the Ocean ſea ſide unto *Gades*: *Mago* into the midland parts, and eſpecially above the foreſt and chaſe of *Caſtulo*. And *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar* wintred neareſt unto *Iberus* about *Saguntum*.

In the very end of that ſummer, when *Capua* was won, and *Scipio* come into *Spain*, the Carthaginian Armado which was ſent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, for to intercept the victuals, and empeach the ſame for coming to the Roman garriſon that held the Caſtle of *Tarentum*, had verily ſtopped all the paſſages from the ſea to the ſaid Caſtle: but by their long abode in thoſe parts, and keeping the ſeas ſo ſtraightly, they had cauſed a greater dearth and ſcarcity of victuals among their own friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of thoſe Carthaginian ſhips ſo much corn be along the river that was poſſeſſed by friends, nor from the open ports, for to furniſh the townſmen of *Tarentum*, as the navy it ſelf conſumed and ſpent, in maintenance of that rabble of ſea-men, ſailers, and mariners, mingled of all ſorts of people. So as the garriſon of the Caſtle being but few in number there was able to be ſuſtained by the proviſion they had afore-hand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the Tarentins and the Navy could not have ſufficient conveighed unto them: by reaſon whereof, at length the Armado had leave to depart thence with more thanks of the City, than they had for their firſt *ben-venu* thither. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, becauſe when the help by ſea was gone, there could no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very ſame ſummer, when *M. Marcellus* was come to the City out of *Sicily*, his own Province, *C. Calphurnius* the Prætor aſſembled the Senat for his ſake in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had diſcourſed of the acts by him atchieved, and complained after a mild and modeſt ſort, laying open his griefs, not ſo much in the behalf of himſelf, as of his ſouldiers: in that when he had performed and accompliſhed his charge and commiſſion in his Province, he con'd not have licence to bring home his army with; he demanded that he might be allowed to ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much canvaſſed and debated, *pro & contra*, Whether it were leſs meet and convenient, to deny him triumph being now preſent, in whoſe name whiles he was abſent, for the fortunat ſucceſs and good ſpeed of all affairs under his conduct and government, there was a ſolemn proceſſion decreed, and ſacrifices done to the honour of the immortall gods: or to grant him triumph (as if the war were fully finiſhed) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his ſucceſſor; which ſurely they would never have decreed, but that the war remained ſtill within the Province: and eſpecially ſeeing the army it ſelf was away, the beſt witneſs ſimply, whether he had deſerved a triumph or no. At length, a middle and indifferent courſe between both was agreed upon, namely, that he ſhould enter the City ovant in a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Commons, by the approbation firſt of the Senate, propoſed unto the people, that *M. Marcellus* ſhould the ſame day that he came ovant into the City retain ſtill his full authority and government. The day before he entred the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount *Albanus*, and from thence, in ovant wiſe he ſent a rich booty before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeit of the City *Syracuſe* won, crosbows, brakes, ſtanding ſlings, and all other warlike inſtrument: beſides, the ornaments teſtifying long and continuall peace, and the great wealth and treaſure of the Kings: as divers veſſels of ſilver and braſs curiouſly wrought; other houſhold furniture alſo, rich hangings of tapiſtry, and garments of great price; many goodly images and right noble ſtatues, wherewith *Syracuſe* was adorned and beautified, even with the beſt and principal Cities of *Greece*. In token alſo of a victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in ſhew. And that which was not the leaſt ſight and ſpectacle to behold, *Soſis* the Syracuſian, and *Mericus* the Spaniard went afore with crowns of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when *Syracuſe* was entred in the night ſeaſon: and the other betraied *Naſos*, and the garriſon there. Both theſe were enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome*, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto them for ever. *Soſis* had his land ſet out in the territory of *Syracuſe*, which either belonged to the Kings, or to the enemies of the people of *Rome*, and a dwelling houſe (ſuch where he would in *Syracuſe* of all thoſe that were ſeized upon by right of conqueſt.) As for *Mericus* and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, and ſided unto the Romans, they had aſſigned unto them a City to inhabit, and land to occupy in *Sicily*, which ſometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And order was given to *M. Cornelius* for to appoint them the ſaid City and land whereſoever he thought good. And in the ſame territory there were allotted and ſet out four hundred acres of land unto *Belligenes*, by whoſe means *Mericus* was allured and induced to leave the adverſe part and turn to the Romans.

Marcellus triumpheth.

After that *Marcellus* was departed out of *Sicily*, the Navy of the Carthaginians diſbarked eight thouſand footmen, and three thouſand Numidian horſemen. Unto them revolted the Murgantine land, and *Hybla*, together with *Agella*: and other ſmall piles of baſe account, took example by them and followed after. The Numidians with their Captain *Mutines*, ranged over all *Sicily*, and forred the towns and villages belonging to the aſſociats of the people of *Rome*. Over and beſides all this, the Roman army there, being diſcontented and angry, partly for that together with their Generall, they were not licenced to go out of the Province: and partly, for that they were forbidden and debarred, for wintring in any good towns; demeaned themſelves ſlackly and lazily in their military ſervice: in ſuch ſort, as if there had been a head to lead them, as they had a heart to move them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among theſe troubles and difficulties, *M. Cornelius* the Prætor, both appeaſed and mittigated the ſtomacks of the ſouldiers, as well by comfortable words, as by rebukes and checks: and alſo brought under his obedience and ſubjection, all thoſe Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted *Murgantia* to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order aforeſaid due. Both the Conſuls who had the government of the Province *Apulia*, ſeeing there was leſs cauſe of fear and terrour now from the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, were commanded to caſt lots between them for the Provinces of *Apulia* and *Macedonia*. So *Macedonia* befell unto *Sulpitius*, and he ſucceeded there inſtead of *Levinus*. *Fulvius* was ſent for home to *Rome*, about the election of the Conſuls. And when he held the ſolemn aſſembly of the people, for the choice and creation of the Coſſ. The Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their firſt voice, declared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Octacilius* for Conſuls. *Manlius* being there preſent in place, when the multitude came about him to congratulate with, God give you joy, &c. (for that there was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the firſt Century) came with a great company about him to the tribunall ſeat of eſtate where the Conſul ſat: and made requeſt unto him, that he would give him the hearing of ſome few words, and command that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new ſcrutiny. And when every wan was attentive, and expected what he ſhould demand, he alledged for his excuſe a pair of ill eyes. "For a ſhameleſs Pilot of a ſhip is he, and as impudent a Generall of an army (quoth he) who having to do all by other mens eyes, would require to have the goods "and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it pleaſe your honour to "command this Century of the younger ſort to give their voices anew, and in creating Conſuls, "to remember the war that is in *Italy*, to conſider of the troubleſome ſtate of the Common-"weal, and to think of this, That ſcarcely yet mens ears have had any reſt, ſince they reſounded and "rung again with the noiſes and alarms, that the enemies raiſed within theſe few months, when "they lay in ſiege neer unto the wals of *Rome*. But after theſe words, when the ſaid Century cried with one accord, that they were of the ſame mind ſtill, and would nominate the ſame Conſuls again, and none other: then *Torquatus*, "Neither (quoth he) ſhall I be able, if I were Conſul to "bear with your faſhions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment. To "the ſcrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within *Italy*, and *Annibal* is the Generall of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and reverence of the mans perſon, as by the applauſe and admiration of the people, who wondred at his vertue, beſought the Conſul to call forth and cite a Century of the elder bands: for that they would willingly confer with more ancient men than themſelves; and by their ſage advice and good direction nominate the Conſuls. When thoſe elders were called to this Century, there was ſome time allowed for to commune apart ſecretly with them, within the place railed in, called *Ovile*. Theſe ancients ſaid unto them, that they were to conſult of three perſons, whereof two already were full of honourable dignities, which they had born, to wit *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But verily, (ſay they) in caſe ye would have ſome new Coſ. to be choſen, for to be oppoſed againſt the Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Lævinus*, a notable man, one who hath performed ſingular good ſervice and atchieved many noble deeds, both by ſea and land againſt King *Philip*. So when they had three propounded unto them, the elder were diſmiſſed and the younger entred into a ſecond ſcrutiny; and declared for Conſuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his glory, for the late ſubduing and conqueſt of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was abſent. This foredom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the reſt followed after, and by their ſuffrages confirmed. "Let them mock on now and ſcoff hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but "antiquity and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any ſuch City and Com-"mon-wealth at all, conſiſting of wiſe men and Philoſophers, as ſome great Clarks have rather "imagined in their fanſies, than found in effect; I dare be bold to think & ſay, that in it there could "not poſſibly be either rulers and Magiſtrates more grave and temperate in their deſire of dignity "and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and inſtructed. But that it ſhould be "thought an unlikely matter and ſcarce credible that a Century of younger perſons were willing "to conſult with the elder, and be adviſed by them to whom they ſhould give their voices, for to "be created the chief Magiſtrates; it is the corruption of this our age that is the cauſe: wherein "we ſee how ſmall reverence and authority even parents themſelves have, and of how ſlender "and baſe account they be amongſt their own naturall children.

The Oration of *T. Manlius* to the Conſul.

After this followed the Election of Prætors, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volſo*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, *C. Lecterius*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finiſhed it fortuned that news came, how *T. Octacilius* (whom the people, as it ſeemed, would have choſen in his abſence to match *T. Manlius* in the Conſulſhip, but that the ordinary courſe of the election was diſturbed and ſtopped) departed this life in *Sicily*. The Apollinare games in the former year had been exhibited: and when *Calphurnius* the Prætor put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that they might be celebrated again that yeat alſo, there paſſed a decree, That they ſhould be vowed to continue from time to time for ever.

The

The same year certain prodigious tokens were seen and reported. In the Temple of *Concordia* H the Image of *Victory*, which stood upon the lantern and top thereof was smitten with lightning, and being shaken and driven from its own place, rested fast upon those other Images of *Victory* that were fixed in the forefront of the said Temple, and fell not down from thence. Word also was brought, That in *Anagnia* and *Fregellæ* the walls and the gates were likewise blasted and stricken with fire from heaven: and that in the market place of *Sudertum* there ran streams of blood a whole day together: That in *Eretum* it rained stones: and that in *Reate* a female mule brought forth a sole. These strange and wonderfull signs were purged and expiate with greater sacrifices: and a solemn supplication proclaimed; wherein for one day the people should wholly attend their devotions, and pray unto the gods: and likewise a Novendiall sacrifice. In that year died I certain publike Priests of State, and new were chosen in their stead. *Caius Livius* in the room of *M. Pomponius Matho* the High Priest: and *M. Servilius*, to supply the place of *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*, the Arch-Augur. And forasmuch as *T. Otacilius Maximus*, the Prelate or Bishop, died when the year was expired, there was none nominated for to succeed him. *C. Claudius* the Arch-flamine of *Jupiter* lost his Flaminship, and was deprived of that Sacerdotall dignity, because he had committed an errour in sacrificing, when he should minister and distribute the inwards of the beast.

About the same time M. *Æmylius Levinus* (after he had by secret conferences sounded aforehand and sollicited the minds of the Ætolian Princes and great LL.) came with a small fleet of ships lightly appointed, to their general Diet or Councill, summoned before for that purpose on K ly. In which solemn assembly, after he had made declaration, "That *Syracusa* and *Capua* were "won, and under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and what good success they had in the "affairs and wars of *Italy*: and discoursed besides, That the Romans, according to their ancient "custome, received by tradition from their forefathers, used to respect and make much of their "Allies: and namely, That either they received them into the City of *Rome*, and endued them "with the same franchises that they themselves enjoyed, or else dealt so liberally with them o- "therwise, that they liked of their condition so wel, as they chose rather to be allies than Citizens: "he protested and said, That the Ætolians should be much more honoured amongst them than "all others, for that they were the first that of all forrain nations beyond sea, entertained league "and amity with them. As for King *Philip* and the Macedonians, their heavy friends, & dangerous L "neighbours, he had so danted their courages, abated their forces, and driven them to that pass, "that not only they were forced to abandon those towns, which by violence they had taken "wrongfully from the Ætolians, but also had much ado themselves to keep *Macedony* it self quiet, and without perill of hostility: promising withall, That he would bring and reduce the Acar- "nanians (for whom the Ætolians were so discontented and grieved, that they were dismembred "from the body of their State) under their ancient form of jurisdiction and seignory again. These relations and promises made by the Roman General, were confirmed and assured unto them by the authority and countenance of *Scopas* (who for the time was the Prætor or head Magistrate of that State) and of *Dorimachus* a Prince of the Ætolians, who with less modesty and greater asseveration and confidency extolled and magnified the greatness, power, and majesty of the people of *Rome*. M The principall matter that induced and moved them was the hope of recovering and keeping *Acarnania*. Whereupon, there were conditions drawn & engrossed, under which they should joyn in league and friendship with the people of *Rome*. And this branch was added to the rest of the defeazances, That if they were so pleased, and liked well of it, there should be comprized in the same league and privileges, the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, together with *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: of which three, *Attalus* was King of *Asia* the less, the other were Princes and Potentates of * *Illyricum*. The articles ran in this form. *Imprimis*, That the Ætolians should immediatly make war by land with King *Philip*. *Item*, That the Romans at sea should help with twenty galliaces at the least, bearing five ranks of oars. *Item*, As touching all the Cities that should be conquered (beginning from *Ætolia*, so far as to * *Corcyra*) that the ground whereon the Cities were N seated, the edifices, the walls, and the lands thereto belonging, should be seized to the use of the Ætolians: all other goods and chattels else, should be a prize for the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That if the Ætolians hapned to make peace with *Philip*, it must pass with this clause and proviso, that the peace should stand good upon this condition, That *Philip* abstain to make war upon the Romans and their Allies, and all those that lived under their dominions. *Item*, In case the people of *Rome* fortuned to piece again, and be confederate with the King, they should put in a caveat and proviso, that he might have no liberty to war upon the Ætolians, or their associates. These were the covenants agreed upon: and being fair engrossed two years after into a pair of indentures the one of them remained for the Ætolians in *Olympia*, the other for the Romans in their Capitoll, among other sacred records and monuments, for a perpetuall memoriall to all posterity. The occasion of so great delay was because the Embassadors of the Ætolians were staid and kept very long at *Rome*. But that was no let nor hinderance at all to the proceedings in the wars. For the Ætolians presently made war upon *Philip*: and *Levinus* conquered * *Zacynthus* (a little Island near to *Ætolia*, having a City within it of the same name, which he forced by assault, all save the Castle) likewise * *Oeniada* and * *Naxus*, which he won from the Acarnanians before: and all these he gave to the Ætolians. And supposing that *Philip* having his hands full of the war upon his own frontires had no time to think upon *Italy*, and the Carthaginians, and to mind the

* Schœnia.
* Corphu.
* Zanto.
* Dragamesto.
* Nicsia.

A the covenants that passed between *Annibal* and him, he retired himself into *Corcyra*.

Philip lying in winter harbor within *Pella*, was advertized of the * Ætolians revolt. Therefore because he minded at the prime of the Spring to conduct an army into *Greece*, to the end that *Macedony* and the Cities bordering thereupon, should not be molested by the Illyrians, whom he supposed would be at quiet and not stir, if they were once frighted with the harms of others, he made a sudden rode and expedition into the marches of the Oricins and Apolloniats: and when the Appolloniats issued forth against him, he repelled them, and with great fear and terror drave them within their walls. After he had wasted the confines next to the Illyrians, he turned his forces with like celerity and speed into *Pelagonia*: and then won by assault a City of the B Dardanians, situate in the frontires of *Macedonia*, through which the Dardanians meant to have their passage. And when he had performed these exploits in great haste, not forgetting how the Ætolians and Romans both maintained war against him joyntly, he descended through *Pelagonia*, *Nympheum*, and *Bolea*, into *Thessaly*; supposing verily that the people of those countries might be incited to wage war together with him against the Ætolians. And leaving there behind him (at the streight of *Thessaly*) *Perseus* four thousand strong, for to debar the Ætolians entrance that way: himself in person before that he should be occupied in greater affairs, led forth his army into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Thracia*, and so forward against the Medians. That nation was wont to make incursions, and to invade *Macedony*, whensoever they could perceive that the King was either busied in other wars, or his Realm disfurnished and slenderly provided C of good gard and strong garrisons. He began therefore to forrage and spoil the territories about *Phragandæ*, and to assault *Iamphorina*, the principall City and chief strength of that Region *Medica*.

Scopas having intelligence that the King was gone into *Thracia*, and kept there occupied in the wars, put all the serviceable young men of *Ætolia* in arms, and prepared war against *Acarnania*. The nation of the Acarnians, albeit they were both in strength unequall, and also saw already, that they had lost the walled City of the *Oniades*, and *Naxus*: and knowing well, that the Roman forces would come upon them besides: rather upon anger than any good counsell and advisement, made preparation for war, and resolved to meet them. Their wives and children, and elder persons such as were above forty years of age, they sent away into *Epirus*, adjoyning near unto them. D Of all that were fifteen years old and upward unto threescore, they took a solemn oath, that they would never return back without victory. They laid also a heavy curse and cruell malediction upon all those of their own nation: and framed a most humble request, in as effectuall terms as they could devise, unto all their friends, that none of them should entertain within their Cities, their doors and houses, nor admit to their table, any one of them that were vanquished, and fled out of the field: yea, and besought withall the Epirons to gather together the dead bodies of as many of them as should chance to be slain in batteli, and to inter them all in one grave, and erect a tomb and monument over them, with an Epitaph and inscription to this effect: *Here lie buried and entombed the Acarnanians, who fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injuries of the Ætolians, lost their lives manfully in the field.* By this means, when their courages were enkindled and incensed, they encamped themselves in their utmost frontiers, abiding the coming of their enemies. And having dispatched messengers to *Philip*, to give notice to him in what jeopardy they stood, they constrained him to give over that war which he had in hand, considering that *Iamphorina* was surrendred up into his hands, and that he had sped wel otherwise in the rest of his affairs. The Ætolians, upon the first fame that was blown abroad of that solemn oath, taken by the Acarnanians, were wel cooled, and not so hasty to set forward: but hearing once of *Philip* his coming, they were driven to retire again as far as possibly they could within their own confines. Neither *Philip* for his part marched on further than to *Elne* (notwithstanding that he made great speed afore, and took long journies; for fear that the Acarnanians should be surprized, before he could reach unto them) for so soon as he heard that the Ætolians were retired, he himself also returned F unto *Pella*.

Levinus in the beginning of the spring took the sea, and loosed from *Corcyra*, and having doubled the point of *Leucates*, and sailed as far as *Naupactum*, there he published and gave knowledge, That he would shape his course from thence for *Anticyra*: and that *Scopas* and the Ætolians should there meet him, and be in readiness. This *Anticyra* is situate in *Locris*, on the left hand, as ye enter into the gulph of *Corinth*. By land it is a small journey thither from *Naupactum*, and as short a cut by sea. So within three daies after they began to assail the City on both sides. The fiercer assault was from the sea-side, both because they had in their ships engines of battery, and other ordnance and artillery of all sorts: and also, for that the assailants from that part were Romans. So within few daies the City was yielded up, and delivered again unto the Ætolians, the pillage thereof fell to the Romans share, according to covenant. There *Levinus* received letters G from *Rome*, specifying thus much, That he was declared Consul in his absence, and *P. Sulpitius* was coming to succeed him in the Province: but by occasion that he lay there sick of a long disease, he came to *Rome* later than all men expected.

M. Marcellus entring his Consulship upon the Ides of *March*, assembled the Senat that day, only for form and order sake: "for he made open profession there, that during the absence of his "Collegue, he would treat of no matters, either concerning the state of the City, or the Pro- "vinces. But this protestation he uttered withall, and said: That he knew full well that there were

"many

* *Jenica Sophiano*, or *Zubia Nigro*.

"many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City, backbiters and slanderers of him, H
"who for his own part he was so far off from hindring, but that they might freely for all him,
"divulgate and publish abroad in *Rome* all those crimes which were devised and spoken against
"him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some fear forsooth, to charge the
"Consul with any matters, in the absence of his Collegue, he would straightwaies give them au-
"dience in the Senate: but so soon verily as my brother Consul is come home, I wil not, quoth he,
"I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians be sent for into
"the Senate house. And I understand that *M. Cornelius* hath taken generall search like a muster
"over all *Sicily*, to the end there might come a nnmber to *Rome* with complaints of me: he also
"with letters full of untruths hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand, I
"that the war continueth still in *Sicily*, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consul
having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his
affections, dismissed the Senat: and it seemed that there would be a generall vacation not of law
matters only, but of all other things & as it were holyday still, untill the other Consul came unto
the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) set the Commons having nothing else
to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked apace, ceasing not to spread rumours, That by
this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of *Rome* (especially
where *Annibal* had marched with his cruell army) were wasted, but also *Italy* was in a manner
dispeopled and laid desolate, by reason of so many musters and levies: complaining, that whole
armies were defeated and put to the sword at *Canna* in defence of the Common-wealth: and K
that there were two Consuls created, both martiall men, and warriors, over-fierce and eager of
fight, such as time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: so little was it to be
looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to
have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people
were interrupted and staid by occasion of a Scare-fire that began in sundry places together about
the *Forum*. in the night of that day, which was immediatly before the festivall daies of *Minerva*,
called *Quinquatrus*. At one and the self-same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses,
which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and money changers which
now are called *Nova*, (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire
caught, for as then there were no stately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the L
fire took hold of the common prison, called *Latumiæ* the Fish market hall likewise, and the roy-
all gallery or walking-place. Hardly could the Chappel of *Vesta* be saved, and that by the good help
and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondslaves; whose bondage was bought out at the Cities
charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made
doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some lewd persons; for that the fires
began in many places at once, and those far distant asunder. Whereupon the Consul by the advice
and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whoso-
ever would come forth and give notice by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well
rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of money; if bond, with freedome. In hope of
which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the *Calavii* the Campans, (his name was *Man-* M
nus) was induced to bewray the masters whom he served, and five other young Gentlemen of *Ca-*
pua, whose fathers had lost their heads by the commandment of *Q. Fulvius*. Those he appeached
to have made the said fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more
mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended; so they were attached, and
their household-servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and
the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledging, that the day
before the party himself being chastised and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an
anger and giddy fit devised (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casuall) to frame
an acculation against his masters. But when the matter was averred to their teeth in open place,
and that they, by whose ministery the feat was done, were in the midst of the *Forum* put to N
the rack for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the Masters that
were the setters thereof, as the servants that were privy and accessary thereto, had their desers,
and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had * 20000 asses
for his labour.

As the Consul *Lævinus* passed by *Capua* in his journey [homeward,] there flocked about
him a number of Campans, and besought him with tears, that they might have leave to go
to *Rome*, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suit (if haply there were any
pitie and commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Flaccus* to consume the
name and generation of the Campans from off the face of the earth. "Now *Flaccus* for his part
"declared flatly that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campans as o
"the common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever, so long as he knew them so ill affe-
"cted as they were to the people of *Rome*: for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people un-
"der heaven more spightfully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that
"was the cause (saith he) that he penned them up within their wals. For whosoever of them chan-
"ced any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, ren-
"dring, tearing, and killing whosoever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adverse side
"unto *Annibal*: others are gone to *Rome* to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) shal the Con-
"sul

A "sul find the market place half burned, and the very prints and tokens remaining fresh of the
"Campans mischievous practises. There should he see that they minded to have done violence
"upon the Chappel of *Vesta*, and to have put out those eternall fires, and utterly defaced the fatal
"pledge of the Roman Empire, bestowed and laid up sure in the most secret place of the Chap-
"pell. Neither thought he it was safe for the City to permit the Campans to come within the
"walls thereof. Then *Lævinus* having caused the Capuans to take a corporall oath, and swear un-
to *Flaccus*, that they would make return to *Capua* before five daies were expired, after they had
their answer and dispatch from the Senate; commanded them to come after him to *Rome*.
Attended thus as he was with his company, he encountred the Sicilians also, who came forth to
B meet him: and with this multitude he entred the City, accompanied (I say) with the Campans
and Sicilians, both vanquished and subdued by war, as accusers of two most famous persons,
Marcellus and *Fulvius*, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, *Syracuse*, and
Capua.

But both the Cosl. treated and consulted first with the Senate, about the state of the Common-
weal, and the government of the Provinces. There *Lævinus* related in what terms stood *Ma-*
cedony and *Greece*: the Ætolians also, with the Acarnanians and Locrians: likewise what acts
he had atchieved in those parts both by sea and land: and how he had repulsed *Philip* back into
Macedonia, when he began to make war upon the Ætolians, who now was retired and gone
into the utmost parts of his Kingdom: so as the legion might be withdrawn from thence, for
C that the Armado was sufficient to keep the King forth of *Italy*. Thus much spake he of himself,
and of the Province whereof he had been governour. Then both Consuls in common, proposed
unto the Senat, concerning the Province. And the LL. decreed that one of the Consuls should
take the charge of *Italy*, and of the war with *Annibal*: and the other should have under his
hand the Armado, whereof *T. Otacilius* was the Admiral: and together with *L. Cincius* the Prætor,
govern the Province of *Sicily*. They were allowed the two armies which were in *Tuscany* and
in *France*, consisting of four legions: whereof two of the former year, that were of Citizens
should be sent into *Tuscany*, and those two which the Consul *Sulpitius* had conducted, should be
led into *France*. Moreover, that he should have the government of *France*, and the leading of the
Legions there, whom that Cos. would appoint, whose lot it was to have *Italy* for his Province.
D Into *Tuscany* was *C. Calphurnius* sent, with Commission after the term of the Prætorship expired,
to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a year. Likewise to *Q. Fulvius* was resigned the
keeping of *Capua*, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of
Allies, were by commandment of the Senat abridged and made less: so that for two legions there
should be but one, and that consisting of five thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen:
that they should be discharged of souldiery who had served longest: that of Allies there should
be less seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse: with the same respect and consideration
of service in dismissing the old souldiers. As for *Cn. Fulvius* the Consul of the former year, he
ruled the same Province of *Apulia* still, without any alteration of his forces: only his govern-
ment was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpitius* his Colleague, was commanded
E to send away all his army, only the mariners and sailers excepted. Likewise order was given that
so soon as the new Consul was arrived and landed in the Province of *Sicily*, the army there,
which was commanded by *M. Cornelius*, should be sent out of *Sicily*. Unto *L. Cincius* the Prætor
were assigned the souldiers that remained after the defeat at *Canne*, for to keep *Sicily* in order,
and those arose to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Manlius Volso* the
Prætor, for to go into *Sardinia*, even those whereof *L. Cornelius* had the leading in the same Pro-
vince the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Consuls were enjoyned to levy and
enroll them so, as they entertained no souldier of all those who had served in the army, either of
M. Claudius, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*: nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty le-
gions of the Romans. When these Acts were passed in the Senate-house, the Consuls cast lots for
F their severall Provinces, *Sicily* and the Armado fell to *Marcellus*: *Italy* and the war against *Anni-*
bal, to *Lævinus*.

This lot that fell to *Marcellus* so strick the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the
Consuls, looking for the event of the lottery) as if *Syracuse* had been lost again: in such sort, as
their pitifull lamentations, and their woefull plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes up-
on them, and none after ministred cause of much speech and talk. For they went about to
all the Senators from one to another, in poor and vile array, protesting, "That if *Marcellus* came
"amongst them again as L. Deputy, they would not only forsake every man his own country
"where he was born, but also abandon the whole Island of *Sicily*: complaining that without any
"desert of their parts, heretofore he had been cruelly bent against them, and his hatred was irre-
"conceiable: and what would he now do in his choler, and knowing that the Sicilians came to
G "*Rome* of purpose to make complaints of him? The Island were better (say they) to be on a light
"fire to burn with *Ætna*; or to be all a very sea, than thus to be exposed as a prey unto a mor-
"tall enemy, for to be devoured. These grievous moans and pitious complaints of the Sicilians
first carried to the houses of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much
talked of by many, whiles some pitied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, spread abroad at
length so far, untill they came to the Council-Tabell, And the Consuls were dealt withall, to
propose unto the Senate, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then *Mar-*

cellus

cellus stood up and said, "That in case audience had been given to the Sicilians already in the Sen-
"nat-house, peradventure he would deliver his opinion to another purpose: but now left any
"man might say, that they were bridled for fear, and durst not speak their minds freely, nor com-
"plain as they would of him, at whose command, and under whose obedience, they were to be
"within a while: he was for his part ready to make change of his Province, if his Collegue were
"as well content, and made no greater scruple of the matter. Only he requested that the Senate
"would not prejudice his cause. For if at the first (quoth he) it had been hard and unjust, extraor-
"dinarily and without casting lots, to give my Collegue the free choice of his own Province, how
"much greater wrong then should I have, nay, what disgrace were offered unto me, if my lot
"should be taken from me and transferred upon him. So for that time, the Senat having made an
overture unto *Marcellus*, what they would have done, rather than by any decree prejudiced the
matter, brake up. And the Consuls between themselves privatly made exchange one with the o-
ther. See the fortune and fatall destiny of *Marcellus*, that haled him, as it were, to be matched with
Annibal, and to fall into his hands: to the end that the same man, who of all the Romans, was
the first that vanquished *Annibal* in fight, and won the honour from him: should now in the midst
of prosperity and happy success of war, be the last Roman General that was slain by *Annibal*, and
yielded the glory of giving him the overthrow. After the Provinces were thus interchangeably
shifted, the Sicilians were brought into the Senat, Where they made a long speech as touching the
perpetuall and constant faithfulness unto the end of K. *Hiero*, towards the people of *Rome*; and all
to curry favour and gain thanks unto the whole nation of *Sicily*. Recounting, "that *Hieronymus*
"first, and after him *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, as for other things, so especially for their revolting
"from the Romans, and turning to *Annibal*, were odious and hateful unto them. For which cause
"and nothing else *Hieronymus* was by the hands of the chiefains of their young gallants, as it
"were by a publike decree of the state made away and killed, and the noblest of their young gen-
"tlemen, to the number of seventy, conspired to murder *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*: who being dis-
"appointed and put by the effecting of their designment, through the delay of *Marcellus*, (who at
"the time before appointed, came not with his power to *Syracuse*) were appeached, their inten-
"ded plot revealed, and they all by those tyrants put to death. And yet to speak a truth, *Marcel-*
"*lus* himself was he that gave the first occasion of the tyrannizing of *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, in
"that most cruelly he sacked and rifled the Leontins. But from that time forward, the Nobles of
"*Syracuse* never ceased to come in unto *Marcellus*, & promised to deliver the City into his hands,
"whensoever he pleased. But he, forsooth, at first, stood upon these terms, that he would rather
"force it by assault: but afterwards, seeing he could not effect that his purpose, notwithstanding he
"had wrought all the devices he could, both by sea & land, he made choice of one *Sosis* a copper-
"smith, & *Mericus* a Spaniard, to have them to work and contrive the betraying of the City, rather
"than of the principal of the Syracusian Nobility, who had so often offred that service, and never
"yet would it be accepted: & all, I wot, because he might pretend some colourable cause of justice,
"to proceed in all rigor against the most ancient allies of the people of *Rome*, for to massacre them,
"and make spoil of all that they had. Set case that *Hieronymus* had not revolted and gone to *An-*
"*nibal*, but the whole people and Senat of *Syracusa*: Suppose, that the Syracusians in generall, by
"publike consent had shut the gates against *Marcellus*, & not their Tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Epi-*
"*cides*, when they had the Syracusians sure enough under their own hands: Say they had warred
"against the people *Rome* with as spightfull and cankred malice as the Carthaginians do, and ever
"did: what greater hostility could *Marcellus* possibly have exercised against them more than he
"hath, unless he would destroy and raze the City to the very ground? Surely he hath left nothing
"in *Syracusa* but the bare walls, the naked and empty houses of the City, the temples and chapels
"of the gods defaced & broke open: for the gods themselves, with all the rich & gorgeous orna-
"ments are carried away. Many a man is spoiled and robbed of his goods, in such sort, as having
"nothing left him but the bare soil, they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to main-
"tain themselves, and sustain their wives and children. They were humble petitioners therefore,
"and suppliant suiters unto the LL. of the Senate, to take order, that restitution might be made
"unto the rightful owners if not of all (for that is unpossible) yet of so much at least, as was to be
"found, and might be truly owned again.

The complaints of the Sicilians against *Marcellus*.

After these and such like complaints, *Levinus* the Consul commanded them to go forth of the Councill-House, to the end that the LL. might be consulted with, and deliver their opinions concerning their demands. "Nay mary (quoth *Marcellus*) let them stay still rather, that I may answer
"to their very faces: seeing my LL. our case and condition is so hard, who war and fight for you,
"that we must have those to enform against us, and be our accusers, whom we have conquered
"and subdued by martiall arms; Let it even be so that two Cities, to wit, *Capua* and *Syracusa*,
"won this year, may convent judicially both their conquerors, the one *Fulvius*, the other *Mar-*
"*cellus*. When the Embassadors were brought back again into the Senat-house, then began *Mar-*
"*cellus* the Consul, and spake in this wise.

Marcellus his defence against the Syracusians.

"I am not so far overseen, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majesty of the people of
"*Rome*, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cause,
"Consul as I am, against these Grecians, my accusers, in case the question were of any crime or
"fault of mine own. But all the controversie to be discussed, standeth not upon these terms, to
"examine what I have done, whom the right of war will justifie and bear out, howsoever I have
"proceeded

A "proceeded against enemies: but what these men have deserved to suffer. If they were not ene-
"mies, nor so to be reputed, then it mattered not, and it had been all one, either now or in the
"life time of King *Hiero*, to have forced *Syracusa*. But if it appear, that they have revolted, that
"they have evil intreated our Embassadors, threatned to lay violent hands, and to run upon them
"with sword and force of arms; that they have manned their walls, and shut their gates upon us;
"that they have maintained the army of the Carthaginians against us: who can be grieved and
"offended, if they have suffered as enemies, who stuck not first to offer all hostility whatsoever?
"Rejected I the Nobles of *Syracusa* when they would have delivered the City into my hands?
"And made I more account of *Sosis*, and *Mericus* the Spaniard, and thought them worthy to be
"trusted in so important a matter? Yeare not, I am sure, the meanest of the Syracusians, that thus
B "reproch others with baseness of estate. Who was it of all you here, that promited to open me
"the gates? that undertook to receive my armed souldiers into the City? Nay, nay, ye hate and
"curse them in your heart, who have so done; and even in this place cannot forbear to give them
"hard terms, and revile them: so unlike it is, that you your selves ever meant to have done any
"such thing. Even this abject condition and base calling of theirs, my LL. which these men twit
"them with, is a manifest token, and a most evident argument, that I refused none; that was wil-
"ling to do good service unto our state and Common-weal. At the very first, before I laid siege
"unto *Syracusa*, I assailed by all means to have peace; one while sending Embassadors unto them,
"other whiles going in person to parle with them. Afterwards, seeing that without all reverence
"of Embassadors, they shamed not to offer them abuse; without regard of my self, they deigned
C "me no answer when I came to the gates, and conferred with their chief Nobility: after much
"travel, toil, and infinite pains, sustained both by Land and Sea, at length by mere force and hot
"assault, I became Master and Lord of *Syracusa*. Now as touching that which hath befaln unto
"them, since they were overcome, and lost their City, I would suppose they had more reason, and
"juster cause to make their moan, and complain unto *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, those that
"are likewise conquered, than before the Senat of the people of *Rome* their Conqueror. For mine
"own part, my LL. if I had ever meant to deny and disavow the spoiling and secking of *Syracusa*,
"and not to stand to it when I had done, I would never have been so ill advised, as to beautify and
"adorn the City of *Rome* with the spoils thereof. And what I have given or forgiven unto any
D "particular person, I am assured that I may well justify and avow the same, both by the law of
"war, and also by the desert of every one. Now, my LL. whether ye will approve and ratify my
"doings or no, it concerneth and toucheth the Common-weal rather than my self. My part I have
"done, and discharged my duty faithfully. It much importeth now the State, that by reversing (as
"it were) and disannulling mine actions, ye make not your other Generals from henceforth, to be
"more slack and backward in the like employment. To conclude my LL. since that ye have heard
"both my self and the Sicilians speak our minds face to face, we will all together go out of this
"Temple, that in my absence the Senate may more frankly speak to the point, and deliver their
"opinions. Thus the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself went forth also to the Capitol, for to
take a levy of souldiers.

E The other Consul in the mean time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the LL. Much canvassing a long while, and discussing there was of the matter, and divers opinions pas-
sed, Many of the Senators following *T. Manlius Torquatus* the head and principal man, that main-
tained a side, were of this mind, "That they should have made war against the tyrants, the com-
"mon enemies as well to the Syracusians, as to the State of *Rome*. And as for the City, it was
"(say they) rather recovered and received, than won by force: and being so received, it was to
"be re-established in her own ancient laws and freedom, and not after it was so wearied with
"miserable servitude, to be scourged and afflicted with war upon it. But between the warring of
"the tyrants of the one side, and the Roman General of the other, a most beautiful and noble City,
"standing in the midst (as a prize and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that
"City which sometime had been the garner (as it were) and the Treasure-house of the people of
"*Rome*: by the munificent liberality and bounty whereof, by whose rich presents and goodly gifts
"our City many a time and oft, yea, and but of late dayes in this Punick war, hath been relieved and
"adorned. If King *Hiero* should arise again from the dead and come among us, *Hiero* (I say) the
"most faithful maintainer of the Roman state, with what face could we shew unto him, either *Sy-*
"*racuse* or *Rome*? When he should see of one side, his own native country, half raised and wholly
"spoiled: and on the other side, coming to *Rome*, in the very entring of the City, and hard at the
"gate, should behold the spoils of his own City? Not withstanding these and such like speeches
cast out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consul, and to move pity and compassi-
on to the Sicilians, yet the LL. of the Senat in favour of *Marcellus*, agreed upon a milder decree,
and enacted, That whatsoever he had done, either during the war, or after conquest, should be
ratified and allowed for good: *Item*, for the time to come, the Senat would take order and pro-
vide for the good of the Syracusians, and give the Consul *Levinus* a special charge, to have re-
gard of the welfare of that City, so far forth, as might not be prejudicial to the state of *Rome*.
Then were two Senators sent into the Capitol to the Consul, to requeste him to repair again unto
the assembly of the Senate: and after the Sicilians also were admitted into the place, their act
and decree aforesaid was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were
dismissed: whereupon they fell down prostrate at the feet of *Marcellus* the Consul, beseeching

him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to bewail, or to ease their calamity; and to receive both them in particular, and the City of *Syracuse* in general, unto his merciful protection. After this, the Consul with gracious words licensed them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campans had audience given them in the Senate: and as their speech was more lamentable, so the cause was heavier, and harder to be digested: for neither could they themselves deny, but that they deserved condign punishment; nor Tyrants had "they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffred enough for "their sins already, in that so many of their Senators died by poison, and so many lost their heads. "Some few of their nobility and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not touched in "conscience, nor so faulty, as to lay violent hands upon themselves, so the Conqueror in his furious I "wrath, adjudged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble suit for themselves, "their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy some part of their own goods, being, "as they were, meer citizens of *Rome*, and most of them by affinity and neer kinred, upon mutual "and cross marriages, linked in alliance and bloud to the Romans. After that they also were willed to void out of the Senat house: for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* should be sent for from *Capua* (for presently upon the taking of the City, *Claudius* the Consul died) that this matter might be argued and discussed in presence of the General himself, like as the other had been reasoned of and debated between *Marcellus* and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senat-house M. *Attilius*, and C. *Fulvius*, the brother of *Flaccus*, both his Lieutenants: likewise *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Veturius Philo*, Lieutenants unto *Claudius*, who had K been present in all actions, and were eye-witnesses of every thing; and besides, were unwilling that either *Fulvius* should be called away from *Capua*, or the Campans longer delayed: M. *Attilius Regulus*, who of all them that had been at the service of *Capua*, was of greatest authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

"I take it (quoth he) when *Capua* was newly won, I was one of Councel with the Consuls "there, when question was asked, and enquiry made, Whether any one Campane had deserved "well of us and our Common-weal. And found it was, that two women only, to wit, *Vesta Oppia*, "born in *Atelle*, but dwelling then at *Capua*, and *Faucula Clavia*, sometime a common strumpet "and curtizan, were well willers unto us. The former of these twain daily sacrificed for the wel- "fare, life, and victory of the Romans; the other, secretly sustained the poor and needy Roman L "captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campans, from the highest to the lowest, they "were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even those, who were beheaded "by *Quintus Fulvius*, suffered death, not because they were more faulty than others, but for that "they were of greater mark and calling than the rest. Now, that the Senate should decide the "cause of any Campans, who are enfranchised denisons of *Rome*, without a grant from the peo- "ple, I see not how it can be. For in our fore-fathers time the like case was of the Satricans that "rebelled: and then *M. Antistius*, a Tribun of the Commons, first put up a bill, and the Commons "afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senat might have power and authority, to give their opini- "on, and determine of the Satricans. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribuns of M "the Commons, that one or more of them, prefer a bill unto the Commons, by vertue whereof we "may be authorised to set down some order for the Campans. Then *L. Attilius*, a Tribun of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, proposed unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. *Whereas the Campani, Atellani, Calatini, and Sabatini, who have yeelded themselves unto* Fulvius *the Pro-consul, to be at the pleasure and devotion of the people of* Rome: *all that also which they have surrendred together with themselves, as well their territory as their City, as all utensils both sacred and prophane, their necessary implements, and all other things whatsoever, I demand your will and pleasure, O Quirits, what shall be done with the premisses?* The Commons after deliberation, gave their voyces to the said bill in this form. *Our will and pleasure is, that whatsoever ye the Senators, who now are set in Councel, or the most part of you think good and determine, shall stand for just and lawful.* Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senat by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* N and *Clavia*, first their own goods and liberty: and moreover if they were desirous to crave further reward at the Senates hand, they were best to repair unto *Rome*. For every family and several house of the Campans, there were special acts and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscate: themselves, their Children and Wives were to be sold, excepting those their Daughters which were wedded, before that they came under the subjection of the people of *Rome*. Others were to be clapt up in Prison, until farther order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of some Campans they made distinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscate or no. All their beasts and cattail which were taken, save Horses; all their bond-slaves, but O males fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods also which were not annexed and fastned to the soil, they awarded for to be restored to the true owners. All Campans, Atellans, Calatins, Sabellans, excepting those, who either themselves, or whose parents took part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided alwayes, that none of them were either Free-denizens of *Rome*, or of *Latium*. *Item*, it was enacted, that none of all them who had been at *Capua* whiles the gates were shut, should remain either in the City or territory of *Capua*, within a certain day prefixed: but should have a place set out unto them for to dwell in, on the farther side of *Tyberis*, so it were not upon the very bank close unto *Tyber*.

A *Tyber*. As for those that during the time of war had been neither at *Capua* nor in any other City of Campan, which revolted from the people of *Rome*, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River *Lyris* between it and *Rome*: but such as were turned and passed to the Romans side, before that *Annibal* came unto *Capua*, they should be transplanted on the hither side of *Vulturnus* the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or Land in any place, but in the territory either of *Veii*, *Sutrium*, or *Nepesium*: but so, as they exceeded not the stint of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had born Magistracy in *Capua*, *Atella*, or *Calatia*, they awarded that sale should be B made thereof in *Capua*. As for those that were free born, and whose bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to *Rome*, and there set a-sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of brass, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the Colledge of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the Campanes their dispatch, and sent them away much worse apaid for these decrees, than they were when they came first to *Rome*. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cursed fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanes were dismissed, there was a muster taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and C Rowers to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enow, nor yet find mony at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to presse and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforetime find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty dayes. Upon which Edict and Proclamation, all men so grumbled and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angred, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather then matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, "That the Consuls had taken a course, "and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of *Rome*, like as they "had already the Sicilians and the Campans. For thus many years they have been pilled, polled, D "clean spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare "ground, and the same lying wast and untilled. As for their Houses upon their Lands, the ene- "mies had burned: their servants and hinds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the "Common-wealth had bereaved them of: one whiles buying them up to the war, for some small "piece of mony: other whiles levying and pressing them to the Seas to be Gally-slaves, for a thing "of nothing. A man could not so soon get one brass farthing, or single silver deneir before-hand, "but it went by and by either for Gally-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which "they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandment whatsoever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imprison and punish their bodies too, "when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransome and redeem the same E "again. These and such like words were not only muttred in huggermugger, but uttered also and given out in broad terms even in the market-place and before the Consuls, by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respit for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and riddance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senate together to consult about the supply of Rowers and Gally-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make denial; at length the drift of all their speech was this, "That F "whether it were right or wrong, the burden must lye on privat mens shoulders, there was no re- "medy: for seeing there was no mony in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers "else be gotten and levied? And without Armadoes, how possibly should either *Sicily* be held "still in possession, or *Philip* be kept out of *Italy*? or the Sea coasts of *Italy* remain in safety and "security? In these distresses and difficulties the Councel being perplexed, and to seek for remedy; and whiles every mans wits were in the wan and so confused, as if they were benummed "and stone cold: Then *Lævinus* the Consul, As the Magistrate (qd. he) goeth before the Senate in The speech of "place of honor, and the Senat likewise before the common people in worth and dignity: so they *Lævinus* the "ought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the Consul. "Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoyn his G "inferiors to bear some grievous and heavy load, let him first take it up himself, yea and impose the "same upon his own train and company: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to "follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any cost or charges, when "they see their Leaders and Rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to wield "and sustain. To the end therefore that the people of *Rome* may be provided and furnished of a "fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not think much, nor "refuse to find Rowers thereunto; let us first that are here command our own selves: let us,

"I say, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the brasen coin H
"that we have, so as every man reserve rings only for himself, his wife and children: and a little
"tablet or Jewel for his son, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives
* 3 pound 8e. or daughters, retain still one ounce weight of * gold, and * one pound of silver: And as many as
* 3 pound 8ter. and two shil. over, if *libra* be *centenaria*. have born office of State, and sitten in the Ivory Chair, keep still the trappings and caparison of
their Horses, and two pound weight a piece, the one of gold, the other of silver; for to have a
Salt-sellar, and a little boll or cup, to sacrifice and offer unto the Gods withal. As for the rest of
the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver, and no gold at all, and five thou-
* 15 pound 12 shil. 6 pence 8t. sand * Asses in coin, to every housholder a piece. "All other gold, silver, and brasen money be-
"sides, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publick bankers, before I
"that we make or enact any decree of Senat: to the end, that our good example in this volun-
"tary benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to help the Common-weal, may
"stir up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling Gentlemen and
"Knights of *Rome*, and then forward the rest of the commons, to imitate and follow us with
"some emulation. This is the only means which we that are Consuls have thought upon and de-
"vised, after much talk and conference together. Set to therefore, my masters, in the name of
"God, and lead the way: God will bless your good beginnings. So long as the City standeth
"on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to fear his private state; but it shall do well
"enough. Go the weal-publick to wreck once, and decay, let no man ever think to save his
"own. All the whole house liked so well of these motions, that not only they gave their accord
and consent thereto, but over and besides, yeelded hearty thanks unto the Consuls for their good K
advice and counsel. When the Senat was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold,
his silver, and brasse money, and laid all together in common; and that with such speed, striving
a vie who could go before another, and have his name entred first in the publick Rolles and Regi-
sters: as neither the foresaid Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendred un-
to them; nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to set it down in writing, and take note thereof
accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome* in
their place and calling seconded; and the commons for their parts were not behinde. So without
any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the Magistrate, the com-
mon-weal wanted neither Rowers for to furnish the armadoes, nor mony to pay the Rowers.
And thus when all things were provided necessary for the wars, the Consuls went forth to their L
several Provinces.

Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had more tryal of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equal ballance, between fair hope and fearful danger. The Romans, in their Provinces tasted both of sweet and sour. In *Spain* on the one side, they sped ill and lost: in *Sicily* on the other side, they sped well and won: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and mingled with joy. Also in *Italy*, the losse of *Tarentum* turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Castle there with the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their sorrow. Also, their suddain fright and fear, for the siege and assault of the City of *Rome*, was salved and cured again within a few dayes after, by the forcing and winning of *Capua*: and all that heaviness and mourning turned into mirth and gladness. The affairs also beyond Sea, were checked M
with interchangeable turns and courses. *Philip* became their enemy in an ill time, and when they had little need thereof. Contrary-wise, the Ætolians and *Attalus* the King of *Asia* the less, proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, seemed to smile on the Romans, and by that overture, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the Earth. Semblably the Carthaginians, as they lost *Capua*, so they won *Tarentum*, and made a saving game of it. In like manner, as they took no small pride and glory, in coming to the walls of *Rome* without resistance; so they were danted and dismaid again, that this their enterprise took no better effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whiles they N
sat themselves before one gate of *Rome*, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and
sent into *Spain*. And even in *Spain* also, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death
of two so noble and valiant Generals, and the defeat of two as puissant armies, the war was
come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more spight it was, and
the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of *L. Martius* a tumul-
tuary Captain, chosen in halt they knew not how, those former victories turned to vanities, and
came to just nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in the
spence, both on the one side and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first; their fear, the same
still, neither more nor less: So as between hope and fear, they fared, as if the war at this time
were new to begin.

Annibal above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that *Capua* being more hotly and O
eagerly assaulted by the Romans, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had diverted
and turned away the hearts of many States of *Italy* from him. For neither was he able to hold
them all with sufficient garrisons, unless he would dismember into many small portions, and mangle
by piece-meal his army; which to do then, was no good policy: nor he thought it safe and good,
to withdraw his garrisons from thence, & leave the fidelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend
upon fickle hope, or to sway with suddain fear. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruel-
ly

A ly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoil of those Cities which he was not able to keep, and so to leave them waste and empty for the enemy. This designment was not so dishonest and shameful in the first enterprise, but it proved as bad and hurtful to himself in the effect and conclusion. For he lost the hearts clean, not only of those that were the parties grieved, and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamity and loss touched but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman Consul behind hand for his part, to solicite and sound those Cities, from whence he saw some light appear, and any hope to gain them unto him.

There were in *Salapia* two noble men above the rest, *Dasius* and *Blasius*. *Dasius* was friend to *Annibal*, *Blasius* (to far as he might with safety) affected and favoured the Romans. And by enter-
B course of secret messengers, had put *Marcellus* in some good hope of betraying the City; but without the help of *Dasius* the plot could not be compassed and effected. Wherefore, after much musing and long deliberation, after many stayes and delayes, at length he resolved (for want rather of better counsel, than upon any hope to speed) to address himself to *Dasius*, and acquaint him with the matter. But *Dasius* not only misliking utterly and abhorring the thing, but also carrying a secret enmity to the party himself, the only eye-sore and concurrent that he had, striving to be greater than he, disclosed all to *Annibal*. Whereupon, both were sent for, and convented peremptorily before him. As *Annibal* was sitting upon the Tribunal seat, giving audience and dispatch to certain other matters; and that he might anon the better attend unto *Blasius* and the acti-
on intended against him: whiles the plaintife and defendant stood apart by themselves from the
C rest of the people a good way, *Blasius* went in hand again with *Dasius*, and solicited him for to deliver the City to the Romans. With that, *Dasius* (as if the matter had been too too apparant) cried out and said, That he bashed not to break unto him and move him, even in the presence and sight of *Annibal*, for to practise treason and betray the City. *Annibal* and all they that were there present, gave little credit unto *Dasius*: and the more audacious the thing it self was, the lesse likelyhood it carried with it of a truth. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy, and cankred malice, that caused *Dasius* to charge upon him that crime, which because there was no witness to the contrary, he might untruly devise and more freely enforce against him. And so for that time, they were both discharged the court. But *Blasius* never gave over to follow still this bold enterprise, but beat still upon this one point, shewing how good and commodious the thing
D would be, both to themselves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought him so, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garrison, (and those were Numidians) together with the City *Salapia*, (should be rendred unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloudshed they could not possibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant horsemen by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a suddain unprovided, and had no use of Horses within the City, yet with such weapons, as in such a suddain tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, first they assayed and gave the venture to break through and escape away: and when they saw that they could by no means save themselves and get forth, they fought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them above fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the loss of this cornet of
E Horsemen, was a greater dammage unto *Annibal*, than the forgeing of *Salapia*: for never from that day forward, had *Annibal* the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only service whereby ever before he most prevailed.

Much about the same time the Castle of *Tarentum* was streightly distressed for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garrison had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof *M. Livius* the Constable of the Castle, was in the provision sent out of *Sicily*. For the safe convoy whereof, along the coast of *Italy*, there rid at anchor a fleet welneer of twenty sail before *Rhegium*. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to waft these victuals from time to time, was one *Decius Quintius*, a man of obscure birth and base
F parentage, howbeit, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial glory.

At the first he had the charge but of five ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three banked Gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: afterwards, upon his good service, when he had born himself bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, and those were of five banks of oars, until at last himself, by calling upon the confederat Cities, as *Rhegium*, *Velia*, and *Paestum*, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of *Rome*, he had made a pretty Armado, as is above said, of twenty sail. As this fleet had disanchored and was gone from *Rhegium*, *Democrates* with the like Armado for number of Tarentin ships, encountred almost five
G leagues from the City of *Tarentum*, at a port called *Sacriportus*. It fortuned at that time, that the Roman Admiral, little looking for any battel, came forth under sail only, but about *Crotone* and *Sibaris*, he had furnished his ships with Rowers also, and so his fleet for the bigness and talness of the Vessels, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed and manned. And even then it happened at one time, that both the boisterous wind lay, and the enemies also were within kenning, so as they had scarce time enough to fit their tackling, to make ready their Rowers, and to set in order their fighting men, against a skirmish that was so neer toward. There was not lightly seen a greater conflict, fought more hotly and fiercely between two royal Armadoes that affronted one another, than between these small fleets. For why, the battel was for a greater matter, than all

their ships came to. The Tarentins maintained the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous to recover their Castle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their City, after one 100 years almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunat and victorious battel, to cut off and intercept all hope of victuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side bestirred themselves as lustily that by keeping the possession of the Castle, all the world might see, that *Tarentum* was not lost by force, clean it: length and valour, but betrayed by stealth and treachery. So they sounded the battel from both parts, and ran affront one at another, with the beaks and stems of their prows, and neither staid rowing amain forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or go aside from them, until they closed and grapp'd their ships together, by the means of iron hooks like hands. And so neer they buckled, in hot and furious fight, that not only they discharged shot aloof one against another, but also they coped together (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with sword fight. Their prows and sor-ships stuck grapled together, while the poops and hin-decks were driven about with contrary oars of the adverse part. So neer and so thick with al stood the ships, and within so narrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-heads they assailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the souldiers might passe out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forefront of the battel, invested one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was *Quintius* himself in person, and in the other of the Tarentins, was one *Nico*, surnamed *Perco*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both States, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spight and rancour, as banding with that faction, which had betrayed *Tarentum* to *Annibal*. This *Nico* espying *Quintius* both righting and also encouraging his men with al, charged him at unawares, and ran him quite through with a partisan: who was not so soon fain forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all, but the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship disordered and troubled for the losse of their leader, lustily came forward, and boorded her; laid about him manfully, and put by the enemies out of his way, until the Tarentins were masters of the prow and fore-castle. Whiles the Romans had much ado (so thrumbled they were and thrust together disorderly) to defend and keep the poop and hind-deck; with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a suddain, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both was boorded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the Admiral-ship was won by the euemy: and they fled on all hands. Some were sunk in the deep Sea, some made hast with their oars, and scudded to the land, but anon were a prize and prey to the Thurins and Metapontins. But of the Hulks and Caricks, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest shifting and turning their sails crois, this wayes and that wayes, according to the inconstancy of the wind, recovered the main Sea.

But about *Tarentum* at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the Town upon a four thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, *Livius*, Constable of the Castle and Captain of the garrison, spying his time (as he waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Castle 2000 armed souldiers, under the leading of *C. Persius* a valorous and industrious man: who set upon the Tarentins straggling out of order, and dispersed in wandering wise over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountred them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chased to the Towne for they made hast in great fear thither, and were let in at the gates standing half shut, for fear left at the same randon the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentins and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentins at Sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Lævinus* the Consul, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in *Sicily*, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle and compose the State of *Syracusa*, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to *Agrigentum*, where only there remained the reliques of war; which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs. *Hanno* chanced to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and repoled all his hope in *Mutines* and the Numidians. This *Mutines* had ranged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and raised booties out of the territories and Lands of the Roman associats, and by no force or policy could he be intercepted of his passage back to *Agrigentum*, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would issue forth whensoever he listed. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame and honour of the General, turned the man at length to displeasure and danger: so as, what good service soever was atchieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick alwayes in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Capsainship of *Murines* from himself, and bestowed it upon his own Son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out far otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him.

Neither could he himself endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Lævinus*, with credence, that he would betray and deliver *Agrigentum* into his hands. By the mediation of these intercourriers, there passed sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the Sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpole, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displaied, and with great tumult and noise; *Hanno* supposing it was nothing else, but a seditious uprising of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutiny and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude afar off, than the Numidians were: and hearing withal the Romans to shout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a back postern gate, taking with him *Epicides*, he recovered with some few other the Sea side, where, a good hap was, they light upon a small bark or pinnace: and so leaving *Sicily* to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many years together, they passed over into *Affrick*. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they wist not whither: and finding all wayes made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and hewn apieces about the gates. *Lævinus* being possessed of the Town, caused all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pillage he sold in port-sale, and the money that was raised thereof, he sent to *Rome*.

When the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over *Sicily*, all at once turned Roman, and *Annibal* lost all. For in short space there were 20 Towns betrayed and yeelded, six forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendred to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to ear, till, and sow their grounds; to the end that the Iland might bring forth fruit, not only to sustain and maintain the natural inhabitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corn and victuals in the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*, like as it had done many times before: he transported over with him into *Italy* a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from *Agatirna*. Some four thousand there were of them, a confuted multitude of all sorts, a very mish mash and sink, dunghil of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being fled their countries, some for one fact, some for another, they chanced all upon like fortune to sort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will flie together,) and at *Agatirna*, they made choise like outlaws, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only profession and trade. *Lævinus* thought it no good policy to leave behind him these good fellows in an Iland, which began out now upon new peace to knit and unite again; for fear left they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Rhegins, for to forage and rove about the Brutians country: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with theeving and stealing. And so this year made an end of the war in *Sicily*.

P. Scipio L. Deputy and General in *Spain*, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them aflote, and by an edict summoned all the aids of the allies to repair to the *Rendezvous* at *Taracon*; gave order and commandment, that as well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River *Iberus*. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harbors, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old souldiers especially, as many as remained alive after so great defeats and overthrows, and when he had assembled them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them. "Never was there new General before my self, that could by good right, and in "regard of desert, render thanks unto his souldiers before he had employed them, and made "tryal of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, "before I entred my government and saw the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. Firſt, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine uncle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession "of this Province was lost; after so great foils and overthrows, ye have by your vertue and va-"lour recovered the same again, and kept it entire to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, and my "self, the next successor in place of soveraign rule and command. But forasmuch as our full "purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not so much "to hold the possession our selves and abide in *Spain*, but to dispossesse the Carthaginians that "they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not "to stand keeping the bank of *Iberus*, for to stop the passage of the enemy: but to give the at-"tempt o passe over our selves by force: yea, and therewithal to transport the war over with

The Oration of *P. Scipio* to his souldiers.

us

"us into his own country, and to come home unto him. I fear me greatly, leſt this will ſeem H
"unto ſome of you a greater deſignment, and more audacious enterpriſe of mine, than may ei-
"ther ſuit and ſort with the freſh remembrance of thoſe late defeats, or ſtand well with my young
"and unripe age. The foils and unfortunat foughten fields in *Spain*, can be of no man in the
"World forgotten later than of my ſelf, whoſe father, whole Uncle, were within the ſpace of
"30 dayes there ſlain, to the end that ſorrow upon ſorrow, funeral upon funeral, one mournful
"death after another, ſhould infortunatly be heaped upon our houſe and family. But as this de-
"ſolate eſtate and defect almoſt of all my houſe and name (wherein I only, in manner, am left alive
"of my race) woundeth my heart and makes it bleed, as often as I think of it: ſo the publick for-
"tune and vertue of the Common-weal, reviveth my ſpirit again, and will not ſuffer me to de-
"ſpair totally of the ſtate of this Empire: conſidering the deſtiny and Providence of the Gods, I
"whereby it is a thing given unto us, and our luck hath ever been, that howſoever we have recei-
"ved overthrows in all great wars and dangerous battails, yet in the end, we have gone away
"with the victory. I omit to ſpeak of old examples, of *Porſena*, of the Gauls, and Samnits: and
"I will begin at the Punick wars. How many armadoes and fleets, how many brave Captains,
"howmany valiant and puiſſant armies were there loſt and miſcarried, during the former? And
"what (ſhould I ſay of this in our dayes?) In all the defeats and overthrows, I was either preſent
"my ſelf in perſon; or if I were not in any of them, yet I am ſure, I was he that felt the ſmart of
"them, more than any man elſe whatſoever. The River *Trebia*, the mere *Thraſimenus*, the Town
"*Canna*, what are they elſe, but the very ſepulchres and tombs of the Roman armies there hewn
"in pieces, and of their Conſuls ſlain. And thereto, the general revolt of *Italy*, the rebellion of
"*Sicily*, the falling away of the greater part of *Sardinia*. Moreover and beſides, this laſt affright
"and terror; namely, the Carthaginians camp pitched between *Anio* and the walls of *Rome*, and
"*Annibal* ſeen well neer, as conqueror at the very gates of our City. In theſe ſo great ruins and
"adverſe diſtreſſes of our ſtate, yet the vertue alone and valour of the people of *Rome* hath ſtood
"upright, ſound, and immutable: yea, and hath raiſed up again and ſet on foot, all that which lay
"along on the ground. You only, my valorous ſouldiers, were the firſt, that after the diſcomfiture
"of *Canna*, under the leading and good fortune of my father, withſtood *Aſdrubal* in his journey and
"expedition toward the *Alps*, purpoſing to go down into *Italy*; who if he had joyned with his
"brother *Annibal*, certainly by this day, there had remained no memory of the Roman name.
"And in very truth, theſe affairs falling out ſo proſperouſly, made amends and recompence for all b
"the former loſſes. But now through the goodneſs of the Gods, all things proſper and go well
"forward: and the affairs of *Italy* and *Sicily* both, mend daily, and are every day better than
"other. In *Sicily*, *Syracuſe* and *Agrigentum* are won and wholly ours: the enemies be driven
"out of all the Iland, and the ſtate is reduced into the form of a Province, ſubject to the people of
"*Rome*, and under their obeiſance. In *Italy*, the Town of *Arpi* is recovered by ſurrender, the
"City of *Capua* is forced by aſſault. *Annibal* himſelf, having meaſured all the way, (but in fear-
"full haſt and in manner of a flight) as long as it is from *Rome* to the Brutians country (in high
"*Calabria*,) is there driven up into the furtheſt angle and corner thereof, nothing more wiſhing
"and praying for at Gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away ſafe out of his ene-
"mies Land. What thing then were leſſe becoming, my hardy ſouldiers, than this, If you whoſe
"have ſuſtained and upheld the decaying and down-falling eſtate of the Roman Empire in this
"Province you (I ſay) together with my two parents (whom for the reverence that I owe to
"them, give me leave to make equal, and to honour with that name) at what time as calamities
"and loſſes, hapned ſuddenly one in the neck of another, and the Gods themſelves ſeemed to take
"part and ſtand with *Annibal*; ſhould now let fall your courages and be faint-hearted, becauſe in
"thoſe Provinces aforeſaid, all things go well to our hearts deſire and great contentment. As for
"the late misfortunes and adverſities which have hapned here, would to God they had paſſed over
"without ſorrow, as well of my part, as of yours. But for the preſent, the immortal Gods, Prote-
"ctors and Governors of the Roman Empire, who inſpired into the minds and hearts of all the
"Centuries, to wiſh and chuſe me to this place of ſoveraign honor, even the ſame Gods by augu-
"ries and auſpices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or ſight, yea, and by viſions alſo in the
"night ſeaſon, do portend, ſignifie and promiſe unto me, all good ſpeed and happy ſucceſſe: yea
"and mine own mind giveth me, (which ever hitherto, hath been to me the trueſt prophet) and
"never deceived me) that all *Spain* is ours: and that within ſhort time the whole Punick nation
"nation, being expelled and driven out from hence, ſhall fill all Seas and Lands with their ſhame-
"full and diſhonorable flight. That which my ſpirit and ſoul of it ſelf preſageth, the ſame doth pre-
"ſon alſo conclude by moſt certain and infallible demonſtration. The allies and ſubjects here of
"the Carthaginians, oppreſſed and wronged by them, have humbly by their Embaſſadors craved
"cur'd and ſuccour. The Captains General of their forces, being at difference and odds all three
"among themſelves, inſomuch as they had like to have departed and revolted one from the other, c
"have diſtracted and diſmembred their forces into three parts, and beſtowed them in three ſeve-
"all countries, moſt removed and diſtant aſunder. And no doubt, the like fortune is ready to
"upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the ſame occaſion. Fo
"even as we before were forſaken of the Celtiberians, ſo are they now abandoned of their allies.
"Beſides, they parted and divided their armies aſunder: which was the only cauſe, that brought
"the utter ruin and deſtruction upon my father and uncle. And be ye ſure, that their inteſtine
"diſcord

A "diſcord and diſſention, will never ſuffer them to joyn friendly and unite again in one. And thus
"ſingled as they are, they cannot poſſibly withſtand our puiſſance. Now my ſouldiers, for your
"part, do but favour the name of the *Scipios*: do but affect and love me, the iſſue and off-ſpring of
"your noble Generals, budding forth again (as it were) out of the old ſtock, cut down to the roote.
"Go to, old ſouldiers, and redoubted ſervitors, with bon-courage ſet over the River *Iberus* a new
"army and a new Captain: paſs over with them into thoſe Lands, which ye have often conquered,
"and wherein ye have atchieved many valiant and memorable acts. And for my ſelf, I will ſo
"endeavour and effect, that as ye now agnize in me, the reſemblance of my fathers and uncles vi-
"ſage and countenance, the ſame feature, proportion, and lineaments of the body: ſo I will ſhew
"and repreſent unto you, the true pattern and portraicture of their ſpirit, wit, faithfulneſs, and ver-
B "tue, even as the expreſs and lively image taken and drawn from their own ſelves: in ſuch ſort, as
"every man may ſay, That Captain *Scipio* is either riſen from the dead, or new born again. Ha-
"ving by this Oration, incented and inflamed the courages of his ſouldiers, and left *Syllanus* with a
guard of three thouſand foot, and three hundred Horſe, for the defence of that coaſt: he tranſpor-
ted over the River *Iberus*, all the reſt of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twenty
thouſand foot, and 25 hundred Horſemen. There he was adviſed by ſome about him, ſeeing the
Punick armies were departed into three countries ſo far remote and diſſite aſunder, to ſet upon
and aſſail that which was next: but he doubting and fearing leſt by that means he ſhould draw
them altogether, and knowing that he was not able alone, to match and make his part good with ſo
many holts at once, determined in the mean while, to be doing with new *Carthage*, and to beſiege
C and aſſault it. This City, as it was rich and wealthy in it ſelf, ſo it was full of all the enemies furni-
ture and proviſion for war. There was their armour kept, there was their money laid up, there re-
mained the hoſtages of all *Spain*. Beſides, as it was ſeated commodiouſly, to croſs over from thence
into *Affricke*: ſo it ſtood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greateſt
navy at Sea, and the only haven (if I be not deceived) of all that coaſt and tract of *Spain*, which
boundeth next upon our Sea. But no man was made privy to his determination, or knew whither
they ſhould take their journey, ſave only *Lælius*. He being ſent about with the armado, had di-
rection ſo to temporiſe and guide his courſe by ſail and oar, that at one and the ſelf ſame inſtant,
both *Scipio* might preſent his Land forces in the view of *Carthage*, and the fleet enter the haven.
So they departed from *Iberus*, and within ſeven dayes came before the City of *Carthage*, both by Sea
D and Land. His camp he pitched on the north-ſide of the City: which he entrenched and fortified
on that outward back part, that ſtood fartheſt from the City: as for the forefront, it was by natural
ſituation of the ground, defended ſurely enough. For the ſite of *Carthage* is in this ſort. There is a The ſituation of *New Carthage*.
gulf or creek of the Sea, in the middle coaſt and river well neer of *Spain*, oppoſite moſt to the
South-weſt wind, running & retiring in length within the Land half a mile, out lying out in breadth
ſomewhat more. In the very mouth of this creek, there is a little Iland from the open Sea; which
ſaveth, ſheltereth, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but only the Southweſt. From the
inmoſt nook of this bay, there beareth out a promontory like a demy Iland, which is the very Hill or
Cape whereupon the City is built. The ſame on the Eaſt ſide and the South, is compaſſed with the
Sea: from the Weſt, it is incloſed with a lake or ſtanding mear, which alſo ſpreadeth ſomewhat
E toward the North, of an uncertain depth; which altereth according to the tide, and as the Sea ei-
ther ebbeth or floweth. Now, there is an elbo or bank of firm ground, ſomewhat leſſe than a quar-
ter of a mile over, that joyneth the City with the main or continent. To that ſide (not withſtan-
ding it had been no great piece of work there to fortifie) the Roman General caſt no trench, nor
raiſed any rampier: either upon a brave and hauty mind, to ſhew the enemy how confidently he
truſted in his own ſtrength; or becauſe, whenſoever he advanced to the walls of the City (as
oftentimes he took occaſion ſo to do) he might have open recourſe and regreſs again into the camp.
But when the utter ſide, which required fortifications, was finiſhed, he let the ſhips in order with-
in the haven, making a ſhew, as if he would beſiege them alſo on the water ſide. And when he had
gone through all his armado, and given the Captains of the ſhips in charge, to look well to their
F centinels and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their firſt beſieging, make what
attempts and adventures they can in every place) he returned into his camp. And becauſe he
would not only yeeld his ſouldiers good reaſon of this his deſignment, in that he began war firſt
and principally with the beſieging of that City; but alſo encourage them, and put them in good
hope of the winning and conqueſt thereof, he aſſembled them together, and diſcourſed before
them in this manner.

"My valiant ſouldiers and truſty friends, If any man here thinketh, that ye are brought hither The Oration of *Scipio* to his ſouldiers.
"to aſſail a City only, and there an end: he rather maketh reckoning of your preſent pain and
"travel, than caſteth the profit and commodity thereof enſuing. For ye ſhall in very truth give
"the aſſault to the walls but of one City: but in that one City ye ſhall be maſters and conque-
"rors of all *Spain*. Here lie the hoſtages of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no
"ſooner ſhall ye be Lords of them, and have them in your rule and cuſtody, but preſently, all that
"now is under the hands of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, will be ſurrendered unto you, and at
"your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which, like as they are not
"able to maintain war, (as who wage and entertain all their armies for pay) ſo it will mightily
"ſtead us (if we light upon it) in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. Here are their engines
"and artillery, here is their armour, here is their tackling and proviſion for their navy, and all

"other

"other munition and furniture for war: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and disfurnish H
"the enemy. Gain we shall over and besides, not only right fair and beautiful, but also a most rich
"and wealthy City: yea, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in re-
"gard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven: by means whereof, we may be provided
"both from Sea and Land, of all things needful and requisite for the wars. Which, as they will be
"of great moment to us that shall have them, so they will be the greater loss to the enemy that
"shall forgo them. This is their Castle for strength, their garner for corn, their treasury for money,
"their armory, their arsenal: and in one word, their very store-house of all things whatsoever.
"Hither is the direct passage and streight cut out of *Affrick*, here is the only port and harbor for
"shipping, between the Islands of *Gades*, or *Gebraltar*, and the mountains *Pyrenai*: from whence
"all *Spain* overlooketh (as it were) and commandeth *Affrick*. But knowing that you are well I
"appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now for the honour
"of the Romans, let us go courageously to it, and with all our might and main assault new *Car-*
"*thage*. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, so to do indeed, and that no other
thing was first to be done: then he advanced before *Carthage*, then he gave commandment to assail
it at once, by Land and Sea. *Mago* the Captain of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he
saw preparation made by Water and Land to give the assault; for his part ordered his forces and
disposed them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay en-
camped, he opposed two thousand Townsmen: with a guard of five hundred souldiers he kept
the citadel: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the City which looketh to
the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, he appointed to make resistance in other places, K
where any outeries, shouts, or suddain alarms should be given. Then having set open a gate, he
sendeth those forth, whom he had arranged in that street which leadeth directly to the camp of
the enemies. The Romans (according as they were commanded by their Leader himself) in the
beginning gave ground a little and retired, to the end, that during the time of skirmish and con-
flict, they might be neerer to the supply of succours, which were to be sent to second them from
behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, and there was no odds perceiv-
ved. But afterwards, the Romans being still freshly reenforced from out of the camp, not only
discomfited the enemies, and put them to flight, but pressed on them so hard, as they fled disordered
and out of aray, that if *Scipio* had not sounded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have inter-
mingled themselves pelmel with those that ran away, and rushed into the City with them. With L
in the City throughout there was no less fear than in the battel. Many courts of guard and other
places were abandoned, the curtein of the walls was left naked, and every man made what shift he
could to leap down and escape. Which when *Scipio* perceived (who now was turned to a mount
which they call *Mercurius Tentates*) and namely, that the walls were void of all the defendants,
he commanded all his souldiers to issue forth of the camp, to set forward to the assault, and to bring
ladders to scale. Himself in person, defended with the shields of 3 tall lusty young men going be-
fore him (for by this time they let flie afresh from the walls a mighty volley of shot of all sorts)
approached the City. There he exhorted, encouraged, and commanded them to do what was re-
quisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the souldiers, he was
there personally as an eye-witness and beholder of each mans valour or cowardise. Whereupon M
they stuck not to run upon the very shot, and to receive many a wound: and now nothing could
keep them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that stood thereupon, but
they scaled striving who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the City
also which the Sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seem,
they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For
whiles they came close to the walls with their ships; whiles they put forth their ladders and their
souldiers; whiles every man laboured to gain the Land, the neerest way he could: what with their
striving and hast-making, they hindred one another. And by that time *Mago* had filled the walls
full of armed men, who let flie arrows, Javelins, darts, and all kind of shot, whereof they had ga-
thered together exceeding great store. But neither men, nor arrows and darts, nor any things else N
defended the wall so much as the very wall it self. For few ladders they had that could reach up to
the top: and the longer any of them were, the more weak also they were. Whereupon, by rea-
son that they who were climed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge
the ladder, and yet some or other still clambred up after, the ladders being overcharged with the
weight, brake in pieces. Some again there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them
held still and stood unbroken, yet when they looked down from on high, their eyes so dazled, and
were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. Thus when
ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew
to be more harty and hardy, the retreat was sounded: which gave to the besieged within the Town
not hope only of present rest and intermission of so great labour and toil, but also assured them in O
manner, for the time to come, that the City was tenable against all scalades, although it were
invested therewith round about. And as for fabricks and mounts to be raised and planted against
it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would ask some long time: and
Minister in the mean while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their own to come to the
rescue. But scarce was the first assault fully ceased, when *Scipio* commanded other fresh and
unfoiled souldiers, to take the ladders of them that were wearied already and wounded, and with

A with greater violence to give a new Camisado. Himself, so soon as he understood that it was ebb
and low water, having been advertised by certain fishermen of *Taracon* (who sometimes with
light boats used to row, and other whiles when their vessels touched the ground, to wade all over
the lake upon firm ground) that men might easily passe to the walls on foot: thither to that place
he brought all his souldiers to the assault. It was now almost noon-tide of the day; and besides
that the water of it self naturally fell with the ebb into the Sea, there was a good sound northern
wind arose, which drave the water out of the lake (which now was well fain) after the tide, and
discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places thereof they went up to the navel, in some
again they waded scarce knee deep. Which albeit *Scipio* knew well to be an ordinary thing in
B natural reason, and therefore with good forecast had made provision accordingly to take that ad-
vantage, yet he turned it to a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediate
handy-work of the Gods: as who to give passage and footing to the Romans, had turned back
the course and current of the Sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened wayes unto them,
that never before were troden with the sole of mans foot: and therewith he willed his souldiers
to follow *Neptune*, the guide and Leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the mids of the
lake close to the very walls. On the Land side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing un-
der the walls: for not only they were hindred by reason that the curtein was so high; but also as
they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were wounded both wayes, so as their flanks
and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and forefront of their bo-
C dies. But on the other part, as they went quietly and easily through the mear to the wall, so they
climed forward as securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bul-
warks, nor raised to any height by industry and art of man, as being supposed by natural situation of
the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defended: nor any guard
of armed men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: whiles every man
was busy, and wholly intended to help there, from whence some danger was seen. The Romans
being thus entred the City over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what
speed they could, unto that gate, about which all the fight and hot skirmish was already begun:
for there not only all their minds were bent and a muled, but also their eyes and ears were occupied
and possessed; whiles some fought, others looked on and encouraged the fighters: in such sort,
D that there was none of them all once perceived or knew, that the City was taken and surprised be-
hind them, before the darts flew about their ears and light upon their back parts, and until they
had the enemies both before and behind. Then not only the walls were taken (when the defen- New *Carthage*
dants upon a twofold fear, were driven to abandon them) but also the gate from within forth and forced by *Scipio*.
without, began to be broken down: and anon, after continual running and beating against it, the
leaves thereof perforce flew apeeces, because there might be nothing to impeach or let them in
their entrance: then the armed souldiers brake in most furiously. Many already had scaled the
walls, and got over, but they turned and betook themselves every where to massacre and make
havock of the Townsmen. But the main battel, which entred in at the gate with their Captains,
orderly by companies and ranks in their array, marched forward through the midst of the City to
the market place. From whence *Scipio* might see the enemies flie two wayes, some to the for-
E tress upon the hill aforesaid, which standeth to the East, and was kept with a guard of five hun-
dred souldiers: others into the citadel, into which *Mago* himself, with all the armed men in a
manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himself. Whereupon
he sent a part of his forces to win the said Hill, and himself in person led the rest to the Castle.
And as the fort upon the Hill was taken at the first assault and onset given, so *Mago*, after he had a
while made some means to defend the Castle, seeing all places full of enemies, (warming every
where, and no other hope, yeelded himself, the citadel, and the garrison. Until the Castle was
surrendred and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the City, and not
one spared that seemed to be fourteen years old and upward, if they came in their way. But then,
upon the sound of Trumpet the execution ceased, and the Conquerors fell to faccage and pillage,
which of all sorts rose to a mighty thing. Of free born, such as were of male sex, there were taken
prisoners 10000. Then, so many of them as he found to be natural citizens of *Carthage*, he dis-
missed and let go free, and restored unto them not only the City, but also their own goods, which
the first fury and rage of warriors had left untouched. There were of Artifans and handicrafts-
men, some two thousand: those by an edict he pronounced to be bond, and adjudged them as
confiscate, to serve the Common-weal of the people of *Rome*: yet with some hope, that shortly
they might obtain their freedom again, in case they performed good service, and shewed them-
selves diligent in all ministeries and offices of war. The rest of the multitude of inhabitants, such
as were able and young lusty men, as also the stout and sturdy bondmen, he awarded them to the
ships, for to furnish up the number of Gally-slaves and Rowers, and with the eight ships of war,
which he took captive in the haven, he encreased his own Armado. Besides all this multitude,
there were also the hostages of the Spaniards above written, of whom he took as great care, and
as good regard, as if they had been the children of Allies and associats. A mighty deal of warlike
artillery and ordinance was there found and seized on. Of Catapults of the greatest size 120, of a
lesser sort 281. Balists some greater, some small, of them 33, of these 52. Of Scorpions and Cros-
bows to shoot quarrels as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armour, and offensive
weapons, a huge deal, and a marvellous quantity. Military ensigns 74. Of gold and silver there
was

was a mighty mass brought unto the General. Golden cups or bolls there were 276, every one H weighing almost one pound. Of silver tryed, wrought, and coyned, 18300 pound weight: and much plate and vessels of silver. All this *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, received either by weight or tale. Of wheat there was 40000 Modii, of barly 270000. Of barks and ships of burden, there were in the haven won by force, and taken, 113. Some were fraught with corn, armour, brass besides, and iron, sail-cloth, and hemp, or part for cables andropes, also with timber for ship-wrights. *Carthage* the Town it self, in so great store of wealth and warlike provision, was the least of all other.

That day *Scipio*, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the City unto *Lelius* and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, and commanded the souldiers to refresh their bodies with food and rest, wearied as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all manner of toil and work that belongeth to war-service: as who, had both fought a battel in the field, and also taken so great pains, and undergone so much hazard and danger, in assaulting and forcing the City, yea, and after it was won, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were fled into the Castle.

"The next day, after he had called both souldiers and mariners together, first he rendred laud and "praise, yea, and thanks unto the immortal Gods, who in one day had not only made him Lord of "the most mighty and wealthy City in all *Spain*, but also had laid up for him there against his co- "ming, all the riches well-neer of *Affrick* and *Spain*: whereby as the enemies now had nothing "left them, so he and his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the vertue and valour of "his souldiers, whom neither the sallying out of the enemies could fright, nor the mighty height "of the walls scare, nor the blind and untried foords of the lake could once dismay, nor the situa- "tion of the Castle seated upon an high cliff terrifie, nor yet the Castle it self most strongly built "and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would pass over all and break "through all. And therefore albeit every one of them deserved at his hands all rewards, yet the "principal honour of a mural crown and garland, belonged properly unto him that first scaled and "mounted over the wall. Come be forth therefore (quoth he) and shew himself, who taketh him- "self worthy of that gift, and let him claim his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it, and demanded the same, *Q. Trebellius*, a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and *Sext. Digitius*, a Servitor at the Sea. Neither stirred these parties themselves so hotly about the matter, as the love and favour of them set all the whole army divided into legionary souldiers, and servitours at Sea, in a I heat of contention, to labour for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of their body. *C. Lelius* Admiral of the fleet, went with the Sailers and Seamen. *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was altogether for the legionary Land-souldiers. This debate was like to breed a scab, and to raise a very mutiny in the host. Whereupon *Scipio* pronounced that he would appoint as Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the cause who should take the deposition of witnesses, and give their verdict accordingly, whether of these two persons entred over the wall first into the Town. Now because *C. Lelius* and *M. Sempronius* were Advocats to the one party and the other, he therefore adjoyned unto them a third person, one *P. Cornelius Candinus*, to go as an indifferent Mediator between them two: and gave order and commandment, that those other three commissioners above said should sit together, and hear and determine the controversie. When as the matter grew to a greater heat of contention, by reason that men of such mark and worth, were acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it, who were not so much Advocats to plead, but moderators and judges to bear down a side; *C. Lelius*, rising out from the court, came to the "Tribunal seat unto *Scipio*: and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in "question, was without all good order, modesty and reverence; and so handled, that they were "like to go together by the ears, and try it out by knocks. But, be it, quoth he, that no blows be "dealt, yet it is a most shameful example and detestable precedent, that the honor and guerdon "due to vertue, should be carried by fraudulent coven and ungodly perjury. For, quoth he, the le- "gionary souldiers stand of the one hand, the Sea servitors on the other, and ready they be to swear "on both sides all the oaths of God, and to that rather which their will and affection carrieth them N "to, than which in their conscience they know to be true. By which guilt of forswearing and per- "jury, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their own lives, but "also upon the ensigns, standards, and very Eagles, yea, and their religious military Oath and Sa- "crament. Thus much I thought good to give you advertisement of afore-hand, and that by the ad- "vise of *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Sempronius*. *Scipio* after he had highly praised *Lelius*, called the souldiers to an assembly, and there with a loud voice pronounced, and said thus: I am sufficiently informed upon certain relation, that *Q. Trebellius*, and *Sex. Digitius* scaled the wall both together, and therefore I award as well to the one as to the other a mural garland, in token and testimony of their singular vertue. Then he rewarded the rest also, according to every mans desert and valorous service. But above all other, he honoured *C. Lelius* Admiral of the fleet, not only in O matching him equally with himself in all commendable parts and qualities, but also in presenting him with a coronet of beaten gold, and thirty Oxen. Then he gave commandment that the hostages of the Cities and States of *Spain* should be called forth. What a number were of them, I am abashed and loth to set down in writing: for almuch as I find in some Chronicles, that they were upon some three hundred, in others 725. The like variety there is of other matters, amongst sundry writers; One writeth that the Punick garrison were ten thousand: another 7000. and

A and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more, I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners: and another, that there were above 25000. Of Scorpions or Crosbows, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60, if I would take for mine author *Silenus*, a greek writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antias* and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or stay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed so much as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Most of them say, that *Lelius* was L. Admirall: there be again that would have *M. Junius Syllanus* to be the man. And *Armes* was Captain of the Punick garrison, and yielded to the Romans, if ye list to beleeve *Valerius Antias*: but by the testimony and credit of others, it was B *Mago*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken, nor of the weight of gold and silver, nor yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs beleeve some one or other, the mean between is the best, and carrieth most likelihood of the truth.

But to return again to *Scipio*: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence, first he "bad them all in generall to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the peo- "ple of *Rome*, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turns more than to "awe them with fear and dread; and to have forrain nations knit and joyned in faithful amity, "rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of their severall Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how C many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own. If haply any Embassadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave expresse charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberall usage. Whiles he was busie in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages, even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentlewoman, the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great Lord of the Ilergetes, "She shed tears, and "fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General: and withall began to beseech him most instant- "ly, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women-sex: and to recommend "them to their keepers, for to be guarded with a careful eye, and to be kept and attended on D "more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing "that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon "these terms; for a little thing. God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low "condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender "age of these maidens here. As for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, "which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age, and passing fair and beautiful withall; besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that bare them. Then *Scipio*, "I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline "as of that which is established by the people of *Rome*, have a respective consideration, that no E "one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held invi- "olable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of *Rome*: but to have a "more special eye that way, your own vertue also and worthiness bindeth me: who in the midst "of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of "your sex. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no less reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of their nearest friends that gave them entertainment. After this, there was presented unto him by his souldiers a damosel and virgin of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so well favoured and surpassing in beauty, that wheresoever she went every mans eye was upon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of F her country where she was born, and likewise of what parents she was descended: among other things learned, that she was espoused and affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Allucius*. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and foresaid spouse, for to repair unto him: and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her, and ready to die for her love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, *Scipio* entred into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your "self. Come on therefore, let us young men both devise and commune together more freely, and The rare con- "not be too nice, coy, and bashfull one to the other. After that your espoused wife, taken captive tinence and "by my souldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fame and affection courtesie of "that you cast upon her, I beleeved it full well: for her singular beauty deserveth no less. Now for- Scipio. "almuch as my self, if I might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth, (I mean no otherwise than "in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common-weal, & employed wholly "in other affairs of state, I would think, to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordina- "ry liking to a spouse of mine own, and loved her extreamly. I must therefore needs favour and "tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your "sweet-heart and best beloved I have entertained as well, and as respectively, as she should have

" been with your father and mother in law, who are her own kind and natural parents. Reserved H
" she hath been, and kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unspotted and un-
" touched, and a present beseeming me and you both. In lieu and recompence therefore of this
" boon and gift which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands again this only pro-
" mise and faithful covenant, that you will be a friend and well-willer to the State of *Rome*. And if
" you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations and people here have
" known my father and uncle to have been before me: know you thus much, that in the City of
" *Rome* there are many more like unto us: and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world
" be named, which you would wish less to be an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to en-
" tertain as your friend. The young Gentleman being abashed for very modesty, and yet right I
glad and joyfull withall, held *Scipio* by the hand, called upon all the gods, and besought them in his
behalf to thank and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his own proper power, in any
proportion or measure to be thankful and make requitall, either as himself could wish, or as *Scipio* had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for: who seeing the damo-
sell freely rendred and given them again, for whose ransome and redemption they had brought
with them a sufficient sum of gold, fell to intreating and requesting *Scipio* to vouchsafe for to ac-
cept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: assuring him, that in so doing,
they should take themselves no less bound and beholden unto him, than for the restoring and
delivering of the virgin untouched and undefiled: *Scipio* seeing them so earnest and importunate,
promised for to receive it, and withall, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet: and K
calling *Allucius* unto him, " Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dowry which your
" father in law must pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your marriage with,
" take this gold therefore to your self, and keep it for your own use. And so after this rich reward
given, and great honour done unto him, he was dismissed, and departed home with much joy and
hearts content: where he made report unto his countrymen and people of the praise-worthy
vertues of *Scipio*, and the favours from him received; saying moreover, there was come into *Spain*
a young man resembling the immortall gods in all respects; who as well by bounty, liberality,
and bestowing benefits, as by martiall prowess and force of arms, is in the very way to win and con-
quer all. So when he had assembled and mustred all his vassals and tenants, he returned within few
daies accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choice horsemen of his L
country.

Scipio keeping *Lælius* still with him, untill by his advice and counsel he had disposed of the cap-
tives, hostages, and other prizes and pillage: after he had setled all in good order, appointed a
Galiace of five banks of oars, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with *Mago* and some fifteen
Senators besides, who together with him were taken, and sent them to *Rome* with a messenger, to
carry tidings of this victory. Himself determined to sojourn a few daies in *Carthage*, which time
he spent in training and exercising his souldiers, as well of land service as at sea. The first day he
caused the Legions to run to and fro in their armour four miles out in length. The second day he
commanded them to scour and furbish their harness and weapons before their tents. Upon the
third day they joyned and encountred in battel-wise, and practised to fight with blunt wasters
and bastons; yea, and lanced one at another darts and javelins, rounded at the point end with M
balls in manner of foils. The fourth day they rested and reposed themselves. On the fifth day again
they ran at turnament as before, armed. This order they kept, exercising, labouring, and resting
by turns, so long as they abode at *Carthage*. And thus much for the Legionary souldiers. The
sea-servitors and mariners used in calm water and still weather to row up into the sea, and there
to make triall of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, representing shews of sea-fight and
skirmish. Thus without the City, they enured their bodies, and quickned their spirits and cour-
ages both on land and water. Within the town there was nothing heard but preparation of war-
furniture. All the publike shops and work-houses full of smiths, engineers, and all other artificers
for the purpose, plying their work, and never going from it. The Generall himself, as supervisor,
with equall and indifferent care oversaw all, One while he would be with the Armado in the har- N
bour: another while, he conversed among the Legions, and turneyed with them. A time he would
set by for to visit the works about the walls, and see how they went forward. Otherwhiles he
would be in the shops aforesaid, among the multitude of the Carpenters, and Smiths, and other
Artisans, viewing what they did there; and in the arsenall and ship-docks, observing and marking
how much they went forward day by day, striving by way of emulation, as they did, who could do
most and quit himself best. Having thus set them a work, repaired the walls which he had battered
and shaken, and placed certain guards there, for the defence of the City; he took his journey to
Taracon: and all the way he was visited and plied with sundry embassages. Some of them he an-
swered and dispatched as he was in his journey: others he put off, to give their attendance at *Ta-*
racon: for thither he had summoned all the allies and confederates, both new and old, to meet O
him. And in manner, all the Cities and States on this side *Iberus*, and many also of the farther Pro-
vince of *Spain* there assembled.

The Carthaginian Captains and Commanders at the first of set purpose, suppressed and stop-
ped the rumour of the winning of *Carthage*. But when the thing was too too apparent, & could
not be hidden and smothered, they used all the words they could to elevate it, and make the mat-
ter less than it was. To wit, " That by a sudden invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day
" (as it were) by stealth, it chanced that one of the Cities of *Spain* was surprized: that the insolent
" and fooliſh young man bearing himself prodigally proud, and jocund beyond all measure, would
" seem to make up the measure of so small a catch that he had got, with a great shew of a brave vi-
" story: but when he shall hear once that there are three Generals coming toward him, and three
" victorious armies of enemies, he will soon pull in his horns: he will then tell us another tale,
" when presently he shall call to remembrance with grief of every vain in his heart, the death of
" father, of uncle, and other progenitors. These and such like speeches they gave out among the
people and common sort, knowing in their own conscience what a blow they had caught, and
how much their strength was decayed by the loss of new *Carthage*.

A

B

The seven and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the seven and twentieth Book.

C

CNeus Fulvius *the Pro-Cos. was slain, and with his army utterly d-feated by* Annibal *at* Herdonea. *But* Cl. Marcel. *the Cos. had better fortune a battell against him before* Numistro. *From whence* Annibal *dislodged and departed by night.* Marcellus *pursued after him, and ever as he fell off, followed him hard still, untill he gave him battell. In the former fight* Annibal *had the better, but* Marcellus *in the later.* Fab. Max. *the father being Consul, had the Tarentins yield d up unto him by treason. In* Spain, Scipio *fought a battell with* Asdrubal *the son of* Amilcar, *at* Bætula, *and won the field. Among others there was a boy taken prisoner of royal blood, and of incomparable beauty: whom he sent with rich gifts unto* Masanissa *his uncle by the mother.* Claudius Marcellus *and* T. Quintius Crispinus *the Consuls,*
D *who chanced to go out of their Camp, to discover, as espials, the country, were forelaid by an ambush of* Annibal, *and entrapped. Where* Marcellus *was slain:* Crispinus *fled. This book containeth also the wars and exploits atchieved by* P. Sulpitius *the Prætor, against* Philip *and the Achæans. The Censors held a solemn survey and numbring of the Citizens, and purged the City. In which survey there were found of Roman Citizens* 137108. *By which account it was seen, how many the people of* Rome *had lost, by the adverse fortune of so many battels.* Asdrubal, *who with an army had passed over the Alps for to joyn with*
E *Annibal, was slain, and with him* 56000 *men besides, by the conduct of* M. Livius *the Consul, but not without the equall good service of* Cl. Nero *the other Consul: who being appointed to make head against Annibal, left the Camp so, as the enemy was not aware thereof, and with an elect power of hardy men, environed and enclosed* Asdrubal *about, and so defeated him.*

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

THus stood the affairs in *Spain*. In *Italy* the Consul *Marcellus* having recovered *Salapia* by composition, won by force two towns from the Samnits, *Maronea* and *Melæ*. Where there were slain three thousand of *Annibal* his souldiers, who had been left there in garrison. Some good portion of the pillage was shared among the souldiers. Of wheat besides, there was found there 24000 measures called Modii, and of barley 120000. But the joy from hence was not so great as the loss and damage received within few daies after, not far from the City *Herdonea*. *Cn. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul lay there encamped upon hope to regain
F that City, which after the defeat at *Canne*, had revolted from the Romans: a town neither seated in a place of surety, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (*Cn. Fulvius* aforesaid) was by nature ever negligent, but grown much more reckless now, presuming upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townmen already began to fall in their devotion and faithfull allegeance to the Carthaginians, especially, after they heard, that upon the loss of *Salapia*, *Annibal* was departed out of those parts into the Brutians country. *Annibal* had intelligence of all this brought unto him from *Herdonea* by secret messengers, which, as it caused him to have a carefull eye to the saving and keeping of a friend City, so it ministed good hope unto him for to surprise his enemie at unawares and unprovided. Whereupon with his army lightly appointed, he took long journies and made haste
G to *Herdonea*, so as he prevented almost the fame and bruit of his coming. And to strike the more terrour into his enemie, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman Generall, as adventurous and bold as he every way, but nothing at all so politick, nor so strong, brought his forces forth in more haste than good speed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing or cornet of Cavalry began the skirmish, and charged hotly. But *Annibal* had given his horsemen direction, that when the Infantry was in the midst of skirmish, with mind & eye wholly occupied that way, they should wheel about and fetch a compass, and whiles some of them assailed

the Camp, the reſt ſhould play upon the back of their enemies: himſelf iterating eftſoons unto H
his men the name of *Cn. Fulvius*, for likeneſs ſake, becauſe two years before in the very ſame quar-
ters, he had vanquiſhed another *Cn. Fulvius* who was Prætor alſo, aſſured them of the like ſucceſs
now in this conflict. And verily this conceit and hope of his proved not vain and fruſtrate. For
when as in cloſe fight and skirmiſh of the footmen many of the Romans were falo down and ſlain,
but ſo, as yet the ranks ſtood unbroken, and the enſigns upright, behold a ſudden freſh charge of
the horſemen on their back, and a great ſhout of the enemies with all deſcried and heard from the
camp, firſt diſcomfited the ſixt legion, which being marſhalled in the ſecond battaillon, had been
put in diſarray before by the Numidians, & then the firſt, & ſo conſequently even thoſe that fought
in the forefront of the vanguard before the enſigns. Some fled amain, others were killed in the
midſt between, where *Cn. Fulvius* himſelf with twelve Tribunes of Knight marſhals were left dead I
in the place. Of Romans and Allies how many died in that conflict, who is able to ſet down for
certain; ſeeing in ſome records I find the number fifteen thouſand, and in others not above ſeven
thouſand?

The conqueror *Annibal* was Maſter likewiſe of the Camp and all the pillage there. As for the
town *Herdonea*, becauſe he underſtood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Ro-
mans, and would not continue faſt in their fidelity, if his back were once turned: after he had
conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to *Metapontum* and the Thurians, he ſet it onfire
and burnt it quite. The Nobles and principall Citizens, who were known to have had ſecret talk
and conference with *Fulvius* he put to death. The Romans, who out of ſo great an overthrow
eſcaped, made ſhift by divers and ſundry waies to flie, half naked as they were, to *Marcellus* the K
Conſ. into *Samnium*. But *Marcellus* nothing diſmaied and affrighted at this ſo great defeat, addreſ-
ſeth his letters to the Senat at *Rome*, with advertiſement of the loſs of the Captain Generall, and
the army at *Herdonea*: giving them yet to underſtand how himſelf, even he who after the Canni-
an field had tamed and danted *Annibal*, as luſty and proud as he was upon that victory, was min-
ded preſently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleaſure, wherein he now ſo
vanted and exalted himſelf.

And at *Rome* verily, as they mourned much for the loſs paſt, ſo they feared as greatly the future
dangers. The Conſul having paſſed out of *Samnium* into the Lucans country, late down before
Numiſtro, in the very ſight of *Annibal*, and there in a plain encamped himſelf, notwithſtanding
the enemy was poſſeſſed before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground. And for to make L
more ſhew of his own confidence, and how little he feared, he firſt brought forth his men, and
marſhalled them in order ready to bid battell. *Annibal* ſo ſoon as he ſaw the enſigns advanced
forth of the gates, ſtaid not behind. And they arranged their battels in ſuch manner, as that the
Carthaginians with the right wing took up part of the hill, and the Romans diſplaied their left
wing in length, to the very walls of the town. After they had continued fight from the third
hour of the day unto night, and that the vanguards on both ſides were weary with maintaining
of skirmiſh ſo long: then the firſt legion of the Romans, with the right wing of their horſemen
the Spaniſh ſouldiers alſo of *Annibal* his part, the Balearian ſlingers likewiſe, together with the
Elephants, began the fight, whiles the reſt were already in hot conflict, and cloſe together. For
a long time the fight ſhrunk not of any hand. The firſt legion of the Romans was ſeconded with M
the coming in of the third: and among the enemies likewiſe there came in new ſouldiers that
were luſty in place of the foiled and wearied. Whereby, of a lingring and long skirmiſh there be-
gan all on a ſudden a new, hot, and cruell battell, by reaſon that their courages were freſh, and their
bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray, and left the victory doubtfull in the midſt. The mor-
row after, the Romans from ſun-riſing ſtood arranged in the field untill it was far day: and ſeeing
none of the enemies appear and ſhew themſelves, they fell to gather up the ſpoils by leiſure, and
heaped up in one place all the bodies of their own men that were ſlain, and made one great fire,
and burnt them to aſhes. The night enſuing *Annibal* diſlodged ſecretly without any noiſe, and
departed into *Apulia*. And *Marcellus*, ſo ſoon as day-light diſcovered the flight of his enemy lea-
ving his hurt and wounded people at *Numiſtro* with a ſmall guard, and *L. Furius Purpurio* a Co- N
lonell to be their Captain, followed him by his ſteps, and at *Venuſia* overtook him. There for cer-
tain daies paſſed ſome ſallies from the guards of both armies, whiles both horſe and foot one
with another rather made ſlight skirmiſhes, than any ſet battels; and lightly the Romans had al-
waies the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through *Apulia*, without any
memorable fight at all, by reaſon that *Annibal* in the night ſeaſon ever ſet forward, ſeeking ſome
opportunity of forelaying and entrapping his enemy; and *Marcellus* never followed but in broad
day light, and ſent out his eſpials before to clear the coaſts.

In this mean while *Flaccus* ſpending the time at *Capua*, in making port-ſale of the noblemens
goods, and in ſetting and letting out to farm the land which was confiſcate and forfeit to the O
common-wealth of *Rome* (and all for a rent of corn) there hapned a new complot and practice
which lay hidden for the time, to be detected and come to light, to the end that he might never
want one matter or other to take occaſion for to plague and torment the Campans. He had ta-
ken order that his ſouldiers ſhould remove out of the houſes within the town, partly for that as
well the tenements of the ſaid town within as the lands without ſhould be rented forth: and part-
ly for fear leſt the exceeding pleaſantneſs and delectable ſeat of that City ſhould effeminate his ar-
my, as it had done the hoſt of *Annibal* before time: and commanded them to build themſelves
about

A about the gates and along the walls, cottages and ſheds in warlike faſhion, and only to ſerve for
ſouldiers. Theſe were moſt of them made of hurdles and boords, ſome warled and wound with
reeds, and all of them thatched with ſtraw and ſtubble, as it were of purpoſe to miniſter fuell for
fire. Now there were ſome hundred and ſeventy Campans had conſpired at one certain hour of
the night to ſet all a fire: and the principall heads and Captains were certain brethren of the
Blofii: and it fortuned that by ſome of the ſame houſe and family the conſpiracy was diſcloſed.
Whereupon at once the gates were made faſt by the commandment of the Pro-Conſul: and the
alarm being ſtricken up and ſounded all the ſouldiers ran together. All thoſe that were party of
privy to the intended treaſon were apprehended, and after rigorous examination had by torture,
they were condemned and executed: the informers were made free, and had each one a reward
B of 10000 peeces of braſs called Aſſes.

When the Nucerines and Acerrans made moan that they wanted place of habitation, foraſ- * 3 t lib 9 fin.
much as *Acerræ* was in part burnt, and *Nuceria* utterly razed and deſtroyed: *Marcellus* reſerved
them over to the Senat of *Rome*, and ſent them thither. The men of *Acerræ* had leave granted to
re-edifie again their own edifices which were burned: But they of *Nuceria*, according to their
own deſire, were tranſlated to *Acella*, and the Atellans commanded to remove unto *Calatia*, there
to dwell.

Amidſt the managing of many and weighty affairs, which falling out variably, one while well,
another while ill, buſied and amuſed the minds of men; yet the Romans forgot not the Caſtle of
Tarentum: for M. *Ogulnius* and *P. Aguilius*, went as Embaſſadors into * *Ætolia*, for to buy up * Or *Hetruria*
C corn, to be conveighed and brought to *Tarentum*: and a thouſand ſouldiers out of the City
army, whereof the number of Romans and Allies was all one, were ſent with the ſaid corn thi-
ther to lie in garriſon.

Now was the ſummer at an end, and the time drew neer of the Conſuls election. But the letters
of *Marcellus* unto the Senat (wherein he ſignified that he was not for the good of the Common-
wealth to depart one foot from *Annibal*, whom he himſelf purſued ſtill at heels, and ſo much the
more hotly, becauſe he ſelf-loff and forbare to fight:) let the LL. of the Senat into a great perplexi-
ty, for fear either to call away the Conſul from the wars, eſpecially now in the midſt of his beſt
ſervice, or to be without Conſuls the next year. But it was thought in the end the beſt courſe,
that *Valerius* the Conſul, although he were not in *Italy*, but beyond ſea, ſhould rather be ſent for,
D and called forth of *Sicily*. So by order from the Senat, there were letters diſpatched upto him,
from *L. Manlius* the Prætor of the City, together with thoſe other letters of M. *Marcellus*, the
Conſul: to give him to underſtand what the reaſon was, why the LL. called him rather out of
his Province than his Colleague and companion in government.

At the ſame time there fortuned Embaſſadors to come unto *Rome* from King *Syphax*; "Re-
"counting what proſperous wars their King had fought with the Carthaginians, aſſuring the Se-
"nat, that their Lord and Maſter, as he was not a greater enemy to any nation than to the Car-
"thaginians, ſo he was not more ready to friend any State than the Romans: ſaying moreover,
"that he had ſent aforetime his Embaſſadors into *Spain* unto the Roman Generals *Cn.* and *P. Sci-*
"*pio*, and now was moſt willing to ſeek for the amity and friendſhip of the Romans even at the
E "very fountain and well-head. The Senat not only returned anſwer to thoſe Embaſſadors in moſt
gracious and courteous termis, but alſo addreſſed Embaſſadors of their own with rich gifts unto
the King, and by name, *L. Genutius*, *P. Petellius*, and *P. Popillius*. The preſents which they carried
were a ſide robe, and a kirtle of purple, an Ivory chair, a boll or cup of beaten gold, weighing
five pound. Theſe Embaſſadors had in commiſſion and charge, preſently after they had diſpatched
with the King, to viſit other Princes and great Lords of *Affrick*: and for to beſtow on them alſo,
they carried robes purfled and embroidered with purple, and golden bowls of three pound
weight. Likewiſe there were ſent as far as *Alexandria* (in *Ægypt*) unto King *Ptolomeus* and *Cleo-*
patra the Queen, M. *Atilius* and M. *Acilius* as Embaſſadors, for to call to remembrance, and re-
new the old friendſhip: and to them alſo they preſented gifts; namely unto the King a long robe
F and a kirtle of purple, with an Ivory chair: unto the Queen a rich mantle of Baudkin, wrought
with ſundry colours, with a vail of purple.

In this ſummer time, whiles theſe foreſaid matters paſſed, there were from out of the Cities
and country towns adjoyning many prodigious ſights, and fearfull tokens reported. At *Tuſcu-*
lum, there fell a Lamb, having an udder yielding milk: the louver and lantern of the Temple of
Jupiter was ſtricken with lightning, and in manner all the roof uncovered. And much about thoſe
daies at *Anagnia*, the very ſoil and ground before the gate thereof caught fire with lightning, and
for one day and night burned ſo, without any matter of fuell: and the ſouls and birds of the air
forſook their neſts which they had built in the trees of the grove conſecrated to *Diana*, neat unto
the cariefour or croſs way of *Anagnia*. Near unto *Tarracina* there were ſeen in the ſea, not far
G from the haven, ſerpents of an huge and wonderfull bigneſs to leap up above the water, and to
diſport and play like fiſhes. At *Tarquinii* a ſwine farrowed a pig with a mans face. Alſo in the ter-
ritory of *Capena*, about the grove and temple of *Feronia* there were four Statues ſweat much
blood a day and a night. Theſe fearfull tokens were by a decree of the Prelats purged and expiate
by greater ſacrifices. And a ſolemn Supplication proclaimed one day at *Rome* in every Church and
Chappell before all the ſhrines of the gods: and another day in the territory of *Capena*, at the
ſaid grove and chappell of *Feronia*.

M. Valerius the Consul, called by the foresaid letters of the Senate, after he had recommended H
the charge of the Province and the Army, unto *Cincius* the Prætor; and sent *M. Valerius Messala*
the Admiral of the Navy, with a certain number of ships into *Affrick*, as well to fetch in prizes,
as to espy and learn what the people of *Carthage* did and went about: himself with ten sail took
the seas, and having a prosperous fore-wind arrived at *Rome*. And being come, presently he assem-
bled the Senat, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his Province, name-
ly, "Whereas for the space almost of threescore years there had been war in *Sicily* both by land
"and sea, and the same oftentimes fought with great loss and many defeats; that he now had
"brought those troubles to an happy end, and set the Province in quiet. That there was not in all I
"*Sicily* one Carthaginian left; nor one Sicilian, of all them that for fear had been chased and dri-
"ven out from thence, but was returned and there replanted; that they were all brought home
"again to their own Cities to inhabit, to their own lands, to plough and sow; that now at last
"the fore-let and waste ground was husbanded again, and made fruitfull, not only for the profit
"and commodity of the occupiers and tenants thereof, but also for the most assured relief and in-
"stentation of the people of *Rome*, both in war and peace. After this, *Mutines*, and the rest who
had deserved any thing well of the City of *Rome*, were brought into the Senat: unto whom, both
all and some (for the credit of the Consul, and to disgrace him of his promise unto them) there
were rendred all sorts of honourable recompence. *Mutines* also was enfranchised Citizen of *Rome*,
and a Bill was preferred in that behalf to the people, by the Tribune of the Commons, and with
the grant and authority of the Senate.

During these affairs at *Rome*, *M. Valerius Messala* arrived in *Affrick* with a fleet of 50 sail, and K
being landed one morning before day, suddenly and unawares to the people of the country, made
a rode into the territory about *Utica*: and having forraged it far and near, taken many men and
women prisoners, and raised a great booty of all sorts of things besides, returned to the Armado,
and crossed the seas back for *Sicily*, and arrived again at *Lilybæum* upon the thirteenth day after
he loosed from thence, and took the seas first. Of the Captives (after straight examination) he
learned thus much (which also he set down orderly in writing, and sent unto the Consul *Lævinus*,
that he might be acquainted likewise with the state of the affairs in *Affrick*) namely, "that there
"were in *Carthage* five thousand Numidians, under the conduct of *Masanissa* the son of *Gala*, a
"most forward young man, and a right valiant warrior; that there were other souldiers also
"throughout all *Affrick* waged and levied for money, ready to be transported and sent over into L
"*Spain* unto *Asdrubal*, to the end that he with a most puissant power might with all speed pass
"over into *Italy*, and joyn his forces with *Annibal*: that in the effecting of this designment, the
"Carthaginians were assuredly perswaded of the victory. Moreover, that there was a mighty na-
"vy a rigging and decking for to recover *Sicily* again, and as they verily thought, it should pass
"the seas very shortly.

These news being read by the Consul, so troubled and disquiered the Senat, that they thought
there was no tarrying for the ordinary election of Magistrates, summoned and called by the Con-
sul, but that they should nominate a Dictator of purpose to assemble that solemn Session, and
the Consul immediatly to return again into his Province. But hereupon grew some debate and
question for a time, while the Consul said, that he would nominate and create Dictator *M. Valeri-* M
us Messala, who was then in *Sicily*, and Admiral of the fleet: but the LL. replied again and said, that
a Dictator might not be elected or declared without the Territories of *Rome*, and those were all
within the limits and marches of *Italy*. But after that *M. Lucretius* (a Tribune of the Commons)
had put this controversie to question before the Senat for to be cast and decided by their opini-
ons; then the Senate granted out a decree, That the Consul before he departed from the City,
should put up a bill or supplication unto the body of the people, that it would please them to
elect a Dictator: and whomsoever they by their suffrages chose, him should he pronounce and de-
clare for the Dictator: and in case the Consul refused so to do, then the Prætor of the City should
propose the same unto the people: and if not he neither, then the Tribunes should propound it
unto the Commons. But when the Consul denied flatly to put it unto the people, being a thing N
meerly belonging to his authority and place, and likewise expressely forbad the Prætor to do it:
then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them, whereupon the Commons gran-
ted, that *Q. Fulvius*, who then was in *Capua*, should be nominated Dictator. But the night before
that very day that this assembly of the Commons was to be holden, the Consul departed privily,
and took his journey toward *Sicily*. The Nobles thus being disappointed and destitute, thought
good to send letters unto *Marcellus*, for to lend his helping hand now unto the Common-wealth
thus forsaken and abandoned by his Collegue, and to declare him for Dictator, whom the people
had by their voices elected. So *Q. Fulvius* was pronounced Dictator by *Marcellus* the Consul: and
by vertue of the said act of the Commons, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Arch-Prelate, was by *Q. Fulvi-*
us nominated Generall of the Cavalry.

The Dictator after he was come to *Rome*, sent *Cn. Sempronius Blesus* his Lieutenant, whom he O
had at *Capua*, to the Army into the Province of *Hetruria*, in stead of *C. Calpharnius* the Prætor:
whom by his letters he moved to take the government of *Capua*, and his army there. And him-
self sent out precepts for the solemn elections of Consuls, against the first Comitial day that he
might by Law. But by reason of a contention that grew between the Tribunes of the Commons
and the Dictator, it could not pass and be performed. For the Century *Galeria* of the younger
sort,

A sort, which by lot had the prerogative of giving their first voices, elected for Consuls *Q. Fulvius*,
and *Q. Fabius*: unto whose election no doubt, the rest of the Tribes called forth in right course
and lawfull order would have enclined, but that *C.* and *L. Ariani*, the Tribunes of the Commons
came between with their negative voice: who said, it stood not well with civility, that one man
should continue ever still in Magistracy, and besides, that it was a more shamefull example and
soul precedent, that himself should be created Consul, who assembled the election: and therefore,
if the Dictator would admit of his own name, and allow himself eligible, they would not suffer
the assembly to continue any longer: but if there might be some other propounded besides him,
they would not hinder the proceedings thereof untill all was finished. "The Dictator alledged
B "in the behalf of the election, and maintained the cause by the authority of the Senat, by the
"grant and act of the Commons, and by sundry examples of former times. For when *Cn. Servili-*
"*us* was Consul, at what time as *Flaminius* the other Consul was slain at *Thrasymenus*: by order
"granted out of the Senat, there was a bill preferred to the Commons, and the same passed by
"their voices, That so long as the war continued in *Italy*, it might be lawfull for the people to
"chuse and create Consuls again, as often as they pleased, whosoever they would, out of the
"number of them that had been Consuls. And as for examples (quoth he) in this case, I can al-
"ledge both old and new: to wit, long ago *L. Posthumius Megillus* being Interrex, was even in
"that very election which he called and held, created Consul himself, with *Cn. Jun. Bubulcus*: and
"of latter daies *Q. Fabius* likewise, who verily would never have accepted of the Consulship, and
C "suffered it to be hung upon him so continually, if he had deemed it to be against the good of
"the common-weal. After much debate and long alteration, entertained with sundry like speec-
hes, at length the Dictator and the Tribunes agreed to this point, and agreed of this issue, That
they would stand to the award and judgment of the Senat. The LL. of the Senat were all of this
mind, that the present condition of the common-weal required no less, but that the state and the
affairs thereof should be managed by old and experienced Captains and Generals, and such as
were skilfull in feats of arms. And therefore they utterly misliked that the election should be hin-
dred and disturbed. Thus the Tribunes relented, and the election went forward and was finished.
So there were declared Consuls, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fifth time, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time.
Then were created Prætors, *L. Veturius Philo*, *T. Quintius Crispinus*, *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, and *C. Au-*
D *runculeius*. When the Magistrates were once elected for the year, *Q. Fulvius* resigned up his Di-
ctators room.

In the very end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty sail, under the conduct of *Amil-*
car the Admiral, passed over into *Sardinia*, and at first invaded and wasted the territory of *Olbia*:
then, after that *P. Manlius Volso* the Prætor there, shewed himself with an army, they set a com-
pass about, and sailed to the other side of the Island, and forraged the lands about *Caralita*: and
so returned again into *Affrick*, enriched with prizes and booties of all sorts.

In that year divers Priests died at *Rome*, and new substituted in their rooms. *C. Servilius* the
Prelat or Pontifex was invested and installed instead of *T. Otacilius Crassus*. In like manner *T.*
Sempronius Longus, the son of *Cains*, was chosen Decemvir, deputed for holy ceremonies, in place
E of *T. Sempronius Longus*, the son of *Titus*. *M. Martius* the King of Sacrificers departed this life:
and *M. Æmylius Pappus* likewise the grand-Curio or Priest of the Curiæ: but to succeed them,
were no Priests deputed that year. In this year also were Censors created, to wit, *L. Veturius Phi-*
lo, and *P. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest. As for *Crassus Licinius*, had neither been Consul nor
Prætor, before he was made Censor, but stepped streight from his Ædiles room into the place of
Censor. But these Censors neither made choice of new Senators, nor yet did any publike act: the
reason was, because *L. Veturius* died, whereupon *Licinius* also gave over the Censorship. The Æ-
diles of the Chair *L. Veturius*, and *P. Licinius Varus*, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed
them again one day more than ordinary. The Ædiles of the Commons, *Q. Catius*, and *L. Portius*
Licinius, set up in the Temple of *Ceres*, the molten images of brass, which were made of the mo-
F ney taken for fines and amercements: and represented the plaies and pastimes to their office be-
longing, right stately and with great furniture and preparation, as the wealth and plenty of those
times would afford.

In the end of this year *C. Lælius* the Lieutenant of *Scipio* arrived at *Rome*, the four and thirtieth
day after that he loosed and took sea at *Taracon*: And as he entred the City with a mighty train of
Captives, he set the people on running out of all parts to see that sight. The morrow after he was
admitted into the Senat-house: where he related, that new *Carthage*, the head City of *Spain*, was
forced and won in one day; that divers Cities which had revolted were received upon surren-
der; and other new entred into society and friendship with the people of *Rome*. And by enquiry
of the Captives they found their intelligences to agree in manner with the advertisements and
tidings contained in the letters of *M. Valerius Massala*. But the thing that troubled the Lords
G most, was the voyage of *Asdrubal* into *Italy*, which hardly was able to withstand the forces of
him and *Annibal* together. *Lælius* being brought into the generall assembly of the people, discour-
sed of the same points which he had related in the Senat-House. And the Senat, in regard of the
happy success of *P. Scipio*, granted by a decree, a solemn procession for one day: and gave order
that *C. Lælius* with all convenient speed should make haste again, and repair into *Spain* with the
very same ships that he brought from thence.

The winning of *Carthage* I have set down in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and
yet

yet I am not ignorant, that some there be, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year follow-
ing. But me seems, it was an unlikely matter, that *Scipio* should spend one whole year in *Spain*, in
doing just nothing.

Now when *Q. Fabius Max.* was Consul the fifth time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, on
that very day upon which they entred their office (which was in the Ides of *March*) both of them
by decree of the Senat, had the government of the Province *Italy*: but so, as their jurisdiction was
set out by the countries: so as *Fabius* should war about *Tarentum*, and *Fulvius* in the Lucans and
Brutians countries. M. *Claudius* continued still in government one year longer. The Prætors had
their Provinces parted between them by lot: unto *Caius Hostilius Tubulus* fell the jurisdiction o-
ver the Citizens, but to *L. Veturius Philo*, over forreiners, together with *Gallia*. *Titus Quintius Cri-*
spinus ruled *Capua*, and *C. Aurunculeius* governed *Sardinia*. The armies were divided among the
Provinces in this wise: Unto *Fulvius* were assigned the two legions which *M. Valerius Levinus*
had in *Sicily*: Unto *Q. Fabius*, those in *Hetruria*, which were commanded by *C. Calphurnius*. The
City army was appointed to succeed those Legions in *Hetruria*: and *C. Calphurnius* was ordained
to sit in the government of that Province, and to have the leading of that army which *Q. Fulvius*
had. It was agreed moreover, that *T. Quintius* should be Lord President of *Capua*, and have the
charge of the army there. And that *C. Hostilius* should receive the jurisdiction of *C. Lectorius* the
Pro-Prætor, over the province at *Ariminum*, and likwise his army. Unto M. *Marcellus* the same le-
gions were allowed, wherewith he had warred so fortunatly when he was Consul. Unto M. *Vale-*
rius and *L. Cincius* (for they also continued one year more governours in *Sicily*) was the army re-
maining after the battell at *Canna* granted: and they were commanded to supply and make up
all the companies thereof, out of those souldiers that were left of the legions of *Cn. Fulvius*. For
the Consuls caused them to be sought out and gathered together, and sent them into *Sicily*: and
disgraced them with the very same kind of ignominious souldiery, in which the Cannians served:
as also those who remaining of the army of *Cn. Fulvius* the Prætor, had been thither sent by order
from the Senat, for anger and despite that they fled like as the other. Unto *C. Aurunculeius*, the
same legions were given by decree in *Sardinia*, wherewith *P. Manlius Volso* had ruled and govern-
ed that Province. And *P. Sulpitius* having his government prorogued for one year longer, was com-
manded to rule *Macedonia* with the same legion and Armado still. Thirty Galleaces of five banks
of oars were appointed to be sent out of *Sicily* unto *Tarentum*, to *Q. Fabius* the Consul. With
the rest of the navy, it was agreed and order set down, that M. *Valerius Levinus* should either him-
self pass over into *Affrick*, for to forrage and spoil the country, or send *L. Cincius*, or M. *Valerius*
Messala, whether of them he would. For the government of *Spain* there was no alteration, save
only this, that *Scipio* and *Syllanus* had their commission continued, not for a year as the rest, but un-
till such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senat. Thus were the Pro-
vinces divided, and thus were the forces bestowed for this year.

Among other affairs of greater importance, the Election of the high *Curio*, or chief parish-
Priest, who was to be elected in the room of M. *Æmylius* late deceased, renewed, and set on foot
again an old contention [between Commons and Nobles.] For the *Patritii* denied, That C. *Mani-*
lius Attilius (who was the only man of the Commons that stood for it) was eligible, and there-
fore not to be pricked; forasmuch as never any before him obtained that sacerdotall dignity, but
one of Senators calling. The Tribunes being called unto for their assistance referred the matter to
the Senat. And the Senat put it unto the people, for to be decided by them. So C. *Manilius Attilius*
was the first Commonner that ever was created *Maximus Curio*, *i. e.* the grand-superintendent
over all the *Curiæ* in matters of Religion.] And *P. Licinius* the Arch-bishop constrained *C. Valeri-*
us Flaccus to be installed and inaugurate the Flamine of *Jupiter* against his will. And *C. Lelius*
was created Decemvir for holy rites and ceremonies, and for sacrifices, instead of *Q. Mutius Scæ-*
vola late deceased. The cause and occasion of inaugurating that Flamine by constraint and compul-
sion, I would willingly have concealed and smothered in silence, but that the ill name, wherein he
was, turned afterwards to good fame and reputation. This *Flaccus* for his careless, loose and rio-
tous demeanor in his youth, in regard of which vicious course of life, he was odious to his own
naturall brother *L. Flaccus*, and other his kinsfolk, was for the same cause chosen Flamin by *P. Li-*
cinius the said Arch-bishop. This man, so soon as his mind was employed about Church-mat-
ters, and religious ceremonies, so suddenly all at once altered his life, and cast off his old behaviour,
that there was not one of all the young men in *Rome* in more account and credit, nor better liked
of the chief of the Nobility and LL. of the Senat, as well those of his own house and linage, as
others that were strangers unto him. And when he saw himself grown generally into this good
opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very good conceit of his own parts and
worthiness, insomuch, as he brought up an old custome again, and was so bold as to take his
place in the Senat-House (a thing, that for many years space had been intermitted and discon-
tinued in regard of the base unworthiness and insufficiency of the former Flamins.) When he was
entred into the Senat-chamber. *C. Licinius* the Prætor willed him to go forth, as being no place for
him, and therewith drew him out: whereupon the Flamine called for help of the Tribunes of the
Commons, pleading the ancient right and preheminence of that Priestly dignity, and alledging,
that *C. Flaminius* in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall or embroidered rich
robe, and the Ivory chair. The Prætor on the other side came upon him again, and said That
right was not grounded upon old examples past all date, fetcht out of Chronicles time out of mind:
but

but he would needs have it to be carried by the most fresh practice of the newest and latest cu-
stome, affirming, That by prescription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies,
there was no Flamine of *Jupiter* usurped that priviledge. The Tribunes, who were to moderate
this question, gave their judgment thus, That if a thing were forelet, and discontinued through
the supine negligence of some Flamins, it was worst for themselves to stand they deemed it no reason,
that it should hurt or prejudice the whole priesthood. Whereupon, the Prætor himself forced not
greatly upon the point nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flamin into the house
with great consent of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it,
That the Flamin had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimony and holiness of life
than in the right of his sacerdotall dignity.

The Consuls before that they went into their Provinces, enrolled two legions of Citizens, for
to supply and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old City army *Fulvius*
the Consul commited unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, (and brother he was besides to the
Consul) for to be led into *Hetruria*: with direction, that the Legions already in *Hetruria* should
be brought to *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Consul caused the residue of the army of *Fulvius* to be
sought up and rallied, which arose to the number of 3336: and commanded his son *Q. Maxi-*
mus to lead them into *Sicily*, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, and of him to receive the charge
of two Legions, and the thirty galliaces aforesaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdraw-
ing of these Legions out of the Island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garrisons of that
Province, either in strength or shew. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently filled
and furnished, he had a great power, as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from
the adverse part unto the Romans: and took up and levied besides for new souldiers, even those
Sicilians also, who had been of the army of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved va-
lour, and skilfull warriors. These forrain aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions,
he kept still the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cincius* to de-
fend that part of the Island which had been the Realm of King *Hiero*; with the other he main-
tained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Roman and Punick domi-
nions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of seventy ships, for to guard and
defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himself in person, with the horse-
men of *Mutines*, rode about all the Province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note
which were tilled and well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chastise
and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corn, thus far
forth did good, that the Province was able both to send good store to *Rome*, and also to convey
unto *Catana* sufficient to maintain the army that was to lie in standing Camp that summer about
Tarentum.

But the souldiers who were transported over into *Sicily* (and for the better part they were
Latines and other Associats) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may
see, that of small occasions and beginnings oftentimes arise great matters of important conse-
quence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to murmur and
grumble, "That now for ten years space they were with continuall musterings and paiments of
"souldiers wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads
"but it cost them some great loss and overthrow in battell. Many were slain in the wars, other
"died of diseases. So that a Citizen of theirs, if he were taken and prest once by the Romans, for
"to be a souldier was more sure to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians:
"for the enemy sent their captives back again *gratis*, and without ransome, home into their coun-
"try: the Romans posted and packed them away out of *Italy*, as confined to a place of ba-
"nishment (to speak truly) rather than appointed to serve in warfare. For see how the souldiers,
"remaining after the field of *Canna*, have continund there, and waxen old these eight years al-
"ready, and no doubt there were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never so
"flourished, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old souldiers
"return not into their country, and new still be chosen, within a while there would be none left
"behind. And therefore best it were for them, before they were come to extream poverty and de-
"solation presently to deny the people of *Rome* that, whiles somewhat is left, which shortly they
"must be driven to do of very necessity when all is gone. And if the Romans see their Allies
"once agree together, and take this course, they will then verily bethink themselves, and grow to
"some terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise be sure as long as *Anni-*
"*bal* hath a day to live *Italy* will never be clear of wars. These and such like speeches passed in
"their Diets aboresaid. There were at that time thirty Colonies of the people of *Rome*: and
whiles the Embassages from them all were at *Rome*, twelve of them denied the Consuls flatly,
and said they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were these, *Ar-*
den, Nepet, Sutrium, Circeis, Alba, Carseoli, Suessa, Sora, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna.
The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them
out of that mind, and to scare them from so detestable a resolution, supposed they should pre-
vail more by chastising and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them a-
gain, "That they had presumed to speak that unto the Consuls, which they again were abashed
"and could not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senat-house. For surely (say they)
"this is not a refusall of souldiery and war service, but a very meer revolting from the people

"of

" of *Rome*, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were best to return again speedily H
" into their several Colonies, and to consult with their neighbors & countrimen, whiles the mat-
" ter remained yet all whole, as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventure, than
" resolved indeed to attempt and commit so hainous an act: yea, and to tell them, and put them in
" mind, that they themselves were neither Campans nor Tarentins, but meer Romans, from them
" descended, and of their race; from thence sent as Colonies into the lands that were won by
" conquest, for to breed, increase, and multiply; and to admonish them, That whatsoever duties
" children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them
" any kind and naturall affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country: and to ex-
" hort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew, Forasmuch as
" those designments of theirs tended to betray the State and Empire of *Rome*, and to deliver the I
" victory of all unto *Annibal*. When the Consuls one after another had dealt and been in hand
with them a long time in this manner: and the Embassadors nothing moved with their words,
made answer again, That neither they knew what other message to bring home; nor their Senat
what new counsell to take; since that they had not any more men to be mustred for souldiers,
nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them so stiffly and obstinately bent, made re-
lation thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was stricken into so great fear and trouble
of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of *Rome* was come to an end, The like, say
they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and
agreed to betray the City of *Rome* unto *Annibal*. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and bad
them be of good chear, saying, That all the other Colonies besides would continue loyall and fast K
in their duty and alleageance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there
might be Embassadors sent amongst them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speak them
fair and entreat them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respective reverence of the maje-
sty of the Roman Empire. Now when the LL. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this
matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should think good for the
weal-publike: after they had throughly sounded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colo-
nies, they called and cited all the Embassadors, and demanded of them whether their souldiers
were in readiness, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Sextilius* of *Fregelle*
made answer in the behalf of eighteen of them, "That not only their souldiers were ready ac-
" cording to the form of the covenant, but also if more were needful, more they would allow, and L
" whatsoever else the people of *Rome* imposed upon them, and wished them to perform, the same
" would they strain themselves to do to the utmost: for, as yet they had people store, and a purse
" good enough: and as for their heart, it was much better than their ability. The Consuls after
they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying, that they thought it not
sufficient for their desert to be commended from their mouth only, unless all the LL. generally
in the Senat-house gave them condign thanks with one voice and common accord, willed
them to follow after them thither. The Senat having thanked them in as honourable terms as
they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the
Consuls, to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them,
among other singular favors and kindnesses which they had shewed both unto them and also un- M
to their ancestors, to make rehearsall of this late good desert of others, which they afforded un-
to the Common-wealth: to the end that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they
should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just praise and due com-
mendation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of *Rome*:
The Signins, Nolans, and Norbans; the Sarticulans, Brundusins, and Fregellans; the Lucerins,
Venusins, and Adrians; the Firmans, and inhabitants of *Arminum*. And from the other sea side
the Pontians, Pestans, and Costans: and of mid-landers, the Beneventins, Essernins, Spoletins,
Placentins, and the Inhabitants of *Cremona*. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the
Roman state at this time rested and stood maintained: and these all were highly thanked
both in the Senat, and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which N
had refused to do their obedience, the LL. of the Senat gave express commandment that they
should not be so much as once minded or named: and that the Consuls should neither give
them their dispatch, nor retain them still, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind of
rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majesty and grandeure of the people
of *Rome*.

Whiles the Consuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requisite and
meet for the wars, it was thought good to bring abroad the *vicesimary* gold [to wit, the twen-
tieth part of all their tributes and revenues] which had been laid up and reserved apart in a more
secret closet of the City-chamber, against an hard winter (as they say) to serve for what need soever
the Common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth four thousand pound weight of
gold, whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Consuls apiece, and so likewise to *M.
Marcellus*, and *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Consuls: and to *L. Veturnus* the Prætor, unto whose lot the
Province of *France* befell. And *Fabius* the Consul had an addition besides himself above the rest of
one hundred pound weight of gold for to be carried into the Castle of *Tarentum*. The rest of the
gold they disbursed for to make ready paiment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to
provide apparrel for the army in *Spain*, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General,
served there in the wars. More-

A Moreover, it was thought good, that before the Consuls departed into their Provinces the
prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Alban mount there were smitten with
fire from heaven the Image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing near unto the Temple: likewise the
lake at *Hostia*, the wall at *Capua*, and the Church of *Fortune*: and at *Sinuessa* the wall and gate of
the town. These, I say were, blasted with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were
some also brought word, that the water at *Alba* ran bloud. And at *Rome* within the sanctuary of
the chappel of *Fors Fortuna*, a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell of its own accord from
the head of the goddess into her hands. And at *Privernum* it was for certain reported and known
of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a Vulture or Gripe flew into a shop in the market place,
B when it was full of people. And at *Sinuessa* there was an Infant born of doubtfull sex, between
male and female, (which the common sort call *Androgynus*, as for the most part greek names, ad-
mit more easie composition of two words than the Latine) and there it rained milk, and a man-
child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearfull signs were expiate, and satis-
faction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and
Chappels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was gran-
ted, that *C. Hostilius* the Prætor should vow and set out the games and plaies of *Apollo*, in such
manner as of late years they had been vowed and set forth.

About the same time *Q. Fulvius* the Consul held an assembly for the creation of Censors, and
elected Censors were *M. Cornel. Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had
C ever had been Cons. And by a grant or commission from the Senat, there was a bill preferred un-
to the Commons, and the same passed, that these Censors should set, and to farm let the territory
of *Capua*. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindred and staid, by reason
of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the
choosing of him lay in *Sempronius* his hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alledged, that the custome and
tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them
that were now living, had born first the office of Censor. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*.
Sempronius replied again, and said, that as the gods had given him by lot the first place, so they had
granted him free liberty to choose whom he would. And therefore he would elect *Q. Fabius Max.*
whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principall man of all the City, without excep-
D tion, and take *Annibal* himself for the Judge. After much variance and contesting of words, at
length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his Collegue elected *Q. Fabius Max.* the chief
Senator. Then the Senat was changed, and new Senators chosen, and eight were overpassed and
left out, among whom was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, he that gave the infamous and shamefull coun-
sell, to abandon *Italy* after the defeat at *Canne*. In noting likewise and disgracing the Knights
and Gentlemen, the same cause was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of
them that were touched with that infamy: but all those horsemen belonged to the Cannian legi-
ons who were in *Sicily* (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from
them: And to agravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with
time of long warfare: for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the City, should
E not reckon upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find
themselves horses. Moreover, these Censors after diligent search and survey found out and met
with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and look how many of them
were sixteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the
wars, those all they disfranchised, and made Ærarii, or contributaries. After this, they bargained by
the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of those edifices which had been consumed by
fire about the *Forum*, [or market place] namely, the seven shops, the [fish] shambles, and the King's
Hall, or royall gallery.

Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at *Rome*, the Consuls set forward to
the wars. And first *Fulvius* went before to *Capua*: and some few daies after *Fabius* followed: who
F besought both his own Collegue by word of mouth most earnestly, and also *Marcellus* by effe-
ctuall letters, to make sharp war upon *Annibal*, and to keep him occupied, while he assailed *Ta-
rentum*: which City, if it were once taken from the enemy, he were then driven out of all, & having
no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to stand fast and trusty unto him,
he should have no reason at all once to stay in *Italy*. He dispatched also a messenger to *Rhegium*
unto the Captain of the fort and garrison, which by *Lævinus* the Consul was there placed against
the *Brutii*: and those were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them were of these good
fellows, and that damned crew, where of we spake before, who used to live by robbing and stealing,
and were brought thither from *Agatirna* out of *Sicily*. Unto whom there were adjoyned many of
the *Brutii* also fugitives from thence, and as good as themselves every way, both for audaciousne-
ss, and also for neediness to set upon any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he
G commanded should be lead to waste and spoil the Brutians country first, and then to lie against
the City *Canlonia*, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not only willingly & chear-
fully, but also with greediness: having also chased away and rifled the husbandmen and peasants
of the country, assailed the City with a forcible means. *Marcellus* stirred up and provoked by
those letters of the Consul: and having a good opinion of his own, that of all the Roman Cap-
tains there was not one so able to match *Annibal* as himself, left his wintering standing Camp, so
soon as ever there was forrage and grass in the country, took the field, and encountred *Annibal*
at

at *Canusium*. Now was *Annibal* in hand with the Canusins, and sollicited them to revolt. But H
hearing once that *Marcellus* approached, he dislodged from thence. The country thereabout was
plain and open, without any covert places to bestow an ambush, and to lay trains in therefore he
began to retire himself from thence into the woodland parts. *Marcellus* tracked him still, and
followed him hard at heels, and encamped close unto him: and ever as he had fortified and en-
trenched himself, he brought forth his men into the field, ready for battel. *Annibal* entertaining
small skirmishes with certain Cornets and troops of horsemen, and with light appointed foot-
men, that lanced darts and javelins, thought it not necessary yet to come unto a pight set battel,
and venture all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawn to a fight, maugre his head, howsoever
he laboured to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, *Marcellus* overtook him upon a plain and
open ground: and as he was pitching his tents he kept him from fortifying, by charging his pio- I
ners and labourers on every side. Whereupon they came to a very battell, and fought with all the
forces they had on both sides: and when it grew toward night, they departed asunder on even
hand: but before it was dark they had encamped not far one from another, and in great haste made
shift to fortifie themselves. The next morning by day light *Marcellus* came forth into the field
with all his power: neither refused *Annibal* the challenge, "having with many words comforted
"and encouraged his souldiers to remember *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, to cut the comb and beat
"down and tame this fell stomack and lusty courage of the enemy: who presseth still (quoth he)
"and seeketh upon us, not suffering us to march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents:
"giving us no leave to breath our selves, nor time to look about us. There is not a morning, but
"so soon as the sun is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Roman army is out in the K
"field to give us battel. If we could draw bloud of him once, and set him out of the field with
"bloud about his ears, he would for ever after fight more quietly, and take better leisure with him.
With these and such like comfortable words and effectuall remonstrances they were well anima-
ted; as also provoked seeing themselves thus molested by the enemy, who day by day never ces-
sed to challenge and brave them still: whereupon they began a fierce and cruell battell. They had
now continued fight above two hours, and then began the Roman Cavalry from the right wing,
and the extraordinary souldiers that flanked the main battell, to give ground and dismarch.
Which *Marcel.* perceiving, he brought forward the eighteenth legion in the vanguard. And while
some retreated back fearfully, others come forward but slowly, the whole battell was put out of
order, and disarrayed; and so at length it was discomfited: and for that fear surmounted shame, L
they turned their backs and fled away amain. Slain there were in the conflict and in the rout
together some 2700 Citizens and Allies one with another: among whom, there were four Ro-
man Centurions, and two Colonels, *Marcus Licinius*, and *Marcus Fulvius*. Of military ensigns,
there were four lost of that right wing which first shrunk and lost ground: and two others of that
legion which came to succour their fellows that gave back and retreated. *Marcellus* after that he
was returned into the Camp, welcomed his souldiers with such a bitter and sharp Oration, that
the very words of the Generall in his anger and wrath were more heavy and grievous unto them,
The Oration of *Marcellus* to his souldiers. than the conflict it self, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before. "I yield
"praise yet, and render thanks to the immortall gods, (quoth he) as I may in such a case, that our
"enemies having vanquished & conquered you in the field, and driven you in so great fear to run M
"headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to assail the camp. For surely in
"the same fearful fright that you forsook battel, you would likewise have abandoned your tents &
"pavilions. What fearfulness is this? Whence cometh this terrour? What means this oblivion of
"yours? How cometh it to pass, that ye should so forget all on a sudden, both your own selves, and
"them with whom ye have to fight? Why surely, they are the same enemies & no other, whom the
"summer past, you did nothing but either vanquish & overcome, or else pursue & follow in chase:
"whom for these certain daies past, ye have been ready to tread on their heels as they fled and ran
"away before you both by day & night; whom in light skirmishes ye have discomfited; whom no
"longer ago than yesterday, you suffered neither to march forward, nor to pitch their camp. Her-
"bear to speak, and I pass in silence those things which in good right ye may stand upon & make N
"your boast. I say nothing of that whereof ye ought to be ashamed & displeased with your selves,
"namely, how but even yesterday ye brake off the fight on even hand, and retired out of the field,
"when the enemy had got no advantage? What hath this one night, or what hath one day cut
"you off? Are either your forces in this mean time abridged & diminished, or your enemies aug-
"mented & encreased? Now surely, me thinks, I speak not to mine own army, nor to Roman soul-
"diers. Only ye carry about you the same bodies & armour that ye were wont. For if ye had born
"the same minds and hearts with you, should the enemies ever have seen your backs? Should
"they have taken either banner from any company, or ensign from cohort and squadron? As
"yet the enemy never vanted and made boast of the defeat of our Roman legions. You are
"the very first that this day have given him the honour of discomfiting and putting to flight our O
"army. Then they all cried out, and besought him to pardon that daies default, and to make trial
"once again of his souldiers courages when and wheresoever he would. Mary, and that I will
"(quoth he) my souldiers: I will put you to it: even to morrow I will bring you abroad into the
"field, and after ye have got the victory ye shall obtain that pardon which ye now crave.
So he gave order, that those cohorts which had lost their ensigns should have the allowance of
barly in stead of wheat: and as for those Centurions of the bands or companies, whose banners
were

A were lost, them he degraded in this manner: He caused them to be disarmed, and their skeins to
be drawn naked and taken from them, and so let them go and shake their ears. And withal, he
made proclamation, that the next day they should all present themselves in readines, as well foot-
men as horsemen. Which done, he dismissed the audience, and they all confessed and acknow-
ledged, that they were justly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that
day one man in the Roman army, setting aside the General himself only, but he was bound to
make amends and satisfaction, either with spending heart-bloud, or atchieving a noble victory.
The morrow after, they all shewed themselves unto him in their armor, and wel appointed, accor-
ding to his commandment. The General commended them for their forwardnes: and gave them
to understand, that he wond set those in the forefront of the vanguard, which the day before be-
B gan to run away, as also those cohort likewise that lost their ensigns. And now he gave them war-
ning, and charged them all to fight it out lustily, to win the field: and to endeavour and strain
themselves, both all and some, that the news of yesterdayes flight came not to *Rome* before, and
prevented the same of this dayes victory. Then he willed them to go to their meat, and to streng-
then their bodies: that in case the fight should hold long, they might be able to endure to the end.
Now when all was said and done, that might encourage and stir up the hearts of souldiers, they
went out & advanced their ensigns into the field. *Annibal* being advertised hereof, "Now believe
"me (qd. he) we have to deal with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither
"brook his good fortune, nor away with bad. If he hath won at any time, he pursueth those whom
"he hath vanquished, cruelly. Contrary-wise if he have lost, he beginneth to fight with the con-
C "querors again right freshly. Then he commanded the trumpets to sound, and brought forth his
power in battel array. A field was fought there on both hands more sharply a good deal, than the
day before. The Carthaginians strived to keep the honor and reputation of yesterdayes service: the
Romans strained to wipe away the ignominy and shame of that dayes foil. On the Romans side,
the Cavalry of the left wing, and those cohorts which had lost their ensigns, fought in the van-
guard, and the twentieth legion was marshalled and ranged in the right point of the battel. *L.
Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Claudius Nero* had the leading of both these wings, *M. Marcellus* himself
commanded the main battel, and withal his personal presence encouraged them, as a witness of
their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victory enclined
no way, *Annibal* commanded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the bat-
D tel, to see if that object might possibly work some terror and confusion among the Romans. And
at the first they disordered the ensigns, and troubled the ranks: so as partly by treading under foot,
and partly by scattering them for fear, that were all about, they had laid naked and open the battel
in one part; and in more places than so had the Romans fled, but that *C. Decinius Flavus*, a Colo-
nel, having from the first band of the Hastati, caught up the banner in his hand, commanded the
company thereto belonging to follow him; and thither he led them where the foresaid Elephants
were gathered round, and made fouleft work, and charged them to fling their darts and javelins at
them. All this shot light sure, and missed them not, yea, and some stuck in them: and no marvel,
for the beasts were neer at hand, the bodies great and standing thick in a plump together. But as
they were not all wounded, so they that had the darts set fast in their backs and sides, were as rea-
dy (such is their nature, dangerous to meddle withal) for to hurt their own masters, as the ene-
mies: and all turned upon their fellows that were unhurt, and drave them back. So as now, not
that entire band only, but every souldier else for his own part, who was able to reach the herd
(as it were) of the Elephants as they fled, did his best to lance javelins and short darts at them.
And so much the more furiously ran the beasts upon their own, and made a far greater havock
there, than they had done among the enemies; by how much more fiercely fear and fright set
them agare, and sent them forward, than the will of their masters that sate upon them, was able
to rule and restrain them. The Roman footmen espying this advantage, came forward with their
ensigns and banners upon that battaillon, which was put in disarray by the running to and fro of
these unruly dumb creatures, and without much ado and farther skirmish, put them to flight, after
they were once broken out of their ranks, and set in a fright. Then *Marcellus* sent his Cavalry after
them, to pursue them as they fled, and to follow the chase, and never gave they over hunting and
coursing them, until they had lodged them in great fear within their camp. For besides all other
things, which made them thus scared and affrighted, there chanced two Elephants to fall down in
the very gate & entrance thereof, so that the souldiers were forced to rush into it over the trench
and rampier. In that place was the greatest slaughter made of the enemies. For there were slain
eight thousand men, and five Elephants. Neither had the Romans a bloudless victory of it: for
of the two legions, there died fast upon 1700, and of the Allies more than 1400. Besides, many a
citizen and confederat sore wounded. And *Annibal* the next night dislodged and departed. *Mar-
cellus* although he was desirous to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt
men. The espials that were sent out to pursue him in his march, brought word back the next day,
that *Annibal* took his way into the Brutians country.

Neer about the same time, the Hirpins, Lucans, and Volscents, after they had delivered up the
garrisons of *Annibal*, which they had in their Cities, yeelded themselves also to *Q. Pulvius* the
Consul, and were received to mercy with great clemency by the said Consul, after some rebuke
given them in words only for their trespass and errour past. The Brutians also had the like hope
of pardon, when as *Vibius* & *Pactius*, two brethren, of the noblest house of that nation, came from

them to sue for the same condition of yeelding and surrendring themselves, which was granted H
unto the Lucans.

Q. Fabius the Consul, won by assault a Town in the Salentins country called *Manduria*. Prisoners were taken there 4000, and some good store of other pillage. From thence he went to *Tarentum*, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the City. Those ships which *Livius* had for to wast the convoy of victuals, he partly charged with engins, and other ordnance to assault Towns withal, and partly furnished with artillery, with stones, and shot of all sorts: the ships of burden likewise, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars; to the end, that some might bring Engins and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ships, wound and hurt those that defended the City. These ships were ordained and appointed from the open Sea to assault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick navy, which I was sent unto *Coreyra*, at what time as *Philip* minded to assail the Ætolians. In this mean while, the assailants of *Caulonia*, a little before the coming of *Annibal*, for fear left they should be surprised, betook themselves to a little hill; which as it was (for the present danger) a place of safety, so it wanted all things else. *Fabius*, as he lay at siege about *Tarentum*, was much helped to the atchieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speak of, and of small moment in it self. The Tarentins had a garrison of the Brutians, sent from *Annibal* to defend the City. The Captain of this garrison was greatly enamoured and ready to die for the love of a woman, who had a brother that served in the army of *Fabius* the Consul. He being certified by letters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that she had with that forrainer and stranger, so wealthy and so honorable a person among his country-men; conceived some hope by means of his sister, that K her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would: and so acquainted the Consul with his conceited hope. And this seemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the young man was sent to *Tarentum* in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his sister, grew into some favour with the Captain aforesaid: and at first practised secretly to understeel and found his mind; and afterwards seeing the weakness and inconstancy of the man, he prevailed with him so much, through the flattering speeches and allurements of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said souldier was let out of the City closely by night in a place between the *corps de guard*, and informed the Consul what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. *Fabius* at the first watch, after he had L given a token and watchword to them in the Castle, and to those likewise that had the keeping of the haven, himself fet a compass about the said haven, and lay as closely as he could to that part of the City which lieth to the East. Then all at once the trumpets sounded from the Castle, from the haven and ships, which in the open Sea rid neer at hand. Great houting there was, and much ado on set purpose from all these quarters, whereas indeed there was least danger or none at all there. In the mean season the Consul kept his men in. Whereupon *Democrates*, who had before-time been Admiral of the Armado, and whose chance it was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consul lay close, seeing all thereabout quiet enough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring again and resound with such alarms as otherwhiles it seemed the City was taken and won, and fearing left if he sat still and bestirred not himself, the Consul would M make some Camisado, and give the assay to enter the City with banner displaied; withdrew his guard toward the Castle, from whence was heard the greatest and most terrible noise. *Fabius* when he perceived once by guessing at the time, as also by the silence it self in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raising up one another, and calling to arm, there now all was husht, and not a word) that the guards were had away from thence, he commanded that the ladders should be brought to that side of the wall, where the brother & broker both of the treason, had brought word that the cohorts of the Brutians were quartered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the Brutii, who were ready to help and take them up, and so they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their several colours. Whereupon they set up a shout, and a little N before break of day, they marched as far as into the market stead, and met with none to make head against them, and caused all them that fought at the Castle and the haven, to turn upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmish, rather fought hotly than maintained thoroughly. For the Tarentin souldiers were nothing comparable to the Romans, either in courage of heart, or goodness of armour; in skill and knowledge of war, or in lustiness and strength of body. And therefore when they had only shot their darts, even before they came to handstrokes, they turned back and slunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, some to their own home, and some to their friends houses. Two of their Captains, *Nico* and *Democrates*, fought manfully, and were slain. *Philomenes*, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto *Annibal*, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would O carry him: but a while after his empty horse was seen & known wandering astray in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that he flung himself headlong from his horseback, into a certain open pit. As for *Carthalo*, Captain of the Punick garrison, he cast away his armour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Consul with a goodly tale, recounting and remembring his fathers friendship and intertainment to the Romans, there hapned a souldier to meet him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the Carthaginians and

Tarentins

A Tarentins both went to wrack, and were killed without mercy and regard, as well unarmed as armed. Yea, there were many of the Brutians also fell upon the edge of the sword, were it that they were mistaken, or for an old grudge and in-bred hatred; or to suppresse and extinguish the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the Town: to the end that *Tarentum* might seem the rather won by assault and force of arms. Then from murder and slaughter, they fell to sack and spoil the City. There were taken prisoners by report thirty thousand head of slaves: a mighty mass of silver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, so many, as very neer amounted to the number of the ornaments of *Syracusa*. But *Fabius* of a braver mind, abstained from that kind of prize and pillage, which *Marcellus* forbare not. For when his Scribe or Secretary asked him, what his pleasure was, should be done with the images (and the B Statues they were of the Gods, of a mighty bigness and proportion, portraied every one in their own habit like warriors:) Mary (qd. he) let the Tarentins have their angry Gods still among them, for me. After this, the wall which divided the City from the Castle, was dismantled, raised down, and laid even with the ground.

Whiles these things hapned at *Tarentum*, *Annibal* (after they had yeelded themselves unto him that besieged *Caulonia*) hearing of the siege and assault of *Tarentum*, went night and day and made all the hast he could, with a running march, to rescue & succour the City: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, "Ah, I see well, qd. he, the Romans also are not without their *Anni-* "*bal*. In good faith, so was *Tarentum* won, and so lost again, by treachery and treason. But be- "cause he would not be thought to turn back & flie, in the very same place where he made stay, he C sat down, and encamped almost five miles from the City: and after he had abode there some few daies, he retired himself to *Metapontum*. From thence he suborned two Metapontins, and sent them to *Fabius* at *Tarentum*, with letters devised from certain principal men of that City, wherein they promised to betray *Metapontum* and the Punick garrison into the Consul his hands, upon assurance made unto them, that all former trespasses & offences should be forgiven and forgotten. *Fabius* supposing all was truth and plain-dealing, appointed a certain day when he would come to *Metapontum*, and sent his letters also to those principal citizens, which letters were brought unto *Annibal*: whereat he was right glad and took great contentment that his fraud sped so well, and that *Fabius* also might be entrapped, caught, and overtaken by his wily fetches as well as others: and thereupon laid an ambush for him in the way not far from *Metapontum*. As *Fabius* (before he D should go out of *Tarentum*) attended to know what the birds signified, he observed once or twice that they approved not his journey. And when he killed a sacrifice, thereby to know the will of the Gods, the Soothsayer, or bowel-prier gave him warning, to take heed of the deceit of his enemies, and beware of wait-laying. The Metapontins, seeing that he came not at the day appointed, were sent again to hasten him forward, and to encourage him to come: who were all suddainly at once apprehended, and for fear of farther torture, disclosed the practise of the ambush.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these occurrents hapned, after that *Scipio* had bestowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the hearts of the barbarous people, partly, with gifts and rewards, and partly with enlarging and sending back their hostages, and the prisoners: there came unto him one *Edesco*, a noble and famous Captain of the Spaniards. His wife and E children were in custody with the Romans: but besides that occasion which brought him to *Scipio*, there was another cause, even a general inclination of all their minds, that chanced I wot not how, which withdrew and estranged whole *Spain* from the Carthaginian Empire, unto the Roman. The same reason moved *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius*, the greatest LL. and Princes no doubt of all *Spain*, to leave *Asdrubal*, and with all the power they could make of their followers and vassals, to depart into the mountains standing just over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themselves in safety to the Romans. *Asdrubal* perceiving the puissance of his enemies to grow and increase still more and more by little and little, and his own to diminish: and fore-seeing, that unless he made some hardy adventure and prevailed that way, all would be naught, and fall to the ground, as it was beginning already to reel, determined to put it to a battail with all speed possible. *Scipio* also was sharp set, and the more desirous of fight, as well for the good hope, which the success of his former affairs confirmed and encreased; as also because, before the armies of his enemies should joyn together, he was more willing to fight with one General and one army, than with all them joyntly at once: and yet he had well amended and encreased his forces politickly of purpose, against the worst, in case he should be driven to fight with many of them together. For, seeing there was no use of ships, because all the Rivers and Seas along *Spain*, were cleered of the Carthaginian navy, he withdrew his fleet up into the harbor at *Taracon*, and joyned his Sea-servitors to his Land-souldiers. For armour he had store enough, which was either taken in the pillage of *Carthage*, or newly made after the winning of the Town, by so many Artificers and Craftsmen that he kept there hard and close at work. With this power, *Scipio* in the beginning of spring departed from *Taracon* (for now by this time was *Lælius* returned from *Rome*, without whose company he was not willing to enterprise any service of great moment and importance) and led forward against the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the country, and passed through the territories and confines of every City and State, his Allies were ready to entertain and accompany him. *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius* among the rest, with all their power met him. Then *Indibilis* in the name of them both, spake, not like a sottish barbarian foolishly & inconsiderately, but rather with a modest kind of gravity: more like one that

excused his revolt and running from the adverse part upon constreint and necessity, than made H
boast of catching and embracing the vantage thereof upon the first opportunity presented, "I
"knowsul well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive revolt, as it is odious and detestable
"to old Allies, so it is suspicious to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so
"doing, in case it be not the bare name, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he
"reckned up his own good turns and deserts done unto the Carthaginians on the one side: and
"recounted their covetousnes and pride on the other side, together with their injurious dealings
"with himself and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath conversed
"among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long since been with them, where
"I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and maintained: for even so do we I
"flie as suppliants in humble manner to the Gods also, when we can no longer endure the vio-
"lence and wrongful outrages of men; Beseeching *Scipio* this one thing withal, that this his far-
"ting from the enemy, and ranging with him, he would neither blame and condemn presently as
"a transgression, nor honor and commend as a good desert of his: but as he should find both him
"and the rest, by good proof from that day forward, even so to make reckoning of them accor-
"dingly, and not otherwise. *Scipio* made answer again, That in truth he would so do: neither
would he take them for fugitives and runawayes, who judged that they were not bound in con-
science to maintain the society and alliance with them as good and lawful, who made no count at
all to observe inviolable, any promise or duty to God or man. Then were their two wives and
children brought forth into their sight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and shed
tears abundantly for joy, and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after, K
faith was plight and contracted between them, and the same confirmed by covenant; and they
were dismissed to bring their forces, and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and
lodged in the same camp with the Romans, until by their guidance and direction they came unto
the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Asdrubal*,
neer unto the City *Batula*. Before his camp, he kept certain standing guards of horsemen. Upon
them the light armed forlorn hope of archers and darters of the Roman host which went before
the battail to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and vanguard, charged forcibly with their
shot; yet so contemptuously, and in scornful wise, even presently upon their travail in journey, and
before they had chosen a peece of ground to encamp in, that it was soon seen what heart there
was in both parts. For, the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled, and were driven into the camp: L
but the Romans advanced with banners displaied, hard to the very gates: and so for that day their
stomacks were only up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. As-
drubal in the night retired his army to a mount, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this
hill there ran a river, the fore-front thereof, and the sides all about the skirts were compassed as it
were with a steep bank standing plumb upright. There lay under this hill top another plain, lower
than the other, which also was enclosed round about with the like bank, as difficult for ascent as
the former. The next day *Asdrubal*, after he saw the enemies standing arranged before their
camp, sent down his Numidian-horsemen, the light armed Ilanders also of the Balears, and like-
wise the Africans. "Then *Scipio* rode about all the regiments, ensigns, and ranks of his army,
"marshalled as they stood in battail wise, and shewed unto them their enemies, how they de-M
"spaired afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills,
"braved and shewed themselves, presuming and trusting upon the place, and not upon their own
"valour and strength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) *Carthage* had higher walls, and yet the Ro-
"man souldiers were able to scale and get over: neither Hills nor Castle, no, nor the very Sea,
"stood in their way then, nor stopped them of their entry. And as for these high places which
"the enemies are possessed of, they haply may serve their turns well, when they shall take their
"flight, and leap from off the steep banks, and run down-hill apace, and so get away. But I row,
"I shall debar them there, and lay a block in their way on every side. Whereupon he comman-
ded two squadrons, the one to keep the streights of the valley, through which the river runneth:
the other to beset the passage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and crosseth overthwart
the hill side aboveseid. Himself led the light appointed vantcurriers, who the day before had dis-
comfited the guards and wards of the enemies, to affront the light armed souldiers, that were
quartered in the nether brow of the hill. And first they passed through the roughs, and were not
impeached nor hindred otherwise than by the difficult passages. But afterward, when they were
come within shot, at the very first, they were welcomed with a mighty volley of all sorts, pouring
(as it were) like hail upon them. Himself answered them again, and recharged upon them, letting
drive and discharging the stones which lay strewed all over the ground, and were such in manner
all, as might be welded and slung from them with ease. And not only the souldiers, but ladies
and horse-boyes, & such as followed the camp, were intermingled amongst the armed companies.
And albeit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with
darts and stones, yet being so inured as they were to clime wals, and resolute withal, they mounted
up first to the top: and so soon as they had got some even ground, where they might have sure
footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to run to and fro, and to save
himself, and shift well when he was far off, all the time that they skirmished aloof, and plaid upon
one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and to hand-strokes, not able to
stand his ground: and so they drave him from his place, and with great slaughter chased him as

far set him back to the very battel, that stood upon the higher hill. Then *Scipio* having given com-
mandment to these, for to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up still upon the main
battel of the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, together with *Lelius*, willing him to coast along
and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of easier ascent him-
self on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came cross overthwart the flank
of the enemies. Hereupon first began their battel to be disordered, whiles they were desirous to
turn their wings, and to oppose their ranks and squadrons against the noises and shouts which
rang every where about them. In this tumultuous trouble, *Lelius* also was got up; and while the
enemies drew backward and gave ground, because they would not be charged behind on their
back, the vanguard of their part was displayed and lay open: and so the Romans even of the mid-
B dle battel also, had a lane and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had
been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage
of the steep bank) so long as the ranks had stood unbroken, and the Elephants were opposed a-
gainst them before the Ensigns, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and
were piteously killed: and *Scipio*, who with his left wing encountred the right, charged and plaid
especially upon the naked sides of the enemies. And so by this means they had no way left them
to flie and escape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right,
had beset all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General himself, and the other
Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the comber-
some trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no less then their ene-
C mies. So there died of them 8000. *Asdrubal*, who before the conflict had made sure work with
all the money, and taken it with him, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he
could, of them that fled and escaped out of the camp, he made haste along the river *Tagus*, to-
ward the mountain *Pyrenæus*. *Scipio* being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given to
the souldiers all the pillage and spoil, but only the prisoners, such as were freemen: when he came
to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thousand footmen, and two thousand
horse. Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he set at liberty and sent them home with-
out ransom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them.
Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, as well those that before had yeelded themselves, as
they that were taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great consent and general voice,
D by the name and title of King. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the crier, said, "That he
"took the name of *L. General or Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which *Imperatōr*
"his own souldiers used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was
"great and honorable, at *Rome* surely, it was odious and intollerable. For his own part, the mind
"indeed he caried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the
"nature of man, let them judge so in their own hearts secretly, and please themselves with that
"stile: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as bar-
barous as they were, perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in the
height of spirit contemned that as a base thing, whereat in admiration only of the very title, all
mortal men besides are amazed and astonied. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and
E great Potentats of the Spaniards, sundry gifts. And of the horses, whereof he had taken in the field
and camp great store, he gave *Indibilis* the choise of three hundred where he would. When the
treasurer was selling the Africans, according to the General his commandment, he hapned upon
a young springal and stripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal bloud,
he sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demanded of him who he was, and what country-man,
and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude souldiers; "I am (saith he) a Numidian
"born, (and with that his eyes stood full of water) and in my country they call me *Massiva*. Being
"left and orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother side, *Gala*
"the King of the Numidians. And with my uncle by the mother, *Masanissa*, who was lately come
"with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to fall over into *Spain*. And
"never to this day, have I been in any battel, by reason that *Masanissa* would not in regard of my
"tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the wars. Howbeit that very day when the battail
"was fought with the Romans, unwares to my said uncle, I secretly got an horse under me, and
"armour upon my back, and went forth into the field; where my horse chanced to fall, and cast
"me down headlong on the ground: and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. *Scipio*
gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that
were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunal in marshal court. And after he was come back
from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party again before him, and asked him, whether
he were willing to return again to *Masanissa*. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy,
yea, full fain (qd. he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring
of gold, a coat embroidered with purple stud-wise, with a Spanish souldiers cape, a golden clasp or
burton, & a brave courser, with all the furniture & caparison thereto belonging he sent him away,
and commanded certain horsmen to safe-conduct and accompany him, so far as he would himself.
Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the war. Some there were that advised him, presently to pursue
Asdrubal: but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for fear lest *Mago* and the other *Asdru-*
bal should joyn their forces to his, he sent only a good guard to keep the passage of the hill *Pyre-*
næus, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and fealty of other States of *Spain*.

Within few dayes after the battel at *Bœtula*, when as *Scipio* in his return to *Taracon*, was gone H
past the chase or forrest of *Castulo*: *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* and *Mago*, the two Generals, arri-
ved out of the farther province of *Spain* unto *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*. But they came a day
after the fair, and too late to help an overthrow past already: yet in very good time, to give
counsel for the managing and executing of the war behind. There, as they conferred together, con-
cerning the disposition of the Spaniard, and how they stood affected in the countries of each pro-
vince, only *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* was of opinion, and perswaded, That the utmost tract and
coast of *Spain*, which lieth upon the Ocean and *Gades*, was hitherto unacquainted with the Ro-
mans, and therefore fast enough and sure to the Carthaginians. But the other *Asdrubal* and *Ma-*
go, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That *Scipio* with his favours and benefits had posses- I
sed the affections and hearts of all men already, both in general, and also in particular, and that
there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romans, before that all the
Spanish souldiers were either removed into the farthest parts of *Spain*, or conveighed over into
France. And therefore albeit the Senat of the Carthaginians had not granted out any such act and
commission, yet there was no remedy, but that *Asdrubal* must go over into *Italy*, where *Annibal*
was the head of the war, and in whom lay the main chance of all: by which means also he might
withdraw out of *Spain* all the Spaniards, far enough from the naming and hearing of *Scipio*. For
Asdrubal his army, as well by daily falling away and revolting to *Scipio*, as also by the late defeat
much empaired, was to be replenished again with new souldiers. Moreover, that *Mago* should
deliver his army to *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, and himself in person cross over into the *Balear* K
Islands, with a great sum of money, to wage new aids and succours from thence. And that *Asdru-*
bal the son of *Gisgo*, with his army should retire farther up into *Portugal*, and not encounter the
Romans at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavalry there should be chosen out the very
flower and strength, to the full number of 3000. for *Masanissa*, and that he should range and o-
verrun all the hither Province of *Spain*, partly to help the distressed Allies, and partly to spoil the
enemies towns, and forrage their lands. After these orders and directions set down, the Generals
departed asunder to the execution of these determined designments. Thus yet see what were the
affairs and occurrences of *Spain* for that year.

At *Rome* the fame of *Scipio* grew greater every day then other. *Fabius* for the winning of *Taren-*
tum, albeit he gat it rather by craft and policy, then by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. L
The name of *Fulvius* began to age and decay. *Marcellus* grew also into an ill name and some oblo-
quy, both for that at first he had a foil, and also because he suffered *Annibal* to range over *Italy* at
his pleasure, and himself at mid-summer had retired his souldiers to *Venusia* to take up there (as
it were) their winter quarrers. He had a sore adversary in the City, one *C. Publius Bibulus*, a Tribun
of the Commons: who from the very first time of that discomfiture, with continual speeches and
Orations brought *Claudius* into hatred and infamy with the common people, and now was in
hand with them to deprive him of his government. Howbeit, the friends and kinsfolk of *Claudius*
obtained thus much, That *Marcellus* leaving his Lieutenant at *Venusia*, should repair to *Rome* for
to make his purgation, and acquit himself of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid a-
gainst him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his deprivation. M

It hapned much about one time, that both *Marcellus* came to *Rome* (to meet with the shame-
full slander that ran on him, and to save his honour) and also *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, about the
new election for the year following. The question touching the government of *Marcellus*, was de-
bated and handled in the lists or *Circus*, called *Flaminius*: and a great assembly there was, and much
concourse of the Commons, and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribun accused not *Mar-*
cellus only, but all the nobility: by whose fraudulent practise, and by whose cold and delayful pro-
ceedings, it was come to pass, that *Annibal* now these ten years had remained in *Italy* (as it were)
in his province continually, where he had had led a greater part of his life, then at *Carthage* in his
native country. And now (quoth he) the people of *Rome* taste the fruit, proceeding of prorouging
and continuing of government still in one person. For see what is come of it: *Marcellus* his ar- N
my hath been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword, and now, forsooth, is hoasted
in *Venusia* for sun-burning. But *Marcellus* so confuted this accusatory speech of the Tribun, by re-
counting his own worthy noble acts; that not only the Bill preferred for the deposing him out
of his room, was disannulled, and the neck of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Cen-
turies with one general voice created him Consul. There was joined with him companion in go-
vernment *T. Quintius Crispinus*, who then was Pretor. The morrow after were the Pretors cho-
sen, to wit, *P. Licinius Crassus Dives*, who was at that time the Arch-bishop, *P. Licinius Varus*,
Sex. Iulius Cæsar, and *Q. Claudius Flamen*.

During the time of this solemn Parliament or Session for the election of Magistrates, the Ci-
ty was much disquieted for the revolt of *Hetruria*: *C. Calpurnius* who ruled that province as Pro- O
pretor, had by his letters given notice, that the beginning thereof arose from the Aretins: and there-
fore immediatly *M. Marcellus* the Consul elect, was thither sent with commission, to look into
the matter, and (if he thought it requisite) to send for his forces, and to translate the war out of
Apulia into *Tuscany*. For fear whereof, the Tuscans pulld in their heads, and were quiet.

The Tarentine Embassadors made suit for peace, and that together with their freedom they
might enjoy their own laws. And this answer was returned by the Senat, That they should come
again when *Fabius* the Consul was returned to *Rome*. The Roman Games, and also the playes
called

A called *Plebeii*, were exhibited that year, and renued one day apeece more then ordinary. The Ædiles
of the chair were *L. Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servilius Sulpitius Galba*: but those of the Commons
were *C. Servilius*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. As for *Servilius*, it was denied, that he had been Tri-
bun of the Commons before, or now Ædile by right and order of law, because it was now for
certain known, that his father (of whom the opinion went currant for ten years that he was slain
by the Boians about *Mutina*, at what time as he was Triumvir for the divition of lands) was now
living, and in the hands of the enemies in slavery and bondage. For none might be Tri-bun or Ædile, whose Father was living,

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, *M. Marcellus* entred his consulship the fifth time (so
you reckon upon that Consulship which he never bare through, because there was an error com-
B mitted in his creation) and with him *T. Quintius Crispinus*. To both Consuls the Province of *Ita-*
ly was assigned, and both armies of the Consuls the former year. There was a third army then at
Venusia, whereof *M. Marcellus* had the conduct. Of these three, they were to chuse two, which
they would; and the third remaining, was to be committed unto him, who was by lot to have
the government of *Tarentum*, and the Salentins. The rest of the Provinces were thus divided a-
mongst the Pretors. *P. Licinius Varus* had the jurisdiction civil, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, (then *Pon-*
tifex Max.) that of the forraigners, and to go whither soever the Senat should think good to send
him. Unto *Sex. Julius Cæsar* befell *Sicily*, and to *Q. Claudius Flamen* the City of *Tarentum*. *Q. Ful-*
vius Flaccus had his commission renewed, to continue in government for one year longer: and he
was appointed to govern *Capua*, which had been the charge of *T. Quintius* the Pretor, and to have
C under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise *C. Hostilius Tubulus* remained still in office,
and that as Pro-pretor he should succeed *C. Calpurnius*, and have the conduct of two legions.
Moreover, *L. Veturius Philo* had his authority & government confirmed to him anew, that as Pro-
pretor he should sit Lord Deputy in the same province of *France*, and have the same two legions as
before, when he was Pretor there. The like decree that was granted for *L. Veturius*, passed also
in the Senat for *C. Aurunculeius*, and a bill was propounded unto the people for the prorouging
and continuance of his office, who as Pretor ruled the Province of *Sardinia* with the strength
of two Legions. And for the defence and guard of the said Province he had an addition of fifty
ships of war, which *P. Scipio* had sent out of *Spain*. *P. Scipio* likewise and *M. Syllanus*, held still,
by vertue of a decree, their provinces of *Spain*, and commanded the same armies for one year lon-
D ger. As for *Scipio*, he had direction to send over into *Sardinia* fifty ships, out of those eighty
which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of *Italy* or won from the enemy at *Car-*
thage, because there ran a rumor, that there was great preparation at *Carthage* for a navy that year,
and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
with an Armado of two hundred sail. In *Sicily* the government was divided in this manner, *Sex-*
tus Cæsar had the leading of the Cannian army: *M. Valerius Levinus* (for his government also was
confirmed for a year longer) the charge of that fleet of seventy ships, which rid about *Sicily*: with
commission to add thereto, those thirty ships which the former year lay before *Tarentum*: and with
this Armado consisting of one hundred sail, to put over into *Africk*, if he thought so good, and
there to forrage and fetch booties. Over and besides, *P. Sulpitius* was for one year longer to
E continue in office, and to govern the provinces of *Macedony* and *Greece*, with the force of the said
Navy which he had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the City of *Rome*,
there was no alteration. Only the Consuls were permitted to levy and enrol a new supply, as need
should require. Thus the Empire and State of *Rome* for that year was maintained with the power
of 21. legions. *P. Licinius Varus* the Pretor of the City, was charged to repair those thirty old
ships, which lay at *Hostia*, and to furnish twenty new built, with sailers and mariners, that with
this Armado of fifty sail he might be able to defend all the sea coast neer unto the City of *Rome*.
C. Calpurnius was forbidden to remove his forces from *Arretium*, before a successor came in his
place. The same order was given to *Tubulus*, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no com-
motion arose from thence. And then the Pretors went into their provinces.

As for the Consuls they were troubled in mind and made some scruple of conscience to go to
their provinces, upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signs, and because also in their
sacrifices they found not the gods so propitious and favourable unto them. For out of *Cam-*
pania news came, that in *Capua* two Temples, to wit, of *Fortune* and *Mars*, and also some Tombs and
Sepulchers, were smitten with lightning: and besides (see how vain and preposterous superstiti-
on, imputeth even the least trifling things to the hand of God) that certain Mice, forsooth, in a
Chappel of *Jupiter* gnawed the gold: Also that in *Casinum*, a great swarm of Bees settled in the
very market place. Moreover, that the Wall and one of the Gates at *Hostia* was blasted and stricken
with lightning. That in *Cære*, a Gripe fled into the Church of *Jupiter*. That at *Volsinii*, there was
a Pool flowed with blood. In regard of these strange and wondrous tokens, there was a devout
supplication for one day. And for certain days together, greater beasts were killed for sacrifices,
without any good token: and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could not be ob-
tained. But yet the fortune of the Common-weal stood still upright, and all this anger and mis-
chief portended by those wonders, light upon the head of the Consuls alone, and their death ex-
cused all the rest. The Playes called *Apollinares*, in the year of *Q. Fulvius* and *Ap. Claud.* Consuls,
had been by *P. Cornel. Sulla* Pretor of the City, first exhibited: after whom all the Pretors ever
after did the like. But they vowed them a year before, and performed them on a day uncertain.
The same year hapned a grievous plague both in the City and in the Countries about, which

yet

yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diseases, then to sharp and deadly maladies. For H
this pestilence there was not only solemn going in procession, in all the high streets, carrefours,
and cross ways throughout the City: but also *P. Licinius Varus* Pretor of the City, was com-
manded to propound unto the people, that the Playes aboresaid should be vowed for ever against
a set and determinat day. Himself therefore was the first that vowed them, and exhibited them up-
on the * third day before the *Nones* of *July*, and the same day ever after was observed and kept
holiday for that purpose. * 5 day of *July*.

As the rumor of the Aretins revolt encreased dayly greater, so the LL. of the Senat were care-
ful about it every day more then other. Letters therefore were sent unto *C. Hostilius*, that he should
without delay take pledges of the Arentines: and *C. Terentius Varro* was sent with commission,
to receive the said hostages at his hands, and to bring them to *Rome*. He was no sooner come, I
but *Hostilius* presently commanded that one legion, which lay in camp before the town, should
enter the City with banner displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient.
Then having called and summoned the Senators to appear in the market place, he demanded of
them hostages. And when the Senat requested but two days respit to consider of the matter, he
made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or else the next day he would
seize upon all the Senators children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains
of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by
night. But this was slackly and negligently executed, for seven principal Senators, before the
warders were set at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morrow mor-
ning by break of day, when the Senat began to be cited into the Common Hall, these parties were g
missed, and their goods confiscat, and sold in port-sale. Of the rest of the Senators, their children
were taken hostages to the number of 120. and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveigh-
ed to *Rome*: who when he was come into the Senat, made such relation of the matter, that the
suspition of their revolt was much more pregnant then before. And therefore, as if some insurre-
ction had like presently to grow from *Tuscany*, *C. Terentius* himself was commanded to conduct
one of the two legions about the City of *Rome*, unto *Aretium*, and there to lie in garrison with it
for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that *C. Hostilius* with the army besides,
should survey and visit the whole Province, and to be careful and circumspect, that no occasion
nor opportunity might be given unto them, that were minded to seek alteration and to rebel. *C.
Terentius* so soon as he was come to *Aretium* with the legion, when he called unto the Magi- k
strates for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but miscast aside and
could not be found; supposing that they were rather cautelously laid out of the way for the
nonce, than lost by negligence, caused other keyes and locks to be made, and set upon every gate:
and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave especial war-
ning also to *Hostilius* as touching the Tuscans, and told him, that he should never hope to rest in
security, that they would not rebel, unless he took order with them aforehand, that they possibly
could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentins, even before
Fabius, whiles himself excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force
and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and most of them gave out plainly, m
that they were full as faulty as the Campans, and deserved no less punishment. And so there was
an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of *M. Acinius*, that the town
should be held with a garrison, and all the Tarentins kept from stirring out of the City: and that
the matter should further be debated and decided afresh another time, when the state of *Italy*
stood in better tearms of peace and quietness. And the like contention and variance was among
the LL. of the Senat touching *M. Livius* Constable and Captain of the Castle of *Tarentum*, whiles
some were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, because through his carelessness and sloth,
Tarentum the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good consideration
and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five years, and by his means especial-
ly and by none else *Tarentum* was recovered. But some were of opinion between these and said, N
that the discussing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Censors and not to
the Senat: of which judgement *Fabius* also himself was. And this moreover he said withal, that he
must needs confess, that true it was, which *Livius* his friends in the Senat stood so much upon,
and iterated so often, namely, that he was the only means that *Tarentum* was recovered: for in
good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained if it had not once been lost before.

T. Quintius Crispinus one of the Consuls, went to the army which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had, with
a new supply into the Lucans country. But *Marcellus* still was staid behind, upon occasion of new
scruples of conscience, and sundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his
head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls war at
Clastidium, a Temple to *Honor* and *Vertue*: the dedication of the said Church was hindred by the O
Bishops, who said, that one Chappel, by right and according to their ceremonies, served but for
one Saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten
by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right ex-
piation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the twinne
or gods the sacrifice should be done; for by order one sacrifice could not serve twain, unless
there were some particular and especial gods named. So there was fain to be another Chappel
built

A built for *Vertue*: and great hast there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his for-
tune ever to dedicate those chappels. So at length he set forward and put himself on his journey
with a supply, unto the army which he had left the year before at *Venusia*.

When *Crispinus* minded to assault *Locri* in the country of the Brutians, because there went a
great name of *Fabius* for the assailing and winning of *Tarentum*, he sent for all kind of artillery
and engins out of *Sicily*, and ships also were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the
City that lieth to the Sea side. But the enterprise went not forward, because *Annibal* had remo-
ved, with all his forces to *Lacinium*. And besides, the news went that his colleague had already
brought out his forces from *Venusia*, with whom he was desirous to joyn. And therefore he re-
turned out of the Brutians country into *Apulia*: and so between *Venusia* and *Brutia*, the Consuls
encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. *Annibal* likewise was retired into
B the same country, considering that the war was turned from *Locri*. There the Consuls (hot men
of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if *Annibal*
once met them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the war once
for all. *Annibal* because the year before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and
taken the foil: like as he had great reason, as well to fear as to hope, if he were to encounter and
fight with him alone: so he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with
both the Consuls together. And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himself wholly to
his old Foxes coat, and sought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to entrap them. How-
beit there passed some light skirmishes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and
C interchangeable success. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keep
the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet nevertheless be able to assault *Locri*, wrote
unto *L. Cincius*, that he should take the Seas, and cross over with his fleet out of *Sicily* to the
City of *Locri*. And to the end that the Town might be likewise assailed from the Land side, they
commanded part of the army which lay in garrison at *Tarentum*, to be conducted thither. *Annibal*
having intelligence afore-hand of these things, by certain Thurins, sent forth certain of his forces
to beset the wayes from *Tarentum*. And there under the side of the Petellian mount, he bestowed
secretly in ambush two thousand horse, and three thousand foot. Upon whom the Romans
(marching without their espials sent afore them) chanced to light, and were slain to the number
of two thousand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the rest were scattered and fled over
D the fields and forrests back to *Tarentum*. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of
the Carthaginians and Romans, and the same all overgrown with wood, which at first was pos-
sessed and kept, neither by one nor other: because the Romans knew not the situation of that
side which lay toward the enemies camp: and *Annibal* supposed verily that it was a place fitter
for to lay an ambush than to encamp in: and therefore he sent by night for that purpose, certain
troops of Numidians, and bestowed them closely in the mids of the wood, and not one of them
stirred all the day long out of their standings, for fear left either their armour or themselves might
be espied a far off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to say, that
the said hill was to be seized and fortified for their use, with a good fortress built upon it, for fear
left if it were first gained by *Annibal*, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads rea-
E dy to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himself was of the same opinion: whereupon, Why go not
we our selves in person (quoth he, to his colleague) with some few horsemen, to view and con-
sider the place, where our eyes shall be our judges; and seeing the ground once, we shall resolve
more certainly what course to take? *Crispinus* liked well of the motion: and so they went forward
accompanied with two hundred and twenty horsemen; of which forty were Fregellans, the rest all
Tuscans. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Consul his son, and *Aulus Manlius*, two
Colonels: also *L. Arennius* and *M. Aulius*, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have set
down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Cos. sacrificed that day; and when the first beast was killed,
the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the second, all things appeared that were wont
to be seen. But in the head of that liver there shewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinary ex-
crescence: which the Soothsayer had no liking to, because after those inwards which seemed be-
fore short, unperfect, and misliking; now those again were seen too well fed and overgrown. But
the Consul *Marcellus* was so hot and desirous to fight with *Annibal*, that he thought himself ne-
ver encamped neer enough unto him. And even then also as he went forth out of the camp, he
gave order to his souldiers to be ready at a short warning, and have their eye upon the place: that
presently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they should dislodge, truss up bag and
baggage and follow presently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from
whence the way that led unto the said hill, was on every side very open and evident to the eye:
where there lay a scout or spie, set of purpose to discover any of the enemies gone far from the
camp, straggling and ranging abroad, either for fewel or forage, that they might be intercepted: and
not for any hope of so great effect as fell out. This fellow gave a sign unto the Numidians, that all at
once they should arise out of their lurking & starting holes. And they that from the top & ridge of
the hill, were to rise & shew themselves affront, never appeared & made head, before that they had
set a compass about, for to shut up the passage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts
they began to start up & with a main shout charged & ran upon them. The Con. now were in that
valley, from whence they neither could possibly get up to the pitch of the hill, possessed aforehand
by the enemy: nor had any place of safe retreat behind, for that they were invironed & hemmed in
on

on every side. Howbeit they might have maintained skirmish and held out a good while, but that H
the Tuscans began to run away, and put all the rest in a bodily fright. Yet the Fregellans, forsaken
as they were of the Tuscans, gave not over, but fought manfully, (so long as the Consuls stood on
foot unhurt) & received the charge of the enemies, encouraging their people, and fighting them-
selves right valiantly. But when they saw once both their Consuls wounded, and *Marcellus* also
run through with the push of a lance, and falling from his horse ready to die: then they also (and
few of them God wot remained alive) together with the Consul *Crispinus* (who was wounded
with two javelins) and young *Marcellus*, who was himself also sore hurt, fled away and escaped.
There were slain in this skirmish, A. *Manlius* a Colonel, of the two Captains of allies, M. *Aulus*
was killed out-right, and *L. Avenius* taken prisoner. As for the Lictors belonging the Consuls, five
of them then fell alive into the hands of the enemies: the rest were put to the sword, or escaped I
with the Consul. So there were three and forty horsemen died either in the conflict, or in the
flight, and eighteen taken prisoners. In the camp there was much ado, and crying out for to go
and succour the Consuls, when they saw one of them, and the other his son grievously hurt, and
the poor remnant of that unfortunat expedition, coming toward the camp. The death of *Marcel-*
lus was much pitied and lamented in many other respects, but for this especially: that he, a man
of that age (for he was now above threescore years old) and who should have had more wit: an
old Captain and Leader (I say) that should have had more wisedom and forecast, so unadvisedly
had brought both his colleague together with himself, and also in manner the whole common-
wealth into so desperate a danger. I should make much circumstance, and fetch many turns and
compasses about one point, if I would rehearse all that writers have diversly set down, as touching K
the death of *Marcellus*. But to let all others go, *L. Calius* delivereth the thing three manner of
waies: the one by hearsay only, and a general report: the other, extant in an Oration of the praise
of *Marcellus*, penned by his own son, that was himself present at the action: the third, which *Ce-*
lius himself alledgeth upon his own knowledge, and after diligent enquiry into the matter. But
howsoever the voice and fame varieth in some circumstances, most of them jump in the occasion,
That he went forth of the camp to view the place: and all agree of the event, That he was entrap-
ped and so slain. *Annibal* supposing that the enemies were mightily terrified, as well by the death
of the one Consul, as the hurt of the other: because he would take all advantage, and omit no
good opportunity offered, forthwith removeth his camp, and pitcheth upon the very hill where
he had fought. There he found the corps of *Marcellus*, and caused it to be entered. L

Crispinus affrighted both at the death of his companion in government, and also at his own
hurt received, dislodged in the dead time of the night following, and in the very next mountains
that he could come unto, encamped and fortified himself upon an high ground, and surely fenced
on every side. There the two Generals of both parts, beat their brains, and occupied all their wits
contriving the one to lay trains, and the other to avoid them. *Annibal* together with the body
of *Marcellus*, had gotten his ring or sign manual. *Crispinus* fearing that *Annibal* might practise
some crafty fetch, and beguile some body by the means of that signet, sent messengers to all the
Cities next adjoyning, giving them notice, that his brother Consul was slain, and that the enemy
had gotten his seal ring, and warning them, that they should give no credit to any letters written
in his name, or signed with his seal. This message was not so soon brought to *Salapia*, but streight M
after there came letters thither from *Annibal*, framed and indited in the name of *Marcellus* to this
effect, That he would the next night that immediately followed that present day, be in person at
Salapia: willing the garrison souldiers to be in readiness, for to be employed in some service that
should be thought needful. The Salapians perceived whereabout he went, and supposing that it
was a perillous plot, whereby *Annibal* sought some opportunity to be revenged of them and to
punish them, for anger, not only that they were revolted from him, but because they had killed
his horsemen: they therefore sending the messenger back again, (who was a Roman fugitive and
renegate, and had fled from them to *Annibal*) to the end, that their souldiers might effect that
which they were minded to do, without the knowledge of the messenger, and not be espied by
him; bestowed all the Townsmen along the walls and in sundry convenient places of the Town, N
to keep a standing *corps de guard*. The watch and ward they tended the next night very carefully,
and about that gate where they supposed the enemy would come, they opposed the strength and
most able men of all the garrison. *Annibal* neer about the time of the relief of the fourth watch
came to the City. In the vanguard marched certain Roman Rebels and Renegates, with Roman
armor upon them: who when they were come to the gate, called up the watch, and spake all in
Latin unto them, willing them to set the gates open, for that the Cos. was come. The watchmen
making semblance as if they were roused and awakned at their call began to bestir themselves, to
make hast with much ado, as busy as ever they might be. The Port-cullis which had been let
down, stood yet shut. Then they began, some to heave and to weigh it from the ground with lee-
vers & coleweighs, others to draw it up with ropes unto that height that men might go upright O
under it. The passage was scarcely made open & set wide enough, when the fugitive traitors came
rushing in at the gate apace, striving who might enter first. And when there were almost 600 of
them got in, the rope was let go, at which the port-cullis hung, & it fell down with a mighty noise.
The Salapians then, some ran upon the fugitive Romans above said, carying their armor looisely and
ratchlesly hanging upon their shoulders, as travellers & wayfaring souldiers in a peaceable country
of their friends: others fro the turrets of the gate pelted the enemies with stones, & pushed at them
with

A with punchion poles, or with darts and javelins slew them. So *Annibal* caught in his own snares,
was fain to depart.

He went from thence to levy and raise the siege before *Locri*, which Town *Cincius* beleague-
red streightly, and assaulted most forcibly, having raised fabricks about it, and planted all kind of
engines, artillery, and ordnance against it, which were brought thither out of *Sicily*. *Mago* who
began already to distrust that he should not be able to defend and keep the City, conceived now
the first hope of better, when he heard once of the death of *Marcellus*. And then there came also
a messenger with news, That *Annibal* having sent afore him the horsemen of the Numidians, fol-
lowed after himself in person, as fast as he could, with the power of the footmen. And therefore
so soon as he perceived, by a sign given from the hill tops, that the Numidians approached, him-
B self at once set the gate open, and suddainly sallied forth upon the enemy with great violence. At
the first the skirmish was doubtful, more because he came upon them at unawares, than for that he
was equal to match them in strength: but afterwards, when the Numidians charged them be-
sides, the Romans were so terrified, that they fled here and there in every place to the sea and their
ships, leaving their fabricks and engins wherewith they had shaken and battered the walls. So
by the coming of *Annibal* the siege brake up before *Locri*.

Crispinus, after he was advertised, that *Annibal* was gone into the Brutians countrey, comman-
ded *Marcus Marcellus* a Colonel or knight Marshal, to lead away unto *Venusia*, the army which
had been commanded by his Colleague now deceased. Himself went to *Capua* with the legions,
scarce able to endure the shogging and shaking of the horselitter, for pain and grief of his wounds.
C From whence he wrote letters to *Rome*, giving notice, That his brother Consul was dead, and in
what danger himself was. Signifying also, that he could not himself come unto *Rome* against the
election, because he thought he should not be able to endure the travel of the journey: and be-
sides, he was in great care for *Tarentum*, lest *Annibal* from out of the Brutians countrey would
turn thither with all his power. Moreover, he gave the Senat to understand, that it was requisite
there should be sent as Embassadors or Agents unto him, men of wisdom and discretion, whom he
might confer with, and acquaint with his will and mind, as touching State-matters. The reading
of these letters, caused them much, to lament and mourn for the death of the one Consul, and
greatly to fear what would become of the other. Therefore they not only dispatched *Q. Fabius*
the son, unto the army in *Venusia*, but also sent unto the Consul three commissioners, *Sex. Julius*
Cæsar, *L. Licinius Pollio*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who but a few dayes before was returned out of
Sicily. These had in commission to signify unto the Consul from the Senat, that in case he were not
able himself to come to *Rome* against the Election, he should nominat within the Roman territo-
ry a Dictator for to assemble the people for the said Election: also that their pleasure was, in case
the Consul went to *Tarentum*, that *Q. Claudius* the Pretor should withdraw his legions from
thence into those parts, whereas he might defend most Cities of the Allies.

In the same summer *M. Valerius* took the Seas, with a fleet of a hundred sail, and from *Sicily*
passed over into *Africk*: and having disbarked and landed his men neer the City *Clupea*, wasted
the countrey all about, and met no armed men, to speak of, to make head and withstand his inva-
sion. Then these rovers and forragers retired in hast unto their ships, because on a suddain there
was a rumour blown abroad, That the punick Armado was coming, consisting of 83 sail. The
Roman Admiral fought fortunatly with them not far from *Clupea*. And after he had boorded and
taken eighteen of their ships and put the rest to flight, he returned to *Lilybæum*, with a rich Land-
booty, and much pillage found in the ships.

The same summer *Philip* also sent aid to the *Achæi*, that earnestly besought his help: whom not
only *Machanidas* the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, grievously afflicted with warring upon their
confines, but also the Ætolians, who having crossed the streights or narrow Sea, between *Nau-*
pactum and *Patræ* (which the inhabitants there call *Rhios*) and set over a power of armed men,
had spoiled their territory. Moreover, there went a great rumour and speech, that *Attalus* King of
Asia the less, would sail over into *Europe*, because the Ætolians in their last Parliament or general
Diet had conferred upon him the soveraign magistracy and rule of their nation. For these causes
Philip came down with a power into *Greece*, and at the City *Lamia*, the Ætolians encountred him
with their Captain *Physias*, who for that year was created Pretor together with King *Attalus* in
his absence. They had in their army certain aids from *Attalus*, and almost a thousand Romans out
of the Roman Armado, sent from *P. Sulpitius*. Against this Captain and these forces *Philip* fought
two battails with prosperous success, and in both slew very many of his enemies: and when the
Ætolians were driven for fear from thence, into the City of *Lamia*, and within the walls thereof
saved themselves, *Philip* retired his army into *Phalera*. This is a place situate in the gulf of *Ma-*
lea, sometimes much peopled and frequented for the passing fair haven, and many good har-
bors and safe rodes for ships, besides other special commodities as well of Sea as Land. Thither
repaired sundry Embassadors from divers parts, to wit, from *Ptolomæus* King of *Ægypt*, from
the Rhodians, the Athenians, and inhabitants of *Chios*, and all to treat about a pacification, to
take up the war between *Philip* and the Ætolians. And of neighbour-borderers there was in
the behalf of the Ætolians as peace-maker, *Aminander* King of the Athamans. All of them were
not so careful and earnest for the Ætolians, who were more fierce, stout and imperious than
the Nation of Grecians naturally is: as they laboured this point, that *Philip* with his Kingly
overangrty, to the prejudice of their liberty hereafter, should not be interessed, nor meddle

in

in the affairs and state of *Greece*. As concerning a peace, the consultation was put off and referred to the general Councel of the *Achæi*: and for the said Diet or Councel, was a place appointed, and a certain day set down and published. And in the mean space, a truce obtained for thirty dayes.

Then the King departed from thence, and through *Thessaly* and *Bœotia*, came to *Chelcis* in *Eubœa*, for to put by *Attalus* (whom he heard say to be coming with a navy for *Eubœa*) from arriving in any havens, or landing in any place on the sea coast. Then leaving a guard behind for to withstand *Attalus*, (if haply in the mean season he should chance to pass over) he marched himself forward with some few horsemen, and light armed footmen, and came to *Argos*. There by the suffrages and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the solemn games, called *Heræi* and *Nemei*, was recommended unto him, because the Macedonian Kings give out & say that they are descended from that City. After he had performed the solemnity of the *Heræi*, presently he went from the very games and pastimes, to the Councel of his allies long before proclaimed, as is abovesaid. Much debate there was for a finall end of the Ætolians war, that neither the Romans nor *Attalus* might have any occasion to come into *Greece*. But the Ætolians matred all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occasion that they heard, that *Attalus* both was come to *Ægina*, and the Roman navy anchored at *Naupactum*. For being called into the Councel of the *Achæi*, in which the same Embassies were, who before at *Phalera* had treated for peace, first they complained, that some things had been done, during the time of the truce, against the faith of the covenant and accord. But at last they flatly denied and said, That there could not possibly be an end of wars, unless the *Achæi* rendred *Pylos* unto the Messenians; and peace were granted and restored to the Romans, and likewise to the Athamans, to *Scerdiletus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Archides*. Whereat *Philip* was very wroth, and thought it a foul indignity, that conquered persons should take upon them to article and capitulat with him their conqueror. "But neither "heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treaty of peace, nor yeelded consent to truce up- "on any hope I had, that the Ætolians would ever be quiet: but to this end, that all confederate "friends might bear witness that I sought means of peace, and they sought occasions and pickt "quarrels for war. So without conclusion of any peace, he dissolved the Diet; leaving four thousand souldiers for the defence and guard of the Achæans, and receiving of them five ships of war, (which if he had joyned to the armado of the Carthaginians, lately sent unto him, and also to those ships which were coming out of *Bithynia* from King *Prusias*; he determined to assail the Romans with ship-fight, who had a long time been mighty masters of the Seas) himself presently from that Councel departed back to *Argos*: for now the time drew neer of the games *Nemei*, which he was desirous to celebrate and honor with his presence. Whiles the King was occupied in the preparation of these games and pastimes, and solaced himself during these festival holydayes, with more liberty of mind and repose, than he should in time of war; *P. Sulpitius* having loosed from *Naupactum*, arrived with his fleet between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and wasted that goodly territory, most renowned of all other for fruitfulness of all things. The noise and rumor of this occurrence awakened *Philip*, and caused him to leave his disports: and so he took his Cavalry with him in hast, and set forward, having given order that the Infantry should follow streight after: where he found the Romans straigling here and there all over the countrey, loden with booty and prizes, (as who feared nothing in the World less) set upon them, and drave them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet nothing well appaid for the booty they had gotten, returned to *Naupactum*. And *Philip* greatly augmented the solemnity and magnificence of the games that were behind, by the same of a victory over the Romans at that time, how much or little soever it was. And with great joy and mirth were those holy-dayes kept: and so much the more, because the King for to please the people withal, laid aside the diadem of his head, put off his purple robes and other princely and royal habit, and in outward port bare himself equal to others, and nobetter: a thing right acceptable and pleasing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deed of his, he had given great and undoubted hope unto all men, of liberty and freedom; but that he stained and marred all again with his intolerable lust and looseness of life. For he used to gorge and ging up and down with one or two of his favourits in company, and did nothing else but haunt suspected houses by the Sea side day and night in disguised manner: and thus by debasing himself to the meanest state of a private person, the less he was suspected and known, the more dissolute he was: and whiles he pretended unto others a vain shew of freedom, he abused all to his own licentiousness. Neither paid his purse for all his pleasures, nor with flattring perswasions and fair speeches obtained he his desires: but to accomplish his wickedness, he used oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing streight-laced, and make it goodly by tedious delay and unseasonable severity, to seem but to stay the unbridled lust and appetite of the King. From one of the Princes also of the Achæi named *Aratus*, he took his wife away called *Polycratia*, and upon hope and colour of mariage with the King, drew her away with him into *Macedony*. Having thus with these lewd and wicked pranks passed the time of the solemnity of the *Nemean* games, and some few dayes over and above: he went to *Dyme* to dissesin the garrison of the Ætolians, which they had sent for and received into the City [of *Dyme*] from the Eleans. *Cycliades* (who was the soveraign or chief magistrat of that state, and the Achæi met the King at *Dyme*: who as they hated the Eleans, because they dissented from the rest of the Achæans, so they were maliciously bent against the Ætolians, whom they were perswaded, to

A to have stirred the Romans to levy war upon them. So from *Dyme* they departed, and with joint armies passed over the river *Larissus*, which divideth the country of the Eleans from the territory of *Dyme*. The first day after they were entred the confins of their enemies, they spent in foraging. The morrow after, in battail array, they presented themselves before the City, having sent out their Horsemen before them to make bravado's before their gates, and all to provoke the Ætolians; a kind of people full of stomack, and ready enough to sally forth and make excursions. Now were they not ware all this while, that *Sulpitius* with fifteen ships had crossed over from *Naupactum* to *Cyllene*: nor that he had landed four thousand souldiers in the still time of the night (because they might not be seen to march) and entred *Elis*. And therefore, this suddain and unexpected object put them in a terrible fear, when they saw and knew once among the Ætolians and
B the Eleans, the Roman ensigns and their armor. At the first, the King would have had his men to retire: but afterwards seeing the skirmish was begun already between the Ætolians and Triballi, (a kind of Illyrians) and perceiving that his souldiers also were put to it and charged, then the King also himself with his Horsemen assailed the Cohort or Squadron of the Romans. There his Horse was with a dart shot through: and when he had once flung and cast the King forward over his head, there was a cruel and deadly fight on both sides, whiles the Romans laid hard at the King, and the Kings men protected and guarded his person. Himself fought right manfully above the rest, considering he was forced on foot, to maintain skirmish among the Horsemen. But afterwards, by reason of the great disadvantage, and seeing many about him striken down and wounded, he was caught away by his gard, mounted upon another Horse, and so he fled and escaped.
C And the same day he encamped 5 miles from the City of the Eleans. The next morrow he led all his whole power to a Castle of the Eleans situate neer at hand, called *Pyrgos*: into which he had intelligence that a multitude of the country peasants for fear of being spoiled, were with their cattail driven and retired. This confused, disordred, and naked company he took captive at his coming, presently upon the first charge and onset that he gave: and with that booty he licked himself whole again, and salved the shameful defeat that he had received at *Elis*. As he was busy in sharing the prizes, and dealing abroad the prisoners (and there were of men some four thousand, and of cattail of all kinds one with another twenty thousand head) there came a post out of *Macedony* with news, that one *Eropus* had surprised *Lychnidum*, by corrupting for a piece of money
D the Constable of the Castle, and Captain of the garrison there: and that he held in possession certain borough Towns of the Dassaretians, and still raised the Dardanians to Rebellion. The King therefore gave over the Achæan and the Ætolian wars: yet leaving two thousand five hundred armed souldiers of all sorts, under the leading of *Menippus* and *Polyphanes* for to defend his Allies, he went from *Dyme* through *Achaia*, *Bœotia*, and *Bœotus*; and upon the tenth day came to *Demetrias* in *Thessalia*. Where other messengers also encountred him, bringing tidings of a greater insurrection: namely, that the Dardanians had invaded *Macedony*, and were masters
E of *Oreste*, and came down into the plains of *Æstræum*: and that the rumor was rife and went current among the barbarous people that *Philip* was slain. The truth is, in that expedition where in he fought at *Sicyon* with those that preyed and made spoil in the country, he was carried by his hot and stomack-full Horse under a Tree, and there against a bough or arm thereof that stood out, he chanced to break a corner of the creft of his helmet at one end. That piece chanced to be found by a certain Ætolian, and was brought into *Ætolia* unto *Scerdiletus*, who knew by the mark that it was the Kings helmet: whereupon the fame of the Kings death was divulged commonly abroad. After the departure of *Philip* out of *Achæa*, *Sulpitius* who was arrived with his navy at *Ægina*, went forward, and joyned with *Attalus*. The *Achæi*, not far from *Messena* struck a fortunat battail with the Ætolians and the Eleans. *Attalus* the King, and *P. Sulpitius* wintred in *Ægina*.

In the end of this year, *T. Quintius Crispinus* the Consul, when he had nominated for Dictator, *L. Marcellus Torquatus*, for to hold the solemn election of Magistrats, and to set out the games, died of his hurt aforesaid. Some say he left this life at *Tarentum*: others in *Campane*. This both Consul being slain without any memorable battail, (a thing never seen afore in any other war) left the Common-wealth desolate, and as it were clean fatherless. *Manlius* the Dictator chose for his General of the Horse, *C. Servilius*, at that time Ædile curule. The Senate upon the very first day that the L L. were assembled, gave order to the Dictator, to exhibit the great Roman games, which *M. Æmilius* the Pretor of the City, whiles *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius* were Consul. had represented and vowed for 5. years. Then the Dictator, both set them forth and also vowed them for the next five years. But considering there were two Consular armies without their Generals, so neer unto the enemies: the LL. of the Senate and the people set all other matters aside, and had a principal care above all things, to creat Consuls as soon as possibly they could: and "such especially, whose vertue and valour should be thought secured and safe enough, from Pu- "nick craftiness and deceitful trains. For whereas during the time of all these wars, the over- "hasty heads and hot spirits of the Leaders, had been ever dangerous and hurtful to the state: so "in this very year, the Consuls upon immoderate desire to fight with the enemy, was fallen "and plunged into a jeopardy and mischief ere they were aware. Howbeit the immortal Gods "had mercy and pity upon the Roman name, in sparing the guiltless armies, and punishing the "inconsiderate rashness of the Consuls, with the losse only of their own lives. And when the LL. of the Senate looked about every way, to see if they could spie out any to make Consuls of:

above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the onely Paragon. But a companion with him in the government they were likewise to seek for. As for him, for dexterity, they deemed him a singular man and a brave Captain: but yet more forward and eager, than the quality and occasions of this war required, or to be matched with such an enemy as *Annibal* was. And therefore they thought good to joyn with him for his colleague, a sober, wise, and prudent man, who might temper and qualifie that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*, many years ago had been upon his Consulship condemned by the judgement of the people. Which ignominy and reproach he took so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country, and for many years together, forbare not only the City, but to converse and keep company with men. And almost eight years after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Consuls, reduced him again into the City. But he used to go in old and worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance and array, the fresh and notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *L. Veturius* and *P. Licinius* the Censors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unseemly weed, to come into the Senat, and to meddle again in civil matters and affairs of State. And yet in so doing, he would never proceed further, than to say Amen to other mens opinions, and speak but one word, yea and nay: or else nothing at all, but shew his mind by passing on his feet to one side or other. Until such time as a kinsman of his own, *M. Livius Maccatus*, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Counsel-house and deliver his opinion. And when after so long discontinuance, he was seen and heard once to speak, he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministred occasion also of speech in these terms, namely, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea, and hurt the common-weal "much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no employment of so worthy a person, either for his travail and pains, or his advice and counsel. But to return again to the Lords of the Senate: they knew well, that neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Lævinus*, could possibly be joyned as companion in government to *C. Nero*: forasmuch as it was not lawfull that both should be chosen out of the Nobles or Patritii. And the same was *T. Manlius* his case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consuls room, when it was offered unto him, so no doubt he would not accept thereof the second time if it were tendred unto him. But if they should sort *Marcus Livius* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent couple of Consuls in deed. Neither stood the people against this overture, thus moved first by the Lords of the Senat. The only man in the whole City, that denied it, was the very party himself, unto whom this dignity and honourable place was presented. Who much blamed the levity and inconstancy of the City: saying, "That they had no pity of him, when it was: namely, whiles he was in question and accused, and during the time of his trouble wate poor and simple garments: but now "against his will, they offred him a glittering white robe to stand for a Consulship. Thus (quoth "he) they punish and depress, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they took me "for a good and honest man, why condemned they me as they did, for a wicked one and a guilty? "If they found me naught and faulty, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship, "who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made complaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senat reproved him, and replied again: setting before his "eyes the example of *M. Furius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the "state was decayed and lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glory. "And like as the curstnes and rigor of parents, is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard "and shrewd dealings of a mans country, is to be dulced and mitigated by bearing and sufferance. So they all stuck close together, and chose M. *Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three dayes after, they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, *L. Porcius Licinus*, *Caius Manlius*, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Catos*. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendred their places, *C. Terentius Varro* was sent into *Hetruria* as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province, *C. Hostilius* should go to *Tarentum*, unto that army which *T. Quinctius* the Cosl. had. That *L. Manlius* should not go beyond Sea as Embassador, to see how the world went there: And withal, considering that in Sommer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at *Olympia*, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all *Greece*, in case he might safely and without impeachment of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Sicilians, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of *Tarentum*, confined thither and sent away by *Annibal*, they should repair home again into their own countries, and know, that whatsoever they were possessed of, before the wars began, the people of *Rome* would restore the same, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangero is year, and no Consuls were invested fully in the Common-weal, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with all speed, cast lots for their Provinces: and every man was willing to know aforehand, what Province each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should be reconciled and made friends, and *Q. Fabius Max.* propounded that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance between them aforetime: and the calamity of *Livius* made the same more grievous and unsupportable unto himself; in regard that he was perswaded, how in that misery of his, he was despised

A despised of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain, and worse to be intreated. "There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation, neither is it material and to any purpose. For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their "adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authority of the Senat bare such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with one mind consent and counsel, administred the affairs of the common-weal. Their Provinces were not intermingled, nor their government extended into one anothers country, as in former years, but distant asunder and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest marches of *Italy*. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucans country against *Annibal*: unto the other, *Gallia* against *Asdrubal*; who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward neer unto the *Alpes*.

B Of those two armies which were in *Gallia* and in *Hetruria*, he whose fortune was to go into *Gallia*, was to chuse which army he would, and have besides, that other of the City. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians country, besides the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the army of whether Consul he list, of the former year. Also *Quintius Fabius* the Pro-consul, had the charge of that army which the Consul refused: and his authority was renued for one year longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose Province *Tarentum* they exchanged for *Hetruria*, they altered his Province again, to wit, *Capua* instead of *Tarentum*. Unto him was allowed that one legion which *Fulvius* the last year commanded.

Now encreased their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of *Asdrubal* into *Italy*. And the Embassadors of the Massilians had brought news first, that he was passed over into

C *Gallia*: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went, that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage souldiers for aid in the wars. Then afterwards, *Sex. Antistius*, and M. *Retius*, who were sent Embassadors back with them from *Rome*, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had sent certain of purpose guided by the Massilians, who by means of their especiall friends the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the truth, and bring word back accordingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that *Asdrubal* having levied already a puissant army, was minded the next spring to passe over the *Alps*: and that there was nothing else staid him, but that it had been done already, saving only the passages of the *Alps* which were closed up with the winter snow.

D In the room of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Patus* was created Augur, and so consecrated. And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurat or installed King of the sacrifices, instead of *Marcus Martius*, who died two years before. In this very same year the City was purged, and there was a general survey and numbring of the people, by the Censors taken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entred into the Seniors books of Citizens, 137108, A smaller number by much ods, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that this year first after that *Annibal* came into *Italy*, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Roman Games were once renued by the Ædiles of the chair, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Servilius*: and that the other Games called *Plebeii*, were renued two dayes by *Q. Manlius*, and *M. Cæcilius Metellus*, Ædiles of the Commons: who also offered three images and set them up in

E the Chappel of *Ceres*. And the solemn feastival dinner of *Jupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entred their Consulship: who (because whiles they were but Coss. elect, they had cast lots for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and forrainers: to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces. To *A. Hostilius*, was allotted *Sardinia*: to *C. Manlius*, *Sicilia*: and to *L. Porcius France*. In sum, the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, the Consuls had two apeece, *Spain* four. The three Pretors for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *France* each of them twain. *C. Terentius* in *Hetruria* commanded two. *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians country, other two. *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the Salentins conducted twain: and *Caius Hostilius Tubulus* at *Capua*, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the City. In the four first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Marshals, but to all the rest the Consuls sent new to make up the deseet.

Before the Consuls went forth, there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at *Veii* it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in *Minturnæ* the temple of *Jupiter*, and the sacred grove of * *Marica* was smitten with lightning: and at *Atella* the wall and gate likewise, was blasted with fire from Heaven. The men of *Minturnæ* spake also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, at *Capua* a Wolf entred the gate at night, and worried and dismembred one of the watchmen.

* The same that Circe.

These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by vertue of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacrifice once again renued, because it was seen, that in *Armilustrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at *Frusino* there was an infant born as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age. And the thing was not so strange for the bignels of the body, as for

that it was born doubtful, whether it were male or female, like as two years before, at *Simuessa*, H
The wisards that were sent for out of *Hetruria*, said, that this of all other was a foul and filthy
monster, and that it should be had forth of the Dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deep,
so as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had
carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelats made a decree, that cer-
tain Virgins in three companies, having nine apiece, should go through the City, and sing cer-
tain Canticles. And whiles in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, the Maidens were a learning their
song by heart, devised and framed in verie by *Livius* the Poet, the Temple of Queen *Juno* in the
Aventine hil, was striken with lightning from Heaven. And when the Aruspices had declared
that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddess was
to be pacified with an oblation; they were (by vertue of an edict granted out by the Ædiles of I
the chair) called all into the Capitol, as many as had any house, either in the City of *Rome*, or
within ten miles every way. And they among themselves chose five and twenty, into whose hands
all the rest should put some small portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a fair and
large golden bason, for to be presented unto *Juno*: and it was brought into the Aventine; and
withal, the dames offered unto her purely and chastly their sacrifices. And streight after the De-
cemvirs proclaimed a day for another sacrifice of the same goddess, the manner and order where-
of was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of *Apollo* into the City through
the gate *Carmentalis*: after them were carried two Images, representing *Juno*, made of Cypress
wood: then went there seven and twenty Virgins in long side garments, chanting hymns and
songs to the honour of *Juno*. These songs in verse were peradventure commendable, and passed K
for good with those rude and gross wits then living: but if they should be rehearsed now adayes
to our fine heads, they would seem but simple stuff, and composed without rime or reason. After
this row of Maidens, followed the Decemvirs deputed for sacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and
garlands of Baies, clothed in vesture and robes embrodered with purple. From the gate above na-
med, they passed by the street *Jugarius* into the Grand-place, and there rested this solemn pomp
and train. Then these Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, sung
a song, and danced the measures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they
went by the Tuscan-street and *Velabrum* through the beasts market, and so forward into the *Cir-
cus Publicus*, until they came to the Temple of *Juno*. There the Decemvirs sacrificed two beasts, L
and the Images of Cypress wood were offered and set up in the Temple. When the Gods and
Goddesses were duly pacified, the Consuls took musters more streightly and with greater precise-
nes, than any man could remember in former years. For both the fear of the war was two-fold,
by reason of a new-come enemy into *Italy*, and also there was less store of youth, out of which
the souldiers should be enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies
by the Sea side, who were said to have an especial immunity of warfare (by a sacred law) for to
find souldiers: and when they denied, and stood upon their priviledge of exemption, they set
them down a certain day upon which every man should repair into the Senate, and shew what
cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there presented them-
selves before the Senat these Commonalties following, to wit, of *Hostia*, *Alsia*, *Antium*, *Anxur*,
Minturnæ Sinuessa and *Sena* from the upper Sea. When every one of these States exhibited and M
read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them dispensed with, but they of *Antium*
and *Hostia*, in regard the enemy abode in *Italy*: and so the young and serviceable men of those
Colonies, were put to their oath and sware, that not above forty of them should lie one night
forth of the walls of their Colony, so long as the enemy continued in *Italy*.

When all the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that the Consuls were to go forth to the wars
with all speed possible (for that both *Asdrubal* was to be encountred coming down the *Alps*, for
fear he should solicit the Gauls on this side the *Alps*; and the Tuscans likewise who hoped and
looked every day for a change and alteration; and also *Annibal* was to be kept occupied in his
own war, that he might not go forth of the Brutians country, and meet with his brother) only
Livius made some stay and drew back, as reposing but small trust in the armies belonging to his N
own Provinces. And as for his Colleague, well he wist, that he had the choise of two notable
Consular armies, and of a third, whereof *Q. Claudius* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon he
had made some motion of calling the Volones [or voluntaries] again to their colours, and to serve
in the wars. The Senat granted the Consuls a large and free commission, both to make supply from
whence soever they would, by chusing out of all the armies whom they pleased, and to make ex-
change with whom they would, yea, and to draw out of the Provinces whomsoever, according
as they should think it good for the Common-weal. And all this was executed with the exceed-
ding concord and unity of the Consuls. The Volones were enrolled into the nineteenth and
twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that *Scipio* sent unto *Livius* from out of *Spain* a
strong power of auxiliaries for that war, to wit, eight thousand of Spaniards and Frenchmen, two O
thousand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly Numidians, and partly
Spaniards: and that *Marcus Lucretius* brought these forces by Sea: also that *C. Manlius* sent out
of *Sicily* four thousand archers and slingers.

The fear and troubles in *Rome* were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of *Gallia*
from *L. Porcius* the Pretor: purporting thus much, That *Asdrubal* was removed out of his
wintring harbours, and was passing over the *Alps*: that there were eight thousand Ligurians
levied

A levied and ready in arms, to joyn with him so soon as ever he was come into *Italy*, unless some one
were sent against the Ligurians, to prevent and keep them otherwise busied with war. As for him-
self, he would with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with
safety. These letters caused the Consuls to dispatch the musters in great hast, and to go forth into
their Provinces, sooner than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one
as the other, might in his several province keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to joyn,
and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their designment,
was an opinion and perswasion that *Annibal* had: For albeit he was assured that his brother would
that summer pass over into *Italy*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself,
and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage, one while of the river *Rhodanus*, ano-
B ther while of the mountains of the *Alps*, and how for the space of five moneths together, he was
forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places; he
never looked that *Asdrubal* could so easily and so speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause
that he dislodged out of his wintring places so much the later. But *Asdrubal* found better expe-
dition, and all things more easy and speedy than either himself hoped for, or others expected. For
the *Averni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alps*, not
only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he
conducted his army by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers jour-
ney, and had been a fortime unpassable wilds and craggy rags: so against his coming, the *Alps* were
much more easy, by reason of twelve years continual passage to and fro those wayes: and the na-
C ture of the peasants more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers
and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travailers coming into those parts, were in manner
unciable, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not know-
ing whither *Annibal* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprise their holds in caves
and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and cattail as booties. But after-
wards, the fame that went of the Punick war (where with now twelve years *Italy* was plagued
and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alps* were nothing but the way for the Carthe-
ginians to travail through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and
States, divided and removed one from another by a great space of Land and Sea between, strived
to, arbut and warred for their greatness and Soveraignty. Upon these occasions, I say, the *Alps*
D were open and passable to *Asdrubal* with ease. But look what time he gained by speedy journies,
the same he lost again by stay about *Placentia*, whiles he lay there in vain, rather besieging than
assaulting it. He was carried away with a perswasion, that the Town seated upon a plain and cham-
pain country, might soon be forced and won: and the great name that went of that noble Colony,
induced him to believe, that by the overthrow and razing of that City, he should strike a terror to
all the rest. But in lying against that Town, he not only hindred himself much, but also staid *Anni-
bal*: who having heard that he was passed over the *Alps*, and come down into *Italy*, so much sooner
E than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his standing wintring camp. For he con-
sidered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and
assault Cities, but also well remembred how himself after his victory at *Trebia*, assayed to force
that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail.

"The Consuls being departed from the City, and gone divers wayes as it were for two sundry
"wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in
"remembrance of those losses and overthrows, which they had received at *Annibal* his first co-
"ming; as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and
"empire of *Rome*, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-weal, at one time in both
"places. For until then, their success had been variable and alternative; and their prosperity al-
"wayes delayed with semblable adversity: and again, their losses were recompensed with equal
"gains. For when in *Italy* the Common-wealth of *Rome* went one way downward headlong to
"the ground at *Thrasymenus* and *Canna*: the fortune wars another way in *Spain*, set it upright a-
F "gain. Afterwards, when in *Spain* one overthrow and defeat hapned in the neck of another,
"at what time as two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroyed; the
"happy and lucky hand in *Sicily* and *Italy*, made up those breaches, and set the reeling state on
"foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote, (because one of the wars
"was maintained in the farthest part of the World) yeelded time and respite to breath themselves
"and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within *Italy*, two most
"brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of *Rome*: all dangers
"come huddle together: all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the self-
"same place: and no doubt, but whether of those two Captains first shall get a victory, he
"will within few dayes after joyn his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remem-
G "brance also of the very last year, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily affrighted the
"hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of minde, they accompanied the
Consels as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in some records
found, that when *Q. Fabius*, advised and warned *M. Livius* being upon his journey toward the
wars, not rashly and hand over head to give battail to the enemy, before he knew his nature
and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this an-
swer, That so soon as ever he could have a sight of his enemies army, he would fight: and being

asked again, why he would make such hast? Mary (quoth he) either shall I by victory of mine H
enemies win singular honor and renown: or by the overthrow of my fellow Citizens gain some
hearts-ease and contentment, if not honest in all respects, yet at least-wise such as they have de-
served.

Before that *Claudius* the Consul was come into his Province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* accompa-
nied with certain cohorts lightly appointed, encountred *Annibal* as he led his army and marched
by the utter confines and marches of the territory of *Larinum*, which leadeth to the Salentins:
and charging upon his disordred army, put them to great trouble, slew four thousand of his men,
and carried away nine Ensigns. *Q. Claudius* who had certain garrisons planted in all the Cities
of the Salentins country, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintring camp:
and therefore *Annibal*, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged I
out of the territory of *Tarentum*, and withdrew himself into the Brutians country: and *Claudius*
turned with his army to the Salentins again. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua*, met with the Con-
sul *Claudius* at *Venusia*. There, out of both armies, the Consul picked forth forty thousand choise
Footmen, and 2500 Horsemen, for to war with *Annibal*. The rest of the forces *Hostilius* was
commanded to lead unto *Capua*, and to deliver them to *Q. Fabius* the Pro-consul.

Annibal having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in camp du-
ring winter time, as those that lay in garrison in the Brutians country, came as far as *Grumen-*
tum in the territory of the Lucans, upon hope to recover the Towns, which for fear, had re-
volted to the Romans. Unto the same place the Roman Consl. making out his espials before to
discover and clear the wayes, marched from *Venusia*, and about a mile and half from the enemy, K
encamped himself. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in a
manner to the walls of *Grumentum*: and between the camp and the Romans was some half
mile. A plain lay in the midst: and on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and the right hand of
the Romans all along between, the hills overlooked them, bare and naked, and of neither part
suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide
an ambush in. Into the plain between they used to put out certain bands and companies from
the *Corps de guard* of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it
seemed that the drift of the Roman Consul was to keep the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go
his wayes. But *Annibal* desirous to be gone, entred the field with all his power in order of bat-
tail. Then the Consul borrowing a little of his enemies cunning, for that in so open hills there L
was less fear and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts and Horsemen, reenforced
with as many bands of footmen, should by night get over those hills, and in the Vallies behind,
sit down closely: with direction to *T. Claudius Asellus* a Colonel of footmen, and *P. Claudius*
a Captain of allies whom he sent to conduct them, at a certain time to arise out of ambush, and
to charge the enemy: himself by day light led forth all his whole power as well foot as Horse into
the field. Within a while after, *Annibal* likewise put forth the signal of battail: and all the camp
over they let up a cry, running all about to their armour and weapons. Then Footmen and
Horsemen both rushed apace out of the gates who could be fooneſt forth; and scattered as they
were all over the plain, made hast to the enemies. Whom when the Consul saw thus disorder-
ed, he commanded *C. Aurunculeius* a Tribun or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Ca- M
valry belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could: for that
like sheep they were so spred over the plain without all form and fashion, and might be surprised,
discomfited, and beaten down, before they could be brought into array and set in order of bat-
tail. *Annibal* himself was not come forth of the camp, when he might hear the noise of them
fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, he led in great hast all the rest of
his forces against the enemy. By this, the vanguard and forefront of his battail was frighted
with the Horsemen of the enemies: yea, and the first legion of the Infantry and the Cavalry of
the right wing began to charge. The Carthaginians disordered as they were, fought at a ven-
ture, as they chanced to meet either with Footmen or Horsemen. The conflict grew hotter,
by reason of new supplies and fresh succours, and encreased still by the number of them that N
continually ran out to the fight. And surely *Annibal*, notwithstanding this tumult and trouble-
some fear, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had been
no easy thing to do, but that the army was of old souldiers, and their Captain well experien-
ced and beaten to it) if it had not been for the shout of the cohorts and bands above-said, which
they heard at their backs, as they from the hills behind ran down upon them; and set them in
great fear, lest that they would thrust in between them and home, and so shut them out of
their camp. Hereupon I say they were affrighted, and began to flie here and there. But the
slaughter was the less, because the camp was neer, and far they had not to run thither and save
themselves in this their fearful fright. For the Horsemen plaid upon their backs still, and gave
not over: the cohorts from the open Mountains ran easily down the hill, and charged cross O
upon their sides and flanks. Howbeit, there were slain more than eight thousand men, and
above 200 taken Prisoners: nine Enfigns won and carried away: of Elephants also (whereof
there was little or no use) in a suddain and tumultuary skirmish four were killed, and two gotten
alive. Of Romans and Allies, there died two hundred. The next day after, *Annibal* stirred
not. The Roman Consul having brought his army forth into the field, and seeing none to come
abroad and make head against him, commanded the slain enemies to be disarmed and despoiled,

A the spoils to be gathered up, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together into a
place and buried. For certain dayes after continually, he pressed so hard at the camp gates, that
he wanted but little of entring thither with banner displayed. In so much as *Annibal* at the third
watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents standing, on that
side especially which looked toward the enemies, and some few Numidians, to make a shew
upon the Rampier and at the gates; dislodged, and purposed to go into *Apulia*. The next
morning by day light, the Roman army embattailed, approached the trench and rampier. The
Numidians of set purpose shewed themselves in the gates and upon the rampier: and when
they had a good while dallied thus and played with the enemy, they mounted on Horseback,
and spared no Horse-flesh until they had overtook their fellows. The Consul perceiving that
B all was quiet within the camp, and seeing not so much as those few appear any where, who in
the morning betimes had walked their stations, sent forth two Horsemen into the camp as espi-
als. After he understood for certain that all was safe, and the coasts clear, he commanded his
ensigns to make an entry. And staying no longer there, than whiles his souldiers ran up and
down to pill and spoil, he sounded the retreat: and long before night, brought his army back
again. The next morrow after, he set forward by the dawning of the day, and with long jour-
neis, following his enemies by the voyce of the country, and tracing them by their foottteps,
he overtook them not far from *Venusia*. There also was a scuffling skirmish between them, and
not so few as two thousand Carthaginians slain. From thence *Annibal* ever marched by night,
and journied through the mountains, because he would give his enemy no vantage of fight, un-
C till he came to *Metapontum*. From whence *Hanno* (for he was Captain of the garrison there)
was sent with some few in his train into the Brutians country, to levy a new army. And *Anni-*
bal after he had joyned those forces to his own, returned again to *Venusia*, by the same way that
he came from thence; and so forward he marched to *Canusium*. *Nero* never left the enemy, but
was ready to tread on his heels, and as he marched himself toward *Metapontum*, he had sent for
Q. Fulvius to repair into the Lucans country, because those parts should not be disfurnished of
defence.

In this mean space, there were four French Horsemen, and two Numidians, sent to *Annibal*
with letters from *Asdrubal*, after he was removed from the siege of *Placentia*: who having tra-
vailed in manner all the length of *Italy*, through the mids of the enemies, whiles they follow af-
D ter *Annibal* in his retire unto *Metapontum*, missed of their way, and light upon *Tarentum*: where
they were encountred by the forragers of the Romans that ranged about the fields, and by them
were brought before *Q. Claudius* the Propretor. At the first they entertained him with slim
slams, with doubtful and intricate answers: but when the fear of the rack and other tortures,
had forced them to tell a truth, they confessed, that they had letters about them to deliver from
Asdrubal to *Annibal*. With those letters sealed as they were, they were committed unto *L. Vir-*
ginius a Colonel, for to be conveied unto *Claudius* the Consul. And two troops or Cornets be-
sides of Samnit Horsemen were sent to guard them. So soon as they were come unto the Consul,
and the letters read by an interpreter, and some examination taken of these captives: then *Clau-*
dius considering that the common-weal was not now in that good case, nor the occasion such,
E that each Governor needed no more, but to make war by the ordinary course of commission,
within the compass and limits of his own Province, with the help of his own army alone, and
against an enemy assigned unto him by the Senate: but that some unlooked for adventures must
be enterprised, some new designments and unexpected put in execution, which when they are
begun and attempted, might make no less wonder and fear among their own friends, that terror
among the enemies: and being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as
great joy and gladnes; sent the letters of *Asdrubal* to the Senat at *Rome*: and withal, himself ac-
quainted the Lords of the Senate what he intended to do. And for asmuch as *Asdrubal* wrote
unto his brother to meet him in *Umbria*, he advised them to send for the legion at *Capua* to *Rome*,
to take musters also at *Rome*, and to oppose that army of the City, against the enemy at *Narnia*.
F Those were the contents of his letters to the Senate. He dispatched likewise messengers before,
through the territories of the Larinats, Marucins, Ferentins, and Pretutians (by whom he meant to
lead his army) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of those parts, should out of their Vil-
lages and good Towns, provide and bring forth victuals into the high wayes, for to refresh his
souldiers; also to come with their Cart-horses, draught-oxen, and other beasts for carriage, to-
gether with wains and carts, that the wearied souldiers might ease themselves thereby. Himself
out of his whole army, as well of citizens as allies, chose forth the flour and most picked men of
all, to the number of six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and gave it out openly, that he
minded to surprise the first City that he came next unto in the Lucans country, and withal, the
garrison of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commanded them to be ready for the
G journey and expedition. Thus when he had set forward in the night, he turned his way into
Picenum. And the Consul made no more ado, but with long journies highed him as fast as he
could, and led his army directly to his colleague, leaving *Q. Tatius* his Lieutenant, to guard and
command the camp.

At *Rome*, they were no less terrified and troubled, than they were two years before, at what
time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the walls and gates of the City. And men wist
not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Consul, whether they

should

should praise or dispraise it. And it seemed that they would measure it and report thereof according to the event, than which surely, there is nothing more unjust and unequal. But thus they whispered, "That the camp was left with an army, and without their General, neer unto the "enemy *Annibal*, yea, and the same guelded of all the strength and flour thereof: that the Consul "pretended an expedition into the Lucans country, when indeed he went toward *Picenum* and "*Gallia*; leaving the camp by no one thing more safe and secure, than by the error and mistaking "of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence, and part of the "forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking should the camp be, in case "that were known abroad; or if *Annibal* would either with his whole army follow after *Nero*, "being gone with no more than six thousand? or assault the camp, left as it were for a prey unto "him, without forces, without conduct, and without the fortune and good luck of the General to I "protect it? The old defeats received in this war, the fresh remembrance of two Consuls slain "but the last year, encreased mens fear. All which misfortunes hapned, when there was in *Italy* "but one Captain General, and one single army of the enemies. Now, of one war of the Car- "thaginians there are made twain: and two *Annibals* (as a man would say) be both at once in "*Italy*, right valorous and renowned warriors. For even *Asdrubal* also, was *Amilcar* his son as "well as *Annibal*, as valiant and redoubted a Captain every way: as who for so many years to- "gether in *Spain*, hath been exercised in the Roman wars, and born the name of atchieving a "twofold victory, and defeating two armies, with two most noble and famous commanders: and "as for expedition and speed in his voyage out of *Spain*, and for raising the Nations of *France* up "in arms, he may make his boast much more truly than *Annibal* himself. For even in those very K "places, where *Annibal* had lost the greater part of his soudiers, with hunger and cold, (which "kind of death of all others is most miserable) this *Asdrubal* hath levied a power of armed men. "Moreover, they that knew *Spain* well, and the affairs which had passed there, said besides, That "he had not to deal with *Nero*, as with a warrior whom he knew not already; for why? he had "when it was, made a Child of *Nero*, by a good token, That when *Asdrubal* was by chance in a "wood, and could not get out, was put to his shifts; but whiles he trifled out the time with *Nero* "in booking deceitful conditions and capitulations of peace, he shewed him a cousening Carthā- "ginian cast, gave him the fair slip, and escaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their "discourses at *Rome*, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debased L "all their own means of help beneath all reason: such was their fear, which interpreteth and con- "struëth all to the worst.

The speech of *Nero* to his soudiers.

Nero, when he had now gained so much ground, and was gone so far from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his designs had been revealed and made known unto him, for any danger that might ensue thereof; called his soudiers before him, and spake some few words to this or the like effect. "Never was there devignment (qd. he) of any General in the field, in outward shew more "danger us, in deed and truth more safe and secure, than this of mine. I lead you to a certain and "assured victory, even to that war, unto which my colleague would not go before the Senate had "allowed him to his full contentment, a greater power both of foot and Horse, and the same better "set out and more furnished, than if he should have gone against *Annibal* himself: and therefore "whatsoever small poise and addition of forces you bring thereto, you shall sway thereby the M "whole, and as it were weigh down the ballance. For when the enemies ready embattailed to "fight, shall hear (and before that time, I will take order I trow, that they shall not hear) that ano- "ther Consul and another army is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they shall yeeld us the "victory. For it is a fame & name only, that fighteth the field & determineth battails. And small "matters many times carry away the game, and cause mens minds both to stoop for fear, and to "rise with hope. And verily, of a well fought field you are they that shall reap the fruit & gain the "glory. For always it is seen, that a little help that cometh last, is more than all besides; & seemeth "to effect the whole. And you see your selves, with what concourse, with what admiration, with "what affectionat favour all men do entertain & regard you by the way. And in very truth, as they "marched along in their journey, it was a world to see, how both men & women flocked out of all N "the villages of the countrey to see them, how they sorted themselves into companies & degrees to "welcome them, and how as they passed as it were in a lane through them, they made vows in their "name, they poured out their prayers in their behalf, & dealt praises among them: calling them the "very guard & defence of the Common weal, the saviours & redeemers of *Rome* & the Roman Em- "pire: acknowledging that the lives and liberties of themselves and their children, lay in their right "hands; and depended upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddesses, and to all "the holy hallows of heaven, to vouchsafe them a lucky journey, a fortunat fight, and a speedy victory "over their enemies: wishing heartily, that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay "and perform their vows, which in their name they had undertaken & promised: desiring earnestly, "that as now they went along, & accompanied them with careful minds for fear of the peril which M "they went unto, so after few dayes they might meet with them upon the way with joyful hearts, as "they return with Triumph for their victory. Every man for himself in particular invited them "friendly, offered them frankly, entreated and besought them importunatly, that all things whatso- "ever they stood in need of, either for themselves or their beasts, they would receive at his hands "especially, as being ready to afford them all most liberally, heapful, and with the better. The "soudiers again, for very modesty strove to take no more than was very needful and necessary, no

A no stay they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat they took by the way as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest and sleep to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had *Nero* sent afore-hand to his brother Consul certain Courriers, to give him advertisement of his coming, and to know again from him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in one camp with him, or in another apart by himself. *Livius* his advice was, and he thought it the better of the twain, to enter into his camp, closely in the night season, and had given a watch-word, and made it known throughout all the camp, that every Marshal and Colonel should lodge a Marshal or Colonel, every Centurion entertain a Centurion, every knight or man of arms receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavilion and cabbin.

B For it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged and set out wider, for fear that the enemy might take knowledge of another Consuls coming: and so much the more easily might many of them be bestowed in the streight room of their pavilions, because the army of *Claudius* had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition, save their armour only. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the company was well mended and much encreased by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their own accord, as well old soudiers, such as had served out their years, as young and lusty men: whom *Claudius* perceiving so to strive for to have their names entred if he saw them personable and strong of body and like to do good service, had enrolled into the muster book. The other Consul lay encamped before * *Sena*, and * Senagaglia.

C *Asdrubal* some half mile from him. And therefore *Nero*, being now approched and come neer, let him down close among the mountains, because he would not put himself within camp before night. And when they were come thither, they were welcomed every man according to his degree, by them of their own place and calling, and brought into their tents and pavilions, and with general joy of all, friendly entertained as their loving guests. The next day following they assembled together to counsel: at which meeting, *L. Porcius Licinius* the Pretor was present: who was himself encamped close unto the Consuls leaguer. He before their coming, by leading his army over the high places, and one while keeping the narrow streights of the forrest to impeach and stop the passages, another while charging upon the flanks and sides, or else upon the back and tail of the enemy, had by all the devices and policies of war, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the foresaid counsel. Many men there were of opinion, that the day of D battel should be deferred for a time, whiles *Nero* might have some few dayes respite, both to refresh his soudiers, wearied with long travail and much watching, and also to know the quality somewhat better of his enemy. *Nero* not only persisted still to perswade, but also began most earnestly to intreat, "That they would not by long delay make that design of his to seem rash "and dangerous, which speediness in execution had made safe and secure. Considering, that "whiles *Annibal* upon ignorance and error (which is not like to continue long with him) "lay still asleep and benummed, neither once thought upon it, to assail the camp left without a "General, nor put himself upon the way, to make pursuite after me; now before he once stir, "I may (quoth he) defeat the army of *Asdrubal*, and return again into *Apulia*. But he that "by deferring still, giveth the enemy time and respite, betraieth as much as lieth in him, the E "camp unto *Annibal*, and laieth the way open for him into *Gallia*, to joyn with *Asdrubal* at his "good leasure and pleasure. Nay (quoth he) the signal of battel must be given forthwith, and "we must into the field. We must, I say, take the vantage, and make the best of the error and ig- "norance of our enemies, both absent there, and present here: that neither they with *Annibal* "may know that they are to deal with fewer; nor these again beware, that they are to fight with "more in number, and stronger in power. Thus the counsel brake up, and the signal of battel was put forth, and presently they went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in battel array, and stood with displayed ensigns. The only stay of joyning in fight was this, That *Asdrubal* riding out with some few Horsemen before the ensigns, chanced to mark some old targets of his enemies which he had not as yet seen, and their Horses more lank and lean, than earst be- F fore. And (as he guessed) the number also was greater than ordinary and usual. Suspecting therefore, that which was indeed, he sounded the retreat in all haste; and sent out presently to the river where they used to water, to see if they might either light upon some & catch them prisoners, or at least-wise take good marks by their eye, whether any of them haply were higher coloured, or looked sunburnt, presently upon their late travel. Also he gave them commandment to ride aloof about their camp, and to spie whether the rampier were enlarged or set out farther in any place, and to listen attentively whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other circumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, only the not enlarging G of the camp, put them by their hint, and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two several camps they were, like as before the coming of the Consul: the one belonging to *M. Livius*, the other to *L. Porcius*. And in neither of them were the rampiers and trenches set out any jot, whereby they might put up more tents, and quarter themselves in larger room. But this one thing troubled this old experienced Captain, and acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies that his espials brought word, how in the Pretors camp they sounded the trumpet once, and in the Consuls twice. For surely that was an evident argument that two Consuls were there. And in thinking how the other Consul had departed from *Annibal* & given him the slip, he mightily tormented himself. And he could not suspect & imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely, that

that *Annib.l* was deluded and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what H was become of the General, or of the army, to which he lay so close and neer encamped. Surely (thought he) and without all question, he hath received no small foil and overthrow, and in this fright dareth not make after and follow the enemy. Nay, he feared much, left all were lost and gone, and that he should not come time enough to help and succour him: and that the Romans had gotten already the same good hand in *Italy*, which they had before in *Spain*. Otherwhiles he was perswaded, that his letters never came to *Annibal* his hands, that they were intercepted, and so the Consul made haft to prevent him, and give him the foil by the way. Being perplexed with these careful cogitations, he caused the fires to be put out, and at the signal given at the first watch, to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge, and be gone. In this fearful haft, and nightly tumult, the guides whiles they were slenderly looked unto, and small heed was taken of them, I one of them sat down and rested close in a secret lurking hole which he had before destined in his mind; the other waded over the river *Metaurus*, through the foords that he was well acquainted with, and so got away and made an escape. So the army left at random without their guides, first wandred over the fields, and then diverse of them being weary and sleepy with overwatching, laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. *Asdrubal* commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day-light might direct them the right way: and so going a compass in and out according to the winding reaches and cranks of the River, wandred a great while, and gained but a small ground forward. Now when day light once appeared, he purposed to spie out the first place for convenient passage and there to get over. But finding no foords, by reason that the farther it was from the Sea, the K higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he spent all the live-long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first *Claudius Nero* came with all the Horsemen, then *Porcius* followed hard after with the van courriers, and light armed footmen. Whiles they made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and plaid still upon them, in so much as now *Asdrubal* leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was desirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortifie: *Livius* was come also with all the main power of footmen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but ready also presently to give battail. But when they were all joyned together, and aranged in battail array, *Claudius* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* commanded the left, and the Pretor took the charge and L conduct of the main battail. *Asdrubal* seeing no other remedy but to fight, never fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: about them in the left wing he opposeth the French against *Claudius*; not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he took up the right wing against *Livius* for himself and the Spaniards, in whom (being old beaten souldiers) he reposed his most hope. The Ligurians in the mids were bestowed behind the Elephants. But the battail was rather drawn out in length than stretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen were defended with the hil that bare out over them. That front which the Spaniards kept, encountred with the left wing of the Romans. And all the battail of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The hill that was opposite against them, was the M cause that neither afront, nor aflank they could charge upon the enemy. But between *Livius* and *Asdrubal* there was an hot fight begun already, and cruel bloudshed on both sides. There were both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the Romans, as well foot as Horse: there were the Spaniards, old and experienced souldiers, skilfull also in the Roman manner of fight: there were the Ligurians, a rough nation, and hardy in fight. Against this battail on were the Elephants turned, who at the first shock and onset troubled and disordered the vanguard, yea, and began to force the ensigns to give ground. But after upon the noise that grew greater, and the battail that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, and travers between both battails, as it were doubtful to whether side they belonged, much like to ships left hulling and floting without their pilots and steers men. Then *Claudius* cried out estsoons to his souldiers: To what N end, quoth he, made we such post haft, and took so long a journey? But seeing that he laboured in vain to advance his banners and mount up against the hil opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth certain cohorts out of the right wing where he saw they were liker to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battail, and so unwares not only to the enemies, but also to his own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he bestirred himself so nimbly, that when he had shewed himself on the sides, presently he plaid upon their backs; in such sort, that now on all hands, affront, behind, and on their flanks, down went the Spaniards and Ligurians, and were hewn in pieces, yea, and the execution reached to the very French. There, with them was least ado, and smallest fight of all: for a great many of their fellows had abandoned their co- O lours and being slipt away in the night, lay asleep all over the fields: and such as were there, weary with travail and watching (as having bodies that of all things cannot away with labour and pains taking) were scarce able to bear their corselets on their backs. Besides, now it was high noon: and what with drought & heat together, they stood gaping for air, & yeelded their bodies either to be massacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of the governors and guiders that sate upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For their

A their manner was to have about them a Carpenters chissel and a mallet, and when the beasts began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their masters would set the said chissel between their ears, even in the very joynt where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Asdrubal*, a famous and memorable Captain, as in many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his souldiers to fight, fighting also himself, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) incensed them again, one while by fair words and intreaty, another while by sharp checks and re- B bukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away; he renewed the fight in divers places when it staked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after so great an army defeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spurs to his Horse, and rode among the Squadrons of the Roman Horsemen: and there, as beseemed *Amilcars* son, and *Annibals* brother, fighting right manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for losse of Captain and overthrow of army, they might well cry quittance with them for the defeat at *Cann.* Slain there were 56000 enemies, 6400 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pillage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman C citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the souldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloudshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romans and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had to much their fill of bloud and slaughter, that the next morrow, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consul, that divers Cisalpine Gauls, and Ligurians, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without Ensigns, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one cornet of Horsemen sent out after them, "Nay, quoth he, let some remain alive to tell the news both of our enemies losse and ruin, and of "our own vertue and valour. And *Nero* the very next night after the battail, marched with D more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six dayes returned again so far as to his standing leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not indeed so resorted unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbingers or messengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welneer besides themselves. As for *Rome*, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how pensive the City was in doubtful expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that *Claudius* the Consul was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun-rising unto the setting, de- E parted either Senators out of the Councel-chamber, from attendance upon the Magistrats, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yeeld none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble supplications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspence; first there came some flying news, that two Horsemen of *Narnia* were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp which lay to guard and keep the streights and passages of *Umbria*, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to hear these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same; as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could assuredly believe: and the exceeding swiftnes of the rumor hindred the credit thereof, because it was F reported withal, that the battel was fought but two dayes before. Then were letters brought from *L. Manlius Acidinus*, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those Horsemen of *Narnia*. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Pretor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent for out of the Councel-house. But the people kept such a thrusting and thronging about the door of the Senat, that the messenger could not passe thither, but was haled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market cross, and in the *Rostra*, before they were opened in the Senate. But at the last, they were restrained by the Magistrats and caused to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among so unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the letters were first read in the Senat, and then in the assembly of the people: G and there, according to the divers dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speak directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this, word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet them, of all sorts, young and old, every one desired to be the first, to see and to hear these so glad tidings. And they went out so far as the bridge *Milvius*, and all the way along, was full of people. These Embassadors or messengers, were *L. Veturius Philo*, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. Who being accompanied with people

of

of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to the common place: some questioned with themselves, others enquired of their train and retinue, what news, and how the World went. And as any one had caught an end from them, that the army and Captain General of the enemies was slain, or the Roman legions safe, and the Consuls alive and well, he would immediatly impart his joy unto others. Much ado had they to come into the *Curie*, and more ado there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate. But at last the letters were read in the Senat. From thence were the Embassadors brought into the general assembly of the people. And *L. Veturius* after he had read the letters, explained himself from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applause, and afterwards, with a general shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds so great joy. Then they ran divers wayes, some to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their own houses, to communicate with their wives and children so lucky and fortunate tidings. And the Senat decreed a solemn procession for three dayes together, forasmuch as *M. Livius* and C. *Claudius* the Consuls, with the safety of the legions had vanquished the enemies, killed their General, and put their army to the sword. This procession *C. Hostilius* the Pretor, published in the open assembly of the people: and it was celebrated and solemnized, both by men and women. All the Temples for three dayes fully, were likewise replenished with the one sex and the other. For the Matrons and Dames of the City, in their best apparrel, together with their children, yeelded praise and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the war come to a final end for ever. This victory altered the very state and course of the commonweal, so as from that time forward, as in time of setled peace, men durst make contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, yea, and pay debts to their creditors.

C. Claudius the Consul, so soon as he was entred into the camp again, caused the head of *Asdrubal* (which he had preserved with great care and brought with him) to be thrown out before the *Corps de guard* and stations of the enemies, and that the African captives, should be shewed bound as they were in chains: and two of them to be sent loose unto *Annibal*, to declare and recount in order, how every thing hapned. *Annibal* having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publick losse of the state, as for the calamity hapned in his own house, fetched a deep sigh (by report) and said: Ah, I see well the hard fortune of *Carthage*. And dislodging from thence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being dispersed asunder, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmost angle of *Italy*, (the Brutians country) he brought thither as well the Metapontins, even the whole state of them, who abandoned their own Towns and Cities, as also the Lucans, as many as were subject unto him, and under his obedience.

The eight and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and twentieth Book.

THE *prosperous affairs in* Spain, *under the conduct of* Syllanus *the Lieutenant of* Scipio, *and* Scipio *his brother, atchieved against the Carthaginians: as also the acts performed by* Sulpitius *the Pro-consul, and* Attalus *the King of* Asia [*the lesse*] *in the quarrel and behalf of the Aetolians, against* Philip *King of the Macedonians, are reported and set down* [*in this book.*] *When there was a triumph decreed and granted unto* M. Livius *and* C. Claudius Nero *the Consuls:* Livius, *because he had performed the exploit in his own Province, rode in a chariot drawn with four steeds:* and Nero, *because he came into the Province of his colleague, to help forward the victory, rode after him mounted on horseback: Howbeit even thus, in this habit and manner of triumph, he carried the more glory, port, and reverence: for to say a truth, in this war he had done more good service than his brother Consul. The fire went out in the chappel of* Vesta, *by negligence of a Virgin, that had the keeping and tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The said Virgin was well whipped.* P. Scipio *finished the war in* Spain *against the Carthaginians, when it had continued fourteen years: and in the fift year after that he went from the City of* Rome. *And having disseized the enemies quite of the possession of* Spain, *he recovered it wholly for the Romans. From* Taracon *he loosed, with two barks, and sailed into* Affrick *unto* Syphax *King of the Numidians, with whom he concluded a league.* Asdrubal *the son of* Gisgo, *sat there with him at one table, and they supped together. He exhibited a game and pastime of sword-playing at new* Carthage, *in the honor of his father and uncle: and the same was not performed by common fencers and sword-players hired thereto, but by such as either for the honour of their Captain, or to determine some controversie, gave defiance one to the other, and entred the lists in combat: Among whom, two great LL. of the country, who were brethren, fought at sharp for the sovereignty of the Kingdom. When the City* Astapa *was besieged and assailed by the Romans, the Townsmen caused*

caused a mighty pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and children, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. Scipio *himself, whiles he lay grievously sick, and there hapned by occasion thereof a mutiny to arise in one part of his army, when he was amended once, made an end thereof: and compelled the States of* Spain (*that mutined*) *to come in and yield obedience again. There was likewise an amity and society concluded with* Masinissa, *King of the Numidians: who also promised him his aide, in case he would come over into* Affrick: *With the Gaditans also, after the departure of* Mago *from thence: who had received letters from* Carthage, *that he should passe the seas into* Italy. Scipio, *after he was returned to* Rome, *was created Consul. And when he made suit to have the Province of* Affrick, Q. Fabius Maximus *withstood him: and so he had the government of* Sicily: *but with commission to sail over into* Affrick, *in case he thought it good for the Common-weal.* Mago *the son of* Amilcar *from the lesser Baleare Isl and, where he had wintered, took the seas and sailed over into* Italy.

The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

WHen it seemed that *Spain* was eased as much of war, as *Italy* charged therewith, by the voyage of *Asdrubal* thither: behold, all of a sudden there arose other troubles there, equall to the former. And as for the Provinces of *Spain* at that time, they were possessed between Romans & Carthaginians in this manner. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, was retired with his power far within the country, even to the Ocean and *Gades*. But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all *Spain* bending toward the East, was held by *Scipio* and subject to the Roman Empire. *Hanno* the new General, being passed out of *Affrick* with a fresh army, and entred into the room of *Asdrubal* the Barchine, joyned with *Mago*: and when he had put in arms within a short time, a great number of men in *Celtiberia*, which lieth in the midst between the two seas; *Scipio* sent forth against him; *M. Syllanus* made ten thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This *Syllanus* made such speed by taking as long journies as possibly he could (considering how much hindred and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the waies, and also by the straights, environed with thick woods, and forrests, as most parts of *Spain* are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitive revolts out of *Celtiberia*, he passed forward from thence to the enemy. By the same guides he had intelligence, and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army aboveaid of Celtiberians, to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. As for this Leaguer, it was wel defended and fortified with *corps de guards*, which watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war. But the other was as much neglected, dissolute, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw souldiers are, and such as fear the less, by reason they are at home within their own country. *Syllanus* thinking it good policy to set upon them first, gave commandment to march under their ensigns and colours, and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and Sentinels of the Carthaginians. And himself in person, having sent before certain vant-courriers and espials, with his army advanced apace directly toward his enemy. Now was he approached within three miles of them unespied, and not descried at all. For why? a mountain country it was, full of roughs and crags, overspread and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley between, and therefore secret for the purpose, he commanded his souldiers to sit them down and take their refection. In this mean time the espials came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trusses and baggage in the midst, armed themselves, and in order of battell set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be affraid. *Mago* at the first outcry and alarm, set spurs to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to succour. Now there were in the army of the Celtiberians, four thousand footmen targetiers, and two hundred horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it were, a full and compleat legion he placed in the vanguard; all the rest, which were lightly armed, he bestowed in the rereward for to succour and rescue. As he led them forth thus ordered and arranged they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they rose up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romans standing thick, as their manner is, received all their darts in their targets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftness of the Celtiberians (whose guise is to run to and fro in skirmish and keep no ground) so the same was not hurtfull at all to the Romans who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their fight: only the straight room, and the trees and shrubs growing between parted their ranks and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintain skirmish, either singly one to one, or two to two at the most, as if they had been matched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in their

their flight, the same yielded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all these targettiers wel-near of the Celtiberians were slain; their light armed souldiers, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other camp ran to succour, were likewise discomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, arraied, discomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and escaped. As for *Hanno* the other Generall, together with them who came last, and to the very end of the fray, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled still: and all the Cavalry, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the Province of *Gades*, and came unto *Asdrubal*. The Celtiberians, that were but new souldiers, slipt into the next woods out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

This fortunate victory hapned in so good a time, not so much stifled the present war in the very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles, in case the enemies had been let alone, and suffered to sollicit and stir other nations to take armes, like as they raised the Celtiberians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having highly commended *Syllanus*, and conceived great hope withall to dispatch quite, and make an end of the wars, in case himself lingred not the matter, and made long stay; pursued the remnant behind, and set forward into the utmost Province of Spain against *Asdrubal*. But *Asdrubal*, who hapned then to lye encamped in *Bætica* for to keep his Allies in obedience and faithfull alleageance, all on a sudden dislodged, pluckt up stakes, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his army farther into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to *Gades*. But supposing, that so long as he kept his forces all together, himself was the only mark which the enemy would shoot at, before that he cut over the straights of *Gibraltar* to *Gades*, he brake up his whole army, and sent them away here and there to their severall Cities, both to save themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. *Scipio*, so soon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into sundry parts, and that to lead about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious peece of work, than either difficult or much availeable, retired back. But because he would not leave that country clear in the hands of the enemies, he sent his brother *L. Scipio* with 1000 foot, and 100 horsemen, to assail the mightiest and wealthiest City in those parts, which the barbarous people call *Oringis*. This City is seated in the confines of the *Melessi* (a nation meer Spaniards) the soil fruitfull, and the inhabitants there find silver mines. This was the fortress of *Asdrubal*, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outroads all abroad into the midland countries of the main land, and spoiled the people. *Lucius Scipio* having pitched his Camp under the said City: before that he entrenched and blocked the town, sent certain to the gates, who by parling near at hand, might feel and sound the dispositions of the Citizens, and perswade with them to make triall of the Romans friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answers no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he cast a trench, and raised a double rampier about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the assault, whiles the other twain took rest and ease. And when the first troop and regiment of them began to give a camisado, there followed a fierce, cruell, and doubtfull skirmish. For they could not easily either come under the walls, or bring scaling ladders to set to, by reason of the shot that light upon them. And such as already had reared up ladders to the wall, some of them were pushed off with certain forks provided for that purpose, others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the air, hoised aloft, and fetcht over the walls. *Scipio* seeing that the conflict was unequall, by reason of the small number of assailants, and that the enemies had the advantage besides, in that they fought from the wall top; caused that first regiment to retire, and with the other twain at once gave a fresh assault to the town. This stroke so great a fear into them who were already wearied with fighting, that not only the townsmen suddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garrison souldiers, for fear lest the City was betraied, forsook also their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves into one place. But then the townsmen were affraid, lest if the enemies put themselves within the City, they should be massacred every where as they came in their way, without respect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they set one gate open on a sudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their targets before them against the darts that were shot afar off, and shewing aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemy could not well discern them so far off, or whether they suspected some crafty and deceitfull practice, I wot not, but they fell upon these that fled and yielded unto them, and slew them downright, as well as if they had affronted them in the face of a battell, and at the same gate entred the City with bloudy banners. In other parts likewise they fell to hewing down the gates with axes, and to break them open with crows of Iron. And as every horseman got into the City, he rode amain (according to the direction given by the Generall) into the market place, to be possessed thereof. And to these horsemen were assigned the *Triarii* for aid and assistance. The Legionary souldiers besides ran over all the other parts of the City, spoiling and killing all that ever they met, save such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners and committed to ward, likewise of townsmen about three hundred, such as had shut the gates; but unto all the rest the town was rendred again, and each man had his own goods delivered and restored unto him. There were slain at the assault of that City, of enemies almost two thousand: but of Romans not above foursore

foursore and ten. As by the winning of the town, they that were imployed there took great joy and contentment: so in their return to their Generall himself, and the rest of the main army, they made a goodly shew as they marched with a mighty multitude of prisoners led before them. *Scipio* having praised his brother in the most honourable terms that he could devise, and namely, for this exploit of forcing *Orinx*, making him equall in glory to himself for the conquest of *Carthage*: because winter drew on, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor yet follow at once upon the army of *Asdrubal*: so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of *Spain*, that lieth on this side *Iberus*: and when he had dismissed his legions into their severall standing camps to winter in, and sent his brother *L. Scipio* to *Rome*, together with *Hanno* the Generall of the enemies, and other Gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himself to *Taracon*.

In the same year the Roman Armado being set out under the conduct of the Admirall *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Pro-Consul, made a voyage from *Sicily* into *Affrick*, and forraged all over the Territories of *Utica* and *Carthage*, insomuch as they drave booties out of the very utmost Confines of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of *Utica*. As they sailed back for *Sicily*, they were encountred by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy long ships of war, whereof seventeen were boorded and taken, four sunk in the deep sea, the rest were put to flight and dispersed. Thus the Roman Captain *Valerius*, after victories atchieved both by sea and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to *Lilybæum*: and hereupon by reason that the seas were open and cleared of the enemies ships, great store and abundance of grain was brought to *Rome*.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these things hapned, *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Consul, and King *Attalus*, after they had wintred in *Ægina*, as is aboveseid, with a joint navy passed over from thence into the Iland *Lemnos*. The Romans were twenty five Galliaces of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five. *Philip* for his part because he would be ready at all assaies to meet with the enemy either by land or sea, went himself in person down to the sea-side, as far as *Demetrias*, and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certain day meet together at *Larissa*. Upon the fame that went of the Kings coming, there repaired sundry Embassies from the confederate States of all parts unto *Demetrias*. For the Ætolians having taken heart unto them, as well for the society with the Romans, as upon the coming of *Attalus*, wasted and spoiled their borderers. And not only the Acarnanians and Bœotians, and they that inhabit *Eubœa*, were in great fear, but also the Achæans; whom over and besides the war from the Ætolians, *Machanidas* also the Lacedæmonian tyrant terrified, who encamped himself not far from the confines of the Argives. All these States made report what perils were like to ensue both by sea and land to their severall Cities, and besought the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him out of his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietness, for that *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus* were gone out and rebelled: and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* especially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoyning upon *Macedony*, in case the King should fortune to be busied and occupied otherwise in any long wars. The Bœotians likewise themselves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the passages of the forrest *Thermopylæ*, where as the narrow gullet of the streights yielderh small passage, were stopped up by the Ætolians with a trench and pallisado, that it might give no access at all unto *Philip*, for to come and defend the Cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming fast and thick one upon another, had been able to have rouzed and awakened even a sleepy and slow Captain, and made him to look about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent away, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit: and willing them each one for the present to provide those things that were most urgent and important. Then he sent a garrison unto that City from whence new came, that *Attalus* having passed with a fleet from *Lemnos*, had wasted and forraged all the territory about it. And he sent *Polyphantes* with a small power into *Bœotia*, and *Menippus* likewise, one of his own Captains and Cavaliers, unto *Chalcis*, with a thousand targettiers, called *Peltati*, (now the *Peltæ* are certain small bucklers or targets, nothing unlike unto the Spanish *Cetræ*) unto whom were joyned five hundred Ænians, that they might be able to guard all the parts of the Island: himself in person went to *Scotussa*, and there he appointed the *Rendezvous*, that all the forces of the Macedonians should be brought thither from *Larissa*. News came unto him there that the Ætolians had summoned and proclaimed a generall Diet or Councill at *Heraclea*, and that King *Attalus* would repaire thither to consult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his sudden coming to trouble this solemn assembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward *Heraclea*: but the Councill was newly dissolved when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he destroyed all the standing corn, which was near-hand ripe, especially in the vale along the Gulph of the Ænians, and so reduced his army back again to *Scotussa*: and there leaving his whole power, he retired himself to *Demetrias*, attended only with his royall guard. And because he might from thence be ready to meet with all sudden stirs and invasions of the enemies, he sent out men of purpose into *Phocis*, *Eulœa*, and *Perrhæbis*, to chuse out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be seen afar off. And himself set up one watch tower upon *Cisseus* (a mountain, the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the signall of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute

*Andelusia.

*Larissa, or Larco.

*Pelagonite. *Lemene, Nigra or Saraquiano, Castaldo.

of an hour have intelligence, so soon as the enemies went about any trouble whatsoever. But H
the Roman Generall, and King *Attalus*, passed the seas from *Peparethus* to *Nicea*, and from thence
sailed with their Armado to *Eubœa*, unto the City *Oreum*, which as a man beareth his course
from the gulph of *Demetrias* to *Chalcis* and * *Euripus*, is the first City of *Eubœa* that sheweth it
self upon the left hand. And thus it was agreed between *Attalus* and *Sulpitius*, that the Romans
should give the assault from the sea side, and the King with his forces on the land. Four daies af-
ter the fleet was arrived, they presented themselves before the City to assail it. For, that time be-
tween was spent in secret talk and conference with *Plator*, who was appointed by *Philip* gover-
nor and Provost of the City. The City had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the sea, I
the other situate in the very heart and midst of the town. From thence there is a way under the
ground that leadeth to the sea: at the end whereof there stood a fabrick or tower five stories high,
a singular bulwark and place of defence. There at first began a most sharp and cruell conflict, by
reason that the turret was well furnished with all kind of shot and artillery: and likewise from
out of the ships there was planted much ordnance, and many engins bent to impeach and assault
the same. Now when every mans mind was amazed, and eye fixed upon this hot and eager fight,
Plator received and let in the Romans at the gate of the other Citadell that stood over the sea,
and so in the turning of an hand it was surprized and won. The townsmen being expelled and
chased from thence, retired and betook themselves into the middle of the City unto the other for-
tress. But certain souldiers were set of purpose there to shut the gate upon them: and so being
excluded, they were killed and taken prisoners in the midst between. The garrison of the Mace-
donians flood round together under the Castle wall, and neither fled openly amain, nor yet began K
to fight, as if they meant to stick to it unto the end. For whom *Plater* obtained pardon of *Sulpi-
tius*, and having embarked them, brought them to *Demetrium* of *Phthiotis*, and there set them a-
shore, and himself returned to *Attalus*.

* Strettho de Negroponte.

Sulpitius bearing himself bold for this so good and speedy success, immediately sailed with his
victorious Armado against *Chalcis*. Where the event in the end answered nothing unto his hope
and expectation. The sea lying broad and large on both hands, gathereth in that place to a nar-
row room, so as at the first sight it maketh a shew of a double peer or haven, opening upon two di-
vers mouths, but in very truth, there is not lightly to be found a worse harbour, and a more dan-
gerous rode for ships. For not only for the exceeding high hils on both sides of the main, the
winds arise suddenly and blow blusterous, but also the very straight it self of *Euripus* ebbeth not L
and floweth seven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certain set and ordinary hours: but
without all order, as the winds drive, the sea turneth and rolleth hither and thither, working up
and down, and like a flowing stream runneth forcibly and with great violence, as it were, down
a steep hill: so as neither night nor day the ships there riding have any rest and repose. As the
Roman Armado was thus engaged within so dangerous a rode: so the town of the one part was
environed with the sea, and on the land-side surely fortified; besides the defence of a strong gar-
rison there, and the assured loyalty of the Captains and principall heads and rulers: whereby it
was chiefly guarded, which at *Oreum* was but vain, fickle, and unstedfast: by means whereof it
was tenable and impregnable. The Roman Generall in this case, considering how he had begun M
a rash enterprise, and seeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wisely yet in this one point,
that he soon gave over, because he would spend no time in vain, and passed over with his fleet
from thence to *Cynus* of *Locris* (a town of Merchandise belonging to the City of *Opus*, situate
a mile from the sea.) *Philip* had warning by the beacons on fire that appeared from *Oreum*: but
by the friend of *Plator*, the other were with the latest set a burning from the watch-tower above-
said. And forasmuch as he was not strong enough at sea, he could not with his navy have easie
access into the Island. So that service was delaied and altogether neglected. But he best stirred him-
self quickly to the succour of *Chalcis*, so soon as ever he espied the fire from the beacon. Fora-
beit *Chalcis* it self be a City of the same Island, yet it is divided from the Continent by so narrow
an arm of the sea that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that side it
hath more easie access than by water. *Philip* having dislieized the garison there, cast down the N
fort and discomfited the Ætolians who kept the straight passage of *Thermopylæ*, came from *Deme-
trias* to *Scotussa*, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had driven and chased
the enemies in great fear to *Heraclea*, himself in one day reached to *Elatia* in *Phocis*, a journey
above 60 miles. The very same day in manner the City of *Opuntii* was taken by K. *Attalus* and put
to the ransack. The whole pillage thereof, *Sulpitius* had granted ro the King, in regard that *Oreum*
a few daies before was spoiled and rifled by the Roman souldiers, and the Kings men had no
share with them. Now was the Roman Armado retired to *Oreum*: and *Attalus* not ware of *Philip*
his coming, spent time in exacting monies from the chief and principall Citizens. But so sudden
and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certain Cretensians by good hap
gone forth a forraging far from the City, and descried the march of the enemies a great way off, O
he might have been overtaken and surprized. *Attalus* unarmed and out of order as he was, made
haste & ran amain to the sea-side for to recover the ships. And even as he and his men were looking
from the land and lanching into the sea, *Philip* came, and from the very shore put the mariners
and sailers in great fear. From thence he returned to *Opus*, crying out upon God and man, and
blaming his ill luck, that he had missed so narrowly the opportunity of so great an exploit, and
let it go, as it were, snatched out of his very eye. In the fit of anger he reproved and rebuked the

A the Opuntians, for that being able to hold out the siege untill his coming, so soon as they saw the
enemy they presently had yielded themselves in a manner voluntary into his hands. When he had
set things in order at *Opus* and thereabout, he took his journey to *Torone*. *Attalus* at the first re-
tired himself to *Oreum*: but upon the news arrived, how *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia* had invaded
the frontiers of his kingdom, he left the Roman affairs and the Ætolian war, and from thence
sailed over directly into *Asia*. *Sulpitius* also retired his navy unto *Ægina*, from whence in the be-
ginning of the spring he had departed and taken his voyage. And *Philip* forced and won *Torone*,
with as small ado as *Attalus* before had taken *Opus*. That foresaid City *Torone* was inhabited by
certain that were fled and driven out of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*. For when the City was taken by
Philip and they fled for protection unto the Ætolians, (to whom they recommended and com-
B mitted themselves) the Ætolians gave unto them that place to seat themselves in, being a City wa-
sted and in manner desolate by the former war of *Philip*. Then *Philip* having recovered *Torone*
again, as is aforesaid, departed from thence, and won *Tritonum* and *Drymas*, two small and base
towns of no account in *Doris*. From whence he came to *Elatia*, where he had given command-
ment, that the Embassadors of *Ptolomeus* and the Rhodians, should give attendance untill his com-
ing. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the Ætolian war (forasmuch as
those Embassadors to the same effect had lately presented themselves at *Heraclea*, in the Councill
and assembly of the Romans and Ætolians) tidings came, that *Machanidas* purposed and deter-
mined to set upon the Eleans, as they were preparing to exhibit the solemn Olympian games, *Phi-
lip* supposing it good to prevent that, courteously answered the Embassadors and gave them their
C dispatch: saying, that as himself was not the cause of that war, so he would not hinder and stay the
conclusion of peace upon any equall and reasonable conditions. And so with a power lightly ap-
pointed, he marched through *Bœotia* to *Megara*, and from thence went down to *Corinth*: where
having furnished himself with victuals, he marched forward to *Phlius* & *Phaneus*. And being now
come as far as to *Erea*, and hearing there that *Machanidas* upon the rumour of his coming for fear
was fled back to *Lacedæmon*, he returned to *Ægium*, unto the generall Diet and Council of the
Achæi: supposing withall, that he should find there the Punick armado, which he had sent for to
come thither, because he might be able to do somewhat also by sea. But some few daies before the
Carthaginians had sailed over into *Phocæa*, and from thence were gone to the havens of the A-
carnanians, so soon as they heard once, that *Attalus* and the Romans were departed from *Ore-
D um*, fearing that they would make out after them, and left they should be overtaken and surprised
within *Rhium*, which is the very mouth of the Corinthian gulph, *Philip* verily grieved hereat, and
was wonderfully troubled in mind, seeing what haste soever he made himself in all his emprises,
yet he came too short and effected nothing in due time: as if fortune in taking all things out of his
very eye-sight, had deluded, disappointed, and mocked all his speediness and expedition. Howbeit,
in that solemn Diet and assembly, he dissembled his grief, bit in his passionate affections, and thus
with an haughty mind he spake and said, "That he called both God and man to witness, that he
"had forlet no opportunity of time nor vantage of place, but when and whersoever he heard but
"any inckling of the enemy, and the least rustling of armour, thither he had made all haste that
"possibly he might: but he could hardly devise and conceive, whether himself were more ventu-
E "rous in seeking war, than the enemy nimble and quick in avoiding the same. So *Attalus* at *Opus*,
"so *Sulpitius* at *Chalcis*, and so the other day *Machanidas* escaped out of his hands and got a-
"way. But surely (quoth he) his running away will not alwaies prosper and speed well: neither is
"that to be counted a dangerous war, wherein a man may be sure (if he but meet his enemy once)
"to have the upper hand. That which is the principall point of all, thus much have I got yet at
"the enemies hands, that they confess thereby, how they are not able to make their parts good
"with us: and I doubt not, but shortly I shall atchieve the victory of them, and the event and for-
"tune of their fighting with me, shall be no better than their present hope. The Kings allies were
glad to hear him speak thus. Then he retired unto the Achæans, *Erea*, and *Triphylia*, and deliver-
ed again *Aliphera* unto the Megalopolitans; for that they proved by good evidence, that it be-
F longed by right to their territory and confines. Thus having received of the Achæans certain
ships, to wit, three Galliaces or Carvels of four banks of oars, and as many gallies of two ranks,
from thence he cut over to *Anticyra*. And then with seven Carvels of five ranks of oars, and
more than twenty barks besides, which he had sent into the gulph of *Corinth* to joyn with the
Carthaginian navy, he made sail to *Erythræ* in *Ætolia*, near unto *Eupalium*, and there disbarked
and landed his men. But the Ætolians were advertised aforehand of his arrival and coming ashore:
for all the people that inhabited either the country towns and villages, or the Castles near to *Poti-
dania* and *Apollonia*, were fled into the mountains and woods. As for the cattell, which in that
hurry and haste that they made could not be driven away with them, those they preyed upon and
brought them to the ships. With these and all the rest of the booty he sent *Nicias* the Prætor of
G the Achæans to *Ægium*, and sent forward to *Corinth*: and from thence he commanded that the
land forces should be conducted and march by land through *Bœotia*: whiles himself sailing from
Cenchræa along the coast of *Attica*, above the point or cape of *Sunium*, passed even through the
midst of his enemies armados, and arrived at *Chalcis*. Then after he had commended the Citizens
there for their fidelity and vertue, in that neither fear nor hope was able to change and turn their
resolute minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue stedfast in their alliance and
allegeance, if they made more reckoning of their own fortune, and loved it better than the con-

dition of the Oritans and the *Opuntii*; he sailed from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*. And when he had commit- H
ted the government of the State, and the guard of the City, unto those principall Citizens, who
chose to stie when the City was lost, rather than to yield themselves unto the Romans, himself
passed over from *Eubœa* unto *Demetrias*, from whence at the first he took his voyage to the aid
and succour of his friends and Allies. After all this, having appointed and set out at *Cassandrea*,
keels for an hundred long ships of war, and taken up a number of shipwrights to finish out the
rest of the work: seeing that all *Greece* was now in quiet, both because *Attalus* was departed from
thence, and also for that himself had in good time succoured his allies and confederats, who were
in some trouble and distresse, he returned back again into his own Realm, for to make war upon
the Dardanians.

In the latter end of that summer, wherein these affairs thus passed in *Greece*, when *Q. Fabius* I
Maximus the father being sent as Embassador from *M. Livius* the Consul unto the Senat at *Rome*,
had brought word and made report, That the Consul judged *L. Porcius* with his legions to be suf-
ficient for the Province of *France*, and that himself might well be spared, and depart from thence,
and the Consular army withdrawn out of those parts: the Lords of the Senat gave order and de-
termined that not only *M. Livius*, but *C. Claudius* also his Collegue, should return to the City.
This difference only between the one and the other appeared in the decree, in that they gave
direction, that the army of *M. Livius* should be brought home, but the Legions of *Nero* should
remain still in the province, and be opposed against *Annibal*. The Consuls by entercourse of their
letters passing between, agreed thus together, That like as they had with one mind and consent K
made war and managed the affairs, so, albeit they were in divers parts far asunder, yet they
should meet in one place, and at one time make repair to the City of *Rome*: and that whether of
them twain came first to *Prœneste*, he should there attend the coming of his Collegue. And it
fortuned so, that they arrived both upon one and the same day at *Prœneste*. From whence they
sent an edict before, that the third day after the Senat should generally assemble together in the
Temple of *Bellona*: and so they were met upon the way with a multitude of people, who accom-
panied them as they returned into the City. And they were not content all of them in generall to
salute them and welcome them home, but every man was desirous particularly to take the Consuls
by their victorious right hands: some with congratulations, wishing them joy, others with thank-
giving, acknowledging that by their good means and vertue the Commonweal was preserved
and set upright. Now when they had related in the Senat house (as the manner was of all Gene- L
rals) what acts they had atchieved, and withall demanded, that for their valiant and faithfull
service to the Commonweal, first, due honour should be rendred to the almighty gods, and then
they themselves allowed to enter the City in triumph: the Lords of the Senat made answer, That
they for their parts were ready and willing to consider first and principally of the merits and
goodnesse of the gods, and next and immediatly of the good deserts of the Consuls: and as they
decreed divine processions and supplications in the name of them both, so they granted triumph,
as well to the one as to the other. But the Consuls, because they would not divide their triumph
(since that they had managed the wars with one accord and common consent) thus agreed be-
tween themselves, That forasmuch as the battell was fought within the Province of *M. Livius*,
and the very day of the field fought, it fortuned to be his turn to take the sign of birds, and to have M
the entire rule; and besides, the army of *Livius* was brought back and came to *Rome* already, but
that other of *Nero* could not be removed out of the Province: therefore *M. Livius* should ride in
a chariot drawn with four steeds into the City, with his souldiers following after; and *C. Claudius*
presently come after mounted on horseback without his souldiers. Thus the triumph was com-
municate to the one and the other, and encreased the glory of them both; but especially of him,
who the more that he exceeded his Collegue in desert, the more he yielded and gave place unto
him in honour. "So said every man, how there on horseback travelled in six daies space the whole
"length of *Italy* from one end to the other, and fought the very same day with banner displaied
"against *Asdrubal* in *Gaul*, when as *Annibal* thought verily he lay encamped against him with his
"army in *Apulia*. See how one and the same Consul, in the defence of the one part of *Italy* and N
"the other, against two Captains and against two noble Generals of two armies, in one place em-
"ployed his advice and counsell, and in another opposed his body and force of arms. Behold (say
"they) the very bare name of *Nero* was sufficient to keep *Annibal* within his camp: and what was
"it else, that discomfited and defeated *Asdrubal*, but even his only coming? Let the other Con-
"sul therefore be set up on high, and rid in a chariot drawn with as many horses as he will; all
"while that the true triumph indeed passeth through the City upon one horse only. Nay, if *Nero*
"went but on foot, he would be memorable for ever hereafter, as well for the resull of glory in
"that triumph, as for the winning of honour in that war. With these and such like speeches they
entertained *Nero* as they beheld him, and so accompanied him even to the very Capitoll. They
brought into the Treasure-house of the City in coin * thirty hundred thousand * *Sestertii*, and O
800 00 Asses. Among the souldiers, *M. Livius* divided * six and fifty Asses to them apiece. And *C.*
Claudius promised as much to his souldiers that were absent upon his return to the army. This
was noted and observed in the triumph, that the souldiers uttered more ditties and rimes full of
pleasant conceits and jests (as their manner was) upon *C. Claudius* than their own Consul: and
that the gentlemen and horsemen highly extolled and magnified above all the rest *L. Veturius*, and
Q. Cecilius the two Lieutenants, and exhorted the Commons to create them Consuls against the next

* 234375. lib. sterl.

* *Sestertius*, A small peece of silver coin among the Romans, the fourth part of *Denarius*; containing two Asses and a half. It and is of English money three half pence farthing cue.

* 3 sh 6 d. sterl.

A next year: likewise, that the Consuls for the time being, confirmed this prerogative choise and elec-
tion of those gentlemen, with their own assent and authority the morrow after, in a frequent as-
sembly before the people, giving honourable testimony of the valiant and faithfull service of
those foresaid Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time drew near of election of new Magistrates; and when it was thought good by
the Senat, that a Dictator should call that solemn assembly for the said election: *C. Claudius* the
Consul nominated for Dictator his Collegue *M. Livius*. And *Livius* named *Q. Cecilius* General of
the horsemen. So there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictator, *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecili-*
us even he who then was Generall of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the
B Prætors, and chosen there were *C. Servilius*, *M. Cecilius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *Q. Man-*
lius Thurius, who then was Ædile of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dismissed
the army, by vertue of an act of the Senat took his journey into the Province of *Tuscany* to sit in
commission and make enquiry, what States either of the Tuscans or Umbrians intended and plot-
ted to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to *Asdrubal* at his coming into those parts: and
who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliary souldiers, or with victuals, or with any
aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the
wars.

The great Roman Games were wholly renued and set out again three times by the Ædiles of
C the chair *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*. Likewise the pastimes and plaies, called
Plebei, were once fully renued and exhibited again by *M. Sempronius Matho*, and *Q. Manlius*
Thurinus, Ædiles of the Commons.

In the thirteenth year of the second Punick war, when *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metel-*
lus were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make war upon *Annibal* in the
Province of the *Bruttii*. Which done, the Prætors cast lots: And to *M. Cecilius Metellus* fell the
jurisdiction of the Citizens: to *Q. Manlius* of the forreiners, *C. Servilius* his lot was to govern *Si-*
cily, and *T. Claudius Sardinia*. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Con-
suls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consul of the year before. The other
Consul had the leading of that (namely two full legions) which *C. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor before
D commanded. *M. Livius* as Pro-Consul, whose government was prorogued for another year, re-
ceived the charge of two legions of voluntaries in *Hetruria*, at the hand of *C. Terentius* the Pro-
Prætor. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat to deliver over his jurisdiction to
his Collegue, and to take the charge of *Gallia* with the forces there: where of *L. Porcius* the Pro-
Prætor was Captain: and he had in commission to wage the lands of those Gauls who were re-
volted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asdrubal*. *C. Servilius* was assigned with the pow-
er of the two Cannian legions, to defend *Sicily*, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of *Sardinia* the
old army was withdrawn, which was under the governance of *A. Hostilius*: and the Consuls en-
rolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to sail over with. *Quintus Claudius*, and *C. Hostilius Tubulus*,
had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern *Tar-*
E *entum*, and the other to rule *Capua*. *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, who also was Admiral for the sea-
coast and river along *Sicily*, was commanded to give up thirty of his sail unto *C. Servilius*, and
with all the rest of the Navy to return to the City of *Rome*.

As the City was in suspence and good doubtfull for the variable event of so great a war, attri-
buting the causes of all weal and woe, of prosperity and adversity, to the gods; behold many pro-
digious tokens were reported to have hapned. Namely, That in *Tarracina* the Temple of *Jupiter*,
and at *Satricum* the Chappel of the goddesse *Matuta*, were blasted with lightning from heaven. And
the inhabitants of *Satricum* were no less terrified with two serpents that were crept into the tem-
ple of *Jupiter* at the very doors. From *Antium* there was word brought, that the harvest folk as
they were reaping spied certain ears of corn bloudy. At *Cære* there was a sow that farrowed a pig
F with two heads, and an ewe yeaned a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at
Alba there were two suns seen: and at *Fregellæ* by night the day-light appeared. Also in the terri-
tory of *Rome*, by report, an Oxe spake: and the altar of *Neptune* within the Cirke *Flaminia* brake
out into much sweat: and the Temples of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus* were blasted and smitten from
heaven. The Consuls were commanded to expiate and purge these fearfull sights with sacrificing of
greater beasts and to make supplication one day. Which was done according to the decree of the
Senat. But above all the wondrous signs, either reported from abroad, or seen at home, the
minds of men were put in fear, for the going out of the fire in the Chappell of *Vesta*. For which
cause the *Vestall* Virgin who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the command-
ment of *P. Licinius* the Bishop well and throughly scourged. And albeit this hapned by humane
negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby, yet it was thought good that an expia-
G tion thereof should be made with greater sacrifices, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappel
of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senat to take re-
gard and order for the Commons, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and pla-
cing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodnesse the war was removed far
from *Rome* and *Latium*, the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and fre-
quented again: neither was it a meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabite *Sicily* than
Italy.

Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of H the free-holders were consumed up in the wars: and great scarcity there was of servants and hines to till the ground: besides, the cattell was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were either ruinate or burned. Howbeit, a great sort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repaire again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*; who made complaint, that their territories were much damnified and wasted by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their own naturall inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desert. Whereupon *Manlius* the Prætor had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by vertue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, I should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

Q. Cecilius the Cos, received the army of *Cl. Nero*: and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having forraged and spoiled here and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and streight passage much troubled by the *Brutii* and the Numidian archers: insomuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucans country. All that K nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Annibal* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loss received as well in publike as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such metall and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him; whether he were more to be wondred at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of naturall Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused riff-raff and medley of all nations, having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customes, nor language: differ- L ring in fashions, in habit, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were, the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one link and streight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their General, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof, in the former Punick war, many outrages were committed both among Captains and souldiers. But when *Asdrubal* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory; and when they were fain to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Brutium*; who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the Brutians coun- M try? And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was fet away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholy employed in warfare: to say nothing of the naturall guise and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage* whiles they all were studious and carefull only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*.

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captain, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that N *Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than *Italy*, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province; yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Cæsar*. There at that time *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the Barchin house) returned from *Gades*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, to wage war afresh, took musters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Iliipa*. O There upon the open plains fate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

Scipio, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations, if it were no more but for shew and outward appearance: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his army, that in case they should

A should give him the slip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might do much hurt to the main chance and totall sum of all. And therefore he sent *Syllanus* before unto *Colcas*, (a Lord over the signory of eight and twenty towns) for to receive of him those horse and foot which he had promised to levy in the winter time. Himself departed from *Taracon*, and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to *Castulo*. Thither *Syllanus* brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City *Batula*, being in all of Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horsemen together, one with another 45000 strong. strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Masanissa* with all their Ca- B valry set upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defences, but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* fitly for the purpose had there bestowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them as they were loosely ridden forward without order and array. These had not well begun skirmish with them, but they discomfited the forwardest of them, and such especially as engaged themselves near to the trench, to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtfull. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and stations, were first brought forth; and after them, the souldiers also from their work and fortifications were willed to take arms; and still more and more continually came fresh and in heart, in place C of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power, and ran to the battel; then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies keeping their order and array still, and not disbanded for haste or fear. But afterwards, when the Romans began once more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them, so as now their furious violence could no longer be refitted; then without all regard of ranks or files, they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps, seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish, the Romans were more encouraged a good deal, and the enemies hearts much danted: yet for certain daies ensuing there never ceased excursions and bickerings maintained by the horsemen & those that were lightly armed. Now when by these small scufflings they had made sufficient triall on both sides of D their strength, *Asdrubal* first led forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in batel array, & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward sun-setting, *Asdrubal* first retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman General likewise. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Asdrubal* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first again that sounded the retreat to his souldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish, or discharged any shot, or gave alarms, and set up a cry. Of the one part the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Africans stood in the main battel: and the allies of either side kept the wings, and those were Spaniards, as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battel were the Elephants placed, who afar off made a E shew as if they had been Castles. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would so fight as they stood day by day arranged: namely, that the main battels of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occasion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be fitly setled in their opinions, altered all on set purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battel. And over-night he gave a watch-word and token throughout the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in arms ready appointed should hold their horses sadled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he sent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the *Corps de guard* and standing watch of the enemies. And himself straight after advanced F forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and perswasion both of his own men, and also of his enemies, he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battell with the allies. *Asdrubal* raised with the clamour and shout of the horsemen, leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearfull stir of his own men before the rampiar and trench, and seeing afar off the glittering ensighs of the Legions, and all the plains over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the foresaid horsemen. Himself with the battell of foormen issueth out of the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battailions, otherwise than he used the dayes past. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by it self, because evermore, as any of them were put back (which happed on both parts in manner by turns) they retired safely into the battell of foormen. G Now when as the battels were not past half a mile asunder one from another, *Scipio* sounded the retreat, and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armed souldiers within the middle ward: and having divided them in two regiments, he bestowed them for succours and supplies behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyn in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battell) to take sure footing and go stedily together: fair and softly himself out of the right wing (for, that point he commanded) dispatched a messenger to *Syllanus* & *Martius*, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw

him

him to draw it at length on the right: with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horsemen and light appointed footmen should encounter and close with the enemy, before that both battels might meet and joyn together. Thus having enlarged out at full their wings, they with three squadrons of footmen, and as many cornets of horsemen, together with the light armed skirmishers, advanced with full pace directly afront the enemies whiles the rest followed sidewaies across. Now there was a void piece of ground in the midst between, by reason that the Spaniards ensigns went but slowly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and strength of the enemies battell, consisting of old beaten Carthaginians and African souldiers, were not yet come within the darts shot, neither durst they put in to succour them that were in fight, for fear they should open the main battell for the enemy that came directly against them. Their wings were much distressed in the fight on every side: For the horsemen, the light armed souldiers, and the skirmishers, having wheeled about and fet a compass to environ them ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them afront, and all to break off their wings from the body of the battell. And as now in every respect the fight was unequal, so the rabble of camp-followers, Balear Islanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, opposed against the approved Roman and Latine souldiers, pulled down aside. The day went on still, and *Asdrubal* his army began to faint: and no marvell, for they were surprised and taken on a sudden, betimes in the morning. & were forced in haste to enter into the field & go to battel before they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies. And to that purpose *Scipio* had drawn the day on length, & trifled out the time, that the battel might be late. For it was the seventh hour [or one a clock after noon] before the ensign of footmen charged upon the side points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battels fought and joyned together: so that the heat of the noon sun, the pain of long standing in armor, and hunger and thirst came all together to enfeeble and spend their bodies, before that they came to hand-strokes and to buckle with their enemies: which was the cause that they stood leaning and resting themselves upon their shields. And over and besides all other troubles, the Elephants also affrighted and madded with this tumultuous and disordered manner of fight of horsemen, skirmishers, and light armed souldiers together, ran from the wings, upon the main battel. The Captains therefore themselves, being thus tainted, as well in courage of heart, as in bodily strength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they still kept their arraies, as if the whole battel had retired whole and sound by the commandment of their General. But when the winners and conquerers on the other part were so much more forward to charge upon them more holy on every side, because they saw them to lose their ground and shrink back, so as their violence could not well be endured; then albeit *Asdrubal* held them still together, and did what he could to stay their flight, crying oftentimes aloud unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of safe retreat, if they would retire in good sort, moderately, and in order: yet when they saw their enemies press so hard upon them, killing and hewing in pieces those that were next unto them, fear was above shame, and so immediatly they shewed their back parts, and ran away all at once as fast as they could. Yet at first, when they came to the root and foot of the hils they began to make a stand, and rally the souldiers again into order of battel, seeing the Romans to make some stay of advancing their ensigns up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come lustily forward, they began again to flie afresh, and so in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was *Scipio* himself far from their trench and rampier, but in that very brunt had been master thereof, but that immediatly upon the hot gleams of the sun, when he shineth in a watery sky full of black and rainy clouds, there powred down such a store of showers and tempests, that hardly could he himself after his victory recover his own camp. And some there were also that made it a scruple and matter of conscience to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reason to repose themselves, and take their necessary rest, so wearied as they were with travell, and sore wounded, especially seeing the night was come, and the stormy rain continued: yet, because their fear and present danger wherein they stood gave them no time to loyter and slack their business, against the next morning that the enemies should early assail their Camp, they gathered up stones from out of the vallies near about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the heighth of their rampier, purposing to defend themselves by the strength of their fence, seeing small help and remedy in force of arms. But the falling away of their Confederats was the cause that their departure and flight from thence, seemed more safe than their abode there would have been. This revolt was begun by *Altanes*, a great Lord of the Turdetans: for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverse part. Whereupon two strong walled towns, together with their garrisons, were yielded by the Captains unto *Scipio*. *Asdrubal* therefore, fearing least this mischief might spread further, now that their minds were once set upon rebellion, dislodged about the midnight following, and removed. *Scipio* so soon as he was advertised at the break of the day, by those that kept standing watch in their stations, that the enemies were gone; having sent his horsemen before commanded the standards and ensigns to be advanced, and led so speedy a march, that if they had gone straight forward and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but believing certain guides, that there was a shorter way to the river *Baetis*, they were advised to charge upon them as they passed over. But *Asdrubal* seeing the passage of the river stopped against him, turned to the Ocean: and even at the first they departed in great haste, as if they fled, which was the cause that they got the start of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good space

space of ground before them. But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen, plaied one while upon their tails, flanked another whiles their sides, and by this means with charging and recharging they wearied them and staied their march. And when as upon many of these troubles by the way, their ensigns were fain to stand, and forced to maintain skirmish, some time with the horsemen and sometimes with the light javelottiers and auxiliary footmen, behold the legions also came on apace and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and resistance, as massacre and slaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like sheep, so long, untill their Leader himself began to flie, and escaped into the next mountains, together with 7000 half naked and unarmed. All the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to encamp and fortifie in all haste and tumultuous sort upon the highest mount they could find: from whence (by reason that the enemies had assaied in vain to get up the hill, having so difficult an ascent) they had not so much ado to defend themselves. But, the place being bare and naked, and disfurnished of all commodities for their relieie, they were not able to hold out the siege for a few daies. And thereupon the souldiers fell apace to forsake their own Captain, and to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General himself in the night season abandoned his army, and having got shipping (for the sea was not far off) he embarked and fled to *Gades*. *Scipio* being advertized that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with *Syllanus* ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the Camp. Himself in person with the rest of his forces within seventy daies returned to *Taracon*, for to examine and heat incontinently upon his arrivall the causes of the Princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their deserts they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

After his departure, *Masanissa* having had secret conference with *Syllanus*, about inducing his people also to be pliable and to hearken unto a change, passed over into *Affrick* with some small retinue. At which present time verily the occasion of his sudden alteration was not so evident and apparant, as afterwards his most constant truth and fast alleageance observed unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entred not into this defignment and action, without good and important cause. Then *Mago*, in those ships that *Asdrubal* had sent back, passed over to *Gades*. The remnant, thus forlorn of their Captains, some by way of voluntary yielding and ranging themselves to the adverse part, others by flight, were scattered among the next Cities, and no troop remained of them behind of any mark and reckoning to speak of, either for number or strength. In this manner, and by these means especially were the Carthaginians driven all out of *Spain*, by the conduct and happy fortune of *P. Scipio*, in the thirteenth year of the war, and in the sixth of *Scipio* his government in that Province and command of the army. And not long after *Syllanus* returned to *Taracon* unto *Scipio*, and brought word that the war in *Spain* was fully ended. And *L. Scipio* was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carry tidings to *Rome* of the conquest of *Spain*. And when all other took full contentment and infinite joy at these news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this service, he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an insatiable desire of vertue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recovery and winning of *Spain*, in comparison of those matters that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he cast in mind and aimed at the conquest of *Affrick* and great *Carthage*: and therewith, to make perfect and consummate that glorious war to his own immortall honour and renown. And therefore, supposing it was now a good time to begin the way to those high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare aforehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined first of all other to sound and assay King *Syphax*. This *Syphax* was King of the *Masesyli*, a people bordering upon the Moors, and abutting upon that part of *Spain* especially where new *Carthage* is situate. At the same time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which *Scipio* supposing that he would observe no more surely and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (whose fidelity dependeth upon Fortune) sent *C. Lælius* with rich gifts and presents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous Prince was glad hereof, both because the Romans then prospered every where; and also the Carthaginians in *Italy* lived by the lofs; and in *Spain* went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he condescended to entertain the friendship of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take assurance, but only in the personall presence of the Roman General himself. So *Lælius* having obtained the Kings royall word and warrant that *Scipio* might come unto him with safe conduct and security, returned unto *Scipio*. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of *Affrick*, it was a matter of great consequence and importance in all respects, to make himself sure of *Syphax*, the most mighty and puissant King of all that Land, who had aforetime made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whose kingdom lay fitly upon *Spain*, and but a small arm of the sea between. *Scipio* thinking it therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might not be) leaving for the defence and guard of *Spain L. Martius* at *Taracon*, and *M. Syllanus* at new *Carthage*, (whether he had travelled by land from *Taracon*, and taken great journies) himself and *Lælius* together, loosed from *Carthage* with two great Carvels of five banks of oars, and passed over into *Affrick*, through the calm and still sea, most of all rowing, and otherwhile also making sail with a gentle gale of wind.

Haply it so fell out that the very same time *Asdrubal*, driven out of *Spain*, was entred the haven

ven with seven gallies of three course of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the shore for to be set a land. When he had a kenning of the two Carvels aforesaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have been boorded by them being more in number, before they could gain the rode; yet hereupon ensued nothing else but a tumult and hurry among the mariners and souldiers together, in vain preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high, drave the Carvels with full sail out of the main sea into the haven, before that the Carthaginians had any time to weigh anchor: neither durst any of them proceed to further dealing within the Kings Rode. So *Asdrubal* first set a shore, and within a while *Scipio* and *Lælius* landed, and went all to the Court. *Syphax* took this for a great honour done unto him (as indeed it was no less) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two Generall Captains of two most mighty and puissant States, to sue for peace and amity with him. He invited both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and since it was their fortune to enter under one roof and the same house for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a parley, and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controversies between them. But *Scipio* denied flatly, "that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and *Asdrubal*, that should "need an end with conference and speech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a "professed enemy as touching them, without expres warrant and commission from the Senate. But when the King laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his heart and not think much to bear *Asdrubal* company at meat and meal (because he would not seem to exclude either of them from his boord), he yielded thereunto, and was content. So they supped both twain together with the King, and *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* sate both at one table in one mess, and upon one bed, for so it was the Kings pleasure. But so courteously *Scipio* behaved himself (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carry himself with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place whersoever he came) that by his fair language and eloquent speech, he won not only the favour of the barbarous Prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Roman fashions) but also the good will and love of *Asdrubal*, a most malicious and mortall enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personall, than for all his feats of arms atchieved in war, and made no doubt but reckoned fully that King *Syphax* and his Realm would presently be at the devotion of the Empire of *Rome*. Such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not to seek how *Spain* was lost, as to consider and think how they might keep and hold *Affrick*. For thus they conceived, That this noble Knight and worthy Roman Captain was not come thither wandring at a venture, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himself with walking along the pleasant and delectable coasts, leaving the Province which he had newly subdued, leaving his armies which he commanded, sailing thus with two ships only into *Affrick*, and committing himself unto an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whose fidelity and protection he had no experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compass the conquest of *Affrick*. And this was it that long since *Scipio* had in secret purpose and designment, this was it that openly he fretted and stormed at, namely, that he warred not himself as well in *Spain*, as *Annibal* in *Italy*. Well, *Scipio* having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of *Affrick*; and notwithstanding he was tossed upon the sea with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging yet up on the fourth day he arrived at *New Carthage*.

As *Spain* generally was at peace and rest for any Carthaginian war, so it was well known, that certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyall allealeance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their own greatness and power, as for their fault and transgression, were *Illiturgum* and *Castulo*. The Castulonians had been Roman Confederates in time of prosperity, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two *Scipios* and their armies. The Illiturgians besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickedness, in that they betraied and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge (whiles the States of the country stood in suspense) he should have regarded their desert more than his own good and commodity. But when all troubles were composed and reduced to quietness, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Martius* from *Taracon*, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assail *Castulo*. Himself with the rest of the army marched toward *Illiturgum*, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their conscience bare them witness what they had deserved, and there needed no other defiance or intimation of war against them than the privity of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* took occasion to exhort his souldiers, and began in this wise. "The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by "shutting their gates declare plainly what they justly are to fear: and therefore ye ought to war "with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with "them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for soveraignty and "glory: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyall treachery, for their cruelty "and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of "your fellow souldiers, but also the like falshood prepared for your selves, in case your hap had "been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplary justice, to teach all

Scipio to his souldiers.

"posterity,

posterity, that no man hereafter be so heady as to wrong any Citizen or souldier of *Rome*, in what poor estate so ever he be, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhortation and comfortable words of the Generall, they bestirred themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst choise men out of every company. And having so parted the army between them, that *Lælius* the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with great terrour unto the City in in two places at once. But neither any one generall captain, nor many principall Citizens encouraged and heattned the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful & sinfull conscience: for they wist well and remembred, yea, and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victory that the Romans sought for. And as for themselves, since they were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battall was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put down the conqueror) or after their City burnt and razed, to yeeld up breath in the fight of their wives and children taken captives amid the torments of whipping and hard irons, when they had endured all villanies and indignities. Whereupon not only the serviceable youth for war, not only men I say, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, of courage of that sex, were ready and prepenced themselves to defend the wals. Some brought weapons to the defendants, others carried stones up to the wall unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their liberty alone, which whetteth the stomacks of valiant & magnanimous men only; but they set before their eies all extremities of torture and punishment, yea, and the shamefullest death that could be devised: and their hearts were incensed to undergo all pains and peril, by striving one together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought lustily, that even that noble army which had subdued all *Spain*, took the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the wals, and finally to their honor received some foil in fight and began to fear. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting lest upon so many hot assemptes the enemies might take heart and his own souldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himself personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having rebuked therefore his men for their cowardise, he commanded the ladders to be brought and set to, threatning that himself would scale the wals, if the rest made hasting and thus drew back. With that he made no more ado, but approached under the wals in great peril of his person. Whereupon the souldiers respecting the dangerous state of their Generall, and fearing greatly of his behalf, set upon them on all hands, and began to rear ladders in many places at once. *Lælius* likewise on the other side plied the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townsmen, for all their resolute obstinacie, were overcome; the defendants overthrown and beaten from their standing, and the wals possessed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought impregnable, was in the brunt and tumult taken. For there were certain Africans serving then among the Romans (fled before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholy turned to defend those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entring where they could, espied one part of the City much higher then the rest; which because it was compassed about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified other wise with bulwarks, nor manned with any defendants at all: and being men (as they all are) light and agile of body, and nimble by reason of much practise and exercise, they climed up the rock where they could meet with any crag therof to bear out unequally from the rest, and to yeeld them hold and footing: but when they came to a plumb upright steep place, and where the cliff was even and smooth, they fastned certain great iron spikes and nailes, which they caried about with them of purpose, and stuck them a pretty distance asunder, like greeces and stairs to climb upon: and ever the formost pluckt him up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up those that were before them, untill they were gotten up to the top; and then they ran down with an outcry into the City, which was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from very despiteous anger and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ransacked and rifled. But down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women one with another; nay, their cruell mood was such, as they spared not the sucking babes. Then they set fire on their houses: and what the fire saved they rased and pulled down; so cancred a mind they had, and so bent they were, to leave no monument and token of such a City, and utterly to abolish and root out the memoriall of those enemies.

After this, *Scipio* led his army against *Castulo*. This City was defended not only by Spaniards who thither were repaired out of other parts, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginian army which were scattred abroad in their flight and thither fled. But ere *Scipio* was come before the town they had heard the newes of the woful calamity and destruction of the Illiturgians: by reason whereof they were all terrified and in despaire of themselves: and as it falleth out in such variety of causes and deserts every man sought means to shift for himself the best he could, without regard of his neighbour. And at first they began to have a secret jelousie and suspition one of another, but afterwards they brake out to open dissention: insomuchas the Carthaginians and Spaniards divided themselves, and parted asunder. *Cerdubellus* openly advised the Spaniards, and perswaded with them, to yeeld. *Himilco* was the Captain over the Auxiliary Carthaginians,

whom *Corbulleu* (upon promise secretly before made and protection granted) betrayed, together with the whole City besides, into the Romans hands. This victory was pursued with lesse cruelty: for neither was the offence on their behalf committed so heinous; and the best and choice of the Romans was well cooled and allayed, by reason of their voluntary surrender. From thence was *Marcius* sent against others of the barbarous people, to reduce unto subjection and obedience, as many as yet were not fully subdued.

Scipio returned to new *Carthage* to pay his vowes unto the gods, and to exhibit and set out a spectacle of sword-players at sharp, which he had prepared for the honor of his father and uncle deceased. This pastime and solemn shew was not performed by those kind of men, out of which masters of fence use ordinarily to make choice, namely, such as were picked out of bondslaves and freed men, that use to make sale of their blood for money, but all those that he imployed in combat, were such as offred themselves and their service voluntary and without hire. For some were sent unto him from the LL. of the country, to make shew & proof of the valour ingrafted naturally in that nation; others of their own accord professed to fight, for the love of the General himself, and to shew him pleasure: and some there were again, who upon emulation of glory were drawn to make challenge, whiles others that were defyed refused not, but strove to get the victory. There were also divers that determined those controversies by the sword, which by arguing & pleading they either were not able or not willing to end: having agreed among themselves that the matter in suit should fall to him that chanced to have the upper hand. And those were no mean persons of base degree and parentage, but of noble descent and famous houses: as namely, *Corbis* and *Orsua*, two * [brethren] cousin germans by the father side; who differing and being at variance, about a principality of a City and State which they call *Ibes*, made profession to the title at the utterance by dint of sword. *Corbis* was the elder of the twain; but *Orsua* his father had been the last Prince before, and received that Seignory after the death of his elder brother. And when *Scipio* was very desirous to debate and decide the matter with words, and to appease their anger and mood, they both made answer and said, that they had denied to the common kinsfolk of either party, and that they would have no other god nor man to be their judge, but only *Mars*. Both of them were fierce; the elder presuming of his strength of body, the younger bearing himself upon the flour of his fresh youth: wishing rather to die both twain in fight, then the one to be subject to the dominion of the other. In conclusion when by no meane possible they could be reclaimed from this furious rage of theirs, they became a goodly shew and pageant to the whole army, and a singular example to prove what a mischievous malady among mortal men, the love of lordship is, and the desire of soveraignty. The elder, through practise of his weapons and cunning fight, soon overcame the foolhardinesse and inconsiderate fiercenes of the younger. After this passing of the sword-fight, followed the funerall games and plaies which were set forth magnificently, according as either the wealth of the province, or the furniture of the army might afford.

* Fratres patrueles.

In this mean time, the Lieutenants plied and sped their businesse nevertheless, according to their commissions: for *Martius* having passed the river *Batis* (which the peasants of that country called *Certim*) received two most rich and worthy Cities, surrendred into their hands by composition, without any assault. Now, there was another City called *Astapa*, which ever sided with the Carthaginians: and yet it deserved not so much anger and indignation in that regard, as for that, (letting aside the necessities that follow war) it ever bare a spiteful hatred against the Romans: neither was the town either for naturall situation so strongly seated, or by mans hand so surely fortified, that the inhabitants therein should take more heart, or presume the rather to be lusty and bold. But the naturall disposition of the people delighting in robberies, moved them to make rodes and invade the territory of the allies of the people of *Rome* bordering upon them: and to catch and take prisone rs any souldiers, scullions, lackies, and followers of the camp, or merchants of the Romans, whom they could light upon ranging abroad. Yea, and when there hapned a great company of them together, to passe through their marches and confines, (for in no wise might a few travel in safety), they were surprised by an ambushment laid for them, and being environed in a place of disadvantage, were slain every man. When the army was come before this town to assaile it, the townsmen carrying a guilty conscience for offences committed, thought it not the best course for themselves, to yeeld and give up the place to the enemies whom they had so much provoked against them: and seeing no hope at all to save their lives, either by the strength of their wals, or force of arms, they resolved to execute upon themselves, and those things that was necessest and dearest unto them, a foul, detestable, and cruell fact. They set out and appointed a compass of ground, within the market place where they bestowed and laid on a heap the most precious goods that they had. Upon which they commanded their wives and children to sit, and then they piled about them billets of wood, and laid faggots upon, of small young twigs. And after this "they gave in charge to fifty lusty tall fellows armed that so long as the barrell continued doubtfull, "as they should defend, and guard all their goods, & the bodies of those persons more dear unto them "then all the goods in the world: but in case they perceived their own side to goe down and "have the worse, and the City at the point to be lost, they should then wax well and be assured, "that all they whom they saw going forth to battell, would surely lose their lives in that very "fight and skirmish. And herewith they besought them in the name of the gods both co- "lestiall and infernall, to be mindfull of their liberty, which that day was to take an end, either

"either by honourable death or shamefull servitude: and to suffer nothing to remain, upon which "the enemy in his furious anger might exercise his cruelty: & considering they had both fire and "sword in their hands to do the deed, to let those friendly and faithful hands consume and dispatch "the things which were sure to be lost and perish, rather then the proud enemies insult over them "and make a scorn of them. To these exhortations they adjoyned a fearfull and horrible curse, to as many as either for hope of life, or upon timorousnesse of heart & fear of death, should alter their mind and resolution. Whereupon all at once they rushed out of the gates set wide open, and with a mighty tumult and shout, made a sally. Now there was no set guard and station of any force opposed to resist them, because the enemies feared nothing lesse, then that they durst once issue forth of the gates. Some few troops of horse and the light armour, of a suddain were sent out of the camp to make head, and they encountred them. Between whom there was a skirmish hotter and sharper in regard of courage and violence, then ordered by any skill and good government. And therefore the horsmen were discomfited, that first presented themselves against the enemy, yea, & put the light armed footmen also in great fear. And surely they had proceeded to have fought even under the very rampiar, but that the main strength of the legions, who had but very small time to be marshalled and arranged, put themselves in array and came into the field. And yet for all that, they were distressed for a while about the ensigns, by reason that they ran as blind mad men in their furious fit & as bold as witlesse fools for want of sence, even upon the sword and their own deaths. But afterwards, the old experienced souldiers, having stiffly stood out against the first rash brunt and violent shock of the enemies, yea, and killed the formost, bridled and staied the rage of those that seconded them: and when they assaied with in a while after, to enter forward themselves & break in upon them, & saw none of them to give one foot of ground, but every one resolute to die in the very place where he stood, they opened their battell in the mids (a thing that they might easily do, considering the multitude of the souldiers) compassed and environed the wings of their enemies, who fighting round in a ring, unto the last man were slain every one. Thus were they that were in arms and made resistance manfully dealt withall by their enemies according to the rigor of war, and in the angry mood of souldiers; and such was their end. But within the City there was fouler work, and a more cruell butchery and slaughter committed, when the feeble unarmed and naked multitude of women and children were murdred by their own neighbours and citizens, who having set the foresaid pile of wood on fire, fell to massacre them, and flung their bodies when they were but half dead, into the light fire under them; so as their streams of bloud gushing out of their veins, were ready to quench the flame beginning to break forth. And in the end, when they themselves were even wearied with the pittifull slaughter of their own friends, they cast themselves armour and all into the mids of the said fire. When this massacre was done and ended, the Romans entred the City with victory. And at the first sight of this mospitous object, they wondred for a while and stood astonied. But afterwards when they saw the gold and silver glittering within the heap among others goods, they were ready and desirous (as the nature of man is greedy of such things) to rake and pull the same out of the fire: but some of them were caught with the flame and burnt; others flashed and half singed with the hot steam of the vapour and breath issuing from the light fire, such (I mean) as were formost, & could not retire themselves back, by reason of their exceeding presse behind, that thrust them still forward. Thus *Astapa* was destroied by fire and sword, and yeelded no pillage to the enemies. And when *Martius* had all the rest of the country yeeled unto him for fear of force, he led back his victorious army to *Carthage* unto *Scipio*.

About the very same time there came from *Gades* certain fugitive renegates, promising to betray the garrison of the Carthaginians lying there, and likewise the captain of the garrison, together with the navy. Now had *Mago* rested there after his flight, and having gathered together the ships in the Ocean, levied and raised certain aids, as well beyond the narrow seas along the coast of *Africk*, as also out of the parts of *Spain* next adjoyning unto him, and all by the means of captain *Hanno*. When as between the Romans and those fugitives, there had passed faithfull promise and security to and fro, both *Martius* was sent thither with certain squadrons and companies lightly appointed; and also *Lelius* with 7 Triremes [of three banks of oars] and one great galiace of five, for to war joyntly together by common counsell, as well by sea as land. *Scipio* himself lay sick of a grievous malady, but much worse by report then it was, by reason that every one (as men commonly have a desire & delight to foiter & multiply rumours for the nonce) made ever somewhat of his own head, and put into the rest of the news that he heard: which brought the province out of frame and caused great disorder, especially in the most remote parts thereof: whereby it was well seen, what a world of troubles would have ensued upon some calamity indeed, when a vain rumour only, was able to raise such storms and tempests. For neither the Allies continued loiall in their alleageance, nor the army dutifull in their wonted obedience. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, who made full account of the whole kingdome of *Spain*, now that the Carthaginians were driven out and expelled, seeing nothing answerable to their hope and expectation, and themselves disappointed of their designments, raised peasants and inhabitants of their own countries (and those were the Lacetans) & sollicited the youth of the Celtiberians: the country also of the Suessetans and Sedetans, that were confederat States with the people of *Rome*, they wasted in all manner of hostility. Besides, there arose a civil mutiny and dissention within the camp at *Sucro*; where there lay eight thousand souldiers; as a guard and garrison for all the nation that inhabit on this side *Iberus*. Whose heads were set awork, and began to be busie not at that time

when doubtful & suspicious rumours were spread of their General, how he was in danger of death, H but long before, upon a licentious course of life that they had taken to, and so much the rather, for that now in time of peace they were held in, more streightly and neerly, who before were used in their enemies land, during the wars, to break out in more loose manner, and to live upon rapine and robberie. At the first they began to mutter and whisper secretly these and such like speeches: If there be war still in the province of *Spain*, what do we here among peaceable people? And if the war be ended, and the time of the commission come out and expired, why are we not had again back into *Italy*? Then they proceed to demand their pay very malapertly, and more saucily than might stand with the duty and modesty of souldiers: yea, and the Sentinels and *corps de guard* would not stick to give reproachfull terms and taunting words to the Tribunes or Marshals, when they went the round: and some of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable ter- I ritory about them, for to fetch in booties and prizes; untill at length openly at noon day, they departed from their colours without pasport and licence. All things they did as transported away with lust and self-will of souldiers, not guided by the order and discipline of warfare, nor directed by the commandment of their captains and rulers. Nevertheless, there was retained still a form of Roman camp among them: and that upon this only hope that the souldiers had of the Tribunes aforesaid: whom they supposed in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter into the same furious courses, and have their hand in the mutinies, and follow them in their rebellion: and therfore they were well content with them to sit judicially in Marshall court, in the usuall place of *Principai*, to minister law and execute justice: also to call for the watchword and signall of them, yea, and orderly to go to their watch and ward in their course and due times. And X whereas in very deed they had cast off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they would seem to shew a kind of loiall and dutiful diligence; in that (forsooth) they would be commanders of themselves, and keep some order without constraint. But in the end the mutiny broke out into open sedition: namely, when they perceived once, that Tribunes misliked and reproved their doings and endeavoured to erosie their designes, yea, and denied flatly and openly to take part with them in their follies and furious outrages. Whereupon they disseized the Tribunes of their judiciall places in the *Principia*, yea, and dispossessed them quite of all room in the camp, and by a generall consent conferred the soveraign rule on two common souldiers, the captains of this their seditious commotion, *Albius Calenus*, and *C. Atrius Umber*. Who not contented with the

* Certain officers or sergeants going before them with vine rods

* markes and ornaments of the Tribunes, were so bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the L very roiall ensigns of soveraign rule; never thinking how those knitches of rods, and axes sticking within them, which they caused to be born afore them to the fear of others, were ready to light upon themselves, to scourge their backs and sides, and to chop off their own heads not long after. The supposed death of *Scipio*, whereupon they vainly built, was it that blinded their wits and minds: upon the rumour whereof, being already noised abroad, they had no doubt, but all *Spain* generally would be up in armes. In which garboil and hurliburly, they made reckoning, that they might levy monies of the confederat States, and spoil and pill the Cities neer unto them. And amid these troubles, when all were in an uprore, and every man would venture to do every thing at his pleasure, then they supposed their own deeds and actions would be lesse espied and marked. Now when as they looked every day still to hear fresh newes, not of his death only, but also of his M funerals; and seeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make semblance of enquiring after, & seeking out the first authours who raised those false reports: then they seemed to be angry also and offended with them, to the end, that they forsooth might be thought rather to have beleeved things inconsiderately, than to have devised such a matter themselves purposely. These leaders and captains thus disappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and stand in horror of their own ensigns of magistracy that were carried before them, and in stead of that imaginary rule which they usurped, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the true and lawfull power of authoritie would be shortly turned upon them. As the sedition, was thus dashed, by occasion, that it was credibly and for certain reported, first, that *Scipio* was living; and within a while N after, that he was recovered and in health: there came seven Tribunes or Colonels, sent from *Scipio* himself. At whose first arrivall at the camp, the souldiers grew more angrie and waspish then before: but anon upon fair words and speeches, wherewith the Colonels entertained those of their acquaintance, with whom they had communication, they were well contented and appeased. For first they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards to the *Principia* and the *Pretorium*, where they hapned to spie some knots of souldiers met together and talking one with another: and so spake unto them, as if they rather questioned with them what the cause should be of their anger and suddain commotion, then blamed them, or laid any action to their charge. The reason commonly pretended, was this, that their wages was not duly paid at the day. Besides, they alledged, that whereas at the same time, when upon O "the trecherous fact of the Illiturgitans, there followed the losse and death of two Generals, and "the defeat of their two armies, they by their vertue had defended the Roman name and honnour, and likewise kept the province to their behoof, the Illiturgitans had indeed received condign punishment for their offence and trespasse, but there was none that had requited and recompenced them for their good service accordingly. Beleeve me (say they again) your complaints are just and requests reasonable, and we will make relation thereof to the Lord Generall: and glad we are in our hearts, that it is no worse, and that the case is no more incurable then it is: for

A "for God be thanked, *P. Scipio* and the common-weal, are both sufficient and also willing to make "you amends for all.

But *Scipio*, a man though used to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with storms of souldiers mutinies, was much troubled in spirit and perplexed, for fear the army might exceed measure in transgressing or himself pass his bounds in punishing; for the present he thought good to deal gently with them still, as he had begun, and sent abroad the collectors about the Tributary Cities to gather up the revenues, thereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with speed. And hereupon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they should repair to *Carthage*, there to call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in general, whether they would themselves.

B And now by this time, the sudden pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebell, stilled the sedition of the souldiers quite, which of it self began to cool and slake already. For *Mandosius* and *Indibilis*, after it was reported that *Scipio* was alive and livelike, gave over their enterprise, and were retired again within their confines. So as now the souldiers had neither Citizen nor forreiner to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had cast all about what course to take and what shift to make, they found no other evasion, but the most common refuge and retreat of all lewd counsels and bad desigments, even to commit themselves either to the just wrath of their General, or else to his clemency and mercy, whereof they were not past all hope, and in utter despair. For why? he had not pardoned even the very enemies, with whom he had fought in battell. And as for their mutiny, it was as yet without bloodshed, and no hurt C done: and as it self was not cruel and outragious, so it had deserved no extream and rigorous punishment: thus reasoned they and comforted themselves, as naturally men are too prompt and eloquent, to extenuate, to palliat and cloke their own faults, more I wot, then they should. This was their only doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and squadrons, or all at once to command their pay. In the end they were of opinion, that the safer way was to go all in one train. At the very same time, whiles they among themselves laid their heads thus together in the camp, there was a councel held at new *Carthage* about them, and much dispute there was, and variety of opinions, whether they should proceed against the heads and Captains only of the seditious (who were in number not above five and thirty) or by cutting off the greater sort to punish this so odious example and president of a rebellion rather then a mutiny. But the milder sentence took D place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the punishment should rest. And for the multitude, some chastisement and rebuke was sufficient for their correction. When the Councel was dismissed and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they sat about nothing else but this which they pretended, they published an edict throughout all the army in *Carthage*, for an expedition or journey against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; and gave commandment to make provision of victuals for certain daies. And those seven Tribunes, who had before gone to *Sucro* for to appease the mutiny there, were now sent to meet that army again: and having five names apeece given them of the principal authors of the foresaid tumult, they had a direction unto certain meet persons for the purpose, to shew them good countenance, to speak fair unto them, E and courteously to invite them home to their houses, and afford them kind and friendly entertainment; and after they had made them good cheer and brought them to bed, to take them being fast asleep upon their liberall drinking of wine, and to bind them sure hand and foot Now when they were not far off from *Carthage*, they understood by those whom they met and encountred upon the way, that all the whole army, was the next day following to set forth against the Lacetans: which tidings not only rid them of all fear, which secretly surprised and possessed their minds, but also made them exceeding glad and joyous, for that they supposed their Generall being now left alone with their forces, they might do with him what they would themselves, rather then be at his commandment and devotion. And about sun-setting they entred the City, and perceived the other army providing and making all ready for the voiage above named. Received they were F and welcomed with gentle words, devised and framed on purpose: namely, that the L. Generall took great joy and contentment for their coming, for that they were come so just before the setting out of the other army: and so they went to repose and make much of themselves. And without any stir and tumult at all, the ringleaders of the sedition, were by the means of those Tribuns entertained and lodged in the houses of certain persons of good behavior and meet for that purpose, and there apprehended and imprisoned. At the reliefe of the fourth watch, the carriages of that army, whose expedition was pretended, began to set forward on the journey: and somewhat before day the standards and ensigns advanced, but the whole army was deteined and staied at the gates, and certain warders sent to keep all the passages and wayes, that no man should go forth of the City. Then were those souldiers who came the day before summoned to an audience: and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunall of the General, (as if G with their outcries and clamours they would have put him in some fear and dread of them. And at one time both the Lord Generall himself in person ascended up the Tribunall, and with all the armed souldiers were brought again from the gate, and enclosed round about at their backs the unarmed multitude gathered together to hear an Oration. Then were they danted, as lusty as they were before, and all their courage cooled: and (as they confessed afterwards themselves) nothing terrified them so much, as the healthful strength and fresh colour of the L. Generall beyond all their expectation, whom they thought verily to have found sick and crasie: yea, and his countenance

tenance and face so vigorous and courageous, as they never remembred to have seen him so H
lusty in any battell before. For a while he tat still and said never a word, untill he was advertised
that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readinesse.
Then after silence made by an *Oyez* of the cryer, in this wise he began and said.

" I would never have beleeved that I should haye wanted words and proper language unto
" mine own army : not becausе I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent
" speeches then to manage valiant actions, but for that being alwaies from mine infancy almost
" trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of souldiers. But
" in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue
" afford me utterance : you, I say, whom I wot not so much as by what name to call. Should I
" term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or souldiers, who have re- I
" nounced your Generall, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and
" made no conscience to break the oath of your allegeance? Last of all, should I give you the
" name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agnise the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of
" mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and
" minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the Ilergetes and the
" Lacetanes have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their cap-
" tains in their outrage, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royall bloud: whereas you im-
" posed the soveraign command & government upon *Vmber Atrius*, & *Calenus Albinus*, two base
" companions. Denie it now hardly if you wil, that you all either were in the action, or willing in
" the intention. Verily I can easily beleeve you in so disavowing, and namely, that all this proceed- K
" ed from the folly of some brainsick fellows among you. For the trespasses committed are of that
" quality and consequence, that if the whole army were therein culpable, the expiation & purging
" therof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishment. Full against my
" will I touch these points, as sores and gals that will not abide the rubbing: but unlesse they be
" touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own
" part, I thought verily, that when the Carthaginians were driven out of *Spain*, there was neither
" place nor person throughout the whole province, that had envied my life and health: such hath
" been my carriage, and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies, but also with enemies. But
" see, how much I have been deceived! even in mine own camp, the news of my death was not on-
" ly received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have
" any man to imagin that I conceive, how all in generall are guilty of this fact (for if I were per- L
" swaded in my mind that my whole army wished my death, I would here die presently before
" your eyes; for what good would my life do me, repined of my souldiers and fellow Citizens?)
" But the multitude of every people is like the seas in nature: which of themselves are unmoveable
" and stir not as the winds blow, as the tides go and come, so are they either calm or troublesome
" and unquiet: and even so the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads
" and leaders. As for you, ye have caught the infection from them, and plaied the fools with them
" for company. Surely I am thus perswaded of you this day, that ye know not yet, to what enor-
" mous height of folly ye have proceeded; what mischievous act ye were entred into against mine
" own person; what you attempted against your native country, your wives and children; what
" you enterprised against the gods and witnesses of your loyall oath; what ye have done against M
" the sacred auspices and happy fortune, under which ye have served in warfare; what ye have
" committed against the custome & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors; & final-
" ly, how prejudiciall and offensive your designes have been against the soveraign majesty of the
" Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that ye ra-
" ther gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, then hearken thereto willingly and gree-
" dily. And it may be, that I have so behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be wea-
" ry of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country deserved at your hands
" which to betray, ye should complot with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*? How hath the people of *Rome*
" offended you, that you have deprived the Kn. Marshals and Colonels created by the voices of
" the people, of their lawfull rule and authority, and conferred the same upon privat persons? N
" And being not therewith contented, to have and acknowledge them for your Colonels; you,
" even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods belonging only to the Ge-
" neral, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own to
" command. *Albius* and *Atrius* forsooth, set up their pavilions in that chief place and State in
" the camp, where the soveraign magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded:
" from them the signall and watch-word was demanded: they sat as judges in the Tribunal seat
" of *Scipio* the Pro-consul: upon them the Lictors and Sergeants attended: for them they made
" way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them
" were the rods born, and the axes withall. When it raineth stones, when thunderbolts are shot,
" when light nings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange uncouth and monstrous
" young ones, contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearfull O
" tokens. Nay this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by
" no supplications and praiers, can be purged and expiat, without the bloud of them that have
" commited so hainous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet
" would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembred)
" what

A " what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in
" times past a legion sent to *Rhegium*, there to lie in garrison. Traiterously and villanously they
" murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years space possessed and kept that wealthy
" town to their own behoof. For this notorious and beasly fact the whole legion, even four
" thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of *Rome* beheaded every one. And
" yet they at the first followed not for their captain * *Atrius Vmber*, one little better then a lan- * *Atrius Vmber*: alluding to *Ater*, black and *Vmbra* a dark shadow.
" der, skullian, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfortunate name, but *Decius*
" *Jubellius* a Tribune or Kn. Marshall; neither joyned they with *Pyrrhus* nor with the Samnits and
" Lucans, professed enemies of the people of *Rome*. Wheras ye, have plotted in counsell, and meant
B " to have banded in arms together with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, their purpose was to have seated
" themselves for ever in *Rhegium*, like as before them the Campanes, who took *Capua* from the
" Tuscans, the old inhabitants: and the Mamertins likewise; who possessed themselves in *Sicily* of
" *Messana*, and never minded to molest and make war either upon the people of *Rome*, or any of
" their allies and confederats. But tell me I pray you, intended ye to have made your continuall re-
" sidence, and to have dwelt at *Sucro*? where if I your General at my departure out of the province,
" when my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, ye might have
" cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard measure and
" wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and
" children. But alas, wife and children were clean excluded out of your mind: & ye thought no more
" upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow on still, and discourse upon
C " your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were, yet haply not altogether so foo-
" lish & sottish in the highest degree as may be supposed. Imagined ye being eight thousand men in
" number, (and say that ye were all of better account & reckoning then *Albius* & *Atrius* are, un-
" der whom ye submitted your selves) to have been able for to defeat the people of *Rome* of the
" province of *Spain*? so long as I lived, and the other army stood sound and strong: wherwith in
" one day I forced new *Carthage*; with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased out *Spain*, four
" brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to lay
" aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quick-
" ly beleeved that I was dead. How then? what if I was departed this life and gone indeed? Had
" the common-wealth together with me yeelded up her ghost? Would the main state and empire
D " of *Rome* have fain to the ground with me at once? Forfend (O *Jupiter*, almighty and most gra-
" cious) that ever a City founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eter-
" nally for ever to endure, should be compared and made but equal with this frail and mortall body
" of mine. *Flaminius*, *Paulus*, *Graschus*, *Posthumius Albinus*, *M. Marcellus*, *T. Quintius Crispi-*
" *nus*, *Cn. Fulvius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains
" have been slain in this one war; and they are dead and gone: yet the people of *Rome* continu-
" eth on foot and overliveth them, yea, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, ei-
" ther upon the edge of the sword, or upon some sickness or other. How should then the state of
" the people of *Rome* be enterred & buried with the dead corps of me, but one man and no more?
" Even you your selves (to go no farther to seek examples) here in *Spain*, when my father and un-
E " cle two Generals, were killed, chose *Septimius Martius* for your captain, to lead against the Car-
" thaginians, being in the ruff and jollity of their fresh and late victory. I speak now, as though if
" I had miscarried, *Spain* had been left destitute and without a Commander and Generall. *M. Syl-*
" *anus* who was sent with me in the province, joined in the same commission and of equall au-
" thority; *L. Scipio* my brother, and *C. Lælius*, both Lieutenants generall: would these have sit still
" and done nothing? would these have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire?
" What? could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your
" reputation and credit, or your quarrel and cause comparable? and suppose that in all these regards,
" ye have been superiour and gotten the vantage, would ye indeed with the Carthaginians, have
" born arms against your native country? against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that A-
F " frick should have commanded *Italy*; and *Carthage* the City of *Rome*? And for what demerit and
" great trespasse, I pray you, that your country had committed? *Coriolanus* long ago, being wrong-
" fully condemned and unworthily banished, seeing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was mo-
" ved to take armes and to come against his country to assail it. A privat regard of love and natu-
" rall kindnesse, reclaimed them from publick parricide. But what grief of heart, what fit of an-
" ger hath incited and provoked your? Set case your wages was paid later by some daies, whiles
" your General lay sick; was that a sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & pro-
" claim open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of *Rome*, and
" turn to the Ilergetes? and to spare no law of God and man, but to break all and make ship wrack
" of conscience and common honesty? now surely, souldiers, ye were out of your wits, and fools
G " ye were in the highest degree. I was not my self farther out of frame and sicker in body, then
" ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to rehearse, what folk be-
" leeved, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it be
" possible: if not let us not speak of it yet, howsoever we do, but rake it up in deep silence. I cannot
" deny, but my words have seemed sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very rigorous.
" But how much more cruell think ye are your deeds, then my words tart and sour? And if ye
" deem it reasonable, that I should bear & put up the things that ye have done; wil ye not abide them
and

" and take in good part, and patiently to hear me to tell all that I can say? But these matters I will H
" lay no more in your dish from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye
" could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching
" you all in generall, if ye repent and be displeased with your selves for your fault and folly, I shall
" be content and think you punished to the ful. But as for *Albius Caleuus* and *Atrius Umber*, with
" the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their
" trespasse and transgression, even with their heart-bloud; and they shall surely die for it. The
" spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but
" rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right
" wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischief to no man alive, more then to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before, I hand, there was presented to their eies and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the army which had environed the assembly round about clattered their swords & bucklers together. The common crier was heard to cite by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and haled forth in the mids of them all, and every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumned they were all and astonied for fear, that were present at the sight thereof, that there was not heard amongst them all one shrewd & hard word, in misliking the rigor of the punishment, no, nor so much as one grone or secret sigh. Then their bodies were al drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged & al the souldiers were called by name & before the Colonels & Kn. Marshals, sware alleageance, and K to be true souldiers unto *Scipio*, And every one according as he answered to his name, had his wages truly paid. This was the issue and final end of the souldiers mutiny, which began at *Sucro*.

At the same time, Captain *Hanno* sent by *Mago* from *Gades* with a small power of Africans, sollicited the Spaniards about the river *Batis*, for mony, to rebel and put in arms upon a four thousand able men. But afterwards he was forced by *L. Marcius* to quit his camp, and having lost the greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yea, and some in the flight, whom the horsmen pursued in chase and slew as they ran straging, himself with few others escaped away. Whiles these things hapned about the river *Batis*, *Lelius* in the mean time having passed through the streights into the main Ocean, arrived with his navy at *Carteia*. This is a City standing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first openeth from the streights into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as hath been aforesaid) to gain the City of *Gades* without any assault, by treason, for as much as there came some into the Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the treason brake forth too soon and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspirators were all apprehended, and sent by *Mago* unto *Adherbal* the Pretor, for to be conveied to *Carthage*. And *Adherbal* having embarked those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five banks of oars, and sent her afore, because she was slower of sail than those of three banks; himself with eight three-banked gallies, followed a pretty way after. The said Caravel of five course of oars, was not so soon entred the straights, but *Scipio* also being embarked in another Caravel of the same fort, made out of the haven of *Carteia* with seven Gallies of three ranks of oars and invested *Adherbal* and the foresaid Gallies: supposing verily, that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against the tide to reire. *Adherbal* being thus surprised on the suddain, for a while stood in fear and doubt what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravell, or turn the prows and beaks of his gallies, and make head against the enemy. Thus whiles he stood at a bay lingring, he lost the opportunity of shifting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart shot, and the enemies on every side were ready to charge. And the current was so strong, that they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was nothing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by skil and dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature onely of the narrow sea, the violence of the current was all in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well upon their own fellows as upon their enemies: notwithstanding they rowed and laboured what they could to the contrary. So as one while ye should see a ship that sled and scudded away, whirled about back again with a witnesse by the waves, upon those that had her in chase: and likewise another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemie, if she happened once into a contrary course of billowes, to turn top and tail, and seem to flie. And in the very conflict it so fell out, that when as one vessell ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to turn her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one lay with her flank opposite to the enemie, suddainly all at once she should wind and whirle again upon her prow. As the gallies fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure and will of Fortune; the Roman Caravell (were it because of her weight she was able to stand more steady against the surging billows, or by reason that she had more ranks of oars that cut the waves, and so was more easily ruled) chanced to sink two of the smaller gallies of the enemies; and running fast by one with a forcible violence wiped away clean all the oars of one side, and had no doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have invested and charged upon: but that *Adherbal*, with the other five made sail, and got over into *Africk*; *Lelius* having tailed back to *Carteia* with victory, and heard what had been done at *Gades*, namely, how the complot of betraying

A betraying the Iland was disclosed, the conspirators sent bound unto *Carthage*, and consequently all their hope frustrate and turned to nothing upon which they came to *Gades*; dispatched messengers to *L. Martius*, giving him to understand, that unlesse they meant still to lie before *Gades*, trifling away the time and doing no good, the best way was to return unto *Scipio* the lord Generall: and so with the consent of *Martius* both of them within few daies repaired to *Carthage*. Upon whose departure *Mago* had not onely a time to breath himself being frighted as he was with a double fear both by land & sea; but also hearing that the Ilergetes were revolted, conceived some hope to recover *Spain* again, and addressed his courriers to the Senat at *Carthage*: who by relaB ting not only the civil mutiny that arose in the Roman camp, but also the rebellion of the confederats (and all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the highest degree) should encourage and exhort them to sends aids for to regain the dominion of *Spain*, left unto them by descent over their ancestors. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* who were retired for a time into their confines, untill they knew how the sedition sped and what was the issue thereof, rested stil in suspence. For if the naturall citizens had their trespasse forgiven, they made no doubt themselves but they might be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely and sharply they were punished, they supposing their own transgression to deserve the like punishment, sollicited their own people again to take arms: and thus having levied and assembled the same power of aids which they had before, they passed into the Sedetants country, where at the beginning they lay in standing C camp, being in all 20000, and 2500 horse strong.

Scipio after he had soon reconciled and won again the heart of his souldiers, as well by making true paiment of their wages, to the faulty and innocent alike, as also by shewing a loving countenance, and giving friendly words unto all indifferently; before that he dislodged and removed from *Carthage*, assembled them all together to an audience. " Where he inveighed bitterly and at large against the falshood and trechery of the lords of the country that rebelled: and protested be- *Scipio to his souldiers.*
" fore them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickednes with the same
" mind, wherewith lately before he had cured the folly, and reformed the error of his naturall
" citizens: for then quoth he with grief and grone, yea, and with tears like as one that rent and cut
" his own bowels, I expiated and purged either the inconsiderat folly, or the wilful malice of eight
D " thousand men, with the head of thirty persons: but now I go with joy and glad heart, yea, and
" with a resolution to execute and massacre the Ilergetes. For neither are they born in the same land
" with me, nor linked now in any society at all unto me: the only bond of faith and amity which
" was between us, that they have themselves first impiously broken. But in my own army, besides
" that I see they all are either Roman citizens or else allies, and those not Aliens but meer Latins:
" this doth me good and moved me much, that there is not among them so much as one souldier
" to speak of, but was brought out of *Italy* either by mine uncle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the first of
" the Roman name that came as L. Deputy into this province) or else by my father who was Con-
" sul, or last of all by my mine own self. They are every one of them wel acquainted & inured with
" the name of *Scipios*, and used to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct
E " home safe with me to deserved triumph, and whom I hope to find ready to assist me with their
" favour when I stand for a Consulship, as if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them
" all in generall, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whosoever
" taketh it to be a war, little remembereth the noble acts by me atchieved: for surely I make more
" reckoning of *Mago* and his exploits, who is fled with a few ships as it were out of the compasse
" of the world, in an Iland environed with the Ocean sea, then I do of the Ilergetes. For there
" in that place is not only a Carthaginian captain, but all the Carthaginian forces and strength that
" now remain. Here are none but theeves and robbers, and their leader; who peradventure
" may be of some power and sufficiency to forage the fields, to burn the houses, to drive away some
" cattell of their neighbours; but to come to hand-strokes in a set fight and ranged battell, they are
F " of no valour and worth at all: who no dout will come into the field, trusting upon their good
" footmanship to run away in the rout, more than upon any force of arms to maintain the fight.
" And therefore I have thought good to put down and suppresse these Ilergetes, before I depart out
" of the province; not for any present danger at all, or fear of greater war that I see may spring
" from thence; but first and principally, that so ungracious and wicked a rebellion should not re-
" main unpunished; and next because it might not be said, that in a province so subdued, as wel by
" singular prowesse as rare felicity, there was left one enemie behind of the Romans. And therfore
" in the name of the gods follow after me, not so much to make just war (for ye are not to deal
" with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to punish
" graceless persons. When he had finished his speech, he dismissed them, with commandment to
G be ready the next morrow to put themselves in the journey: and after that he set once forward, by
the tenth day he came to the river *Iberus*, and when he had passed over, within 4 daies more, he
encamped in the sight of his enemies. Now there was a plain there, environed round about with
mountains: into which vale between, he caused the cattell (and those were for the most part driven out of the enemies countrie) for to be put forth to grasing and all to provoke the anger of the
fiere and savage enemies: and sent out withall, the light appointed archers to guard them: he
took order besides, that when these were one in skirmish with the vancurriers of the enemies, *Lelius* with his Cavalry should closely from some covert place give a suddain charge. And for
this purpose, there was a hill that bare out handsomely to hide the ambush of those horsemen.

And

And presently without any delay, they came to skirmish: for the Spaniards made out to the battell, so soon as ever they discovered them a far off: the archers again and darters of the Romans ran upon the Spaniards as they were busie in their booty. And at first they terrified them, and skirmished with their shot: but afterward, when they had spent their arrows and darts, which were better to begin a fray, then determine a battell, they drew their naked swords and began to fight close together foot to foot. And surely the skirmish of the footmen had been doubtfully decided, but that the horsemen came upon them: who not only affronted the enemies in their face, and trampled them all under their horsefeet that came in their way, but also some of them having wheeled about and set a compasse along the hill-foot, presented themselves at the back of the enemies, so as they enclosed and shut up the most part of them in the middle between. Insomuch as there ensued a greater slaughter, then commonly upon light skirmishes by way of such rodes and excursions. But the barbarous people by this discomfiture were rather kindled and enflamed to anger, then daunted any way or discouraged. And therfore, because they would not seem to have been dismaied or affrighted, the morrow morning by day-light, they shewed themselves in battell array. The streight and narrow valley, as is beforesaid, was not able to receive and contain all their power: for two third parts welneer of the infantry and all the horse were come down into the plain field: and the rest of their footmen besides, stood together quartered on the side of the hill. *Scipio* judged that the scantnesse of the ground made for him both because it seemed that the Roman souldiers were more fitted to fight in a small room then the Spaniards: and also for that the enemies were engaged within that place, which was not able to contein the whole multitude: and therefore he devised a new stratagem besides. For considering that he could not in to narrow a space bring his own cavalrie about to compasse and charge the wings and points of their battell, and that the horsmen which the enemies had arranged together with their infantry, would serve them in no stead; he gave direction unto *Lelius* to conduct the horse as closely as he could about the hils, and to keep off the squadrons of the cavalry so far as possibly might be from the skirmish of the Infantry. Himself directly turned all the ensigns of the footmen opposite against the enemies, and marshalled the forefront with four cohorts only, because he could not stretch out the battell any broader: and then without delay he made haste to begin the conflict, to the end, that while the enemies were amused and occupied in fight they should be withdrawn from espying the horsmen as they traversed over the hils. Neither had they an eye of them at all, whiles they were brought about, before they heard the noise and tumult of themas they charged upon their backs. So they fought asunder in two severall places: and battels of foot, and as many of horse encountred & joyned along the plain, because the streightnesse of the ground would not admit both horse and foot to fight together in one plot at once. Now when as the infantry of the Spaniards could not help the men of armes, and they again were a little succoured by the Cavalry, but that the footmen trusting upon the Cavalry, were without good direction put rashly to fight in the plain ground, and to beaten down and slain; and the horsemen being enclosed round, could neither abide the enemies footmen afront them (for by this time their own infantry was overthrown and defeated) nor yet endure behind them the hot assault of their horsmen; they left their horses, cast themselves into a ring, and after they had stood so at defence long time, were slain every one to the last man: there was not I say one footman or horsman left of all those that fought in the valley. As for that third part which stood upon the hill side, rather to behold the fight in a place of security, than to take part with their fellows in the battell, they had both time and space to shift for themselves and escape. Among whom, were the Princes also themselves in person, *Madonius* and *Indibilis*: who were slipt away in the first tumult of the fight, before all the battailons were environed. The same day was the camp also of the Spaniards forced, and therein besides other pillage, were taken prisoners almost three thousand men. Romans and allies there died in that fight upon a 1200, and above three thousand were sore hurt. The victory no doubt had been obteined with lesse bloudshed, if they had fought in a more open piece of ground, where there had been better scope to flie away. Then *Indibilis* giving over clean to think any more of wars, & supposing nothing safer, then to have recourse to the approved goodnesse and clemency of *Scipio*, sent his brother *Mandonius* unto him: who fell prostrat down at his feet, blaming much (as the cause of their folly) the fatall rage and fury of the time; wherein not only the Illergetes and Lacetanes, but also the Roman camp, as it were by some contagious and pestilent infection, became frantick and besides themselves: and said withall, that the condition of himself, his brother, and their followers and subjects was such, as they were ready if it were so thought good, either to yeeld up their lively breath unto *Scipio*, at whose very hands they had once received the same; or if they might now be pardoned and saved, to devote and employ their lives for ever hereafter wholly in his service, as being now twice due unto him alone, and no other. Once after they presumed upon confidence in their innocent cause, when as yet they had no experience of his clemency: but now contrary wise they repoled all their full hope in the mercy of the conqueror, and nothing trusting in the goodnes of the quarrell. Now it was an old custome among the Romans, not to exercise the absolute authority of the government upon any (as they did to peaceable subjects) with whom they were neither confedered in equall and reciprocall covenants, nor linked in the bands of amity; before they surrendered up unto them all rights, as well divine as humane: before I say they had received hostages of them, taken armor from them, and plainted garrisons in their towns and Cities. *Scipio* after he had sharply rebuked and

roundly shaken up *Mandonius* there present, and likewise *Indibilis* that was absent, said, that for their wicked parts & lewd demeanor, they had worthily deserved death: but five they should by his goodnesse and the gracious favour of the people of *Rome*. And moreover he promised neither to despoil them of their armour & weapons (the seizing whereof was put a pawn and assurance unto such as feared rebellion; for as for him, he left unto them their armour freely to ute at their pleasure, and their hearts and minds secured from fear) nor proceed in rigor and cruelty against the guiltelesse hostages, but against their own persons, if they went out and revolted again: nor yet would be content himself to be revenged of disarmed and naked enemies, but the offenders & transgressors should in their armes suffer for their desers. And now since they had tried both fortunes, as well the one as the other, he put into their choise, whether they had rather have the Romans pacified or displeased, friends or enemies? So *Mandonius* had a fair delivery; only there was an imposition and fine laid unto him and *Indibilis*, of a sum of money for souldiers pay. *Scipio* himself after he had sent *Marcius* before into the farther part of *Spain* (beyond the river *Iberus*) and *Syllanus* back again to *Tarracon*, staid some few daies untill the Illergetes had made payment of the monies that they were charged with: and then with all his souldiers lightly appointed without carriages, marched in a running camp to overtake *Marcius*, who by that time approached neer unto the Ocean.

The treaty which *Massanissa* began before time, was upon sundry occasions put off still and deferred. For the Numidian Prince was very desirous to parley & commune with *Scipio* himself in person & in the right hand to assure him of fealty: which was the very cause then, that *Scipio* took so long a journey so far out of his way. *Massanissa* being now at *Gades*, and advertised by *Marcius* that *Scipio* was coming and neer at hand, shewed false semblance to *Mago*, made many excuses, & found much fault, namely, that their houses being pinned up and pestred within the Iland, were welneer lost and spoiled: and that by their long abode there, not only they made others feel the want and scarcity of all things, but also tasted thereof themselves: and besides that his men of armes for very ease and idlenesse, became feeble and unlusty. By which suggestions he perswaded with *Mago*, and prevailed with him so much, as to suffer him to crosse over into the continent, under colour to visit and spoil the land of *Spain* next adjoyning. When he was passed over, he sent before him three principall Numidians, gentlemen of mark, to appoint both the time and the place of their meeting and conference, and gave order, that *Scipio* should detein some of them with him as pledges: the third was sent back, to conduct *Masanissa* to the appointed place, according as he was commanded; and so with a small company they met for to emparle and commune together.

Now was *Massanissa* the Numidian King possessed before with a wonderful admiration of *Scipio* and his vertue, by reason of the fame that was blazed abroad of his noble acts: and had conceived with himself and imagined, that he was a man right personable, of a mighty big and goodly stature, but when he once saw him in place, he grew into a far greater reverence and honor of his person. For besides the exceeding majesty and port that naturally he carried with him, his goodly long bush of hair well becamed and graced him; the habit also and attire of the body, manly & souldierlike, not brave nor trickled up deintily and delicately, much adorned and set him out. And for his age he was in the best & height of his strength: which seemed upon his late sickness, more full, more lusty and fresh, as if the very prime and flour of his youth had been renewed, and himself cast again in a new mould. The Numidian (at their first meeting) almost astonied, gave him thanks for sending back his brethren son unto him, saying, "That ever since that time, he fought to espie some occasion and fit opportunity, which now at length by the goodness of the immortall gods be-"ing presented unto him, he had not neglected and let slip: Protesting that he was most desirous "both to do him favour, and to gratifie the people of *Rome* in any kind of service: in so much as there was no one forsooth more earnest & ready to advance and better the State of the Romans "then himself: which (as he best he had been willing unto heretofore) he could not possibly shew in "effect, so long as he was in *Spain*, a strange country, and unknown unto him; but in that wherein "he was born & brought up in hope of succession in his fathers Kingdom, he would be most forward to perform. For, in case the Romans would send but *Scipio* as L. General into *Africk*, he made no doubt but hoped assuredly, that *Carthage* had not long to continue and stand, but soon would come to a finall end." *Scipio* for his part was glad both to see him, and hear him so speak; knowing this full well, that of all the cavalry of the enemies; *Massanissa* and the Numidians were ever away with prick & prize & the young man himself in his very countenance carried with him a good shew of a brave and hardy mind: So after faithfull promise given and received on both parts, *Scipio* retired to *Tarracon*: and *Massanissa* when he had by the permission of the Romans foraged the coasts next adjoyning, because he might not seem to have passed over into the main land for nothing, returned into *Gades*.

When *Mago* now being in utter despair of *Spain* (whereof he had conceived great hopes, and there himself so proudly; first upon the mutiny of the souldiers, and after wards upon the revolt & rebellion of *Indibilis*) made preparation to sail over into *Africk*, there came a message unto him from *Carthage*, that the Senat there had given order and direction, That he should transport the armado which he had at *Gades*, and passe into *Italy*: and there to take up and wage all the able men that possibly he could levy, either of Gauls or of Ligurians; & so to joyn with his power unto *Annibal*: and not to suffer that war to quail and slake now, which was enterprised with greatest

force

force and endeavor, and yet, with greater favour of fortune. For this exploit, both treasure was h brought from *Carthage* to *Mago*: and himself also raited as great sums as possibly the could of the Gaditanes, having not only emptied the common treasure of the Iland, but spoiled also the temples, yea, and forced all privat persons to bring abroad all their gold and silver whatsoever. As he sailed along the coast of *Spain*, he landed his souldiers not far from new *Carthage*: and after he had wasted and overrun the territories by the Sea side, he approached neer with his fleet, and rid at anchor before the City: where all the day long he kept his souldiers within their ships, and by night set them ashore, and led them toward the part of the wall, whereas *Carthage* was by the Romans won: supposing that the City was not sufficiently defended with a stronge guard, and that some of the townsmen, upon hope of a change and alteration, would rise up in armes and rebell. But there were come posts out of the country in all hast beforehand, who had brought news, l as well of the foraging of the country & fearfull flight of the rusticall peasants, as of the coming of the enemies. Moreover the armado was descried also in the day time, & it was apparant, that they made not choise to anchor even just in the rode before the City, for nothing. And therefore the the City souldiers stood ready, well appointed, and in armes, and kept within that gate, which turned toward the lake and the sea. And when the enemies, souldiers and marriners confusedly together, were come in great disorder under the walls, with more tumultuous noise then forcible violence: the Romans at once suddainly set open their gate, and with a great crie and shout, made a sally upon them, charged the enemies, troubled and disordered them, & at the first onset & volly of shot discomfited and put them to flight, yea, and with much slaughter chased them to the shore: and but that the vessels stood close to the strand, ready to receive them abroad as they fled so fearfully, there had not been one left alive, either in the flight or fight. Nay, they that were in the very ships were in great affright & peril, while to prevent the enemies of breaking in upon them pell mell with their own company, they pull'd up the ladders, drew in the planks, cut a two the ropes whereby the ships were fattened to the banks, yea, and the very cables for haft, that they might have no hinderance by weighing anchor: so that many there were, who in swimming to the ships, because they knew not in the darke night, which way to go or what to avoid, perished miserably. The next day, when the armado was fled from thence back again into the Ocean from whence it came, they were found slain eight hundred men: and of armors and corslets between the City wall and the sea shore, two thousand.

Mago being retired to *Gades*, was excluded from thence, and arrived with his fleet at *Ipsibi*, l a place not far from *Gades*. From whence he sent Embassadors, to complain that the gates were shut against him, being their allie and friend: and when the Gaditanes excused themselves and said, that it was long of an uprore of the multitude, who were offended & aggrieved for certain robberies committed, and spoil made by the souldiers at their departure, and when they were ready to be embarked; he trained forth to parly their head magistrats (whom the Carthaginians call *Suffetes*) together with the chief Treasurer: and after they were scourged and their skin piteously torn, he commanded them to be roundly trussed up and crucified. From thence he sailed to *Pityusa*, an Iland distant from the main an hundred miles, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was friendly and peaceably received: & not only provided for liberally of store of victuals, but also furnished with lusty men, for marriners to serve at sea, yea, and with armor and m munition for souldiers. Upon which forces *Mago* bare himself confident and bold, and setting sail fell within the Balear Ilands, that were fifty miles off. Now there are two of these Ilands called Baleares, the one greater then the other, and more mighty both in men and munition: having an haven and harbour where *Mago* supposed that he might commodiously winter in. But the Ilanders withstood his navy with as great hostility, as if they had been Romans that had inhabited the Iland, they could not have done more. And as now adaies they use for the most part slings, so at that time they practised no other kind of weapons at all. And in no nation besides, can ye find one speciall person, so much to excell in that feat, as all the Balears generally do exceed and forpasse others in the cast and slight thereof. And therefore they discharged and levelled among them, as the armado approached the shore, such store of stones flying about their ears as thick as hail, that they durst not enter the haven, but turned their ships into the main sea again. Then they put over to the lesser * Iland of the Balears, which as it was fertile in soil, so for men and armor it was nothing so strong. Whereupon they disbarked and came a land, and above the haven in a strong and well fenced place they encamped. And having gotten to be masters both of the City and territory about it, without any force of armes and conflict, they levied and enrolled there among them two thousand auxiliary souldiers, whom they sent to *Carthage*, for to winter, and then they drew up their ships aland into the dock. When *Mago* was once departed from the Ocean sea coast, the Gaditans surrendred themselves to the Romans.

* Minorique, the g ater is called Majorique.

These were the acts atchieved in *Spain*, under the conduct & fortunat government of *P. Scipio*, who having delivered the charge of the province to *L. Lentulus*, and *Manlius Acidinus*, returned to *Rome* with a fleet often sail. He had audience given him in the Senat, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*, without the City: where he ditcourled before them in order from point to point, of all the affairs and exploits that he had done in *Spain*: Namely, how often he had fought in set and ranged battels: what a number of towns he had forced and won from the enemies: f what nations he had subdued and brought in subjection under the state of *Rome*; how at first he

A he passed into Spain, against four general captains and four victorious armies; and now had not left one Carthaginian in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather affaied what hope he might have of a triumph, than made any hot & earnest sute therefore: because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himself no principal Magistrate. After the Senat was risen and dismissed he entred the City: and caused to be carried before him into the Chamber of *Rome*, of silver in bullion, 14342 pounds weight; and in coin besides, a great quantity. Then *L. Veturius Philo* held the solemn assembly for creation of Coss. and all the Centuries in general, with exceeding favour and affection elected *P. Scipio* Cos. and for to be his companion in government, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Archbishop was joyned unto him. But this assembly (as we find in records) was celebrated with more frequency of people, than ever any had been B known during this war. For they repaired and met from all parts, not only to give their voices, but also to see *Scipio*: nay they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitoll, when he sacrificed and slew an hundred oxen in sacrifice for the honour of *Jupiter*, according to his vow which he had made in *Spain*. And all mens minds gave them, and they were assuredly perswaded in their hearts that as *L. Lucretius* finished the former Punick war, so *P. Cornelius* would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as he had driven all the Carthaginians forth of *Spain*, so would *Scipio* hunt them out of *Italy*: and every man in his conceit wished and assigned unto him the Province of *Affrick*, as if the war in *Italy* had been fully brought to an end. Then ensued the election of the Prætors. And two were created that were then Ædiles of the Commons, to wit, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*: and of private persons, *Cn. Servilius Scipio*, and *L. Æmylius* C *Pappus*. In the fourteenth year of the Punick war, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* entred their Consulship. And unto the Consuls were the Provinces appointed: namely, unto *Scipio* was *Sicily* granted without casting lots, and that with the consent and good liking of his Collegue, because he being the Archbishop, was by vertue of that dignity kept still in *Italy*, for to see to the sacrifices, divine service, and Church matters: and unto *Crassus* the country of *Bruttii* was assigned. Then the provinces for the Prætors were put to the lottery: and the civil jurisdiction within *Rome* fell to *Cn. Servilius*: *Ariminum* (for so they called *Gallia*) unto *Sp. Lucretius*: *Sicily* was allotted to *L. Æmylius*: and *Lardinia* to *Cn. Octavius*.

The Senat assembled in the Capitol: where *Publius Scipio* propounded an Act, and it was confirmed by the authority of the house, That out of the money which himself brought into the D common treasure, he might be allowed to defray the charges of those plaies and games that he had vowed in *Spain* during the time of the Souldiers mutiny. Then he called the Embassadors of the Saguntins into the Senat house: and the most ancient man amongst them spake in this wise:

"Although right honourable, it be not possible to find any more miseries & calamities than we "have endured already in the maintenance of our faithful allegeance unto you even unto the end, "yet such have your deserts been to us ward, & so many favours have we received of your cap- "tain Generals, that we think not much nor repent of any damage or loss, that we have sus- "stained in that behalf. For first ye entred into the quarrel, & began the war for our sake; and ha- "ving once begun it, ye have continued therein for the full space of 14 years; and that with such "resolution, that oftimes, as ye have plunded your selves into extream peril & danger, so ye have E "engaged no less the State of the Carthaginians. For at what time as ye had within *Italy* a cruell "and bloudy war, & *Annibal* your mortall enemy, ye sent forth your Coss. with armies into *Spain*, "as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwrack, *Pub.* and *Cn. Cornelii* the two bre- "thren, from the first time that they came into the Province, never ceased to devise and do what- "soever might either advantage us, or endamage our enemies. For first and formost they restored "unto us our town again: then having made enquiry throughout all *Spain*, where any one of our "Citizens were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable servitude, and "recovered for them their former freedom. But see: When we were well-neer come to this good "pass, that from our poor & pitiful estate we were raised up to a wished for and desirable fortune, "then *Pub.* and *Cn. Cornelii* your Generals suddenly died: whose death hapned in manner more F "lamentable and dolorous unto us than unto you. For then we thought verily thus of our selves, "That we were reduced from remote & distant places unto our ancient habitation, for this pur- "pose, that we should perish once again, and see a second overthrow and destruction of our native "country: knowing thus much, that for to work our utter confusion there needed not a Cartha- "ginian captain or army to be the instrument and the means; for even the Turdetans alone, our "most ancient enemies, who were the cause also of our former ruin and undoing, were able with "their own forces to root us out clean, and extinguish our name. But behold, whiles we were in "these perplexities, immediatly beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent among us this noble "Scipio here in place, In whose behalf we count our selves of all Saguntins most happy, because we "have seen him declared Cos. already, and shall be able to report the news unto our neighbours G "and fellow Citizens, that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, "our health and safety. Who having forced & won very many Cities and towns of your enemies "in *Spain*, at all times and in all places set the Saguntins apart from out of other prisoners & cap- "tives, and sent them home again into their own country. Finally, as for *Turdetania*, a nation so "adverse, and so dangerous enemies unto us, that if it should continue still in prosperity, *Saguntum* "could not possibly stand upright; he hath by force of arms so quelled and tamed it, that neither "we our selves, nor (be it spoken without arrogance) any of our posterity hereafter need stand in

The Oration of the Saguntine Embassadors in the Senat of *Rome*.

"fear of any danger from thence. We see before our eyes their City raised, at whose instigation & H
"whom for to gratifie *Annibal* before had raised *Saguntum*: and out of their lands now, we gather
"rents and revenues: which contenteth our hearts, not so much for profit & gain, as for quittance
"and revenge. In consideration and regard of these benefits and good turns, which be such, as grea-
"ter we cannot hope nor wish for at the hands of the immortal gods: the Senat and people of *Sa-*
"*guntum* hath sent us ten here in Embassie unto you, for to give you thanks in their name; & with-
"all, to rejoyce and congratulate in your behalf for the happy hand ye have made, and the fortu-
"nate exploits ye have atchieved these last years past, as well in *Spain* as in *Italy*; namely, that ye
"have subdued, and do hold in possession all *Spain*, not only so far as to the river *Iberus*, but even
"to the lands end, and the utmost point lying upon the Ocean sea. And as for *Italy*, ye have left no
"more ground in it for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, than they empale within the compass of I
"trench and rampier. Moreover, we have in speciall charge, not only to render thanksgiving there-
"fore to almighty and most gracious *Jupiter*, the patron of the forteresse and Castle of the Capitol,
"but also to offer & present unto him (if it might stand with your good grace and liking) this gol-
"den crown; and to set it up in the Capitol, in token and memorial of Victory. Which we hum-
"bly beseech your HH. of your favour to grant unto us: and moreover, (if it please you) to ratifie
"and confirm for ever by your authority and approbation, all those benefits, franchises, and privi-
"ledges, which your Generals have of their goodness vouchsafed to endow us with.

The Senat made this answer to the Saguntin Embassadors. "That both the rasing and also the
"rearing again of *Saguntum* should be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithful socie-
"ty and alliance, observed both of the one part and the other inviolate. And whereas their Gene- K
"rals had re-edified the City of *Saguntum*, and delivered the Citizens thereof from servitude and
"bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction according to the will and plea-
"sure of the Senat. And whatsoever else was performed by them to the good and benefit of the
"Saguntins, the Senat stood willing and contented therewith, and gave order therefore. As for
"their present and oblation, good leave they had to bestow it solemnly in the Temple of the Ca-
"pitol. After this order was given, That the Embassadors should have their lodging appointed
them, and presents sent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the City, yea, and
by way of a reward, an allowance of no less than ten thousand Asses apeece.

Then were the other Embassadors admitted into the Senat-house, and audience given them. Also the request of the Saguntins was granted to go and see *Italy* for their pleasure, so far forth as L
they might with security of their persons: and certain guides were assigned to conduct and accom-
pany them, with especial letters also directed unto all Cities and towns, for to receive the Spani-
ards friendly, and give them courteous entertainment.

These things done, the Senators sat in consultation about the state and commonweal, & treated
concerning the levying of new armies, & the distribution of the Provinces. Now when as the com-
mon brute went that *P. Scipio* was destined & named to a new province of *Affrick*, & all mengave
out with open voice, that he was the man to be sent thither directly, without casting lots for the
matter: and himself besides not resting content now with mean glory, said openly, that he was
declared Cos. not only for to maintain war but also to finish and make an end thereof once for all:
which could not be effected by any other means, unless himself in person made a voyage with an M
army into *Affrick*; protesting moreover, That if the Senat crossed and gainsaid this design of his
he would propound it to the people, and carry it away clear by their voices: whiles the principal
LL. and ancients of the Senat were nothing pleased with this resolution of his, but durst not say a
word and speak their minds, either for fear, or for courting of him, in hope of preferment; only
Q. Fabius being demanded his opinion spake to the matter in question to this effect.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius*.

"Right honourable and my LL. of the Senat, I know ful well, that many of you here assembled
"are of this mind & verily perswaded, That we are set this day to no purpose, but even to consult
"& debate of a matter clearly determined; & that in vain he shall spend words, who shall deliver
"his advice of the Province of *Affrick* as of a point as yet doubtful & not resolved upon already.
"For mine own part, first I cannot conceive neither will it enter into my head, how *Affrick* can N
"possibly now be accounted as a Province & assigned certainly unto your Cos. (let him be a man
"right hardy, & of as much valour as may be) considering, that neither the Senat unto this day hath
"judged it, nor the people ordained & assigned it to any person in the nature and name of a Pro-
"vince. Furthermore, if it were so indeed without all peradventure: then in my judgment the
"Cos. hath done amiss, who in making semblance to put a matter for to be debated, which is al-
"ready agreed upon, hath deluded and mocked the whole Senat, and not the Senator, who in his
"course delivereth his opinion of the thing in question. But I am assured, that in gainsaying and
"crossing this hasty voyage into *Affrick*, I shall incur the sinister opinion & surmise of two things:
"the one is of my usual lingring and slow proceeding in all mine actions (a course that naturally I
"am given unto) which young men may term at their pleasure, timorousness and lazines; but so O
"long as I have no cause to repent therfore, I pass the less. For surely hitherto the advices of others
"have ever at the first sight made a goodlier shew, and seemed more honourable; but by experi-
"ence, mine own waies have sped better, and been found in the end more effectual. The other is,
"of backbiting, detraction, and envying at the glory and reputation of the Cos. a man of singular
"prowesse (I must confesse) & whom I see to grow from day to day in greatness and honour. From
"which jealousie and suspition, if neither my life passed and the carriage of my self; if neither my
"Dictator-

A "Dictatorship with five Consullships, nor so much glory which I have acquired as well in mana-
"ging the affairs of war abroad, as of civill policy at home (that a man would think I should ra-
"ther be glutted therewith than desire any more) be able to clear and assoil me; yet my years at
"least wise may free me very well. For what concurrence and emulation can there be between me
"and him, who is not of equall age with my very son? When I was Dictator, in the vigour and
"flower of my strength, in the very course and train of my greatest and bravest exploits, no man
"either in Senat or in the assembly of the people, heard me to refuse and deny, That my own Ge-
"neral of Cavalry, who could not afford me a good word, but ever railed at me, (a thing that was
"never heard before) should be made equall with my self in command and government. And yet
B "by good deeds rather than by fair words; I effected and gained thus much in the end, that he,
"who in the judgment of others was matched with me and made my fellow, confessed within a
"while himself to be my inferior. Les reason have I then now, after I have gone through all de-
"grees of honors and dignities, to enter into contention & emulation with a young gentleman,
"of all others at this day most flourishing in the eyes of the world: unless forsooth it be a likely
"matter that I (a man weary not only of managing affairs, but also of this world, and of this life)
"should look to have the Province of *Affrick* offered unto me, if it were once denied him. Nay
"verily, I have enough already: in that glory I am content to live and die, and seek for no more.
"It was sufficient for me to hinder *Annibal* from atchieving the victory; to the end that by you,
"who now are gallants in the best of your strength, he might be vanquished & overcome. Meet it
C "is then and great reason O *P. Cornelius*, that you should bear with me, and hold me excused, if I,
"who never in regard of mine own self set greater store by the fame and opinion of people, than
"of the good of the Common-weal) prefer not now your glory before the weal-publike. And yet
"I will not say, but in case there were no war at all in *Italy* or the enemy of that quality, as by con-
"quering of whom there were no credit & honour to be gotten: then he that would seek to keep
"you still in *Italy*, were it never so much for the good of the State, might seem to go about to dit-
"appoint and frustrate you (in putting you by the charge of the war) of the very means and mat-
"ter of your glory and renown. But seeing that *Annibal* is your object, seeing he is our enemy,
"who with an entire army still holdeth *Italy* as it were besieged now these fourteen years: will you
"not O *P. Cornel.* hold your self well contented with this honour and reputation, That you being
D "Consul, should drive that enemy out of *Italy*, who hath been the cause of the death of so many
"brave men of ours, and of so many foils and overthrows that we have received; that, like as *C.*
"*Lutatius* had the name of finishing the former Punick war, so you may win the title of ending
"this other also. Unless that a man would say that *Amilcar* was a warrior and Captain worthy to
"be preferred before *Annibal*; or that war of more importance than this; or that victory greater
"and more honorable than this is like to be, in case it happen that we may be conquerours under
"your conduct, and whiles you are Consul. Whether would you chuse rather to have drawn A-
"*milcar* away from *Drepanum* & the mountain of *Eryx*, than chased and hunted the Carthagini-
"ans and *Annibal* out of *Italy*? Nay surely, even your own self (howsoever you embrace glory al-
"ready won than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy & contentment, and triumph ra-
E "ther for freeing and delivering of *Spain* than *Italy* from the wars. *Annibal*, I wot, as yet is not
"come to that low ebb nor so down the wind, but that he which made choice of another war,
"may seem well in so doing to stand as much in fear and dread, as in contempt of him. Why then
"addresse you not your self to effect this impresse, and leave building these Castles in the air, and
"hope by fetching these reaches and this compass, & going the longest way about, that when you
"are passed over into *Affrick*, *Annibal* will follow you thither; and not rather go the next way
"to work, and fight with *Annibal* where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed
"and desirous to win this honour of dispatching quite the Punick war? Why, it is the course of
"nature to defend and make sure your own before you go in hand to assail the dominions of o-
"thers. Let us have peace first in *Italy* before we make war in *Affrick*: and let us first rid our selves
"of fear ere ever we take occasion to put others in fear; unless we had some greater quarrel. And
F "if by your conduct and fortunate government, both these may possibly be effected; conquer
"*Annibal* here, and then go thither to assail *Carthage* a Gods name. But if the one or the other of
"these victories must needs be left for new Consuls to atchieve: as the former of the twain will
"be the greater and more memorable, so it will open the way, and give the overture unto the o-
"ther ensuing upon it. For at this time, over and besides that our treasure and all the revenues and
"finances of our state, are not able to maintain and wage two sundry armies both in *Italy* and in
"*Affrick*: besides, I say, that we want the means to keep two Armados afloat, and have nothing
"left sufficient wherewith to furnish them with victuals and munition: who seeth not I pray
"you how far we engage our selves in peril and danger by this enterprise? *P. Licinius* shall war in
"*Italy* and *P. Scipio* in *Affrick*. What will ye say if *Annibal*, (which God forbid, & my heart even
G "dreadeth to presage, but that which once hath hapned may happen full wel again) upon the train
"of some new victory, fortune to go forward and assault the City of *Rome*? Where are we then?
"Shall we have time then to send for you our Cos. out of *Affrick*, as we did for *Q. Fulvi.* from *Ca-*
"*pua*? And what say you to this besides, That the fortune of war is doubtfull & uncertain even in
"*Affrick*, as well as in other places? Call to mind, and learn betimes by the examples of your own
"house and family, by your father and uncle: who within 30 daies were slain, & their armies de-
"feated: even there, where for certain years space they had performed both by sea and land most

"noble exploits: and highly renowned among forrain nations both the Roman people, and also H
"your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day do nothing else but
"reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors & Generall Captains there have been,
"who have entred rashly into their enemies countries, and received many foyls and overthrows
"thereby, as wel in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent &
"politick State, having left the war at home in their own country, and following the counsel and
He meaneth Alcibiades. "suggestion of one * young man, as hardy & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your
"self (none dispraised) sailed into *Sicily* with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell
"fought at sea, overturned and ruinated for ever their most flourishing City & Common-weal.
"But why seek I forrain examples of strangers, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago.
"Let even this fame *Affrick*, and *M. Attilius*, serve as a notable example of both fortunes, for our I
"instruction & learning for ever. Now surely, *P. Cornel*, when you shal once discover *Affrick* with-
"in your view from the sea, you wil think then that your Provinces of *Spain* were matters of sport
"in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in
"your voyage for *Spain*, you sailed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of *Italy* and *France*,
"and arrived at *Emporie*, a friend City and Confederat: and when you had landed your men, you
"led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*, even as far
"*Tarracon*. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towns, furnished with Roman
"garrisons. About the river *Iberus* you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained
"upon the lois of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than
"before. You met there *L. Martius* their Captain and Leader, chosen (I must needs say) I know K
"not how in a hurrey by the souldiers themselves for the time: but otherwise I assure you, if no-
"bility of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
"feats of arms and martiall knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.
"After this you assaulted *Carthage* without any empeachment, and took your time at your own
"pleasure, even when there was not one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid & defend their
"affociats. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken, & not to debase any good
"service there) they are in no respect to be compared with the African war: where we shal find
"no haven open to entertain our Armado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King
"friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with
"safety. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostility threatning danger and peril L
"unto us. Do you indeed trust *Syphax*, or rely upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that once
"ye trusted them. Rash adventures speed not alwaies best. And oftentimes we see, that fraud fee-
"meth faithfull, and maketh way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance,
"and when the time serveth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witness. The enemies
"overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtiberians our Allies
"over-raught them by falshood and treachery: neither were your self in so much danger from
"*Mago* and *Asdrubal* the chief Captains of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your
"new friends and confederate. Can you repose any confidence in the Numidians? You, I say that
"have experience of your own souldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for *Sy-*
"*phax* and *Masanissa*, as they had rather themselves be the soveraign & most mighty in *Affrick*, M
"than the Carthaginians should; so surely they wish the Carthaginians to be the highest above
"all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heart-burning
"among them, and all occasions of quarrell whet them on to maintain sides and factions, so long
"as fear of forrain enemy is far enough off. Shew them once the Roman arms and forces, let
"them see an host of strangers once, they will run I warrant you altogether then, as it were to
"quench a common scarefire. You shall find that the very same Carthaginians will sar otherwise
"stand to the defence of the wals of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their
"Altars and private houses when going to battell they shall have their fearful wives to bear them
"company, their small children to go afore them in their eye; you shall find them, I say, stick bet-
"ter to it than they did in the quarrell and defence of *Spain*. But what and if the Carthaginians, N
"finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of the generall concord of *Affrick*, of
"the fast fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their own wals, should fortune
"themselves, when they shall see *Italy* destitute of your help, and disfurnished of their forces, ei-
"ther to make out a fresh army from *Affrick* and send it into *Italy*, or else give order and direct-
"on to *Mago* (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the Balear
"Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurians) for to joyn his
"power with *Annibal*; It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much affright-
"ted then as we were of late, when *Asdrubal* mounted over the Alpes, and came down into
"*Italy*. *Asdrubal*, I say, whom you (that will with your army compass not only *Carthage*, but also
"all *Affrick*) let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into *Italy*. But you will say, that O
"you have vanquished him. Say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love
"I beare to the Common-weal, but also of the affection that I carry toward your self, that a van-
"quished man could find the way by you into *Italy*. Be content & suffer us to attribute all things
"that have gone well with you or the Common-weal, during the time of your government, to
"your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out crosse and adverse, to im-
"pute and assign the same to nothing else, but to the variable events of war, and to fickle fortune.

A under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely, *L. Veturius* & *Q. Cæcilius*, shold either
"The better and more valiant that you are, the more need hath your native country, yea, and all
"*Italy* besides, to keep you still at home with them, so brave a captain, o rare a Protector. You
"annot your own self dissemble the matter, but confesse, That wheresoever *Annibal* is, there is
"the very head, the fort & strength of all this war; for as much as you pretend, that the only cause
"why you would passe into *Affrick*, is to draw *Annibal* thither after you. Well then, be it here or
"be it there, with *Annibal* you must have to deal. Tell me then, whether are you like to be stronger
"*Affrick* your self alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Colleague shal be
"joyned together? Is it possible that even the late example of *Livius* and *Claudius*, so fresh in
"memory, should not inform and teach us, what difference there is between the one and the o-
B "ther? In whither place I pray you, will *Annibal* be more strong in men and munition; here in the
"utmost corner & angle of the Brutians country, where this long time he hath wasted in vain for
"aid from hom; where he hath sent for succour and gone without; or neer unto *Carthage*, and in
"the mids of *Affrick* among his friends and allies? What kind of policy is this of yours, there to de-
"cide the quarell and try the whole matter, where your own forces are lesse by a halfe moity, and
"the power of your enemies much greater and stronger; rather then here, whereas you may
"fight with the power of two armies against one, toiled out of heart in so many battels, and wea-
"ried with long warfare, so tedious and grievous withall? Consider with your selfe, what confor-
"mity and resemblance there is, between your designes and your fathers. He, as Consul having
"made a jorney into *Spain*, to the end that he might encounter *Annibal* as he come down the *Alps*,
"returned out of his own province into *Italy*: and you, when *Annibal* is in *Italy*, purpose to a-
C "bandon and leave *Italy*. And why? forsooth not because you judg it good for the common-weal,
"but because you think it an enterprise that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
"when you being captain Generall of the people of *Rome*, left your province at random and your
"army at six and seven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senat, hazarded in two
"bothoms the whole state and majesty of the Empire of *Rome*; which at that time together with
"the danger of your life, incurred the perill and jeopardy of the maine chance. To conclude, for
"mine own part (my LL. of the Senat,) am of this mind, and this is my conceit, that *P. Cornelius*
"was not created Col. privatly for himself and his own behoof, but for the good of the common-
"weal and us all: and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
"fence of *Italy*; and not for the Coll. in their proud self-conceit & over weening of themselves.
D "after the manner of absolute KK. to transport & lead into what parts of the world they list them-
selves. When *Fabius* by this oration (premeditate and framed to the time) had through his authori-
ty land the long settled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisedome, drawn unto his side
a good part of the Senat, and especially the ancients; insomuch as the greater number commended
and the grave counsell of the old man, above the lusty and youthfull courage of the other gallant:
then *Scipio* by way of answer made these remonstrances, and spake in this wise. "My lords of the
"Senat, even *Fabius* himself in the beginning of his oration, said very well, that his opinion which
"he was to deliver, might be suspected of detraction and envy. Of which note, verily I dinst not
"my self tax and accuse a man of his quality and reputation so much, as me thinks is not so well
E "cleered as it ought to be the very suspition it self: and I wot not whether it be by a default of his
"speech & oration, or that the thing it self is so pregnant. For in such maner he extolled with good-
"ly words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and all to quench the jealousie
"and crime of envy: as if my self was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of some
"companion of the baseft degree and condition, and not of him; who because he far surpasseth other
"men, (which hight and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endeavour my self to reach unto) would
"not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himself in regard
"of his old years, c nidering that he hath gone through all ranks and honours; and so low debased
"me, and put me down even under the age of his own ion; as though the desire and love of glory,
"should passe no farther then the length of mans life, and the greatest part there of extended not
F "to the memory of posterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
"dent to the most magnanimous men and of greatest spirit and courage, to have a desire for to
"march themselves not only with them that live in their daies, but with most famous & excellent
"personages, that ever were or might be in any age. And surely for mine own part, O *Q. Fabius*,
"I will not make it goodly, but frankly be wray my mind that way, namely, that I would full fain
"not only attain unto your praise-worthy acts and commendable vertues; but also (with your good
"leave be it spoken) if possible I can, even to excell and surmount the same. Therfore let us not ca-
"ry this mind, either you towards me, or I to those that are yonger then my self, to be unwilling
"and think much, that any one citizen among us, should prove equall to our selves: for in so do-
"ing, we should offer wrong and do hurt not only to them whom we have envied and maligned,
but also prejudice the common-wealth, & in maner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much
G "to your self. He hath now (my lords) recounted, to what great perils I should enter into by the A-
"frick voyage: in such sort, as he would seem not only to have a carefull regard of the common-
"wealth and the army, but also to pity me and tender my case and fortune. Whence cometh, it that
"you should all on a suddain take so great care for me? when my father and uncle both were slain,
"when their armies both twain, were utterly almost defeated and put all to the sword; when
"*Spain* was lost; when 4 armies of Carthaginians, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
"armes; when there was a captain sought for to undertake that war, and no man durst be seen to

" put himself forward, no man so hardy as to present and offer his service, but my self; and when H
" the people of *Rome* had commited the charge and government of *Spain* to me a young man
" but four and twenty years old: how hapned it that no man then took exception at my age, made
" mention of the enemies force, discourted of the difficulty and danger of the war, or laid abroad
" the late and fresh defeat and death of my father and uncle? I would demand and gladly know
" whether we have susteined now lately some greater calamity and losse in *Africk*, than we re-
" ceived at that time in *Spain*? or if the armies at this present in *Africk* be more puissant, or the
" captains more in number, or better in valour, then they were in *Spain* at that time? or whe-
" ther mine age then, was more ripe and sufficient to manage wars, then now it is? Last of all,
" whether it be better, more commodious & easie, to maintain war with the Carthaginian enemy
" in *Spain*, then in *Africk*? After that I have discomfited and put to flight four hosts of Caratha-
" ginians: after I have either forced by assault, or reduced under mine obeisance (for fear) so ma-
" ny Cities; after I have vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many
" princes and potentates, so many fierce and cruel nations; after I have so full y recovered *Spain* as
" there is not remaining to be seen there so much as the footing and bare token of any war: an
" easie matter it is, and all one to elevat and depresse the acts past that I have atchieved: as also
" par-die it will be, when I return with conquest out of *Africk*, to debase and make nothing of
" those very things, which now to keep me back from thence, and to make them appear strange,
" are amplified with great words, & stretched upon the tainters to the full. He holdeth that there
" is no accesse, no entrance into *Africk*, nor havens open to receive an armado. He telleth us and
" alledgeth that *M. Atilius* was taken prisoner in *Africk*, as if M. *Atilius* forsooth at his first arri-
" vall in *Africk*, had caught that harm and heavy misfortune. But he never remembreth and cal-
" leth to mind, how that even the very same captain, as unfortunate as he was yet found the dies
" open enough into *Affrick*: and the first year bare himself right valiantly and victoriously: & to
" put from Carthaginian captains, continued invincible to the end. You shall never therefore
" scare me with the example so much, (were it so) that the calamity you speak of, hapned in this
" war, and not in the former: of late, and not forty years ago) that I should give over my intend-
" ed purpose and not sail into *Africk* now, because *Regulus* there was taken prisoner: as well as
" I passed before into *Spain*, whereas the *Scipios* chanced to be killed. Or that I shall suffer that
" *Xanthippus* the Lacedemonian was born into this world more happy for *Carthage*, then my
" self for *Italy*: but rather that thereby I should think the better of my self, considering that the
" vertue of one only man can be of such consequence and to great effect. But we ought (you say)
" to consider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the war at home in their own country,
" passed over into *Sicily* unadvisedly. Seeing you are at so good leasure to tell tales and report
" true fabulous stories of *Greece*: why discourse you not rather of *Agathocles* the king of the Syra-
" sians? who seeing that *Sicily* a long time was troubled & vexed with the Punick war, sailed over
" into the self same *Africk* whereof we speak, and withdrew the war thither from whence it
" came? But what need I to instruct and teach you by rehearsing old and forrain examples, how
" materiall a thing it is and important, to begin with an enemy first and put him in fear; and by
" bringing another in danger, to remove the peril from our selves. Can there be a president found
" more pregnant more present and fresh in memory to prove and enforce this point, then *Anni-*
" *bal* himself? A great difference there is between the waiting and pilling the lands of others, and
" seeing of our own burnt and destroied. And he which giveth the assault to endanger another,
" is ever of more courage then he that standeth upon his own guard and at defence only to save
" himself. Moreover, the fear and dread is alwaies greater of things unknown unto us: but so
" soon as a man is entred into the confines of a forrain country he may behold and see at hand (as
" well the good as the bad) what may advantage and what may endamage the enemies. *Annibal*
" would never have thought and hoped, that so many States in *Italy* would have revolted unto
" him as they did upon the overthrow at *Canna*. How much lesse account then may the Cartha-
" ginians make of any thing in *Africk*, to remain fast and assured unto them; who are fickle al-
" lies to strangers without all truth and fidelity; proud lords & intolerable tyrants over their
" own subjects, full of wrath & cruelty? Over and besides, we albeit (we were forsaken and aban-
" doned of all our confederats) stood alwaies upon our own forces, & maintained our selves with
" meer Roman souldiers: whereas in *Carthage* they have no strength of naturall citizens: the
" souldiers that they have, are mercenaries all & waged for money partly Africans and partly Nu-
" midians the most unconstant nations of all others by nature, and aptest to entertain changes &
" innovations. Let me have no stay and hindrance in this place only; ye shall hear news at one
" time that I am set over in *Africk*, that all the country there is up in a broil: that *Annibal* is rea-
" dy to dislodg and remove out of these parts: & also that *Carthage* it self is besieged. Expect you
" daily out of *Africk* better and luckier tidings, yea and oftner then ye heard out of *Spain*. These
" hopes of mine, I ground upon the fortune of the people of *Rome*: upon the justice of the gods
" witnesses of the league broken by the enemies upon *Syphax* and *Masinissa*, both Kings, whose
" truth and fidelity I will trust so far forth as I find them, and ever stand in fear and doubt of their
" falshood and trechery. Many things they are now, that by distance of place appear not, which
" war once begun will soon discover. And this is a special point of a man indeed, & of a good cap-
" tain, in no case to be wanting unto fortune when she offereth her self, but to take all vantages
" that she giveth: and those accidents and occurrences which fall by chance to make use of them
yea,

A " yea and by wisdome and counsell to frame them to his own purpose and designes. True
" it is, *O Fabius*, I shall have *Annibal* to beard and to match me; a souldier, I confesse, as
" good every way as my self, but I will rather draw him after me, than he shall keep me back
" at home. Force him I will to fight in his own country, and *Carthage* shall be the price of my vi-
" ctory, rather then the decaied peeces, and half ruinat pery castles of the *Brutii*. Only provide, *O*
" *Q. Fabius*, that in the mean time whiles I am at sea in my voyage, whiles I amlanding mine ar-
" my in *Africk*, whiles I approach *Carthage* with a running camp, the Common-weal sustein no
" harm and damage here at home. See to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shame-
" full reproach to say, that *P. Licinius* the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the
" high Priest, and by vertue therof, not to absent himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices
B " and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should
" not befall unto him by casting lots) is not able to perform that, now when *Annibal* is half de-
" feated, and his heart almost broken, which your self was sufficient to effect when *Annibal* squar-
" red it out, and braved all *Italy* like a conqueror. But set the case, and suppose I say, that by this
" course which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end: yet surely it
" were for the honour of the people of *Rome*, and for the reputation and name which they have
" among forrain princes and States abroad, that they may see and know, that our hearts serve us
" not only to defend *Italy*, but also to offend *Africk*. And that it might neither be thought and be-
" leeved, nor spoken and noised abroad in the world, how no Roman captain durst adventure that
" which *Annibal* hath already dared and done: and when as in the former Punick war, when H
" the quarell was for *Sicily*, our armies and armados so often assailed *Africk*: now that *Italy* is in
C " question *Africk* should lie still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let *Italy* be at repose and quier now
" at last, after so long travell and affliction, and let *Africk* in her turn be fired and forraged ano-
" ther while. Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the very wals and gates of *Carthage*,
" then we see once again from our wals the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our Ci-
" ty. Let *Africk* be the set place and seat of the war, let fright and flight, forraging and harrying
" of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that
" follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thither. It shall content
" and suffice me to have spoken as touching State-matters & the commonweal of the war present-
" ly in hand; and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and consulta-
" tion. For it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same impertinent altogether un-
D " to you, as if *Q. Fabius* hath defaced and depraved mine acts in *Spain*, so I likewise should dis-
" grace him and diminish his glory, and set out my self and mine own reputation with goodly
" and magnificall words. But my LL. I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else,
" yet at least wise, yong man as I am, I will in modesty and government of my tongue, go beyond
" him as old and ancient a personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self in
" all mine actions, that without blazing of mine own praises, I can soon content my self with
" that good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me.

Scipio had audience given him, with lesse indifference, and patience, because it was commonly voiced abroad, That if the Senat would not grant him to have the province and empresse of *Africk*, he would immediatly propound and put it to question before the people. Whereupon *Q.*
E *Fulvius*, a man that had been four times Consul and Censor besides, required the Consul to speak his mind openly before the Senat, whether he would referr unto the LL. there assembled, to determine of the provinces, and stand to that which they should set down, or prefer the thing unto the people. When *Scipio* had made answer again and said, That he would do that which might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-weal: then *Fulvius* replied upon him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what either you would answer, or what you meant to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no lesse your self, that you do but sound the Senat, and feel rather how they had enclined, then to stand to any advice of theirs in good sadness. And in case we do not presently grant you the province according unto your desire, you have a bill framed already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty.
F And therfore (qd. he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that I forbear to speak unto the point and deliver mine opinion; in this regard, because I know that the Cos. will not approve and ratifie the same, how soever the whole house will go with me, and allow my sentence. Hereupon arose some braul & debate among them, whiles the Cos. urged and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reason and equity, that the Tribuns should enterpose their authority, and not permit every Senator being requested to speak in his turn, to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribuns made a decree in this maner, if the Cos. be content that the Senat shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command, that all men rest in that which the Senat shall ordein and judge: neither will we suffer the same to be propounded unto the people: if he be not content nor yeeld thereto, then we will assist him who
G shall refuse to speak to the matter. Then the Cos. requested a daies respit to confer with his Colleague, and so take counsel: to morrow after he condescended to put all to the censure of the Senat. And in this wise were the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Coss. *Sicily* was assigned, and thirty ships of war, with brazen beak heads (even the same that *C. Servilius* the year before had the charge of) with commission also to passe over in *Africk*, if he thought it were for the good of the Common-wealth. The other Consul had the government of the *Brutii* and the managing of the war against *Annibal*, with the power of that army which *L. Veturius* and *Q. Cecilius* had

cast

cast lots, agree between themselves who should remain still in the Brutians country to follow H
the wars there, with those two legions which the Consul left; and that whether of them chanced to have that province, his government should be prorogued and continued for another year. The rest of the Pretors also and Consuls, who were to govern any province, or have the conduct of armies, had their commission renewed and sealed again for a longer term. Now it fell to *Q. Cæcilius* his lot, to make war together with the Consul against *Annibal* in the Brutians country.

After this, ensued the games and plaies of *Scipio*; which were exibited and set forth, with great concourse of people and exceeding applause and affection at favour of the beholders. *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *Q. Catulus* were sent as Embassadors unto *Delphos*, to carry thither an offring and stately gift of the booty and pillage of *Asdrubal*: who presented there a crown of gold weighing two hundred pound: also certain counterfets retembling the spoils, which were I
made of silver, amounting to a thousand pound weight. *Scipio* when he could not get leave granted to levy souldiers and take musters which he greatly forced not of, obteined thus much yet, that he might have with him in his train voluntary souldiers: as also receive whatsoever the Allies would contribute and give towards the building of new ships, because he had passed his word, that the City should not be charged with setting out an armado. And first and formost, the States of *Hetruria* promised to help the Consul, every one according to their ability. The Cærites came off, and granted to purvey corn and all kinds of victuals for the mariners and sailers, the Populonians to provide iron the Tarquinians to find sail-cloths, the Volaterrans to send all tacklings and furniture belonging to ships, and also corn: the Aretines to conser 30000 targets, as many morions or head-peeces, besides javellins darts, faulchions, lances, and pikes, to the full K
number of fifty thousand, as many of the one sort as of the other, also axes, spades and mattocks bils, sithes, and hooks, and sickles, meal, troughs and quern mils, as many as would ser eto furnish forty long ships or gallies: of wheat 120000 Modii, and all voyage provision for the Deputies, petty captains, Mariners and Ore-men by the way. The Perusines, the Clusins, the Rusellans offred fir trees for the framing and making of ships, and a great quantity of corn. But for this work, he occupied only the fir hewn out of the publick foreft and wasts. All the States of *Vmbria*, the Nursines also, the Reatines Amiternines and the whole country of the Sabines, made promise to help him to souldiers: the Marsi, the peligni, and Marricines, in great number came of their own free wils, and were enrolled to serve at sea in the navy. The Camertes, being allies and confederat to the Romans, but not tied to any service, sent a brave company of L
hundred men well armed. And when as there were set out the keels or bottoms of thirty ships, twenty Caravels of five course of oars, and ten of sour, himself in person plied the carpenters and shipwrights so, and set forward the work that 45 daies after the timber was brought out of the wood, the ships were finished, rigged, and furnished with all things, and shot into the water, so to *Sicily* he sailed with thirty long ships of war having embarked therein almost seven thousand of voluntary servitors. *P. Licinius* also for his part, came into the Brutians country unto the two consular ie armies, of which he took unto him and chose that which *L. Veturius* the Consul had commanded, and suffered *Metellus* to have the leading still of those legions, which had been under his conduct before: supposing that he should more easily employ them in service because they were acquainted already with his manner of regiment and governance. The Pretors M
likewise went into their sundry provinces. And because mony was wanting for to destray the charges of the wars, the high Treasurers were commanded to make sale of all that tract of the Campane country, which from the Greek Fosse extendeth towards the sea. And there was granted out a commission to give notice of those lands: and look what ground soever belonged to any citizen of *Capua*, it was confiscat to the use of the people of *Rome*: and for a reward to him that gave notice, there was assigned the tenth part of the mony, that the land was rated and prized at. Also *C. Servilius* the City Pretor, had given him in charge to take order that the Campanes should dwel where as they were allowed to inhabit by vertue of a decree granted forth by the Senat, and to punish those that dwelt elsewhere.

In the same summer *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, being departed from the lesse Baleare Iliands, N
where he abode the winter season, and embarked a chosen power of young and lusty men, sailed over into *Italy* with a fleet of thirty ships headed with brazen piked beaks, and many hulks of burden: and there he set aland his souldiers, to the number of twelve thousand footmen, and welneer two thousand horse: and with his suddain coming surprised *Genua*, by reason that there lay no garrisons in those parts to guard and defend the sea coasts. From thence he sailed along and arrived in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could by his coming raise some commotion and rebellion. The * Ingauni (a people of the Ligurians) fortuned to war at that present
Of *Albenga*. with certain mountainers the *Epanterii*. Whereupon *Mago* having laid up and bestowed safe of the prizes and pillage that, when he won in* *Savo*, (a town upon the *Alpes*) and left ten ships all O
Vuado, or *Savona*. war riding in the river, for a sufficient guard, and sent away the rest to *Carthage* for to keep the coasts at home (because there ran a mighty rumor, that *Scipio* would past the seas, and over into Africk) himself, after he had concluded a league and amity with the Ingauni (whose favour he more affected and esteemed then the other) set in hand to assail the mountainers. Besides, his power increased daily: for that the Frenchmen flocked unto him in all parts, upon noise and voyce of his name. Intelligence hereof was given to the Senat by the letters of *Sp. Lucretius* who were with these news exceedingly troubled and perplexed, for fear lest they had rejoyced in vain

A vain for the death of *Asdrubal*, and the defeat of his army two years before; in case there should arise from thence another war as great and dangerous as the other, differing in nothing else but the exchange of the General. And therefore they gave order and direction both to *M. Livius* the Pro-Consul, to come forward with his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscany* into *Ariminum*: and also unto *Cn. Servilius* the City Prætor, (if he thought requisite and expedient for the Commonwealth) to commit the two legions of Citizens attending about *Rome*, to whomsoever he pleased, for to be commanded, and led forth of the City. So *M. Valerius Lævinus* conducted those legions to *Aretium*.

About the same time, certain hulks of the Carthaginians, to the number of fourscore, were B boorded and taken about *Sardinia*, by *Cn. Octavius*, governor of that province. *Celius* writeth, that they were loaden with corn and victuals sent unto *Annibal*. But *Valerius* reporteth, that as they were carrying the pillage taken in *Hetruria* and certain prisoners of the Ligurian mountainers; into *Carthage*, they were intercepted and surprized by the way. There was no memorable thing that year done in the Brutians country. The pestilence raigned as well amongst the Romans as the Carthaginians, and they died thereof alike on both sides. Many the Carthaginian army, besides the plague, were afflicted also with famine. *Annibal* passed all that summer time near unto the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he built and reared an altar, and dedicated it with a glorious title of his worthy acts, engraven in Punick and Greek letters.

C

The nine and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the nine and twentieth Book.

D

CAius Lælius *being sent from* Scipio *out of* Sicily *into* Affrick, *brought from thence a huge booty, and declared unto* Scipio *the credence and message that he had from* Masanissa, *who complained of him that he had not as yet passed over with his fleet into* Affrick. *The war in* Spain *which* Indibilis *had raised was dispatched: himself slain in the field: and* Mandonius *was delivered by his own men into the Romans hands that demanded him of them.* Mago, *who was in* France *and* Liguria, *had out of* Affrick *sent unto him both a great power of souldiers, and also money to wage aids: with a commission and precept to join himself unto* Annibal. Scipio *crossed the seas from* Syracuse *into the* Brutii, *and recovered the City* Locri, *after he had discomfited the garrison there, and put to flight* Annibal. *Peace was concluded with* Philip. *The goddess Dame* Idæa *was brought solemnly to* Rome *from* Pessinus, *by occasion of a prophesie found in the books of* Sybilla *to this effect*: *That then the forrain enemy might be driven out of* E *Italy, when Dame* Cybele *of* Ida *was brought to* Rome. *And to the Romans she was delivered by* Attalus *King of* Asia. *A thick stone it was, and nothing else, which the Inhabitants called the mother of the gods.* P. Scipio Nasica, *the son of that* Cneus *who was killed in* Spain, *judged by the Senat a right good man, one that was very young, and had not been yet so much as Questor, was he that received her: for it was by the Oracle imported, that the said goddess should be received by the best man of the City, and so dedicated. The Locrians sent their Embassadors to* Rome, *to complain of the outrage and cruelty of* Q. Pleminius *the Lieutenant: in that he had unjustly taken away the money consecrated to* Proserpina, *and wilfully forced their wives and children.* Pleminius *was brought bound with chains to* Rome, *and there died in prison. There ran a false rumour of* Pub. Scipio, (*Pro-Consul in* Sicily) *and spread as far as to the* City, *That he should spend his time there in riot. Whereupon there were sent certain messengers from the* F *Senat for to enquire and see whether those reports were true. And* Scipio *being cleared from all infamy, by the permission and good leave of the Senat, sailed over into* Affrick, Syphax *affianced and wedded the daughter of* Asdrubal *the son of* Gisgo: *and thereupon renounced clean the amity which he had entratted with* Scipio. Masanissa *the King of the Massylians, whiles he served in the wars in defence of the Carthaginians quarrel within* Spain, *after he had lost his father* Gala, *was withall dispossessed of his kingdom. And when he had oftentimes fought to recover it again by war, he was in certain battels vanquished by* Syphax *King of the Numidians, and utterly deprived of his royall dignity. So with two hundred horsemen he joyned as a banished person with* Scipio: *and with him, immediatly in the first battell he slew* Hanno *the son of* Amilcar, *together with a great number of men.* Scipio *upon the coming of* Asdrubal *and* Syphax, *who were almost* 100000 *strong, was compelled to break up the siege at* Utica: *and so he fortified a standing camp for winter harbour.* Sempronius *the Consul had a fortunate battel against* Anni- G *bal in the territory of* Croton. *The Censors held a solemn review and purging of the City, and nombred the people: In which survey taken, there were assessed in their books* 215000 *Citizens. Between the two Censors,* M. Livius *and* Claudius Nero, *there fell out a notable discord: for* C. Claudius *took from* Livius (*companion with him in office*) *his horse of service: for that he had been sometimes condemned by the people of* Rome, *and driven into exile. And* Livius *again did the like by him, because he had born false witnesse against him, and not dealt* bona fide *with him, considering the reconciliation between them,*

wherein

wherein they seemed to be made good friends again. The same Livius *left all the tribes but one, distranchised, and caused them to pay tribute as no denizens, for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and also made him a Consul and Censor afterwards.* H

The nine and twentieth book of T. Livius.

Scipio after he was arrived in *Sicily*, disposed his voluntary souldiers in order, and entrolled them by Centuries. Over and besides them he had about him three hundred lusty tall fellows, for the flower of their age and strength of body, the bravest men of all others: but they wist not themselves for what purpose they were reserved; being neither assigned to any colours under a Captain, nor so much as armed at all. Then he made choice from out of the whole manhood and youth of *Sicily* three hundred men of arms, such as for birth and wealth were the very principall and best in the Island, who were to pass over with him into *Affrick*: and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readiness, furnished and appointed in the best manner with horse and armor. This warfare so far from home was like to be irksome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and fear hereof mightily disquieted not only the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they shewed their horses and armour. Then *Scipio* made a speech unto them, and said, "That he was given to "understand, that certain Sicilian horsemen stood in great fear and dread of this souldiery, as K "being a sore and painfull piece of service: In case then (quoth he) there be any of you so minded and disposed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereof unto me, and "confess at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and so to prove lazy lubbers and unprofitable souldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore utter your minds in plain terms, "and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and said flatly, "That if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then *Scipio* answered him again in this manner, For as much as (my "youth) thou hast not dissembled thy hearts grief, but spoken out what thou thinkest, I will soon "depute one in thy turn unto whom thou maiest deliver thy armour, thy horse, and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, there to train, teach, & L "exercise him after thou hast given him thy horse and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he assigned unto him one of those three hundred aboresaid, whom he kept about himself unarmed. When the rest saw that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the L. General: every man then began to speak for himself, and to make excuses, and took others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were substituted as many Roman horsemen, without any expences at all of the State. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing and training them up. For the Generall had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whosoever did not so, should serve himself in person. This proved by report a brave cornet of horsemen above the rest; and in many battels performed right good service to the Common-weal. After this, he took a survey of the legions or footmen: and all those who had born arms longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had been employed under the conduct of *Marcellus*. For those he well wist to have been brought under the best discipline of warfare, and also by reason of the long siege of *Syracuse*, to be most skilfull in assaulting of Cities. For now they were no small matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruin of great *Carthage*. After this, he divided his army and placed severall forces in sundry towns. The Cities of *Sicily* he enjoyned to provide corn: he made spare of that which was brought out of *Italy*; the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent *Lelius* into *Affrick* for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes; the new which rid at *Panormus* he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground, and be seasoned, because they were made in haste of green timber. When he had prepared all things necessary for war, he came to the City of *Syracuse*, which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, since the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods granted unto them by the Senat of *Rome*, which certain of the Italian nation detained and with-held from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of war they had possessed themselves thereof. He supposing it meet and requisite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State; partly by vertue of an edict and commandment, and partly by a civill course and process of law against such as were obstinate and avowed their wrongs done, he forced them to make restitution to the Syracusians. This act of his pleased not only them, but also all the states of *Sicily*: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The same summer there arose in *Spain* great troubles, raised by the means of *Indibilis* the Ilergete for no other occasion or reason in the world, but because in regard of the high admiration of *Scipio*, all other Captains besides whatsoever were but despised. "Him they supposed to be the "only General that the Romans had left, now that all the rest were slain by *Annibal*. And here- "upon it was (thought they) that when the two *Scipios* were killed, they had no other to send into "*Spain* but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in *Italy*, he was the only man sent for "over to match with *Annibal*. And over and besides that, the Romans had now in *Spain* no Cap- "tains

A "tains at all, but in bare name and shew: the old experienced army also was from thence with- "drawn. All things are out of frame, and in great confusion, & none there, but a disordered sort of "raw fresh water souldiers. And never they looked to have again the like occasion & opportunity "to recover *Spain* out of their hands. For hitherto they had ever been in subjection to that day, "either to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not alwaies to the one or the other, by turns, "but otherwaies to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Ro- "mans, so may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in "the end *Spain* being freed from all forrain war, might be restored for ever to the ancient cu- "stomes and rights of the country. With these and such like suggestions and discourses, he solliciB ted and raised not only his own subjects and countrimen, but the Ausetans also, a neighbour-nation, yea, and other States and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines; so as within few daies there assembled together into the territory of the Sedetans (according to an Edict published abroad) thirty thousand foot, and fast upon four thousand horsemen.

The Roman Captains likewise for thir part, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, left by neglected of the first beginning, the war might grow to a greater head, joyned their forces together, and marching through the country of the Ausetans, as peaceably as if they had been friends, (notwithstanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped, and pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they affaied by way of Embassage to deal with them, and to persuade them to lay aside all arms and hostility: but they laboured in vain. Afterwards, when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certain RoC mans that were forraging, the Romans also sent out from their Stations and *Corps de guard* their Cavalry to rescue: so the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act to speak of was effected on the one side or the other. The next morrow by sun-rising the enemies all shewed themselves armed and in order of battel, and braved the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Ausetans were marshalled in the main battel; the Ilergetes in the right point, and certain other Spanish nations of base and mean account in the left: between both those wings and the battel, of either hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth their horsemen. The Romans having embattelled and put themselves in array after their old and usuall manner, yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain open waies between the legions for the men of arms to pass through. But *Lentulus* supposing that D the use of the horse-service would be advantagious to that part which first should send out their Cavalry into the battell of the enemies, that lay so open with spaces between, gave commandment to *Sor. Cornelius* a Knight Marshall or Tribune, to will and charge the Cavalry to set to with their horses, and to enter those open lanes between the enemies battaillons. And himself having sped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, staid no longer, but untill he had brought the thirteenth legion (which was set in the left wing opposite to the Ilergetes) out of the rereward into the vanguard, for to succour and strengthen the twelth legion, which already began to shrink and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equall and fought on even hand, he advanced forward to *L. Manlius*, who in the forefront of the battell was busie in encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where he saw need: full: E shewing unto him, that all was well and whole in the left point, and that he had sent out *Cornelius*, who with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storm come upon them, and soon overcast and bespread the enemies round about. The word was not so soon spoken, but the Roman horsemen were ridden within the thickest of the enemies, and not only disordered the arraies and companies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waies and passages that the Spaniards could not make out with their horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horseback, alight on foot. The Roman Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies distrained, themselves in fright and fear, and their ensigns waving up and down every way; fell to exF horting, yea, to entreating of their own Infantry to recharge them with all their force, while they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and re-enforce the battell again. And surely the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent impression, but that *Indibilis* himself their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the ensigns of the footmen in the vanguard. Whereupon ensued a sharp and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that fought about their Prince (who first, although he were half dead, yet stood their ground, and afterwards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts, and slain; then they began to flie on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses, and mount upon them again and also the Romans pressed so hotly upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over until they had stript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thouG sand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romans and Allies, not many more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and those especially in the left point. The Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp, or escaped out of the battell, first ran scattered and dispersed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where he dwelt.

Then *Mandonius* summoned them to a generall councill: where they all bewailed their calamities & miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the war, and agreed in the end to send their embassadors

sadors to give up their arms, and to yield their bodies. These having excused themselves and laid H
the whole fault upon *Indibilis* & the rest of the Princes who were the stirrers of the war, & were
for the most part slain themselves for their labour in the field, yielded up their armour and them-
selves, and received this answer from the Romans: That they should be received to mercy, and
their submission accepted, if they would deliver alive into their hands *Mandonius*, and the rest that
were the breakers of peace. Otherwise, they threatned to lead their forces into the territories of
the Ilergetes and Ausetans and so forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion.
With this answer the Orators departed, and related the same in the councill assembled. Where
Mandonius and the rest of their Lords were apprehended & delivered to the Romans for to be pu-
nished and executed accordingly. So the States of *Spain* obtained peace again: and a double tri-
bute for that year was imposed upon them, and they enjoyned to provide corn to serve the army I
six months, besides souldiers liveries, short coats, and side cassocks: and they received hottages wel-
near of thirty Cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of *Spain* being begun and ended after this
manner, without any great ado within few daies, all the force of the war turned upon *Affrick*.

C. Lælius being arrived in the night at *Hippo* Royall, by the break of the day, led forth with ban-
ner displaied in order of battel all his souldiers and mariners, for to harrey and spoil the country.
And finding the inhabitants there retchless and careless, and living in security as in time of peace,
they did much hurt and annoied them sore. Whereupon the news went in post to *Carthage*, let all
on a hurry & put them in exceeding great fear. For it was reported, that the Roman Armado was
arrived, and that *Scipio* the General was landed (for the rumour ran before, how he was passed
over already into *Sicily*.) And because they never descried the ships, nor discovered certainly what K
power of men invaded and spoiled the country, they thought the most and doubted the worst, as
fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And so at first they were only affrighted and
terrified; but afterwards they grew melancholly and troubled in spirit in these tearms, to think,
"That fortune should so much be changed, that they, who a little before as noble conquerors had
"lain encamped with an army before the walls of *Rome*, defeated so many hosts of enemies, and
"either by meer force or meer love, held all the States of *Italy* under their Signory, should now
"themselves see the wheel so turn about, as they were like shortly to behold the wasting and spoi-
"ling of *Affrick*, and the City of *Carthage* besieged: a thing that they were never able to en-
"dure with that valour and resolution, nor to abide with such strength as the Romans had, for
"the Romans had ever the Commons of *Rome*; they had alwaies the youth of *Latium* ready at L
"hand; who still encreased more and more the new fry, and daily grew in number to make sup-
"ply, and to repair & furnish out so many armies that were defeated. Whereas, their natural peo-
"ple were neither in town nor country fit for service, their aids were waged and hired for money
"from among the Affricans, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to change with every gale
"and puff of vain hope, and were besides false and unfaithful in their promise. For now the Kings
"already, *Syphax* and *Masanissa*, the one upon conference with *Scipio* is secretly alienated from us
"in heart, and the other openly revolted in action, and become our most deadly enemy: so that
"there remaineth neither help nor hope for us at all in any place. For neither *Mago* is able in *Gaul*
"to make any commotions and rebellion, nor yet to joyn with *Annibal*: And as for *Annibal* him-
"self, he weareth apace, and decaieth daily both in fame and reputation, and also in strength and M
"forcible means. When their minds being thus disquieted upon those fresh and present tidings,
they were fain to bewail and lament their wofull state, the instant danger recalled them again to
consult by what means they might withstand the imminent perils. So they thought good to take
musters in all haste both in the City and the countries by, to send some to levy and wage the aids
of the Affricans, to fortifie their City, to bring in store of grain, to provide weapons and armor, to
rig their navy & to send it out to *Hippo*, for to encounter the Roman Armado. While they were
devising these courses, there came at last a post with news, that it was *Lælius* and not *Scipio* who
was set ashore; that there was landed no greater power than for to make rodes into the country
for booties only: and as for the main strength of the whole army, it remained still in *Sicily*. So they
had some respit to breath themselves, & began to address their Embassies to *Syphax* and to other N
Princes, for to establish and confirm peace and league between them. They dispatched others al-
so to *Philip*, who should make promise unto him of two hundred talents of silver, in case he would
take the seas and pass over either into *Sicily* or *Italy*, Messengers also were sent as far as into *Ita-
ly* unto their own Generals serving there, to will them to raise what troubles they could possibly,
for to keep *Scipio* a work, and hold him back from coming into *Affrick*. And unto *Mago* were sent
not only those messengers aforesaid, but also five and twenty long ships of war, six thousand foot-
men, eight hundred horsemen, seven Elephants, and great store of treasure besides for to hire aids,
whereby he might advance forward with his forces nearer to *Rome*, and joyn with *Annibal*. These
preparations were making, and these courses devising at *Carthage*, when as *Masanissa* upon the
bruit that went of the arrivall of the Roman fleet, began to start up and rouze himself; and ac-O
companied with some few horsemen, came unto *Lælius*, buse in driving still great booties out
of the country, which he found altogether disfurnished of armour, and unprovided of guards
and garrisons for defence. "He much complained that *Scipio* was so slack in his affairs, and grie-
"ved that he had not passed over ere this time with an army into *Affrick*, whiles the Carthagi-
"nians were thus affrighted, whiles *Syphax* was troubled with the wars of the borderers: of whom
"he was thus much perswaded, that if he might have resting time to compose his own affairs
"to

A "to his mind, he would not continue fast unto the Romans, nor deal in any thing faithfully and
"soundly with them: willing him to solicit *Scipio*, yea, and to spur him on and importune him nor
"to stand longer at a bay and make delayes. And for his own part, notwithstanding he were dis-
"seized of his fathers Kingdom, yet he would be ready to assist him with such a power of foot and
"horse as were worth God amercy: advising *Lælius* withal not to make any longer stay in *Affrick*,
"for asmuch as he believed verily, that there was a fleet already set out from *Carthage*, with
"which in the absence of *Scipio*, he might not with safety enter into conflict and battail. After
this communication, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and *Lælius* the next day loosed from *Hippo*, with
his ships laden with pillage and prizes: and being returned into *Sicily*, declared unto *Scipio* the
counsel and credence that he had from *Masanissa*.

B About the very same time those ships which were sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, coasting along
the Albiganians and the Ligurians, arrived at *Genua*. It fortuned that *Mago* at that time lay with
his fleet in those parts: who upon the words of the messengers, & the commission to raise as great
forces as possibly he could, immediatly held a counsel of the Frenchmen and Ligurians: for both
nations there were great numbers in those coasts. "Where before them all he declared how he
"was sent unto them for to set them at liberty: and how (as they might see themselves) to that
"effect he was furnished with new aid and succour from home. But what forces, and how great
"an army was needful for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to determine. As for
"himself, first and formost he knew ful wel, that there were two Roman armies abroad, the one in
"*France*, the other in *Tuskany*: and that *Sp. Lucretius* would joyn with *M. Livius*: and therefore
C "they themselves were to put many a thousand in arms, for to make head against two Generals, &
"two compleat armies of Romans. The Frenchmen made answer again, That their will was good
"enough, and they had an exceeding desire to compass and effect the designment intended: but
"for asmuch as the Romans had one camp within their confins, and another in Tuscany neer ad-
"joyning, and in manner within sight: it perad venture they should be seen in the action to aid the
"Carthaginians; incontinently both armies, as well the one as the other would in all manner of
"hostility invade their territories: and therefore they requested him to desire of the Gauls such
"things, wherein they might stand him in stead secretly under hand. As for the Ligurians, because
"the Romans lay far enough off encamped from their Lands & Cities, they might dispose well e-
"nough of themselves as they list: and therefore it was good reason that they should put their
D "young & able men in arms, & bear a part in the managing of the war. The Ligurians refused not.
Only they craved respit of two moneths, for to take the musters. In the mean time *Mago*, having
sent away the Gauls, closely took up & prest souldiers throughout their countrey Towns for mo-
ney. And from the States of *France*, there was sent secretly provision of victuals of al sorts unto him.

Marcus Livius led his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscany* into *France*, and having united his
forces unto *Lucretius* his power, was ready to receive and welcome *Mago*, if haply he removed
out of the Ligurians countrey neerer to the City of *Rome*: but in case *Mago* kept himself quiet in
a corner under the *Alps*, he minded also himself there to keep his standing leaguer about *Arimi-
num*, for the guard and defence of *Italy*.

After the return of *C. Lælius* out of *Affrick*, both *Scipio* was pricked forward by the instigations
E and perswasions of *Masanissa*: and also his souldiers, seeing great prizes brought out of the ene-
mies Land, and every ship fraight therewith; were mightily incensed and set on fire with a burn-
ing desire to be transported over thither with all speed possible. But as they were plotting about
this enterprise of greater importance, they thought also upon a lesser that came between, name-
ly, the winning again of the City of *Locri*, which in the general revolt of all *Italy*, had sided also
with the Carthaginians. The first hope that they conceived both to affect and effect this enter-
prise grew upon a very small matter: by occasion that in the Brutians countrey, the whole man-
ner of service was performed by way of robbing and roving, rather than by any ordinary course
of war. The Numidians first began, and the Brutii soon took it up and seconded them: not so
much because they would keep the Carthaginians company, and do as they did; but for that of
their own natural inclination they were prone, and ready enough to follow that course. At last
the Roman souldiers also, infected as it were by their example, took delight in robberies: and so
far forth as they might have leave of their Captains, would make inrodes into the territories of
their enemies. It fortuned so, that when some of them were gone abroad a plundring, certain
Locrians were intercepted, and brought away with them to *Rhegium*. In which number of cap-
tives, were some carpenters and masons, who as it chanced, were hired to work for the Cartha-
ginians in the Castle of *Locri*. These were discovered and known by certain great men, and the
principal citizens of the Locrians, who hapned then to live as banished persons in *Rhegium*: such
as by the contrary faction that banded with *Annibal* and had delivered *Locri* into his hands, were
driven out of the City. These men fell to questioning with them (as commonly their manner is,
who have been long out of their own Country) of many matters, and among the rest, how all
things fared at home: who told them all accordingly; and therewith, put them in some good
hope, that if they might be ransomed, set at large, and sent home again, they would betray the
Castle unto them: for asmuch as within it they dwelt, and the Carthaginians put them in trust of
all things there. They therefore, as men that were wonderful desirous to return thither, as well
for love of their native country, as for to be revenged of their adversaries, out of hand paid their
ransome: and after they had given order how to work the feat, and in what sort; as also agreed

upon the signs and tokens which they should mark from on high a far off, they were sent back H
again. Then the exiled Locrians repaired unto *Scipio* at *Syracuse*, with whom also were others of
the banished persons of *Locri*: and there they related unto him the promises of the captives afore-
said, and put the Consul in very good hope that the effect would be correspondent to their de-
signment. With them were sent two Tribuns or Marshals, to wit, M. *Sergius* and P. *Matienus*, with
commission to conduct three thousand souldiers from *Rhegium* to *Locri*. Letters also were dis-
patched unto *Q. Pleminius* the Vice-pretor, for to be assistant in this action. Who being departed
from *Rhegium*, and carrying with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Castle
wall fore-told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the
Castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readiness also, and looking
wittily for them, put down likewise ladders of their own, made for the purpose: and in many places I
at once received them that climbed up: so as, before there was any alarm heard, they set upon the
watch of the Carthaginians, fast asleep as they were, and distrusting no such matter: who first
were heard to grone as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keep a running and
much ado, upon their suddain starting from sleep, all the whiles that they wist not what the oc-
casion was. At length, upon the discovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every
one called aloud to arms; crying out, that the enemies were within the Castle, and the watchmen
slain. And without question, the Romans had been put to the worse and defeated quite, being far
fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcry and shout set up by them that
were without the fortress; which so long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in
in great fear: and the tumult besides by night made every small and vain thing much greater than it K
was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians astonied (as if all places had been full of enemies) a-
bandoned all fight, and betook themselves into the other fortress (for two there were distant not
far asunder.) The Townsmen kept possession of the City, as the prize and guerdon in the mids for
the winners. But out of the two Castles there were light skirmishes every day. *Q. Pleminius* was
Captain of the fort and garrison of the Romans, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both
parts increased their strength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoyning.
Until at last *Annibal* shewed himself in person: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to
hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrensians sore galled and grieved with the proud
government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When
intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romans were distressed in *Locri*, and that *Annibal* himself was L
advancing thither: for fear lest the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no ready
means to retire from thence) himself leaving at *Messana* his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the
place, passed over from thence with his vessels down the water, when he espied the current and
the tide together to serve for a fare. Likewise *Annibal* having sent out a vancurrier from the River
Butrotus (which is not far from the City *Locri*) to signify unto his men, that by day light they
should give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locrensians and Romans both,
whiles he himself made an assault upon the Town behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned
away and amused upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he found the skir-
mish begun, he was not willing to put himself within the Castle, for fear of pestering with over
great a company the place so streight and of so small receipt: and for to scale the walls they had M
brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap
together: he presented all his footmen in battail array before the City, to terrifie his enemies
withal: and with the Numidian horsemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about
the City. Whiles the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an assault, were in preparing and
making ready, he approached on horseback neer to the wall, for to view on which part above the
rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarel discharged from an engine
called a Scorpion, which hapned to be planted next unto him. And being affrighted at this so
dangerous an occurrent, he commanded to sound the retreat, and fortified his camp aloof with-
out the peril and shot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from *Messana* arrived at *Locri*, and
had the day afore them: so as they were all set a land, and entred the City before the sun setting. N
The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the Castle: and *Annibal* being
now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readiness needful for the assault, came un-
der the walls: with that, all upon a suddain the Romans set open a gate and sallied out upon him,
who feared nothing less than any such accident: and thus setting upon them at unawares, slew
two hundred of them. *Annibal* perceiving that the Consul was there, retired with the rest into
the camp: and after he had sent a messenger to them that were within the Castle, willing them to
shift for themselves, in the night season he dislodged and departed. They also who were in the
fort, after they had set on fire the houses which were in their keeping, of purpose by that tumult
to cause the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout and before
it was night with good footmanship overtook their own company. *Scipio* seeing as well this Ca- O
stle quit by the enemy, as their camp also empty, called the Locrenses to a general assembly, and
gave them a sharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Authors
of that trespass he put to death; and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other facti-
on, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the
publick state of the Locrians, he said he would neither make nor medle therewith, either in gi-
ving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to send their Embassadors to
Rome,

A *Rome*, and look what the Senat would award in equity, that fortune they should abide. This one
thing he was well assured of, that how ill soever they had deserved of the people of *Rome*, yet they
should live in better condition under the signory of the Romans, provoked to anger as they were,
than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amity as
they did.

Then himself in person cut over to *Messana* with those forces that he brought with him, leaving
Pleminius his Lieutenant, and that power that won the Castle, in garrison for the defence of the
City. The citizens of *Locri* had been so proudly misused, and so cruelly handled by the Carthagi-
nians, after they were revolted from the Romans, that it seemed they could be content to abide
any small wrongs, not only patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a glad heart. But so far
B now exceeded *Pleminus*, *Amilcar* the former captain of the garrison so far went the Roman gar-
rison souldiers, before the Carthaginians in wickedness & avarice, that a man would have thought
they had strove together who should pass the other in sinful vice and ungodliness, and not in feats
of arms and proweſs. For neither Captain nor souldier forbare to practise upon the poor Townſ-
men any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great & mighty men odious unto the poor
and meaner persons. They wrought and committed shameful villanies upon their very bodies;
upon their wives and children. And their greedy avarice so far proceeded, that they could not hold
their hands from spoiling and robbing the very religious and sacred Temples. Insomuch, as among
other holy Churches which they pollured, they met even with the rich measure of *Proserpina*,
which had lien still in all ages, and untouched by all others: save only it was reported to have been
C pilled by *Pyrrhus*; who indeed carried away the spoil of her, but he deerly bought it, and paid full
sweetly for that sacrilege. And therefore like as before time the Kings ships shaken with tem-
pests, and torn and split with the rage of the Sea, brought nothing at all in that wreck
safe to Land, but only that sacred mony of the goddess, which they had stoln and carried away;
even so at this present, the very same mony (but in another kind of calamity and misery) brought
upon all them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the Temple, a strange & fran-
tick madness; which caused Captain against Captain, and souldier against souldier, to fare as if they
were stark mad, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Pleminius* had the chief rule and
command of all. As for the souldiers, some were under him, such as himself had brought from
Rhegium; others were commanded by the Tribuns or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of
D *Pleminius* his souldiers had stoln a silver cup out of a Townsmans house, and ran away when he
had done; and the owners after him with hue and cry, and fortuned to come in the way, and to
meet with *Sergius* & *Matienus* the two Tribuns or Colonels, full in the face. Whereupon the cup
was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribuns: and thence arose first a braul, and some
hard words were dealt between; and from them consequently they went to open clamors and
loud outcries, until at length there grew a very fray between the souldiers of *Pleminius* and of
the Tribuns: and according as they came still one or other in time to help their own side, both
the number and the riot increased at once. In the end, *Pleminius* his men went away with the
blows, and moaned themselves unto *Pleminius*, running to him with open mouth and great indig-
nation, shewing their bloody wounds: and reporting besides, what opprobrious words to his
E disgrace had passed against him without spare, in the time of those brawling fits. Hereupon in a
great choler and boyling heat of blood, he gat him forth of doors in all the haste; convented the
Tribuns before him, and commanded them to be stripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth
ready for to scourge them. But whiles there was some time spent in turning them out of their ap-
parel & uncasing them (for they strugled & made resistance, and called to their souldiers for help) al
at once they came thick about them (for very lusty they were upon their fresh victory) and ran
from all places, as if the alarm bell had been rung against the coming of some enemies. But when
they saw once the bodies of their Tribunes tewed with rods, then they fell into far more furious
rage and a very fit of madness: and thus incensed as they were, without all regard, not only of the
reverent majesty of authority, but also of common humanity, they fell upon the Lieutenant him-
F self, after they had most pittiously beaten and evil intreated his Lictors and Officers about him.
Then having snigled him out apart from his Ministers and Sergeants, they cruelly mangled him,
cut off his nose, crept his ears, and left him for dead. News hereof came to *Messana*, and within
few dayes *Scipio* highed him apace to *Locri* in a gally directed with six banks of oars: who after
due examination and hearing of the cause between *Pleminius* and the Tribuns, acquit *Pleminius* as
innocent, and left him Governour of the garrison of the place: but he judged the Tribuns guil-
ty, as Malefactors, and caused them to be bound in chains for to be sent to *Rome* unto the Senate:
and so he returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Syracuse*. *Pleminius* not able to over-rule his
anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too
light of the injury which he had received, and not punished the offenders accordingly; and sup-
G posing that there was no man else able to make true estimate of the cause, but he that in his own
person had felt the indignity and hainousness thereof; commanded the Tribuns to be haled before
him, and after he had put them to all the cruel torments, that any mans body is able to abide, he
put them to death: and not satisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick,
nor with taking their lives from them, cast their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lie a-
bove ground unburied. The like cruelty he exercised upon the principal Burgesses of the Locrians,
such as he heard say went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And look

what foul and shameful pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust H and covetousnes; the same now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers sorts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himself, but also made the world to think hardly, and to speak much shame of the General himself.

Now drew the time neer of the solemn election of Magistrats; when as there came letters to *Rome* from *Pub. Licinius* the Consul, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himself and his army were sore visited with a grievous sickness: and that he could not possibly have staid there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the same malady, if not greater & more grievous, had not assailed the enemies. Seeing that therefore himself was not able to come unto the election, he was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senat, to nominat as Dictator *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the army of *Q. Cecilius*, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it should be cassed and discharged, since that there was no imployment of them at this present; considering that *Annibal* was retired already with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintring harbor: and again, the pestilence grew so hot in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senat granted out their commission unto the Consul, for to do according as himself thought to stand either with his own credit and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very same time there was a certain religious opinion that had possessed of a suddain the whole City, by occasion of a certain Prophesie found in the books of *Sibylla*. When search was made into them and they diligently perused, about the raining of stones, which hapned so often K that year. The Prophesie ran in this form: "At what time soever an enemy of a strange and for- "rain countrey, shall happen to make war upon *Italy*, he may be chased out of *Italy* and vanquish- "ed, if the goddess dame *Cybele* of *Ida*, were brought to *Rome* from *Pessinus*. This Prophesie found by the Decemvirs, moved the Senat the more, for that, the Embassadors also who carried the oblation and present aforesaid to *Delphos*, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto *Pythius Apollo*, all the inwards of the beast killed for sacrifice, appeared good, and shewed prosperity: and the Oracle besides gave answer, That there was a far greater victory toward the people of *Rome* than that was, out of the spoils whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this present. And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they alleaged withal, how *P. Scipio* in demanding the Province of *Affrick*, did presage (as it were) before-hand in his mind the final end L of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed obtain this honorable victory thus fore-tokened, and offering (as it were) it self, by all lucky presagings of men and Oracles of the Gods, they thought and devised some mean to transport the said goddesses to *Rome*.

The people of *Rome* in those dayes was confedered with no States of *Asia*: howbeit the LL. calling to mind, how long ago, upon occasion of a sickness, and to purchase health unto the people, *Æsculapius* was sent for likewise out of *Greece*, before it was joyned with the City of *Rome* in any league or society; and considering withal, that there was some friendship and amity begun already with King *Attalus* (in regard of the common war against *Philip*) and that he would be ready to do for the people of *Rome*, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him an honorable Embassage to wit, *M. Valerius Levinus*, who had been twice Consul, and had warred M in *Greece*; *M. Cecilius Metellus*, who had been a Prætor, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba*: likewise an Ædile, and two late Questors, *C. Tremelius Flaccus*, and *M. Valerius Falco*. For these five, they assigned five Quinquerems or Gallies of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dignity of the people of *Rome*, they should make a voyage into those Lands, with whom they were to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State. These Embassadors, as they held on their course toward *Asia*, so soon as they were put on Land at *Delphos*, repaired directly to the Oracle, for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of *Rome*, of effecting that business and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by report, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their purpose by the means of *Attalus* the King: advising them moreover, That when they had con- N veighed the said goddess down to *Rome*, they should take order, that the very best man of all others in the City, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to *Pergamus* they came unto the King. Who having courteously received and welcomed the Embassadors, conducted them into *Phrygia* to *Pessinus*, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy stone, which the inhabitants of the country said, was the Mother of the Gods, and willed them to carry it to *Rome*. Then *M. Valerius Falco* was sent back from the other Embassadors to advertise them at *Rome*, that the goddess was coming, and that they should seek out the best man in all the City, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was *Q. Cecilius Metellus* nominated Dictator by the Consul in the Brutians country, against the solemn election of the Magistrats. His army was disbanded and cassed, and *L. Veturius* O *Philo* created master of the horse. Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were chosen Consuls, *M. Cornelius Cethegus* & *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* in his absence, who at that time had the government of *Greece*. After them were elected Prætors, *T. Claudius Nero*. *M. Martius Rallus*, *L. Scribonius Libo*, & *M. Pomponius Matho*. When the Election was finished, the Dictator resigned up his place of magistracy. The Roman Games were thrice renued and set forth, & the plaies *Plebei* seven times exhibited. The Ædiles of the chair were *Cn.* and *L. Cornelius Lentuli* both. This *Lucius* governed

A verned then the Province of *Spain*: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignity. The Ædiles of the Commons were *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *M. Junius Pennus*. That year *M. Marcellus* dedicated the Temple of *Virtue*, neer the gate *Capena*, the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at *Clastidium* in *Gallia*, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this year a Flamine of *Mars*, namely, *M. Æmylius Regillus*.

For the last two years, the affairs in *Greece* had not been well followed. *Philip* therefore taking the vantage, that the Ætolians were forsaken of the Romans (the only aid upon which they trusted) forced them both to sue for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made the better half, an that ever he could to accomplish in good time, *P. Sempronius* the Vice-Consul, sent to succeed *Sulpitius* in the govern- B ment, had utterly defeated him whiles he waged war with the Ætolians: considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty tall ships of war, headed with brasen pikes before: a power of no small importance, I assure you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soon concluded, but news came to the King, that the Romans were arrived at *Dyrrhachium*; that the Parthines and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel: and that *Dimallum* was already besieged and assaulted: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in stead of aiding the Ætolians unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advise and consent, yea, and against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the King, *Philip* upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states C there bordering, took long journeis, & sped him apace toward *Apollonia*. Thither *Sempronius* was retired, after he had sent *Lettorius* his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into *Æolia* to visit the country, and to see in what terms they stood, yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could. *Philip* wasted and spoiled the territories and lands of the Apolloniats, and approching the City with his whole power i bad battail to *Sempronius* the Roman General. But after he saw once that he kept himself quiet within the City, standing only upon his guard and defence of the walls; distrusting also his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault: & desirous withal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the Ætolians, if he could; if not, yet at least wise to have truce with them without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, & renew cankred malice upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm, D About the same time, the Epirots weary of long wars, after they had first sounded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way, sent their Embassadors unto *Philip*, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming, that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come to a parly with *P. Sempronius* the Roman General. And soon they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into *Epirus*, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in *Epirus*, named *Phænice*: there the King after communication had first with *Eropus*, *Dandas* and *Philippus*, Prætors of the Epirots, entred into an enterview also with *P. Sempronius*. At this solemn meeting and conference, *Aminander* the King of the Athamans was present, and other Magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnans. And first *Philippus* the Prætor began to speak and request, as well King *Philip* as the Roman General, to make an end E of all wars, and likewise to give the Epirots leave to do the same. *P. Sempronius* propounded and set down the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthins, *Dimallum*, *Bargulum* and *Eugenium*, should belong to the Seignory of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to *Rome*, to be annexed to the dominion of *Philip* King of *Macedony*. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the Kings behalf, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the Achæians, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, the Acarnans, and the Epirots: and on the Romans, the Ilienses, K. *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and the Athenians. And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingrossed and sealed, and truce made for two moneths, until such time as Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against *Africk*, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto *Rome* for to enter his Consulship. Now when as *M. Cornelius* and *P. Sempronius* were Consuls (which was the 15 year of the Punick war) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto *Cornelius*, *Hetruria* with the old army: unto *Sempronius* the *Brutii*, with the new legions that he was to enrol. And to the Prætors in this wise were the Provinces allotted, that *M. Martius* should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and *L. Scribonius Libo* have the jurisdiction of foreiners, together with the government of *Gallia*. Item, that *M. Pomponius Matho* should rule *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius Nero* sit as L. Deputy in *Sardinia*. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise *P. Licinius* had his commission newly sealed for to have the charge of the Brutians country with the power of two legions, so long as the Consul thought it good for the Common-weal that he should remain in the government of that Province. Also *M. Livius* & *Sp. Lucretius*, with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended *Gallia* against *Mago*, continued still in their room for another year. Moreover *Cn. Octavius* remained in place, with commission, that

when he had delivered up *Sardina*, & the legion there unto *T. Claudius*, himself should with 40 long G
gallies scour the seas, and guard the coasts along the river, within those limits, for which the Senat
had given order. Unto *M. Pomponius* the Pretor in *Sicily* were appointed the two legions of the
Cannian army. And *T. Quintius* and *C. H. Tubulus* Vice-pretors, were to govern as they did the
former year, the one *Tarentum*, and the other *Capua*: and both of them were allowed the old gari-
sons. As for the government of *Spain*, it was put to question before the people, what two Vice-
pretors their pleasure was should be sent into that Province. And all the Tribes with one accord
gave their grant, that the same Pro-consuls *L. Cor. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, should sit as
Governors in those Provinces as the year before. The Consuls began now to muster souldiers, as
well to enrol new legions for to be sent into the Brutians country, as also to supply and fulfil the
number of the other armies; according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit *Affrick* I
was not yet openly declared a Province, but dissembled by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpose I be-
lieve, that the Carthaginians should have no inkling and intelligence thereof before hand) yet the
whole City was in good hope, and made full reckoning that this year the war would be determi-
ned and fought out in *Affrick*, and so an end for ever of those troubles. This persuasion of theirs
had possessed their hearts with much superstition: and very forward men were, both to report,
and also to believe many prodigious and strange wonders, which daily were blown abroad & di-
vulged more and more: To wit, that there were two suns seen; that in the night season between
whiles it seemed day light; that in *Setia* there was a burning torch or blasing Star reaching from
the East to the West; that in *Tarracina* the gate, and in *Anagnia*, as well the gate as the wall in di-
vers parts were blasted and shaken with lightning; lastly, that in the Temple of *Juno Sospita* in K
Lanuvium, there was a noise and a rumbling heard, with a horrible crack. For the expiation and
purging of these prodigies, there was a supplication holden for one day: and a novendial solemn
sacrifice was also celebrated, because it had rained stones out of the sky. Besides all this, there was
some consulation about the receiving of dame *Idea*. For over and besides that *M. Valerius* one of
the Embassadors was returned & had brought word that she would be very shortly in *Italy*, there
came a new messenger with tidings, that she was now already at *Taracina*. This deliberation (a-
bout no small matter, namely whom they should give judgement to be the best man simply in the
whole City) held the Senat much amused: considering that every one for his part was more dei-
rous of true victory, and pre-eminence in this behalf, than of any promotions, honors or dignities
whatsoever, awarded unto them by the voices either of Senators or Commoners. In conclusion, L
they judged *P. Scipio*, the son of that *Cn.* who was killed in *Spain*, a very young man, and as yet not
of full age to be a Questor, the very best man without exception in the whole City. Upon what
motives of his singular vertues they were induced thus to deem of him, as I could willingly have
delivered unto posterity, what had been set down in record by the ancient and first writers of
those times: so I will not interpose mine own conceits, in guessing at a thing which hath lien dead
and buried so long time. This P. *Cornelius* was commanded to go accompanied with all the dames
of the City as far as to *Ostia*, there to meet the Goddesse, and then to take her forth of the ship,
and being once set on land, to deliver her unto the foresaid matrons for to be devoutly caried to
the City. Now when the ship was arrived at the mouth of the river *Tyberis*, he, according as he
was directed, went aboord in a pinnace, & lanched into the sea: where he took the Goddess at the M
Priests hands, and brought her on shore. And the dames which were the noblest and chief of the
City, amongst whom, *C. Quintia* was the Lady most renowned, received her. This *Claudia*, who
before time (as it is reported) was of no better name & fame than she should be, now by this reli-
gious and devout ministry, was for her chastity and continency recommended better to posterity.
These women caried this Goddess charily & daintily in their hands, and took her by turns one in
course after another. All the City came forth by heaps to meet her: and along the streets as she
was conveighed, they stood at the dores with censers, making sweet persumes, & burning frankin-
cense: yea, & praied unto her, that she would willingly enter the City of *Rome*, and continue propi-
tious & gracious unto it. Thus they transported her into the Temple of *Victoria* within mount Pa-
latine, the day before the * Ides of *April*, which was alwayes after kept as a festival holyday. The N

* 12 *April.*

people with great frequency brought gifts unto *Palatium*, which they offred unto the goddess &
solemnized a *Lectisternium*. And those plaies called *Megalesia* came up then & were first instituted.

* The Plaies called *Megalesia.*

Now when the Councel were busy and sat about the supply of those legions which were in the
Provinces, there were certain of the Senators began to whisper & blow into their heads. That the
"time was now come, no longer to abide those things which during the troubles and dange-
"rous daies they made a shift to endure: considering that now at length by the goddess of the
"Gods, all fear was past, and the dangers overblown. At which words the Lords of the Senat be-
"ing in great expectation and attentive to hear out the rest; they went on and said, That those
"colonies of the Latins, which whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Fulvius* were Consuls refused to set out
"souldiers, now almost for six years had intermitted their service in the wars, as exempted from O
"warfare altogether, and enjoyed that immunity as an honor and reward for their good deserts:
"whereas in the mean time, other loyal and obedient allies were by mustering every year conti-
"nually, wasted and consumed, in performance of their faithful allegeance and dutiful service to
"the Empire of *Rome*. At this speech, the Lords called not so much to mind a thing long forlet
and almost worn out of remembrance as they were provoked to anger and grew very hot, & there-
fore would not suffer the Consuls to pass any other matter before, but decreed that they should

peremptorily

A peremptorily convent to *Rome* the Magistrats, and ten principal citizens out of every of these
Colonies, to wit, *Neper, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sora, Sueſſa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia*, and
Interamna, (for these were the Colonies touched in that point above-named) and to lay upon
them every one a double levy of footmen, to that number and proportion which they were char-
ged with, when they set out most in the service of the Roman wars, ever since that the enemies
were come into *Italy*: besides one hundred and twenty horsemen a peece. And in case any one of
those colonies were not able to make up that full number of horsemen, then to allow for every
man of arms three footmen. Provided alwayes, that for foot and horse both, such should be chosen
and no other, as were most substantial and of the best behaviour, and be sent to what place soever
there was need of supply, even out of *Italy*. And if any of them refused thus to do, then the Con-
B suls had commission to stay the Magistrats and deputies aforesaid, and not to give them audience
in the Senat, (although they should require the same) before they had performed those impositions. Moreover those Colonies were enjoyned to pay every year a tax or tribute, and that there
should be raised and levied, one As in the thousand, of their substance by the month; and be as-
sessed in those Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Roman Censors should set down;
which they gave order to be the same that was laid upon the people of *Rome*: and the informati-
on thereof to be exhibited and presented at *Rome* by the sworn Censors of the foresaid colonies,
before they went out of their office. By vertue of this Act of the Senate, the Magistrats and chief
men of those Colonies were sent for, and compelled to repair to *Rome*: and when the Consuls de-
manded of them, those souldiers and tribute aforesaid, they began all of them (but some more than
C others) to refuse and gain say it; yea, and flatly to deny, that so many souldiers could possibly be
made, nay, hardly were they able, although they should strain themselves, to furnish the bare single
number, according to the usual proportion and old prescript order: requesting and beseeching
them, to give them leave to have recourse unto the Senat, and there to make sure for their release:
neither have we (say they) so much offended as thus hardly to be used, nor deserved worthily to
be undone. And say, we must needs miscarry and be cast away; yet neither our offence, nor the
wrath of the people of *Rome*, can force us to find more souldiers than we have. But the Coss, reso-
lute in their purpose, commanded the Delegates and Committees of those Colonies, to stay still at
Rome, and their Magistrats only to repair home and take musters: for almuch as (unless the full
number of souldiers which was set down unto them were brought to *Rome*) there was no Con-
D sul there would grant them audience in the Senat. Thus when all hope was cut off, to have access
into the Senat, and to obtain a release; those twelve Colonies took a levy and enrolled the full
number. Which was no hard matter to be done, considering how their youth was increased in
that time of long vacation and intermission of warfare. There was likewise another matter (by as
long silence forlet and well neer quite forgotten) proposed newly again by *M. Valerius Lævinus*:
who said, That it was meet and good reason, that those private persons which had credited forth
their monies to the Common-weal, when himself and *M. Claudius* were Consuls, should now at
last be satisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvail why he (notwithstan-
ding the City were bound for the debt) had a special care and regard to call upon them for to
have it discharged: for, besides that the Consul for that year being, when those loues of money
E were granted, was in some sort properly obliged, to see that credit were kept; himself more over
was the very man that made the motion of taking up those monies, in regard that the City cham-
ber was so empty of treasure, and the Commons puries so bare of money, that they were scarce a-
ble to pay the ordinary tribut. This overture made by the Consul, was well taken of the Senat, who
willed the Consuls to put up this matter to the house: and so they entred an Act and decree,
that the said debts should be discharged at three paiments; whereof the first should be made pre-
sently by the Consuls then in place; the other twain, by the Consuls that were to succeed in the
third and fifth years next ensuing.

But there fell out one new object and occurrence, that drowned all other cares besides, and
wholly possessed the heads of the Senate, by occasion of the miseries and calamities of the Locri-
F ans, whereof before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence, and now were by the co-
ming of their Embassadors declared and divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choler
and anger, so much at the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of *Q. Pleminius*, as the slacknes and
negligence, or else the partiality and connivency of *Scipio* in dealing between them. These Embas-
sadors of the Locrians, ten in number, presented themselves before the Consuls sitting in the open
Hall called *Comitium*; clad they were in homely weeds and course apparel, looking pale and poor
on the matter; and carrying with al in their hands as tokens of humble suppliants, certain branches
of the Olive, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, fell down prostrate upon the ground before
the Tribunal, with pitteous weeping and sorrowful lamentation. The Consuls demanded who
they were: and they made answer again, That they were Locrians, who had endured at the
G hands of *Q. Pleminius* the Lieutenant, and the Roman souldiers, such indignities, as the people
of *Rome* would not find in their hearts, that the very Carthaginians themselves should suffer and
sustain: beseeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have access to the
Lords of the Senat, there to make their mone and complain of their woful distresses. Being ad- The pitiful complaints of the Locrians before the Senat of *Rome.*
mitted into the Senate and audience given them, then the ancientest man of the company spake in
this wise. "Right honorable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be,
"and available to the due estimate and weight of our complaints and grievance, in case ye were

informed

"informed sufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what sort *Locri* was first betraied unto *Annibal*, as also after what order the garrison of *Annibal* was thence expelled, and the City restored again under your obeisance. For, if it may appear that the trespass of our revolt, cannot be imputed any way unto the publick counsel and consent of our City; but contrary-wise, that our returne under your signory and dominion was not only performed with our good will, but also first wrought and compassed by the means of our helping hand and valour: ye have the greater cause to be discontented and displeased with your Lieutenant and souldiers, for offring us (your good and loyal allies) such abuses, so cruel wrongs and unworthy indignities. As for the cause of our double revoltment and change, I think it good to deter the speaking thereof to another time, and that for two reasons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the presence of *P. Scipio*, who recovered *Locri*, & was an eye-witness of all that we have done, be it good or bad: the other is this, that howsoever we be, yet we should not have abiden those calamities in such sort as we have supported them. We cannot dissemble (my LL.) nor conceal, how all the while that we had the Carthaginian garrison within our Cattle, we suffered many foul outrages and shameful villanies, both at *Amilcar* his hands (the Captain of the garrison) as also from the Numidians and Africans: but what are they in comparison of the abuses & indignities that we endure at this day, more than ever before, we still endure: there is none but would rather make choice of them to be their soveraign LL. than the Romans. And yet consider, I pray you, and see how well affected the Locrians are towards you: when we were nothing so hardly used nor so ill entreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourse unto your Captain General: and now that we are misused of your garison, and put to more sorrow than if we were professed enemies, yet we have run no whither with our complaints but unto your selves. Either shal you (my LL.) vouchsafe to have compassion of our miserable state, or else we see not what we have left wherein we should pray unto the immortal Gods, for to be good and propice unto us. *Q. Pleminius* Lieutenant to the General *Scipio*, was sent with a strong garrison and power of men to recover *Locri* out of the hands of the Carthaginians: and with the very same garrison was he left there: but this Lieutenant of yours (for, the extremity of miseries and afflictions wherewith we are driven, maketh us bold, and putteth courage in us to speak our minds freely finding nothing at all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare shape and outward form; nor of a Roman citizen, unless it be the habit of apparel which he weareth, and the sound of the Latin tongue which he speaketh. A very plague he is & no better, a monstrous & ugly beast, like unto that, which sometimes (if old tales and fables be true) haunted the narrow seas between us and *Sicily*, for to devstroy all passengers that sailed by. Who, if he could have been content himself alone to have practised & wrought upon us your allies, all mischievous acts & pranks, of wickedness, of filthy lust, and greedy covetousness, we would peradventure in all patience & long sufferance, have filled up that one gulf and pit were it never so deep, & satisfied one gorge never so unsatiable. But now so great a delight & pleasure hath he taken, that all lewd & licentious parts, all shameful acts and villanies should be commonly practised & in every place committed, that he hath made all your Centineirs very *Pleminii*, yea, and your souldiers as bad as himself. All of them can skill now of robbing, rifling, spoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at forcing of dames and ladies of honor, at ravishing and deflouring of young Virgins, at abusing (against kind) of young lings, free born and well descended, whom they pull perforce from between the arms, and out of the very bosomes of their parents. Daily is our City assaulted and taken; daily is it sacked and pilled, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth again with the piteous shrikes and lamentable plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that were a stranger to these things, and knew nothing, might wonder well enough, how either we can possibly hold out in suffering such outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be satisfied and full of committing so great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue and utterance serve to deliver, nor needful is it and expedient for you to hear every thing in particular, what we have sustained. But in general I will comprise and knit up altogether. I will abide by it that there is not one house throughout al *Locri*, I dare avouch there is no person either one or other, exempt from the wrongs that he hath done. I say, & stand to it, that there is no kind of wickedness, no manner of filthy lust & uncleanness, no unsatiable avarice besides, that he hath not assaied to practise upon as many as were capable thereof, & fit subjects to work upon. Hardly can a man devise and think, whether of these two mischiefs incident to a City be more detestable, either when the enemies force it by assault in time of war, or when a pestilent & cruel tyrant oppresseth it by force & arms during peace. All calamities we endured before, that Towns won and lost are put unto. And now at this hour, more than ever (my LL.) *Pleminius* hath perpetrated upon us, our children & our wives, all those excessive villanies, that the most inhumane, cruel & outrageous tyrants can devise to exercise upon those subjects, whom they keep down with oppression & tread under foot. Yet one thing there is (right honorable) whereof both sense of religion imprinted & engraffed naturally in our minds, constrains us to make particular complaint by especially; and

"and also our desire is, that ye should have the hearing, yea, and to assoil and discharge your Commonweal of the scruple of conscience, in case ye think it so meet and requisite. For we have observed and seen with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremonial reverence, you not only honor and worship the Gods of your own, but also receive and entertain those of strangers and forrainers. We have in our City a Chappel of *Proserpina*, concerning the holiness of which house, I suppose verily, that ye have heard some report and fame, during the war of King *Pyrrhus*: who in his return out of *Sicily*, passing along the sea side with his fleet by *Locri*, among other shameful villanies and outrages which he committed against our City in despight of us, and for our fidelity shewed toward you, pilled also and robbed the treasure of this *Proserpina*, which to that day had never been touched by any man whatsoever. And when he had so done, he embarked the mony, & sent it away by water, but journeied himself by Land. But see what hapned my LL. hereupon! His whole navy the morrow after, was all even tossed, split, & torn a pieces in a most hideous gust and horrible tempest, save only those ships wherein that sacred treasure was bestowed, which were cast upon our coast, & driven ashore. Whereupon this King, as proud & fierce a Prince as he was, being taught by so great harms and losses, to believe that there were Gods in heaven that ruled all: made diligent search for all the said monies, and caused the same to be brought back again, and laid up in the treasury of *Proserpina*. And yet for all that, never sped he well in any thing that he went about, from that day forward. Hunted he was and chased clean out of *Italy*, and coming by chance one night, & entering unadvisedly the City of *Argos*, he died an obscure, base, and dishonorable death. And notwithstanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels and knight Marshals heard of this and a thousand more such instances & examples which were recounted unto them (not for to amplify and set out with the highest the great religion and holiness of the place; but as we and our ancestors have had right evident proof, and that full ostentimes, to shew the manifest power and puissance of that goddess) yet were they so hardy as to lay their theevish and sacrilegious hands upon those treasures, that were inviolat and not to be touched; and so by that cursed prize and booty have polluted themselves, their houses, and your souldiers. Whose service take heed my LL. as ye tender your selves and your credit, how ye employ either in *Italy* or in *Africk*, in any of your affairs and wars there: before ye purge and expiat this foul and heinous fact: for fear lest they make amends, and pay for this detestable forfeit, not only which their own bloud, but also with some publick loss & calamity of the whole State. And even already my LL. the ire and displeasure of the goddess hath been well seen upon your Captains and souldiers both, & at this present day continueth still. Sundry times they have been together by the ears, and scuffled one against another with banners displaied, *Pleminius*, the Captain bare up one side, and two Marshals or military Tribuns another. Never fought they more fiercely & sharply with the Carthaginians in the field, than amongst themselves in fraies at the sword point. And through their furious rage they had given *Annibal* good opportunity and vantage to regain *Locri* into his own hands; but that *Scipio*, whom we sent for, came in the mean time upon him. But peradventure (some will say) this madness and fury hanteth and tormenteth the souldiers only, who are tainted with the foresaid sacrilege, and no power at all of the gods hath been shewed in punishing the leaders and captains themselves. Nay I wot, in them it hath most evidently appeared. The Tribuns have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant & the Lieutenant again, being laid for by the said Tribuns, and caught in a train, hath not only been mangled all his body over, but when they had cut off his nose, and cropt his ears, was left for dead in the place. And afterwards, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, he first imprisoned the Tribuns: then he scourged them, & after he had martyred them, & put them to all exquisite tortures that might be devised against bondslaves, he put them to death: & when they were dead, would not suffer them to be entered. Thus ye see how the goddess hath punished and taken vengeance of them that have pilled and robbed her Temple: & never wil she give over to torment and harry them with all manner of furies and hellish fiends, before the sacred money be again bestowed in the chests & cofers of her treasury. Our ancestors long ago, in time of grievous and cruel war between them and the Crotoniats, because the Temple standeth without the City, were desirous to remove that treasure and money from thence into the City. But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the shrine, that they should hold their hands off: for that the goddess her self knew well enough how to defend her own Temple. And because upon this warning they made it a matter of conscience, & were afraid to stir the treasure from thence, they would needs cast a strong wall about the said Temple: & when it was brought up to a good height from the ground, behold, suddainly at once all the work came tumbling down. But both now, and oftentimes besides, hath this goddess either guarded her seat & chapel, or else if it hath been any way violated, she hath been grievously revenged by some fearful example of them that have seemed to offer violence to the same. Now for the wrongs that we abide, she is not able: neither is there any other but your selves (my Lords) to right us, and revenge our quarrel. You are they whom we flie unto: unto your protection only in all humble manner, we have recourse. And all one it is to us, whether ye suffer *Locri* to be under that Lieutenant and that garrison or yeeld us unto *Annibal* in his anger, and to the Carthaginians, for to wreak their teen upon us & our throats. Neither require we, that you should credit and believe our complaint of him that is not now in place, without liberty of his answer & pleading for himself. Let him come hardly; let him be at the hearing himself, and spare not, let him in Gods name clear

"and

" and acquit himself, if he can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left un-
" done any mischief against us, that one man can devise to do unto another: we will be content to
" abide and endure all those miseries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered al-
" ready, yea & to hold and declare him guiltless of all offences done both to God and man.

When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them, whether they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered these their griefs before him, they made answer and said, " That they had sent Embassadors unto him, but he was busied in making prepa-
" tion for the wars, and was either passed already over into *Affrick*, or upon his voyage ready to
" take the Seas within few dayes: and they had seen by good experience, in how great favour the
" Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how *Scipio*
" after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as
" for the Lieutenant, who was as faulty as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full
" authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willed to go forth of the Temple where the
" Senat sate, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio*
" as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* girded at him, and said, That he was born
" even to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in *Spain* also we have lost more
" by mutinies of our own souldiers, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange
" and forrain manner, and according to the guise of Kings, one while he cockered his souldiers
" and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be overharp
" and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with as heavy and
" sharp a sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away
" bound in chains to *Rome*, and there clapt up in prison, until his cause were heard, and judicially
" determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commensed against
" him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the cham-
" ber of the City. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without com-
" mission and direction from the Senat, he should be called home: and the Tribuns of the Com-
" mons dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides
" his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should
" give them their dispatch, and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they
" complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of *Rome*
" that they were done; who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: *Item*, that they
" acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies; and so would accept of them
" and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsoever,
" their mind was that they should be restored again: *Item*, that enquiry should be made what
" sums of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpina*, and that two-fold restitution
" should be made and laid up there in stead of it: *Item*, that there should be a solemn purgatory sa-
" crifice celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin; but so, as the colledge first of the Priests
" and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, (considering the
" sacred treasure was disquieted, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and
" clensings were to be used, to what Gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally,
" that all the souldiers which were at *Locri* should be transported over into *Sicily*; and in their
" room four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to lye in garrison
" there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of
their difference and disagreement of minds so hotly incensed, some in favour, other in disavour of
Scipio. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians, they
began to speak against the apparel of the General himself, " How he went not like a souldier and
" a warrior, no, nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the
" schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloke, and in his slippers and pantosles,
" after the Greek fashion: And that he was over bookish, and set his mind too much upon read-
" ing: and took delight to be in the fencing school and wrestling-place: and all his men and guard
" about him, as idly and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful seat of Syra-
" cusa. As for *Carthage* and *Annibal*, they were quite forgotten: and his whole army through loos-
" nes and liberty was spilled and clean lost, like to that of late at *Sucro* in *Spain*, and all one with
" them at this time in *Locri*, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit
these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore sounded
all very probable; yet the opinion of *Q. Metellus* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent
unto *Maximus*, only as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. " For I can not see any reason (quoth
" he) how this can stand, that whom erewhile the whole City chose at those young years of his,
" to be the only Captain for to recover *Spain*; of whom they made special choice to be their
" Consul, after that he had gotten *Spain* from the enemies, to end at once the Punick war; and
" in whom they reposed great hope, that he was the man to draw *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to
" subdue all *Affrick*: he now should all of a suddain be called for home out of his Province,
" as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were ano-
" ther *Pleminius*: considering that even those lewd and cruel parts which the Locrians complained
" of, were by their own words and confession not committed, whiles he was present in place nei-
" ther could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his sufferance and con-
" nivency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remiss,
" and

" and forbare to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponi-*
" *us* the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of *Sicily* was fallen, should within three dayes
" next and immediatly ensuing, take his journey into his province: and that the Consuls, should
" elect x. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senate, such as they thought good of, and send
" them with the Pretor: likewise two Tribuns of the Commons and one Ædile: that the Pretor
" with with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know
" the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found them-
" selves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with
" his will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province. But in case that *P. Sci-*
" *pio* were already passed over into *Affrick*; then the foresaid Tribuns of the Commons, and the
" Ædile, joyning unto them two of the Delegates abovesaid (such as the Pretor deemed most
" meet) should sail into *Affrick*: and the Tribuns and Ædile bring with them *Scipio* from thence:
" and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the army, until such time as a
" new L. General succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates above-
" said, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* those enormities were
" committed, then *P. Scipio* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war as he
" intended. When this decree of the Senat was once passed, and an act made thereof they were in
hand with the Tribuns either to agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, which two of
them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the colledge of the Bishops were
consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the Temple
of *Proserpina* at *Locri* were either handled polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribuns of
the commons that went the journey with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius*
Marcellus, & *M. Cincius Alimentius*: who also had an Ædile of the Commons to assist them, whom
they might command, if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in *Sicily*, or gone over
into *Affrick*, to apprehend and attach his body; and by vertue of their sacrosanct and inviolable
authority to bring him home with them. And first they resolved to go to *Locri* before they went
to *Messana*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two wayes. Some say, that when he was
advertised what was intended and devised against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Naples* into
banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates abovesaid, and so by him
was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Scipio* himself sent out one of his
Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about
him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Pleminius*, and with him the principal Authors of the sedition,
and to lay them fast in irons. But certain it is that they all, were it by the commandment of *Scipio*
before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in ward and safe-custody with the Rhegins.
The Pretor and the Delegats being come to *Locri*, first and formost, according to their commissi-
on, had a principal care of Religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search
in the custody either of *Pleminius*, or of the souldiers together with that which they themselves
had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed again in the privy vestries where the treasure
was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgatory sacrifice for the Sacriledge. After this, the
Pretor assembled the souldiers together, and commanded them to carry their Ensigns out of the
City: where himself encamped upon the plain; and proclaimed that no souldier, as he would an-
swer at his uttermost peril, should either tarry behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his
own. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew
to be his own: and if ought were not forth-coming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his
claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever,
should without delay be restored unto them, and if any made default of restitution, he should a-
bide the smart and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and
pronounced before them all, That the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient
liberty, and their own laws: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against
Pleminius, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there
give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Scipio*, na-
mely, That the facts committed at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly, against both God & man,
passed either under his warrant, or with his leave and liking, then they should send Embassadors
to *Messana*, where he together with his Councel and assistants would give them audience of al
matters, and determine accordingly. The Locrians yeelded great thanks to the Pretors and to the
Delegats or Commissioners: as also to the Senat and people of *Rome*: and said, " They would go
" to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he set little to heart the injuries and wrongs
" done unto their City, yet he was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to
" entertain his enmity. And this they knew assuredly, that so many lewd pranks, and so horrible
" parts there plaid, were neither by the direction nor yet with the connivency and toleration of
" *P. Scipio* but his only fault was that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too
" little. And some men (say they) be of this nature, that they will have a careful regard for to pre-
" vent sin, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heart to
" punish and correct faults when they are once done and past. Hereupon both the Pretors & also
the Commissioners with him, thought themselves well eased of no small burden and charge of ma-
king farther inquisition and sitting upon the cause of *Scipio*. But *Pleminius* and two and thirty per-
sons more with him; they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went

also

also in person to *Scipio*, to be eye-witnesses and to make report at *Rome* of their own knowledge; H as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the loose, dissolute, and corrupt military discipline of his souldiers; so rise and common in many mens mouths. Against their coming to *Syracuse*, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to excuse his folly. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, and for his armado to be in readiness, as if he were that day to give battail both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteously entertained by *Scipio*. The morrow after he shewed them all his forces, as well for Land as Sea service, not only furnished, well appointed, and in readiness but the one sort, namely the land souldiers, running and charging one another at turney; and the Sea servitors likewise within the haven, representing a naval combat with their ships. Then he led the Pretor and the other commissioners all about, to see I the arsenal and armory, the store-houses, the garners of corn, and all other provision and furniture for the war. At the view and sight whereof, they were striken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully perswaded, that either by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome and conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they willed him in the name of God, without more ado to pass over into *Affrick*, and with all speed possible to make the people of *Rome* to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centuries nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consul of the twain: and with so joyous hearts they took their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to *Rome* of a glorious victory; and not to make relation and report of a magnifical and stately prepa- K ration for war. *Pleminius* and all they that were likewise attaint and guilty, after they came to *Rome*, were immediately clapt up and laid fast in prison. At the first time when they were brought out before the people by the Tribuns, they could find no grace, no favour nor mercy amongst them, their minds were so forstalled and possessed aforehand, with the confideration of the woful miseries and calamities of the poor Locrians. But afterwards, being produced oftner unto them as the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, so mens anger grew to assuage and soften: besides the pitious plight and deformed hew of *Pleminius* there present, and the remembrance withal, of *Scipio* now absent, got him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judicially tried, and definitive sentence of him passed. *Clodius Licinius* reporteth in this third book of the Roman stories, that this *Pleminius* in the time of the games which L *Africanus* second time Consul, exhibited at *Rome*, according to a vow by him made, went about (by the help of some whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to set the City on fire in divers places, thereby to have opportunity to break prison and make an escape: but when his wicked purpose was once disclosed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by an act of Senat to the dungeon *Tullianum*. But as for *Scipio*, there were no words made of him, neither come he in question any where else but in the Senat: where all with one accord, both commissioners and Tribuns by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the Captain, brought it so about, that the Senat thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed *Scipio* should over into *Affrick*, and have liberty granted out of those armies which were in *Sicily*, to make choice of those whom he would himself transport over with him into M *Africk*, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

Whiles these things passed thus amongst the Romans; the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much suspition and continual fear, hearkning to all news, and enquiring fearfully of every messenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea side, bestirred themselves likewise, and procured the society and alliance of K. *Syphax*, a matter of no small importance for the safeguard and defence of *Affrick*, in hope and confidence of whose amity and friendship especially, they were perswaded, that *Scipio* intended to sail over into *Affrick*. Now there had been already between *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* and the King, not only familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hospitality, since the time (as hath been said before) that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* fortuned to meet at one time together in the Kings house, N when they came out of *Spain*: but also some treaty was already begun of alliance and affinity, and a motion made, that the King should espouse and wed the daughter of *Asdrubal*. For the assurance of this matter, and the appointment of a certain day for the solemnising of the marriage (for now the Damosel was ready for an husband, and mariageable) *Asdrubal* took a journey, and seeing the King burning in love (as these Numidians of all other barbarous nations are most given that way, and exceeding amorous) he sent for the maiden from *Carthage*, and hastened the wedding. And among other congratulations that passed between, to the end, that besides the private affinity, there should be also a publick league, there was an alliance concluded between the people of *Carthage* and the King, by giving and taking their faithful promise interchangeably, and obliging themselves by a solemn oath one to the other to observe it as well offensive as defensive. O and to have the same enemies, and the same friends for ever. But *Asdrubal* remembring both the friendship begun between *Scipio* and the King, and also how fickle and variable the natures of the Barbarians are: and fearing if *Scipio* should pass over into *Africk* that this bond of wedlock would not be strong enough to hold the King in; took the time whiles this Numidian Prince was enflamed with his fresh love, induced him what with reasons, and what with the fair words and allurements of his young spouse, to send Embassadors into *Sicily* to *Scipio*, for to advise him not to pass

A pass over into *Africk*, nor to relie upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimony with a Citizen of *Carthage*, the daugher "of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joyned in a publick "league with the people of *Carthage*. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war "with the Carthaginians far from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of "necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarels; and so while he desired to avoid the danger and hostility of one part or other, be driven at length to side all one way: giv- "ing him more plainly to understand, that if *Scipio* would not forbear *Africk*, but needs come with "an army against *Carthage*, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of *Africk*, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for the father and house of his own wife. With this B commission and direction were certain Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at *Syracuse*, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work that he had laid for his wars in *Africk*, and put besides his good hopes; gave the Embassadours letters into *Africk* unto the King, and sent them back again in all haft, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters he requested him earnestly to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship & hospitality begun with him, or of the league and society entred with the people of *Rome*: nor violated justice and faithfull promise made by giving right hands: nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But forasmuch as the coming of those Numidians could not be concealed (for they went all about the City, and were daily conversant in the Generall his lodging: and if it C should have been kept secret whereabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was smothered and dissembled, the more it would breake forth and come to light: and so the army was to stand in fear, that they were to war at once both with the king and Carthaginians. *Scipio* therefore buzzed aforehand into mens heads, false devised matters, and so withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his souldiers together, and said unto them; "that now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the "Kings, his allies and conferats, importuned him to set over into *Africk* with all convenient speed; "that *Masanissa* beforetime himself in person came to *Lelius*, grieving and complaining that the "time ran thus on in delaies and doing nothing: & *Syphax* now sent his Embassadors, musing much "and wondring what the cause should be of so long temporising: and requiring that either the ar- D "my without more ado, should be sent over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were changed, to certifie him so much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdome. And "therefore he did them to wit and understand, that he intended (now that he was sufficiently provided and furnished of all things; and considering that the impresse might abide no farther stay,) "to conduct his armado to *Lilybaum*, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the "seas for a bon-voiage, and with Gods grace and favour to set fail for *Africk*. His letters he dispatched to *Marcus Pomponius* to this effect, that if he thought so good, he should repair to *Lilybaum*, to the end they might commune and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of souldiers he should transport over with him into *Africk*. In like manner, he sent a la- E bour the maritime and sea coasts, to stay all the carricks and ships of burden, and to bring them away at once to *Lilybaum*. Now when all the ships and serviceable men in *Sicily* were assembled to *Lilybaum*, so as neither the City was able to receive the multitude of souldiers, nor the haven contein the number of the vessels; so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotly set upon their voiage into *Africk*, that they seemed as if they were conducted not to fight a war, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the souldiers remaining of the Cannian army, were verily perswaded, that under this captain, or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their ignominous and shamefull souldiery. And *Scipio* himself made no base account of those kind of souldiers, as knowing full well that the defeat received at *Canne*, was not occasioned by their cowardise: F neither were there throughout the Roman army any souldiers so ancient and of so long continuance, or so well experienced not only in many and sundry foughten fields, but also in the assaulting of towns and Cities. And these Legions of *Canne* were the fift and sixt in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into *Africk*, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having culled out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed unmeet and unsufficient, he substituted in their place those whom he had brought with him out of *Italy*: and so fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions; that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of armes. He chose also out of the same army of *Canne*, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederats of the Latine nation. What power of souldiers in the whole were set over into *Africk*, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authours I find, that they G were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records again, they were more by one halfe and better, namely, that of horse and foot there were embarked five and thirty thousand. And others there be that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter so doubtfull and uncertain, I would my self be counted for one. But *Cælius* for his part, as he forbeareth to put down any number at all, so he seemed for to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he saith that with cry and shout that the souldiers set up, the very touls of the air fell down to the ground:

and he that had ſeen the multitude of them when they went a ſhipboard, would have ſaid there had not been a man left behindeither in *Italy* or in *Sicily*. Well how many or how few ſoever they were, *Scipio* himſelf took the charge to ſee the ſouldiers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the ſailers and mariners, who were forced before to ſhipboord, *C. Lælius* the Admirall of the navy, kept them ſtill and quiet within their ſhips. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commiſſion for to furniſh the armado with corn and victuals; who made proviſion of food and ſuſtenance for 45 daies: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dreſſed, as much as would ſuffice for 15 daies. Now when they were all embarked, he ſent about to all the ſhips, certain pinnaces or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and maſters of every ſhip, with two ſouldiers apeece, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and aſſembled together, firſt he enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their veſſels freſh water ſufficient both for man and beaſt, to hold out ſo many daies as their corn would ſerve? and when anſwer was made that they had water in their ſhips to laſt five and forty daies: then he charged and commanded the ſouldiers to keep ſilence and be quiet during their navigation, and without any ſtrife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any miniſtery and ſervice whatſoever, ſaying, that himſelf and *L. Scipio* would keep on the right wing with twenty ſtrong ſhips with braſen beak heads, and *C. Lælius* the Admirall with *M. Porcius* the Treaſurer on the left, with as many of the ſame ſort, to waſt over and guard the hulks and ſhips of burden: willing and requiring that there ſhould be light in all their veſſels, namely, that every braſen headed ſhip ſhould have one; each Carrick twain; and the Admirall ſhip, wherein the Generall was, three lights, for a ſpeciall mark, to be diſcerned from thereſt in the night. And ſo he commanded the Pilots to ſteer and direct their courſe for *Emporia*. [The territory hereabout is moſt fertile and fruitfull, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peaſants (as commonly it falleth out in battell and plentifull lands) are cowards, and unapt for war, and it was thonght they might be ſurpriſed and ſubdued before any ſuccour could come from *Carthage*.] When theſe directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ſhips, and the next morrow at the ſignall, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoiſe up ſails and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime ſet out of *Sicily*, and the very ſame port: but never any voiage all the time of that war, no, nor during the former, made ſo goodly a ſhew, and was ſo much looked on. And no marvell, for moſt of their other fleets were ſent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would eſteem navies by the number and greatneſſe of ſhips, there had been aforetime two Conſuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: & in every of theſe fleets therewere welneer as many war ſhips with braſen beak heads, as hulks & carricks in thoſe that *Scipio* tranſported over. For beſides fifty long ſhips of war, he had not all out four hundred ſhips of burden and paſſage to tranſport over his army with. But if we would compare both wars together, the ſecond ſeemed unto the Romans more ſharp and cruel then the former; both becauſe it was fought within *Italy*, and alſo by reaſon of ſo great overthrows of ſo many armies, together with the loſſe and death of their Generall captains. Moreover great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commander and Generall of this voiage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his own noble acts of cavalry, and alſo of a ſpeciall and ſingular fortune that followed him in all his exploits; where: by he grew every day more glorious then other: which cauſed all mens hearts to be ſet upon him; beſide his very reſolution and mind that he carried, to paſs in *Africk*, which all the while of that war entred not into the head of any Captaine before him: in that he gave it out abroad, That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to divert and tranſlate the war into *Africk*, and there to finiſh and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to ſee the ſetting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of *Lilybæum*, but alſo the train of all the Embaſſages out of *Sicily*, which were come together for to accompany *Scipio*, and to do him honour, and alſo attended upon the Pretor of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and beſides, thoſe legions alſo which were left behind in *Sicily*, went forward to bear their fellow ſouldiers company. So that not only the navy was a goodly proſpect unto the beholders upon the land, but alſo the ſtrand ſo overſpread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleaſant ſhew unto theſe paſſengers, that were in the ſhips. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall after ſilence commanded by voice of the crier) praied in this wiſe: "O ye gods and goddeſſes all, that haunt and inhabit "ſeas and lands both, I beſeech and pray you to vouchſafe, that all that ever hath been done already, is now intended, or ſhall hereafter be enterprized, during my conduct and government, "may ſpeed well, and turn to the good of my ſelf, the people and commonalty of *Rome*, our "allies, and eſpecially thoſe of the Latine nation; who by land, by ſea, by rivers, follow the direction, command, government, and fortune of my ſelf, and of the people of *Rome*, and that "in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpfull unto us, and advance "all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victory over our enemies: and after we have "ſubdued them, to continue ſafe and ſound: and adorned with their goodly ſpoils, laden with their "rich pillage, to return home all together with glorious triumph: & give us the hand and opportunity to be revenged of our foes and mortall enemies: and deign me and the people of *Rome* "that power and ſtrength, to execute upon the City of the Carthaginians thoſe fearfull examples of cruelty, which the people of *Carthage* intended to practiſe and bring upon our City and

The praier of *Scipio*

"and ſtate. After theſe prayers thus pronounced, he took the raw inwards and purtenance of the beaſt killed for ſacrifice (as the manner is) and flung them into the ſea: and with that by ſound of trumpet, gave the ſignall of departure.

Now were they under ſail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they ſoon loſt the ſight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick miſt; by reaſon whereof the ſhips could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deep ſea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the ſame dark miſt continued ſtill. After the ſun was once up it brake and diſperſed, and then the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might diſcover land. And not long after, the pilot ſaid unto *Scipio*, that they were not full too leagues from *Africk*; and that he ſaw well and diſcerned the cape or point of *Mercurius*: and if his will and pleaſure were thither to direct their courſe, preſently the whole armado ſhould be in the rode. *Scipio* ſo ſoon as he was within view of land, after he had made his prayers unto the gods, to bleſſe this firſt diſcovery of *Africk* to his own good and the benefit of the common-weal; gave commandment to ſail ſtill, and to put with the ſhore and ride at anchor in ſome bay beneath. So they made way with the ſame wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were miſted again, and loſt the ſight of land. And as the fog increaſed, the wind fell: the night alſo that came upon them beſides, made all things more doubtfull. Whereupon they caſt anchor, for fear that the ſhips ſhould hit one againſt another, or run aground. When day light aroſe, the ſame wind was up again, but the foggy miſt ſcattred; and then they might ſee plainly all the coaſt of *Africk*. *Scipio* then demanded what promontory it was that he ſaw next; and hearing that the name of it was *The head Pulchrum*, [or *The fair Cape*] the name (quoth he) pleaſeth me, and the preſage thereof I like full well; even thither put the ſhips aland, and ſo the armado entred the bay, and all the hoſt was ſet aſhore. Thus have I reported that they had a proſperous voyage without any fearfull danger, or much trouble; giving credit herein to very manny writers; as well Greeks as Latines. Only *Cælius* (ſetting aſide that the ſhips were not caſt away and drowned amid the ſurging waves) writeth how other dangers both of water and weather encountred them: in ſo much as at the laſt the Armado was driven by tempeſt from the coaſts of *Africk*, and fell upon the Iland *Ægimurus*, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct courſe again; and finally when the ſhips were at hand to ſink under the water, then the ſouldiers faring like men at point to ſuffer ſhipwrack, without lience and commandment of their Generall and without their armor, in great fear made ſhift with boats to recover the ſhore.

* *Gaiette*

The Romans thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hils next adjoyning. By which time the terror and fearfull fright of this their arrivall was not entred only into the Maritime coaſts and territories bounding upon the ſea, firſt upon the diſcovery of the fleet, and afterwards by reaſon of the rumor and tumult of the army, as it came aſhore; but alſo ſpred forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and overſpred with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heaps together one with another; but alſo the country peaſants drave before them whole herds of cattel: as a man would have ſaid that had ſeen it, how all *Africk* was like to be abandoned at once on a ſuddain: in ſuch ſort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themſelves, and eſpecially *Carthage* above all others: where there was no leſſe trouble and hurliburly, then if it had been ſurpriſed and forced by the enemie. For ſince that time that *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius* were Conſ. for the ſpace almoſt of fifty yeers, they had not once ſo much as ſeen an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made ſome rodes into the lands lying upon the ſea ſide: and when they had harried ſome prizes, ſuch as came next hand, they ever were retired again to the ſhips, before the alarme could be given to raiſe the country. The greater therefore now was both the flight and fright within the City. And to ſpeak a truth, good cauſe they had; by reaſon that there was neither at home in readineſs an army of puiſſance to encounter the enemy, nor a captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. *Aſdrubal* was the ſon of *Giſgo*, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and beſides for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the perſonage by many degrees, yea, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembred very well to have been foiled, diſcomfited and beaten out of the field in *Spain*, by the ſelf-ſame *Scipio* in divers and ſundry battels. Alſo they made accompt, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and ſet their tumultuary power raiſed in haſt, with the ſtaid and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarm preſently, as if *Scipio* were ready to aſſault *Carthage* out of hand: the gates with all ſpeed were ſhut and made ſure: the walls manned with ſouldiers: the *corps de guard* ſet: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels duly relieved and mainteined. The next day, 500 light horſe were ſent out as eſpials and vaunt-curriers to diſcover and ſcour the quarters to the ſea ſide; and withall to impeach them that were a diſbarking and coming land: who chanced to light on the Romans *corps de guard*. For *Scipio* had ſent away the fleet already to *Utica*, and before he was gone up into the land far from the ſea, had encamped upon the next hils thereby, placed guards of horſemen in convenient places, and put out certain foragers into the fields and villages for to raiſe booties. Theſe having entred skirmiſh with the Carthaginian cornet and horſemen, flew a few of them in the very conflict, but moſt of them as they fled and were followed in chaſe, amongſt whom was *Hanno* alſo the provoſt marſhall, a noble young gentleman. *Scipio* not only waſted the country all about, but

also was a City of the Africans that stood neerest, and was of sufficient wealth: where besides other pillage which was presently imbarked in the ships of burden and sent into *Sicily*, there were taken prisoners eight thousand polles of free and bond one with another. But the greatest joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance and beginning of their warlike affairs, was for the coming of *Masanissa*; whom some report to have presented himself with 200 horse and no more: but the most do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this *Masanissa* was of all other Kings for his time the greatest Prince and most puissant, and withall he that stood the Romans in best stead and helped their state, none like unto him: me thinks it were worth their labor, and would quit for all the paines, to digresse a little out of the way, for to shew and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was tossed, both in the losse and also in the recovery of the inheritance of his fathers kingdome.

This *Masanissa*, whiles he was employed during the wars of *Spain*, in the defence and quarrell of the Carthaginians; his father, whose name was *Gala*, hapned to die: and then the kingdome fell by descent, according to the custome and manner of the Numidians unto *Desalces* the late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when *Desalces* also was departed his life, *Capusa* the elder of his two sons, (for the other was a very child) succeeded in his fathers Kingdome. But for as much as he the foresaid *Capusa* maintained his royall state and throne, more by reason of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and favorits, than by power and strength: there arose up in arms one named *Mezetulus* (who also was descended of royall bloud, but of an house that was ever of the adverse and contrarie side) and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with those who then swayed the scepter. This *Mezetulus* having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peasants of the country (with whom he carried a great stroke and was highly esteemed, by reason of the hatred that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and shewed himself in action, yea, and forced the King to come into the field, and to trie the title of the crown in a set battell by dint of sword. In which conflict, *Capusa*, together with many of his peers and nobles were slain, and the whole nation and seignory of the Massilians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of *Mezetulus*. Howbeit he forbare to be called King; and contenting himself with the mean name of Tutor or Protector, gave the Kings stile to the child *Lacumax*, who only remained alive of the Kings issue and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of *Carthage*, *Annibal* his neece by his sister who had been lately wedded unto King *Desalces*; hoping thereby to enter into league and alliance with the Carthaginians: and besides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity with *Syphax*, he sent Embassadors unto him of purpose. Thus made he himself strong aforehand against *Masanissa*.

Masanissa likewise for his part, being advertised of his uncles death, and also how his cousin german was deceased, crossed the seas out of *Spain* over to *Mauritania*, at what time as *Bocchar* was King of the Moors. At whose hands by humble sute and importunat praiers in most lowly manner, he obteined a power of 4000 Moores to accompany him in the journey, for otherwise to employ them in war he might not. And after he had dispatched a messenger afore-hand to those that were his fathers friends and wel-willers to himself, by that time that he was come with them to the confines of his realm, there met him almost 500 Numidians. Having therefore sent back again the Moores from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was assembled together a smaller number of people then he hoped and looked for, and not so sufficient that he durst adventure upon so great an enterprise; and supposing withall, that by entring into some action, and by travell and endeavour, he should gather strength still to perform some great exploit, he encountred at *Thapsus* the yong king *Lacumax*, as he journied unto *Syphax*. And when the Kings company in great fear fled into the town, *Masanissa* both at the first assault won the said town, and also of the Kings train received some that yeelded themselves, and slew others some that made resistance in their own defence. But the greatest part with the child himself the young Prince, got away in that tumult and escaped unto *Syphax*, unto whom at first they intended their journey. The fame of this small thing, so happily atchieved in the first beginning and entrance of his affairs, caused all the Numidians to revolt and side with *Masanissa*. So as there flocked unto him from all parts of the country, and out of the villages, the old souldiers of King *Gala*, and incited the young Prince and set him on to recover his fathers kingdome. Now in number of souldiers, *Mezetulus* was a good deal superior: for both himself and the same army still entire, with which he had vanquished *Capusa*, besides had some others that after the slaughter of the King, he had received upon their yeelding: and also young *Lacumax* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: so that *Mezetulus* was fifteen thousand foot, and ten thousand horse strong. With whom *Masanissa*, albeit he were nothing so puissant either in foot or horse, fought a battell; yet atchieved he the victory through the approved valour of the old souldiers, and his own politick wisedome, being a captain well experienced and exercised both in the Roman and Punick wars. The young Prince together with his tutour and protectour, and some small number of Massilians, fled and escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus *Masanissa* having recovered his fathers Kingdome, and foreseeing that there remained still behind a far greater bickerment and encounter with *Syphax*, & taking it to be the best course and policy for him, to be reconciled and made friends with his cousin german: addressed certain messengers both unto the child, for to put him in good hope and assurance, that if he would submit and yeeld himselfe under the protection of

of *Masanissa*, he should live in as honourable place and degree with him, as *Desalces* sometime had done with his father *Gala*: and also to *Mezetulus* to give their word and promise unto him, not only for impunity of all trespasses, but also for faithfull restitution of all things that were his. By which means he perswaded both of them to take part with him: who made choice of a mean estate at home in their own country, rather than to live in exile: notwithstanding the Carthaginians laboured all that ever they could to the contrary.

Asdrubal hapned at that time when these occurrences fell out, to make his abode with *Syphax*: who finding the Numidian King *Syphax* resolved upon this point, and fully perswaded, That it mattered not, nor imported himself much, whether *Lacumax* or *Masanissa* were King of the Massilians, replied unto him and said, that he was fouly deceived if he thought that *Masanissa* would keep himself within those termes, that either his father *Gala* or his uncle *Desalces*, held them contented with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more to wardnesse in him and far greater signes of hauty mind and forward wit and spirit apear in him, then ever shewed in any of his house and line before him. Full often hath he in *Spain* made good proof of rare valour and singular prowesse, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians look as well about them as they can, for unlesse they put out this sparkle of fire betimes, and even at the first beginning, it will be their chance to be caught therewith, when it shall burn forth; and able they shall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Mary, as yet his strength is small and slender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to maintain his state, unsetled as he is in his Kingdome. Thus he importuned him still by reasons and persuasions, untill at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Massilians and there in that territory, about the title whereof he had oftentimes not only contended by plea and words with *Gala*, but also by arms and dint of sword, to encamp himself as in his right full and undoubted inheritance: with this direction, that if any came against him to warn him off the ground, then to trie his interest by sword: which was the only way to be taken and most for the purpose: but in case for fear of him they quit the possession quietly, then to advance forward into the heart of the kingdome: for either the Massilians would without battell render themselves under subjection, or else in a pitched field not be able to stand out against him. Upon these suggestions *Syphax* was incited and pricked on; insomuch as he made war upon *Masanissa*, and in the first battell discomfited and put to flight the Massilians. And *Masanissa* with some few horsmen fled out the field and escaped unto a mountain which the inhabitants call *Balbus*. Certain whole families and households with their sheds and tents, together with their cattell (which is all their riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Massilians besides, did homage unto *Syphax* and came under his obedience. This mountain aforesaid, which these exiles that fled their country were possessed of, was plentifull of grasse well watered; and being so good for pasture to feed their cattell, it yeelded sufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people that used to live upon flesh and milk. From hence they began at first to steal out by night and make rodes: but afterwards in open day light to rob and spoil all the country about: but above all others to fire and burn the territory of the Carthaginians: both because there were more prizes to be had from thence, than from the Numidians; & also for that it was more safe robbing and harrying there without danger. This they practised so long, so licentiously, and in such scornfull manner, that now they would carrie their booties to the sea side, and make markets & sale therof to the merchants: and for this purpose divers ships arrived thither to traffick: yea, and other whiles there were many of the Carthaginians cut off and came short home, and more of them were either slain or taken prisoners then oftentimes in open war and set battels. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained of these matters unto *Syphax*, and spurred him forward (disposed well enough as he was of himself to revenge) for to pursue the reliques of the war, in his own person. But forasmuch as it was not thought to stand with the royall Majestie of a King, to chase and hunt a rabble of vagrant theeves about the mountains; therefore *Bocchar* one of the Kings Captains, a right hardy and valorous man, was chosen to do the feat, and to perform that service. Who had the conduct of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse: and was promised besides, great gifts and mighty rewards, in case he brought away the head of *Masanissa*: but if he could take him prisoner alive, that were alone indeed, and a peerlesse peece of work, of inestimable joy beyond all measure. He waiting his time when the enemies were straggling retchlessely abroad, came upon them at unawares and charged them, and having singled from the guard of the armed souldiers, a huge number both of people and cattel, he forced *Masanissa* himself with some few horsmen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had sent away unto the King (as if the war had now been at point of an end) not only a great booty of people and cattell, the which he had taken, but also part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion, then for to dispatch the remnants of a war, accompanyed with no more then five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he pursued *Masanissa* being come down from the hill tops, and there having beset and stopped the passages at both ends, enclosed him within the streight and narrow vally. Where there was committed a great execution and slaughter of the Massilians, but *Masanissa* with fifty horsemen and not above, got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and escaped the hands of the pursuers. Howbeit, *Bocchar* traced him still, and followed him at heels so narrowly, that neer to the City *Clupea* he overtook him in the plains, where he so streightly environed him about, that he killed all his company every one, save onely four horsemen.

With whom in that tumult he let slip as it were out of his hands *Masanissa* also himself sore wounded and lost him clean. As he fled, he had still in his eie certain cornets of horsmen disperled all over the plain, and some of them crossing the waies overthwart to meet the enemy at every turn, and to intercept him. But he and the four horsmen with him fled forwards still, and took the great river before them: for their fear and fright was greater then to make any stay at the bank side, but to put their horses to it, and plunge in: where they were carried with the current of the stream and born to a side: two of them in the sight of the enemies were swallowed up of the deep burlpits; himself also was supposed to have perished with them, but he and the other two horsmen besides caught hold of certain twigs of osiers that grew under the banks on the farther side. So *Bocchar* made an end of farther pursuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor beleeving that he had any enemy for to chase. And thus returned he to the King with false news, that *Masanissa* was drowned. And divers posts and curriers were sent out to *Carthage*, to report these exceeding joyfull tidings. This rumour and fame of *Masanissa* his death being noised all over *Africk*, wrought diversly in the minds of men. But *Masanissa* keeping himself close in a secret cave, whiles he cured his hurt with certain herbes, lived for some daies by the foraging and robbery of the other two horsmen. So soon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he thought himself able to abide the sitting and shaking of his horse, with exceeding courage & boldnesse he set forward again to claim and recover his kingdome. And having in the way as he passed gotten together unto him not above forty horse, by that time he was come among the Massilians, and gave out openly who he was, he prevailed so much with them, that as well in regard of their ancient favour and love toward him, as also for the unexpected joy that they saw him alive and K found, whom they verily beleeved to have been dead; within few daies there were gathered and assembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. So as not only he was restored again, and put in full possession of his fathers Kingdome, but also wasted and spoiled the confederat nations of the Carthaginians, yea, and the frontiers and confines of the Masæsylij, which belongeth to the Kingdome and dominion of *Syphax*. Having thus provoked *Syphax* to war, he set him down and encamped between the Cities of *Cirtha* and *Hippo*, upon the ridge of certain hils, places of advantage and commodious in all respects. Then *Syphax* supposing it a greater peece of work, and of more importance then to be managed by his captains, sent part of his forces under the conduct of his son, the young Prince named *Vermina*, and gave order unto him to wheel about with his power, and whiles the enemy was amused upon himself one way, to charge upon him behind another L way. So *Vermina* set forth, and took his way by night, because he was to give the charge closely, and in secret. But *Syphax*, who was to shew himself with banner displaied, and to bid the enemy battell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as he thought) was come, wherein they that were sent about to fetch a compass, might reach to the place appointed, himself also trusting as well in the multitude of his men, as in the ambush laid before at the enemies back, let his battell in array; directly upon the side of the hill, which with gentle and easie ascent ariseth, and leadeth towards the enemy. *Masanissa* likewise arranged his men, presuming most of all in the plot of ground, which served much better for his advantage to fight. The battell was sharp and cruell, and for a long time doubtfull. Whiles the site of the place, and valour of the souldiers much helped *Masanissa*; and the number again on the other side, which M exceeded beyond all measure, and made too great odds, availed *Syphax*. This multitude divided into two battailons, whiles the one was opposed affront the enemy, and the other compassed about their tail and back part, gave the victory cleer unto *Syphax*: insomuch, as the enemy thus enclosed both before and behind, had no way in the world to escape. Whereupon all the footmen and horsmen both were either killed or taken prisoners. Only two hundred horsmen or very neer so many, which were gathered in a ring together about *Masanissa*, he commanded to cast themselves by troups and squadrons into three leveral companies, and so to pierce and break throughout first he appointed them a certain place before, where they should rally and meet together again after their scattered flight. Himself in person, at one side which he had proposed to himself before, made means to pass through the very pikes and darts of the enemies, and escaped. Two of those N quadrons tarried still behind, the one for fear yeelded to the enemy, the other sticking to it, and making more resistance, was overcharged with shot of arrows and darts. But *Masanissa* winding in and out, to and fro, deluded *Vermina*, who presed hard upon him, and followed himself at heels: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travail and desperate pursute, caused him perforce to gave over the chase. Whiles he himself with seventy horse gat away as far as to the lesse * *Syrtes*, where he set up his rest, and quieted his conscience, in that he had so often right valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers Kingdome: and led his life between the * *Punick Emporia* and the nation of the Garamants, untill the arrivall of the Roman navy, and C. *Lælius* into *Africk*. These presumptions induce me to think and beleeve, that *Masanissa* came afterwards also unto *Scipio* with a small power of horsmen, rather then with any great aid. For O that multitude was befitting the state of a Prince, established in his Kingdome, but this small number beseemed the mean condition and fortune of a poor exile and banished man.

Now to return again unto our story. The Carthaginians having lost the cornet of horsmen aforesaid, together with their captain, and raised another power of horse, by taking new musters, made *Hanno* the son of *Amilca* commander over them. And first by messengers and letters missive

* *Golfo di Capsa.* These Syrtes, as well the greater as the lesse, are in the Mediteranean sea neer *Africk* full of shelves and bars: and are called *Secche* or *Bazos de Barbaria.*

* The sea coasts neer the Syrtes, so called for their fertility, as *Ortelius* hath noted out of *Polybius.*

A missive they sent for *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* one after another, and at last also even by Embassadors and Orators. As for *Asdrubal*, they required him to succour his native country, befet in manner round about: *Syphax* they besought and requested to provide for the safety and fence of *Carthage* and all *Africk*.

At that time *Scipio* was encamped neer *Utica*, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from the sea side, where some few daies, he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. *Hanno* having received a power of Cavalry, nothing sufficient and strong enough to charge upon the enemie, nor so much as to guard and defend the country from wasting and spoiling, first before all other things cast about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. And albeit he rejected none of other nations, yet he levied and waged the Numidians eB specially, the best horsemen simply in all *Africk*. Now had he gathered together upon four thousand horse, when he surprised a City named *Salera*, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when word was brought to *Scipio*, that so great a Cavalry took up their summer standing harbour within a town; Tush (quoth he) I passe not, if they were more then they are, so long as they have such a one to be their leader. And thinking with himself that the more slowly the enemies went to work, the lesse he was to slack his business, he sent *Masanissa* before with the horsemen, and gave commandment to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him forth to fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was issued forth, and the skirmish grown to hot, that he might not well endure the charge, he should give ground and retreat by little and little, for he would himself come in due time to the battell. And staying no C longer behind, then whiles he thought *Masanissa* who was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Roman horsmen, & marched closely under the hils (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposite between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Masanissa* for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right courageously gallopped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrifie the enemy, another while as if he had been afraid himself, gave back; and by this counterfeit shew of fearfulnesse, he made the enemies more bold and venturous, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their captain was diversly troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was fain to force and compell some that had taken their load of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepy with all, to arm themselves and to bridle their horses, and to stay others D from running out of the gates at once confusedly, without order or array, and without their colours. *Masanissa* caught up those, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting out, rode venturously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but anon when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equall valour on both sides and at last, when the horsmen were abroad and joyned in battell, *Masanissa* was not possibly able to hold out any longer, Howbeit he fled not outright, but as he gave back leisurely, he received them as they violently charged upon him: so long, untill he had trained them to those hils, under which the Roman Cavalry lay hidden. Then rose the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh; and environed *Hanno* and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tired out and overwearied: *Masanissa* likewise turned his horses suddainly, E and made head again, and returned to battel afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hanno* himself the Generall, fast upon a thousand, even as many as were in the vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse neck: whom for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either slew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred naturall Carthaginians, men of armes, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It fortuned that the very same day when this hapned, the ships which had transported over the booty in to *Sicily*, returned back charged with provision of victuals, as if they had presaged & foretokened by their arrivall, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two Carthaginian captains of one name were slain in two battels, of the Cavalry: for fear (as I verily take it) left by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and abuse the reader. Certes *Celius* and *Valerius* report that *Hanno* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they every one deserved: but above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Masanissa*. And when he had placed a strong garrison in *Salera* himself with the rest of his army made rodes: and not only wasted and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and won certain Cities and borough towns: and so having filled all places far and neer with the terror of war & hostility, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he set forth, bringing with him great numbers of people, much store of cattell and prizes of all sorts; and so dispatched away the ships a second time straight and laden with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small rodes and forrage of the country towns, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Utica*, intending if he had once won it, to settle himself there, and to make it his seat from thence forward, and a sure place of defence in all his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were the sea-servitors brought from the armado, to that part of the City where it beateth upon the wals: likewise the land souldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh

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the town, and joyneth in manner hard to the very wals. As for artillery and engines of battery and assault, some they had brought with them, and others were sent out of *Sicily* with the victuals: and daily new were made in the common Armory and Arcenall, where there were of purpose artificers continually kept at work for the framing of such fabricks and peeces of battery. The men of *Vtica* beset thus round about on every side with so great preparation and ordinance of war, reposed their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon *Asdrubal*, in case he should sollicite *Syphax* for to set to his helping hand. But all things went but slowly forward, and they bestirred themselves not so quickly, as they should have done, who wanted so much aid as they did. And *Asdrubal* when he had with all the means and the best shift that he could make, gathered together thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of *Syphax* to joyn with him. At length came *Syphax* with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: and immediately departing from *Carthage*, encamped not far from *Vtica* and the Roman camp. Whose arrivall yet was so important, and wrought this effect; that *Scipio* after forty dayes welneer (during which time he had invested *Vtica* and tried all maistries but in vain) was compelled to remove his siege & dislodge, without doing any good at all. For now the winter approached, and he fortified his standing leaguer for winter harbour upon a promontory, which joyning to the continent by a thin and narrow ridg of a bank, lieth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the self-same trench and rampier, he empaled both his army, and also the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quartred and lodged in the mids of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up to land, and likewise the sailers and mariners, kept the strand on the north side of the hill; the horsemen took up the vail towards the south, upon the hanging and side therof, shooting to the other shore. And these were the acts atchieved in *Africk* untill the end of Autumn.

Besides the provision of corn garthered from all parts out of the countries pilled and wasted round about, and other store of victuals brought out of *Sicily* and *Italy*, *Cn. Octavius* the Vice-pretor arrived with a mighty deal of grain out of *Sardinia*, sent from *T. Claudius* the Pretor, who had the government of that Iland: so as not only the old garners already made were replenished, but also those that were newly built. Only there wanted apparell for the army. Whereupon *Octavius* had in commission to break with the Pretor about that matter, namely, what liveries might be provided out of that province, and sent for the supply of that defect. Which businesse was not slackly followed, but with all diligence performed, in such sort, as in short space there were sent over 1200 side horsemens coats, and 12000 short cassocks and jackets.

During the time of that summer wherein those occurences passed in *Africk*, *P. Sempronius* the Consul who governed the Province of the *Bruttii*, skirmished suddainly in a disordred manner with *Annibal* upon the very way, within the territory of *Croton*: where the fight was maintained rather by squadrons and companies one to one, then by any set body of a ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultuous scuffling than a full fight) upon 1200 of the Consuls army, they retired in great hast and fear into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Consul dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Vice-consul, for to come forward with his legions, he joyned his power unto them. So they returned again unto *Annibal*, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any stay, to battell they went: whiles the Consul on the one side flood upon this his power redoubled and reenforced, & *Annibal* on the other side took heart for his fresh victory aforesaid. *Sempronius* advanced with his legions into the vanguard; *P. Licinius* with his, kept the rerewards. The Consul at the very first shock and beginning of the conflict, vowed a chappell to *Fortune* under the name of *Primigenia*, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obteined his desire: for the Carthaginians was discomfited and put to flight, and more than four thousand armed men slaine, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and 18 ensigns won and carried away. *Annibal* dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unlucky battell, with-drew his forces to *Croton*.

At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Consul, in another side of *Italy* held in awe *Hetruria* not so much by force of armes, as by rigorous proceese of law and severe justice: for all that country in maner was turned to *Mago*, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the state. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Consul followed by vertue of commission from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all partiality, nothing respective of favour or displeasure. In such sort, that many of the nobility of *Tyscane* (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Mago*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personall apparance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty consciences, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, in stead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yeelded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and confiscat a pawns to pay for the punishment of their persons.

Whiles the Cons. was thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Censors in the mean

A mean time at *Rome*, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* held a new choice and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once again chosen the principall Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominy and disgrace, but not one of all those had sitten in the ivory chair and born office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publicans, that had the charge of the City-buildings to see them kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient reparations. They publickly gave order for a paved cause to be made, from the beasts market unto the temple of *Venus*, and all about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church * *Magna Mater* [the great mother of the gods] they caused to be built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impost out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at *Rome* and throughout all *Italy*, salt was sold at a * Sextant by the Modius, they set and fermed this commodity, to be served out of the same price still in *Rome*; but in the market towns and fairs, they enhanced the price higher, and in sundry places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily believed, by the one of the Censors, for anger, and an old grudg that he bare unto the people; because he had been in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the pension and price of salt they supposed that those tribes were most pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doom that passed against him. Hereupon it came that this *Livius* was surnamed *Salinator*. The cense and numbring of the Citizens was finished the later, because the Censors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of all Roman Citizens, who were, without in the armies, and presentment made accordingly. So there were registred in all, with those abroad two hundred and seven & fifty thousand persons. And *C. Claudius Nero* was he that performed and accomplished this numbring and assessment. After this there was a Cense or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, a thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Censors they were entred into the subsidy book at *Rome*: that it might appear upon record in the publick instruments and writings, what number of able men for war they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentlemen and knights at *Rome*. And it fortuned so, that both Censors had horses of the City provision and charges. And when the crier came to cite those of the tribe *Pollia* wherein the name of *M. Livius* was enrolled, & made some stay to call the Censor himself by name: Gell hardly (quoth *Nero*) for *M. Livius*. And whether it were upon the reliques of an old cankered malice, or that he took a foolish pride and vain delight to seem forsooth to be severe and precise, he commanded *M. Livius* to sell his horse of service, because he had been sometimes a man condemned by the doom of the people. Semblably *M. Livius* when the crier was come unto the tribe *Narniensis*, and to the name of his collegue, awarded *C. Claudius* to sell and make away his great horse like wise: and that for two causes, the one for that he had born false witnes and depoled wrongfully against him: the other, because he was not soundly and in truth of heart reconciled unto him, when they were made friends. Whereupon there grew a foul jar and contention between them, whiles they passed not to impeach and stein the credit one of the other even with the touch and hazard of their own good name and reputation. At the end of the Censorship, when *C. Claudius* had sworn to keep and observe the lawes, and was ascended up into the chamber of the Cities treasure; among the other names of those that he left as disfranchised and tributaries, he declared his collegue for one, and gave up his name in the roll. Afterwards came *M. Livius* into the chamber aforesaid, and setting aside the tribe *Metia* only (which neither had condemned himself, nor elected him a condemned person for Consul or Censor) he declared the whole people of *Rome* like wise suspended, even four and thirty tribes; and left them all no better then meer strangers and aliens, in regard of taxes and tributes: and why? because they had both condemned him, an innocent and guiltles man: and being thus condemned, had created him Cons. and Censor notwithstanding: neither could they deny but that they had ered and done amisse in their judgement, and twice in their elections. And among those four and thirty tribes, he pronounced that *C. Claudius* also should be reckoned for one: protesting moreover, that if he could have found any one precedent, to have led him to the disfranchising one man twice, he would have left *C. Claudius* by name, as a noted person by himself, in the checkroll of the City chamber.

Surely that reciprocall debate between the two Censors, in depraving and defaming one another was but a lewd and naughty part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levity and inconstancy, was a worthy thing, and beseeming the Censors gravity of that time. While the Censors stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bebius* a Tribune of the Commons taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, endited them both and commenced an action against them before the body of the people. But this desigment of his was soon dasht and came to nothing, though the generall accord and content of the LL. of the councell, to the end that in time to come, no such example might be extant upon record, that the Censors dignity should be exposed to the variable and inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the Brutians country, *Petilia* had been already forced and won by the Cons. when as *Consentia* and *Pandosia*, with other mean and base peeces, willingly yeelded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew neer of the election of new magistrats, it was thought good that *Cornelius* shoud be sent for to *Rome* out of *Tuscany*, where there was no war at all, rather then the other Consul out of his province: who being come, created for Consuls *Cneus Servilius Capio*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the chusing of Pretours, where-

* *Cybele*, or *Idaea* At this time it appareth by *Festus* and other that *Asses* were *Sextantarii* and not *Librales*, at *Rome* so that *Sextans* which before was the sixth part of an *Asse*, a cue or half farthing english now was raised to the worth of the whole and valued at three farthings, the price of a Modius of salt in *Rome*, set down by *Livius Salinator*.

wherin were elected *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, *P. Ælius Paetus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. These two last were Ædiles of the Commons when they were chosen Pretors. The Consul after these elections were finished and past, returned unto his army again in *Hetruria*. Certain Priests and Prelats that year died, and new were chosen in their rooms. *P. Veturius Philo*, Flamin of *Mars* was created, installed and inaugurated, instead of *M. Æmylius Regillus*, who deceased the year before. And in place of *M. Pomponius Matho*, who was both Augur and Decemvir, there was advanced into dignity of Decemvir, *M. Aurelius Cotta*: and into the office of Augur, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very yong man: a rare thing to be seen in those daies, in the bestowing of sacerdotall and church-promotions. In that year was set up in the capitol a chariot drawn with 4 steeds, all of bearen gold, by *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*, Ædiles of the chair for the time being. The Romã games also were exhibited & renewed again for 2 daies: likewise the plaies & pastimes called *Plebeii*, for other 2 daies by the Ædiles of the Commons, *P. Ælius* & *P. Villius*. And for the great honoe of those games, the feast of *Jupiter* was solemnly kept and celebrated.

The thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the thirtieth Book.

IN Africk, Scipio *by the help of* Masanissa *in sundry battels vanquished the Carthaginians, together with the afore-said* Syphax *King of the Numidians, and* Asdrubal. *He won and sacked two campes of the enemies, wherein there perished by fire and sword, to the number of* 40000 *men. By the meanes of* C. Lælius *he took* Syphax *alive*. Masanissa *when he had taken prisoner queen* Sophonisba, *the wife of* Syphax *and daughter of* Asdrubal, *by and by fell in love with her, and by way of marriage took her to wife: but being chastised and rebuked therefore by* Scipio, *he sent unto her a cup of poison: which she drank, & therof died. By manifold victories of* Scipio *it came to pass, that the Carthaginians driven to despair, were fain to call for* Annibal *out of* Italy, *to save the main chance, and defend their whole state: Who, in the 16 year of the wars, departed out of* Italy, *sailed over into* Africk, *& assaid by means of conference, to make peace with* Scipio. *And when they could not agree about the conditions & capitulations thereof, he fought, & was overthrown in the plain field. The Carthaginians at their suit & request had peace granted. And when* Gisgo *dissuaded that peace,* Annibal *plucked him back with his hand, & so after some excuse made of his rude rashnesse in that behalf, himself spake for peace. Mago who had fought with the Romans in the country of the Insubrians, was grievously wounded, & being sent for home into* Africk *by certain embassadors, in the way died of his hurt. Masanissa was fully restored to his kingdome.* Scipio *being returned to the City of* Rome, *had the glory of a most honourable and noble triumph: whom,* Q. Terentius Culleo, *a Senator, followed with a cap [of freedome] upon his head.* Scipio *was surnamed* Africanus: *but doubtfull it is, whether he came by that title through the favour of his souldiers before, or the general applause and affection of the people. But this is certain, that he was the first general that ever was intitled in his stile, with the surname of a nation by himself conquered.*

The thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

WHen *Cn. Servillius Capio*, and *C. Servilius Geminus* (Coss. in that year, which by computation was the 16 of the 2 Punick war) proposed unto the Senat, concerning the affairs of the State, the managing of the wars, and the government of the provinces: the LL. ordained and gave order, that the Coss. should either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should go into the Brutian land against *Annibal*: and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of *Hetruria* and the Ligurians: with commission for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of *Brutii*, to receive the army from *P. Sempronius* the Consul; and the said *P. Sempronius* (for he also as Vice-consul was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the room of *P. Licinius*, who was to return home to *Rome*. This *P. Sempronius* among other commendable parts (wherein no Citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himself) was taken also for a brave warrior and man at arms. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, and wealthy in substance. In beautifull personage he excelled, for strength of body he far surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the bar, or occasion offered either in Senat house or before the assembly of the people to perswade or dissuade, to give counsel one way or other. In the Pontificiall canons and laws, he was singularly well learned and skilfull. Besides all these praise-worthy qualities (I say) his Consulship had given him experience also in military affairs, and made him a worthy souldier. The same order that was taken for the Brutians province

A vince, was also decreed for *Hetruria* and the Ligurians. *M. Cornelius* was commanded to put over and deliver up his army to the new Consul: and himself to continue still in government, and to rule the province of *France* with the strength of those legions which *L. Scribonius* the Pretor had under his charge the year before. After this, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. Unto *Capio* fell the *Brutii*, unto *Servilius Geminus*, *Hetruria*. Then the Pretors provinces also were put to the choice of lottery. And *P. Ælius* his lot was to have the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*: *P. Lentulus* to rule *Sardinia*: *P. Villius* to govern *Sicily*: and *Quintilius Varus* to have the charge of *Ariminum* with two legions, which were commanded by *Sp. Lucretius*. And *Lucretius* had his commission revived again for a longer time, to the end, that he might reedifie the town *Genua*, which by *Mago* the Carthaginian had been rased and destroied. As for *P. Scipio* his commission
B and government was not limited by any expresse time, but only with the end of the wars, and to continue untill those wars in *Africk* were fully determined. A decree also passed, that there should be a solemn procession and supplication holden to this effect, and in these terms, that whereas he had sailed over into the province of *Africk*, this voiage and expedition of his might turn to the safety and good of the people of *Rome*, of himself, and his army. In *Sicily* were enrolled three thousand souldiers. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shiped over into *Africk*: for fear lest some Armado should cut over out of *Africk*, it was thought expedient to guard all the sea coasts of *Sicily*, with a fleet of 40 sail. And *Villius* had with him into *Sicily* 23 ships, newly built; the rest of the old ships in *Sicily* were repaired. For Admirall of this armado was apointed *M. Pomponius* the Pretor of the former year, whose government
C was prorogued, and he embarked the new souldiers brought out of *Italy*. The like number of ships the LL. of the Senat assigned unto *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor of the former year, with the same commission of government, for to defend the coasts of *Sardinia*. And *Lentulus* was commanded to allow unto the Pretor 2000 souldiers for to man and furnish those ships. Moreover, the sea coasts of *Italy*, because it was uncertain to what parts the Carthaginians would make out their navy (and like it was, that where they should espy any place weak and disfurnished of sufficient strength and garrison, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to *M. Martius* the Pretor of the former year, that he should scour the seas, and keep that side, with as many ships as the other. And for to furnish that fleet of his, the Consuls by order from the Senat enrolled three thousand souldiers, and reserved two legions besides, against all doubtfull chances of war
D whatsoever. As for the two provinces of *Spain*, together with the armies there, and the whole government, they were appointed to the old Generals, *L. Lentulus*, and L. *Manlius Acidinus*. So the Roman wars for that year were mainteined with 20 legions in all, & with a hundred and sixty ships of war. Then the Pretors were commanded to take their journey into their several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the City, to exhibite those great Games, which *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Dictator had vowed against the 5 years end, if so be the Commonweal remained in the same good and fortunat estate, during that time.

Now there entred into mens minds new doubts and strange scruples of conscience, by reason divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For beleeved it was that certaine ravens not only pecked and rased with their bils, but also eat and devoured the gold in the Ca-
E pitoll. At *Antium* the mice and rats gnawed a crown of gold. About *Capua*, a huge number of locusts (but from whence they came, no man knew for certain) overspred all the grounds, and filled the fields. At *Reate* there was a horse-colt foled with five feet. At *Anagnia* were seen in the element, at the first divers fire-lights shooting and flashing here and there; and afterwards a mighty blasing comet burning. At *Frusino* a certain arch compassed the sun with a thin course like a line: and afterwards a greater circle of the sun enclosed the said rundle from without-forth. In the territory of *Arpi*, the earth in a plain champain field settled and sunk down and made an exceeding great chink. As one of the Consuls killed the first beast for sacrifice, the liver thereof was found headless. These monstrous tokens were expiat and purged with sacrifices of the
F bigger sort: and the colledg of the Priests and bishops shewed unto what gods the sacrifice should be made. These things once done and performed, the Consuls and Pretors went forth into their provinces; yet so, as all of them had a speciall regard of *Africk*, as if it had been their own province fallen unto every one of them by lot; either because they saw that therein rested and consisted the whole importance of all affairs, and the main state of the war: or else because they would gratifie and currie favour with *Scipio*, whom now the whole City made court to, and chiefly respected. And therefore not only out of *Sardinia* as is beforesaid, but also out of *Sicily* and *Spain* there was transported thither raiment and corn: yea, and armour also out of *Sicily*, and all
G kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the army. And albeit it was winter season, yet *Scipio* slaked no affairs and works of war: which being many, amused his mind at once on every side, and kept him continually occupied. For *Utica* he besieged and encamped he lay opposit to *Annibal*, and even within his sight; the Carthaginians were with their ships afloat, and put to sea, and a navy they had rigged, furnished and trimmed, for to intercept all victuals that came. Amid these cares he forgat not to win again the love of *Syphax*, if haply now he had his fill of love-delights with his fresh wife, since he had the plentifull fruition thereof, as much as heart could desire. But *Syphax* rather tendred conditions of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, to wit, that the Romans should depart out of *Africk*, and the Carthaginians out of *Italy*; than seemed to give any hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the war con-

continued ſtill. And for mine own part, I would rather beleeve that theſe matters were treated upon by entercourſe of meſſengers, as moſt writers do report, than that *Syphax* himſelf in perſon, as *Antias Valerius* recordeth, came into the Roman camp to parle and conference thereabout. At the firſt the Roman Generall, would ſcarcely lend his ear to hear thoſe overtures: but afterwards, to the end that there might be ſome colourable and probable cauſe for his people to reſort unto the camp of the enemies, he ſeemed not ſo ſtreight-laced, nor to deny the ſame articles ſo ſtiffly, but pretended ſome hope, that by often debating thereof to and fro between them, they ſhould at length grow to ſome good point and finall agreement. The wintering harbours of the Carthaginians were in a manner all of wood, but built of ſlender ſtuff gathered out of the fields at a venture hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the moſt part lay in cabbins and ſheds, watled and wound with reeds eſpecially, and covered and thatched with mats of ledge and ſuch like, here and there ſcattering without all order: in ſuch ſort, as ſome of them taking up their lodging at their own pleaſure, without direction and commandment of any officer, quartered without the trench and rampier. *Scipio* advertiſed hereof, conceived good hope to find ſome opportunity one time or other to fire the camp of the enemies. Upon a certain day therefore, he ſent in train of thoſe Commiſſioners whom he addreſſed unto *Syphax*, in ſtead of pages and drudges, and diſguiſed in ſlaves and bondmens weeds, the braveſt ſouldiers of a band, (men of approved valor, wiſdome and diſcretion) who whiles the commiſſioners were buſie in conference, ſhould range about the camp, ſome one way, ſome another; to eſpie and mark all the paſſages and waies in and out; the ſite and form generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of every part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what diſtance there was between *Aſdrubal* his tents, and the Kings pavilions; to obſerve alſo and learn withall, the order & the manner of their ſentinels, their ward and watches, whether by night or by day they lay at more vantage to be ſurpriſed by an ambuſh. And according as there were divers meetings & conferences, and ſo of purpoſe ſome were ſent one time, ſome at another: to the end that more & more ſtill ſhould have the ſpiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now when as often that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both *Syphax* had and the Carthaginians likewiſe by his means; the Delegates or Commiſſioners aforeſaid of the Romans, ſaid that they were expreſly forbidden by their Generall to return without a full and reſolute anſwer. And therefore they willed him to make ſhort work at once, and to bethink himſelf what to do, either to ſtand upon his own determinat purpoſe (if he were reſolved) or elſe to conſult with *Aſdrubal* and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, ſay they either to conclude peace, or to proſecute war freſhly, and to go through with it luſtily. Thus while *Syphax* conſulted with *Aſdrubal*, and *Aſdrubal* with the Carthagians, both the eſpials had ſufficient time to view and ſee all, and *Scipio* alſo good leaſure to provide neceſſaries for his purpoſe. Moreover, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as commonly in ſuch caſes it falleth out) to be negligent and ſlack in forecaſt, and to provide that in the mean while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemie. At length an anſwer was returned and ſome clauſes put in, without all reaſon, and ſounding to much inconvenience, by occaſion that the Romans ſeemed too too fain and deſirous of a peace. Which fell out very fitly for *Scipio* whoſe only deſire was to pick ſome juſt quarrell for to break the truce and abſtinence of war: and ſo the next day (for in the mean time he ſaid he would confer with his Counſel) he anſwered the Kings meſſenger in this wiſe, that beſides himſelf alone, who laboured all in vain and could do no good, there was none liked of the peace: and therefore he willed him to report unto the King his maſter, that there was no other hope for *Syphax* to have peace with the Romans, unleſſe he renounced and caſt off quite the friendſhip of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce, that with free conſcience being diſcharged of his promiſe in that behalf, he might go forward in his deſignements, and bring his enterpriſe to his deſired iſſue. So having put his ſhips to ſea (for now the prime of ſpring was come) he embarked in them his artillery, his ordnance and engins of battery, as if he meant to aſſault *Vtica* on the ſea ſide. And ſent out two thouſand ſouldiers, to poſſeſſe themſelves of the hill that overlooked *Vtica*, which he had held and kept before, both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he ſecretly deſigned and intended, & amuſe them upon the care and regard of another thing; and alſo to prevent a miſchief, that whiles himſelf ſhould go againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, they might not ſally forth of the City, and aſſail his camp, left with a ſmall guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground aforehand, he aſſembled his councell, where he commanded as well the foreſaid ſpies to lay forth and utter what they had ſeen and found, as alſo *Maſaniſſa*, who was acquainted with all the maner and faſhions of the enemies: and then at laſt he declared and ſhewed unto them, what himſelf intended to execute the next night. Then he gave commandment to the Tribunes or Ko. Marſhals, that ſo ſoon as the councell was riſen, and the court diſmiſſed in the Generals pavilion, at the firſt ſound of trumpets immediately they ſhould bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his edict, the enſigns began a little before ſun-ſetting to ſet forth. About the firſt watch they put the ſouldiers in array ready for to march, and by midnight (for they were to journey ſeven miles) they going a fair and ſoft pace, approached the enemies camp. There *Scipio* gave unto *Lelius* a part of the forces together with *Maſaniſſa* and his band of Numidians, with direction to invade the camp of *Syphax*, and to ſet fire thereupon. Then calling them by themſelves both apart one from the other, *Lelius* I mean and *Maſaniſſa*, he earneſtly beſought them of all love to make up and recompence by carefull induſtrie and devoir that providence and forecaſt, which the darkneſs of the night diſappointed them of. As for himſelf, he meant to ſet upon *Aſdrubal* and the Carthaginian camp: but begin he would not, before he ſaw the fire amongſt the kings tents. And it was not long firſt ere it began: for as ſoon as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was caſt, by and by it took all that were neereſt, and ſo forward to thoſe that joyned unto them, it ſpred into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not chooſe, but needs muſt in a night ſcarefire, which was run all over in ſo ſhort a time. Howbeit they thought it ſome fire by miſchance only, and not the hand of the enemy, by occaſion and means of war: and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons they ran forth by heaps to quench the fire, and light full upon their armed enemies, the Numidians eſpecially; who by *Maſaniſſa* that was well acquainted with the maner of the Kings camp, were beſtowed in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and paſſage. Many in their very beds and couches, between ſleeping and waking, were conſumed with the flame: many running headlong in this their haſty flight, one upon an other, were in the ſtreights of the gates troden under foot, or elſe thruſt and cruſht to death. The Sentinels and watch of the Carthaginians, eſpied at firſt the fire ſhining and flaming out; after whom others awakened and raiſed out of their neſts by this nightly tumult and alarm, might behold and plainly ſee the ſame: but they likewiſe were deceived as well as the other, and beleeved verily that the fire began of it ſelf by ſome misfortune, no man wiſt how. The confuſed noiſe and cry alſo, which was heard whiles they were a killing, flying and wounding, would not ſuffer them to know the truth indeed, whether the ſame aroſe upon their affright and ſuddain fear by night, or otherwiſe. And therefore every man naked as he was, and ſuſpecting no practiſe at all of the enemy, at all the gates as they ſtood next, did what he could to bring with him ſuch inſtruments and means as were to put out the fire: and hapned unawares upon the army of the Romans. Now after they were all maſſacred and put to the ſword to the laſt man, not only upon an ordinary hatred between enemies, but alſo becauſe there might not eſcape ſo much as one to carry newes unto the reſt: *Scipio* immediatly entred the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, as in ſuch a fearfull garboil and hurlyburly it was no marvell. They fell a flinging of fire upon the lodgings and ſheds that ſtood next, ſo as the flame brake out and ſhewed at firſt as if it had been diſperſed in many places: but afterwards catching and ſpreding from one tent to another as they joyned cloſe together, they were all at once on a high fire, and burnt every ſtick down to the ground. Men and cattell both, ſinged and ſcorched at the firſt, as they ran in piteous and fearfull ſort away: but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another by heaps, ſtopped and choked up all the waies and avenues of the gates. And look who eſcaped the fire, fell upon the edge of the ſword. Thus in one day were 2 camps clean conſumed, Howbeit, both the Generals, and of ſo many thouſands of armed men, only 2000 foot and 500 horſe armed by halfs, and many of them either wounded or elſe ſinged and half roſted with the fire, got away and eſcaped. There either were ſlain or burnt to aſhes upon 40000 men: taken priſoners there were above 6000: among whom there hapned to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and 11 Senators. Of enſigns were taken 178. Of Numidian horſes for ſervice more than 2700. Six Elephants got alive, eight periſhed either with fire or ſword: and a mighty deal of armor came to their hands: all which the L. General *Scipio* conſecrated to *Vulcan*, and ſet on fire. *Aſdrubal* with ſome few Africans that fled with him, rid away upon the ſpur to the next City: and thither got all reſt, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captain, and there ſaved themſelves. But afterwards left that City ſhould be yielded to *Scipio*, he quit the place and departed. Anon the Romans were received within the ſame at the gates ſtanding open for them: and becauſe willingly of themſelves they rendred the town, there was no kind of hoſtility or violence offered unto them. But two other Cities one after another were forced and put to the ranſack. All that pillage, as alſo whatſoever was ſaved out of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the ſouldiers. *Syphax* encamped and fortified himſelf in a ſtrong hold, almoſt eight miles off. But *Aſdrubal* made haſt to *Carthage*, for fear leſt upon the ſuddain fright occaſioned by this freſh and late overthow, things ſhould go backward, and the Senat reſolve upon ſome unmanly and unworthy courſe. Thither at the firſt arrived ſuch fearfull newes, that all men thought verily that *Scipio* would give over *Vtica* and forthwith lay ſiege unto *Carthage*: whereupon there Suffetes (who are the Conſuls as it were, of the City) called the Senat: where three opinions were delivered amongſt them. The firſt adviſed to diſpatch Embaſſadors to *Scipio* to treat for peace: the ſecond, to ſend for *Annibal* home to the defence of his own country, againſt ſo dangerous and deadly a war: the third gave counſell, by example of the Romans conſtancy and reſolution in their adverſity, to repair the army and gather new forces, and to requeſt *Syphax* not to abandon and give over the quarrell. This opinion, becauſe *Aſdrubal* was in place (and all thoſe that ſided with the Barchine houſe and faction, evermore inclined to war) prevailed and took effect. Hereupon they began to take muſters in town and country: Orators were addreſſed to *Syphax*, who of himſelf with all his might and main, was buſied to levy freſh forces, and preparing for new war. For his wife now, not as aforetime, by inticing words, flattering ſpeeches, and pleaſant allurements, that might ſerve the turn to win and move the heart of an amorous lover, but by way of prayer and pitifull compaſſion had prevailed ſo much with him already: yea, and with plenteous tears beſought him, not to betray her naturall father and native countrey, nor ſuffer *Carthage* to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the camps were conſumed already.

"The Embassadors also brought with them new hopes besides, which were presented unto them H
in as happy a time as might be; who reported, that they fortuned to meet with 4000 Celtiberians
brave and lusty young men, about the City named *Olba*, which had been levyed and hired in
Spain by their Commissioners, of purpose sent to take up new souldiers: and that *Asdrubal* him-
self in person would be present with a power of no small importance. *Syphax* not only entertained
these Oratours with gracious speeches and courteous answers, but also shewed them a great
number of Numidians, gathered out of the country towns; which some few daies before
he had furnished with armour and horses; promising besides, that he would assemble all the
young and able men for service throughout his whole realm. For well he wist, that the late losse
and defeat hapned by occasion of fire, and not by fight: and never in warr is a man to be repu-
ted inferiour, before he be vanquished by mere forces in ranged battell. In this wise answered he I
the Embassadours. And after some few daies *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* once again joyned their
forces together; so as in all, their host amounted to the number well neer of 30000 armed
men.

Now when *Scipio* was wholly set upon the assault of *Utica*, and at the point to bend his ord-
nance and artillery against the wals, as thinking verily that the war was already done with *Sy-
phax* and the Carthaginians; the fame of the war renewed by them afresh, averted him from his
purpose, and caused him to give over that enterprise for a time. So leaving behind him certain
small guards, as well by water as land, only for a sign and shew of siege; himself with all the
strength of his army, set forwards to meet the enemy. At the first he fate him down and encamp- K
ed upon an hill, four miles (or very neer) distant from the Kings camp. The next day after, he de-
scended with his cavalry down into the great Plains or Downs (for so they call them) lying neer
the same hill; and spent that whole day in braving the standing *corps de guard* of the enemies be-
fore their camp, and playing upon them with skirmishes. And so for two daies together next
ensuing, they passed the time in divers tumultuous excursions between the one part and the other,
without doing any great exploit worth the remembrance. On the fourth day, thy entred on
both sides into the field, and embattailed themselves. *Scipio* marshalled his men in this wise: Be-
hind the Principes in a vanguard, he placed the formost ensigns of his Hastati, or Spears; and the
Triarii he bestowed in the rereward, for to second them. The Italian horsemen he set in the right
point: the Numidian horse and *Masanissa* be ranged in the left. *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* put their L
Numidians horse opposit to the Italians, and the Carthaginians to affront *Masanissa*. In their
main battell were planted the Celtiberians, to make head against the ensigns of the Roman le-
gions. Thus ordered and arranged, they encountred one nother, and joyned battell. At the first
onset, both wings at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthaginians, were put back and for-
ced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the most part country people and
rustic ill) were able to receive the Roman horsemen; nor the Carthaginians (raw and untrained
souldiers) sufficient to hold out with *Masanissa*; who (besides all other things) for his late
and fresh victory, was so terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battell of the Celtibe-
rians, (naked and disfurnished of both her points) stood still; for neither saw they any likelyhood
to escape and save themselves by flight, considering they knew not the coast of the country; nor M
hope to obtain pardon at *Scipio* his hand, against whom, (deserving so well of them and their
nation) they were come into *Affrick* with a power of waged mercenary souldiers. So being en-
vironed on every side with the enemies, they fell one upon another, and obstinately dyed to the last
man. But whiles all the enemies were wholly employed about them, *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* gained
themselves some time to get away & escape. The victors (wearied rather with continual killing than
long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, *Scipio* sent unto *Lelius* and
Masanissa, with all the Roman and Numidian horse, and the nimblest and appointed footmen,
after *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* for to follow the chase. Himself with the strength and body of that
army, subdued all the Cities thereabout that were within the seignory of the Carthaginians: whom
he partly forced by assault, and partly took by surrender for fear. Great was the fright ye may N
be sure at *Carthage*: and they thought no other but that *Scipio* being now in the train of conquest
would make hast to overrun the countrey; and when he had once brought under his subjection
(and that with speed) all the other States there bordring, then at once he would come to assault
Carthage. Therefore they fell to repair and make up the breaches of their wals, and to fortifie
them with strong bulwarks: and every man did his best to bring out of the country all kind of
provision, against the time they should abide a long and tedious siege. Few words or none at
all of peace, but much talk of sending Embassadors to call home *Annibal*. The greatest part were
of mind & gave advice, to make out the armado which stood ready rigged, for to intercept the Ro-
mans victuals, and to surprise and assault the Romans fleet, riding before *Utica* retchlesly without
fear, and distrusting nothing: for peradventure they might also force the navall camp, left with O
small guard for the defence thereof. And to this countell the most enclined: yet they thought
it good to send Embassadors to *Annibal*. For suppose that their navy should speed full well, and
have the happiest success that they could wish, this only good would come thereof, that *Utica*
thereby might be in some sort eased of the streight siege wherewith it was invested: as for the
defence of *Carthage* it self, they neither had any other Generall besides *Annibal*, nor army left
but only his. Whereupon the next day after, the ships were shot into the water, and set afloat:
and withall the Embassadors took their way towards *Italy*. All things were hudled up and done in

A in hast; such was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And
look if any one man slacked his business never so little, he was reputed to betray the whole state, and
the safety of all.

Scipio now marching with an army, loden with the spoil and pillage of many Cities; sent the
prisoners away, and all the prizes besides, unto the old camp before *Utica*. And wholly set upon
the conquest of *Carthage*, he surprised *Tunes* (a City abandoned of her guard left for defence) situat
from *Carthage* almost twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was strongly fenced, and by
nature surely seated: and as it might be easily seen from *Carthage*, so it yeelded a goodly prospect
to *Carthage*, and also to the sea all about *Carthage*. From thence the Romans (as they were hard
at work in fortifying themselves with a trench and rampier) discovered the enemies fleet, sailing
from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. Laying therefore their work aside, they sounded the remove, and
B presently in all hast advanced their ensigns, to prevent that their own ships which stood close to
the shore, bent wholly to the siege, and nothing fitted and furnished for a sea-fight, might not be
surprised and boorded. For how possibly could ships heavily charged, carrying artillery, ordnance
and engins of battery, be ever able to withstand an Armado nimbly appointed, rigged and trim-
med for the purpose with all ship furniture meet for battell, and manned besides with armed soul-
diers? How might our ships (I say) withstand the enemy, which either are converted to the
use of merchant-ships of burden; or else so neer set to the wals, that they serve in stead of a plat-
form and bank, or else of bridges to enter upon the City? *Scipio* therefore, after he was thither
come, and had bestowed his wars ships with brasen beaks behinds in the rereward near to land,
C which (as the manner is in fight at sea) might guard and defend the rest: opposed the Hulks
and Caricks in a four-fold rank and course, in stead of a wall afront the enemie. And because
that in the tumult of the fight, those ranges might not be broken and disordered, he laid the masts
and sail-yards over-crosse, reaching from ship to ship; and with strong cables he linked and fastned
them all in one together, and laid boords and planks over them, that men might passe every way
from one ship to another. But under those very bridges, he left certain spaces between, from
whence the light pinnaces and frigots might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and
retire themselves thither again in safety. Having thus in hast (according as the time would give him
leave) set these matters in order; there were to the number almost of a thousand electe and choice
souldiers put aboord into those ships of burden, to make head in the forefront, & withstand the vio-
D lence of the enemies, and furnished they were with offensive weapons, but missive especially, to
shoot and fling from them: and such store thereof they had together, as might serve for the assault
were it never so long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies.
The Carthaginians, who if they had made good speed, might have surprised them unawares, and
found all pell-mell and out of order whiles they were troubled, frighted, and to seek what to do upon
that sudden occurence) fearing (till as men out of heart and dismayed with so many foils by land,
and thereupon distrusting themselves even at the sea also; where (no doubt) they were the better and
more puissant: and having trifled out all the live-long day, and failed but slowly; about the sun-set
arrived in the haven, which the Africans call *Ruscinon*. And the next morning by sun-rising, they
put forth into the open sea, and ranged their ships in order, as against a set navall battell; suppo-
E sing that the Romans would make out and receive them. When they had stood thus a long time,
and perceived the enemies not to stir or once to set forward, then at last they charged upon the
foresaid hulks and ships of burden. The service was nothing like a sea-fight, but resembling for all
the world the ships that are to assaile the wals of some Town. For the hulks were a good deal
taller and stood aloft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians out of their war ships armed and
bresled with brasen beaks let flie many a dart in vain, as lancing them from beneath faintly against
the higher place; whereas the shot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more strength
and by reason of their own poise light also with greater force. The light pinnaces for spial, and the o-
ther smal barks, which made sallies from under the bridges aforesaid, framed of planks upon masts
and sail-yards, at the first were encountred, overcharged and hidden only with the violence and
F greatness of those war-ships: but afterwards they were some trouble to the defendants of their
own side; for that being intermingled amongst the enemies ships, their own fellows were for-
ced oftentimes to stay their hands, and neither shoot arrow, nor lance dart, for fear of missing
their enemies, and lighting amongst their own part. At the last, the enemies from out of the
Carthaginian ships, began to cast out certain loggets, with iron hooks at the end (which the soul-
diers use to call *Harpagones*) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ships. Which when
the Romans were not able to cut in sunder, no more then the very chains whereto they hung,
and whereby they were slung, then ye might have seen (as any one of their enemies war-ships
and gallies rowed back, and towed after it a Roman Carick hanging by the grapple end) the
boords and ropes cut asunder, by which it was tied and fastned unto others, or else another range
G and course of more ships together, to follow after the tail of the other. By this device especially
were all the bridges torn and rent in peeces, and scarcely had the defendants any time and
space to retire and passe into the second rank of ships behind. Thus there were about six Car-
ricks of the Romans drawn away to *Carthage*, hanging at the poops of their gallies. Their
gladnesse and rejoycing hereat was much greater than the thing it self came to, and the more

acce ptable in that amidst so many continuall losses and plenteous tears of theirs, one only joy as small as it was, shining upon them beyond their expectation, eased and lightned their hearts: considering withall how neer by all likelyhood and appearance the Roman armado was to a mischief andfinall destruction, had not the captains of their own gallies foreslowed so much, and *Scipio* come in time to help.

It fortuned about the same time, that *Lelius* and *Masanissa* were come within 15 daies into *Numidia*; the Masæsylians rendered *Masanissa* the ancient realm belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time desired. *Syphax* seeing his captains and garrisons dispossessed and displaced, kept himselfe within the ancient limits of his own Kingdome, but was not like to be long at rest and quiet. For his wives father on the one side, and his wife again on the other, set him on, and pricked him forward continually to make arms against the Romans: and so doted he on her in excessive love, that needs he must yeeld to her, there was no remedy. Besides, so mighty he was in numbers of men and horse, that the puissance of a Kingdome flourishing to many years together, offering and presenting it self daily to the eie, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not so barbarous and uncivill as he, and had some better rule and maistry of his affections then himself had. When he had assembled together as many as were able for service, he furnished them with horses, and armour, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavalry he sorted and divided into small troops and companies, the infantry into the cohorts and squadrons, according as he had learned long since of the Roman centurions. And thus having raised an army, equall for number to the former, but standing altogether in manner, of new and untrained souldiers, he put himself on his journey against the enemies. And after he had encamped neer unto them, at the beginning some few light horsemen advanced forward from the *corps de guard*, in espiall, so neer as they might with safety, but being set back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began on both sides to make out one against another, and to maintain light skirmishes; and when of any part they had taken the foil, they would again for anger return in greater number which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell between horsemen: for whiles the winners hope still of better, and the looser chafes for having the worse, the company ever encreaseth on both sides. And thus now, after some few had scuffled and blowed the coals, at length the whole armie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a set battell. So long as the horse service, the Masæsylians were to many, as there were hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* sent them out in such great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had suddainly entred between the cornets of their horsemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten sure footing and made head, and so frighted the enemy charging so free upon the spur as he did then, the Barbarians began to ride their horses more easily, and within a while gently to stand still; and in the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but also to retreat from the horsemen, who now were the more bold and hardy, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standards of the legions advanced forward, and approached neer hand. But when the Massæsyli were so far from receiving and enduring their first charge, that they might not abide the very sight so much, as of their ensigns and armour, so mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrows already passed, or the present fear of imminent danger. Where *Syphax*, whiles he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and squadrons, if happily for very shame, or for the perill of his own person, he might stay his men from running away, had his horse under him sore wounded, and being cast off his back to the earth, as overpressed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto *Lelius*, for to represent unto *Masanissa* above all others a goodly shew and joyfull sight to behold. Now was *Cirtha*, the head City of all the Kingdome of *Syphax*; and thither after the flight, betook themselves a mighty multitude of people. The slaughter in this battell was less in proportion, then the victory, because the horsemen only maintained the conflict. Not above five thousand were slain, and not halfe so many taken prisoners. And when they had made an assault upon the camp whither the frighted multitude after the losse of their King, had retired, *Masanissa* came unto *Lelius* and said, that for the present there could be nothing more pleasing and honourable unto him, then upon his victory to visit and see his fathers Kingdome, which he had recovered and won again after so long a time. But as in adversity, so likewise in prosperity (qd. he) tract of time and delaies are never good. In case therefore *Lelius* would permit him and his horsemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to go before unto the City *Cirtha*, he would surprise them on a suddain, finding all out of frame and to seek by reason of this so suddain and unexpected fear: and *Lelius* with his footmen might travell fair and softly, and come after with easie journies. *Lelius* yeelded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone before unto *Cirtha*, he commanded the principall Citizens of *Cirtha* to be called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and so long as *Masanissa* uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire words and perswasions untill he presented the King before them a bound prisoner. Then at so heavy an object and miserable spectacle, they lift up a pitifull cry, and made great lamentation. And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wals, and partly by a generall consent to court the Conqueror, and to seek for grace and favour at his hands, they set the gates open. Then *Masanissa*, after he had bestowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wals, certain strong guards, to keep that no man should stir and make an escape, he rode a gallop to the royall

A roiall pallace, for to be possessed of it. As he entred within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and espying in the mids of the armed train *Masanissa* full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) she fell down prostrat at his feet, and spake in this wise: "True it "is (quoth she) O *Masanissa*, that the Gods above, together with your own vertue and fidelity "have given you full power and puissance, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be "lawfull for me a poor prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble "speech unto my Lord, and in whose only hands lieth my life and death; if I may be so bold to "touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours; I would beseech and pray you for B "the honour of the roiall majesty of a Prince, wherein we also our selves erewhile were interes"sed; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and *Syphax*, "by the domesticall gods, protectors of this regall house and princely palace, who vouchsafe to "receive you into it at this present with better presages and more fortunat tokens, then lately they "sent *Syphax* out of it; to deign me a lowly suppliant this favour, and grant me this petition, as to "determin your self of me your captive whatsoever pleaseth you, & not to suffer me to fall into the "proud hands and inhumane disposition of any Roman. If there were nothing else but this, that I "was sometime wife and Queen to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the courtesie and humanity of "a Numidian, and one born in *Africk* as well as my self then of a stranger and alien. But C "what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Asdrubal*, may fear at a Ro"mans hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once again I requeste and intreat your high"nesse upon my knees, to regard my suit: and if there be no way else to save and keep me from the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death out of hand. For beauty she surpassed and was incomparable: for years lusty, and in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she held him fast by the hand, and requested his protection and honourable word, only for this, that she might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & setting her words so well, and couching them so cunningly, that they sounded neerer to speeches for to win love, then prayers to crave pitty: see the fansie and affection of this victorious Prince! he enclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also (as all the kind of these Numidians are ful of love, and have no stay of their wanton lust,) a conqueror other wise though he were, yeelded himself prisoner to the love of his captive: D and after he had given her his right hand for assurance to perform her request, he went into the palace. This done, he began to cast about with himself how he might make good his promise unto *Sophonisba*: but finding no meanes else to compass and bring it about, he borrowed foolish, rash, and shamelesse counsell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all hast to prepare that very day for the solemnization and marriage with *Sophonisba*, because he would give neither *Lelius*, nor *Scipio* himself, any liberty at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after she were once the wedded wife of *Masanissa*. The wedding was no sooner done, but behold *Lelius* came, a guest unsent for and nothing welcome: who so little dissembled how much he misliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and sent her away even with *Syphax* and other prisoners to *Scipio*. But overcome with the earnest prayers of *Masanissa*, who E besought and importuned him to refer the matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrat and decide unto whither of the two Kings *Sophonisba* should be awarded, for to mend their state, and better their fortune; he sent away *Syphax* alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of *Masanissa*, wan and recovered the other Cities in *Numidia*, which were held by the garrisons of the King. When news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himself went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidian noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to let forth and amplifie this victorie, magnified what he could the greatnesse of King *Syphax*, and the glorious renown of the nation, in these termes: That he was the King, unto whose majesty the two most mighty and puissant states of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that F *Scipio* the Generall of the one, for to seek his amity, left the province of *Spain* and the army there, and with two Caravals or Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, sailed over into *Affricke*; and *Asdrubal* the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himself in person unto him into his Kingdome, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time he had in his power the two grand-captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortall gods, and craved thereby their grace and favour, so of both parties at one time was his friendship sought for, and desired. And as for his power and puissance, it was so great, that he expelled *Masanissa* out of his own Realm, and drave him to this narrow point, that the best meanes he had to preserve his life, was either the running rumour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live G by rapine and stealth, after the guise of savage beasts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth that stood about him, was brought at length into the Prætorium or Generals pavilion, and there presented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to consider the former state and fortune of the man, compared now with his present condition: and to remember withall and call to mind the hospitall interteinment, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise *Syphax* took heart, and spake more frankly unto the conquerour. For when *Scipio* demanded of him

" What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romans, but also H
" began himself first to make war upon them: he made answer again and confessed, That he had
" indeed done amiss, and plaid the fool. As for his taking armes against the people of *Rome*,
" that was not the beginning of his folly, but rather the very end of his frantick fottishnesse. Then it
" was, and never else but then, that he went besides himselfe and was bereft of his wits; then he
" abandoned out of his mind and clean forgat, as well private enmity by a hospitall entertainment,
" as all publick alliance by solemn covenants; when as he received into his house a Carthaginian
" lady for his wife: then his royall court and palace was set on fire & burned with those nuptiall
" torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent dame, that by all kind of pleasant al-
"luring baits, and flattering enticements possessed my mind, drew away and alienated my heart; and
"never rested she, untill with her own hands she laid upon my body impious and ungodly armour I
" against my owne guest and loving friend. And yet as desperate and as wofull as my case is, in all
" my miseries and calamities, this one thing doth me good and enjoyeth my heart, that I see the
" same pestiferous fury, that fiend of hell, and lim of the Devill, gotten into the house and family of
" him who is the most deadly and mortall enemy that I have in all world. Neither surely will *Me-*
" *saniſſa* demean himself more wisely, soberly and constantly then *Syphax*: nay, considering his
" youthfull years, he will be as apt to be mis-led by love, and more subject to the temptations of a
" woman. Certainly in this action of espousing her, he hath shewed more folly a great deal, and
" want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spitefull hatred against
" an enemy, but also upon some new pricks of jealousie rising in his heart, seeing her whom he lov-
" ed, in the possession of his concurrent, *Scipio* was driven into no small dumps, and wist not well K
" what to make of it. And as he began to be suspicious of *Maſaniſſa* for this marriage, so, to speak
" a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him;
" for fear that another day by the suggestions of the same woman, he would play false, and trea-
" passe as well as *Syphax*. The marriage was so hudled up as it were in the mids of war and hostility,
" without the advise, without the privity, and without the expectation of *Lælius* his company. Such
" haste he made all on the head, & without advisement, the very same day that he set eye first upon the
" queen his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, and in the very house of his
" greatest enemy consummate and solemnise the complements of sacred wed-lock. Moreover to ag-
" gravate these matters and make them seem more foul and shamefull, *Scipio* knew full well, that
" *Maſaniſſa* during the time that he remained in *Spain* a lusty young gentleman, it was never known L
" that he was enamoured upon the lovely beauty of any captive woman. As he tossed and revolved
" these things in his mind, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* chanced to come in place. And after he
" had welcomed them both alike, and shewed them a loving and gracious countenance, yea and
" honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a frequent audience and court,
" he within his lodging took *Maſaniſſa* into a secret place apart, and began to speak unto him in this
" manner: I suppose *Maſaniſſa*, that you saw in me some good part, for love whereof both at the first
" you were induced to come into *Spain* and contract amity with me; and afterwards also in *A-*
" *frick*, you repose dy our self and all your hopes in my fidelity and protection. But of all those ver-
" tues, for which I have seemed worthy of your affectionat love, there is is not one wherein I may
" so much glory and take joy and take comfort, as in temperance, continency, and the bridling of M
" carnall delights, and fleshly pleasures. This vertue *Maſaniſſa*, I wish that you also would have
" joyned unto the rest that are in you so rare and and excellent. For our ages (trust we truly) stand-
" eth not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those earthly pleasures that compasse us on
" every side. And he that by his sobriety and governance hath been able to rule and tame the same,
" hath won himself more honour, and gotten a greater victory, then we have done by the con-
" quest and subduing of *Syphax*. What valiant exploits and worthy acts you have atchived in mine
" absence I have willingly reported, and still remember. For the rest I had rather you would con-
" sider of them by your self, then change colour and blush at my rehearsall of them. *Syphax* through
" the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of *Rome*, is vanquished and taken prisoner.
" And therefore himself, his wife, his realm, his lands, his towns, the inhabitants thereof, and N
" finally all things else whatsoever that belongeth unto *Syphax*, are become a bootie to the people
" of *Rome*. The King himself, and the Queen his wife, in case she had not been a citizen born of
" *Carthage*, in case we had not seen her Father to be at the grand Captain of our enemies, ought
" by right to have been sent to *Rome*; that the Senat and people of *Rome* might passe their cen-
" sure, award and judgement of her, who is reported to have alienated a confederat King from us,
" and to have caused him rashly and inconsiderately to take armes against us. Strive then to rule
" and master your lusts and affections, take heed you stain not many good vertues with one vad
" vice. Marre not the grace, deface not I say, the thank of many worthy deserts, by one fault and
" trespass greater indeed, then the subject cause and occasion thereof. *Maſaniſſa*, whiles he heard O
" these words, not only blushed as red as fire, but also began to water his plants. And when he had
promised for his part to be overruled and set down by the Generall, and requested him withall,
so far forth as possibly the case would permit, to tender and regard his promise, wherein rashly
and inconsiderately he had entangled himself, (for given his faithfull word he had, that he would
not deliver and betray her into the hands and power of any other) he departed out of the Preto-
rium or Generall his court, all dismaied and exceedingly troubled in spirit and betook himself to
his own pavillion. Where all solitary and alone by himself, after he had passed over some time, with

A with fetching many deep sighs and sobs, so as he might easily be overheard by them that stood about his tent, at the last he gave one grievous grone above the rest, and with that called for one of his trusty grooms, who had under his hand the keeping (as the maner was of Kings and Princes) of a speciall poyson, against all doubtfull chances that might happen. Which he commanded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to *Sophonisba*, and withall to tell her thus much from him. " That *Maſaniſſa* would have been most willing to perform his plighted troth and first pro-
" mise, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since that the superiour powers, and
" those that were mightier than himself, had bereft him of that puissance and liberty, he was ready
" and able yet to accomplish a second behest, namely, that she should not come alive into the
" hands of the Romans: and therefore he advised her, that in remembrance of her father a noble
B " warrior and Commander, of her native country, of two Kings to whom she had been married,
" she would provide for her self, and save her own honour. This credence and message, together
" with the poyson, the servant when he was come unto *Sophonisba*, delivered unto her. Whereat, I
" accept (quoth she) this marraige present, and welcome be it to me, if this be the best token that
" a husband could find to send unto his wife. Yet thus much signifie unto him from me again, that
" better content I would have been to die, if my marraige bed had not stood so neer to my grave.
" She spake not the word so stoutly, but she did the deed as resolutely: for she took the cup in hand,
" and shewed no sign at all of fear, she roundly drank it off. When tidings hereof came unto Scipio,
for fear lest the hot, humorous, and passionat young Prince, might do himself some mischief, he
presently sent for him. One while he gave him good & comfortable words; another while he gent-
C ly rebuked him, in that he would seem to make amends for one folly with another, and to play
a more cruell and tragicall part then there was need. The next day after, to the end that he
might withdraw his mind away from this present fit of troublesome fancies, he mounted up
into his Tribunall seat, and assembled an audience. There first, he openly styled *Maſaniſſa* by the
name of King, and honored him with singular praises and commendations: which done, he gave
him a golden crown, a fair cup like wise of gold, a chair of estate and a sceptre, both of ivory, a
* rich long robe imbrodered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle work, representing
the Date tree. These honourable presents wanted no words to set them out. For as (quoth he)
there is nothing among the Romans more stately and magnifical than triumph, so they that ride in
triumph, have no ornaments more rich and sumptuous then this, which the people of *Rome* esteem-
D eth *Maſaniſſa* only of all strangers and aliens to be worthy of. After this he gave *Lælius* also his due
and deserved praises, and bestowed upon him a coronet of gold. Other martial men like wise accord-
ing to the service which they had done, were rewarded with sundry gifts. The King having these ho-
nours done unto him, was quieted and contented in mind, and conceived some assured hope, now
that *Syphax* was displaced & rid out of the way, shortly to compasse and enjoy the whole kingdome
of *Numidia*. Then *Scipio* having sent *C. Lælius* with *Syphax* and other captives unto *Rome*, accom-
panied also with the Embassadors of *Maſaniſſa*, returned himself with his power again to *Tunes*. And
there what fortifications and works he had begun afore, now he finished perfectly and brought
to an end.

The Carthaginians who were filled with a kind of joy that was not only short, but also in maner
E vain and foolish, grounded upon their late assaule of the Armado, which (considering their pre-
sent state) was fortunat enough; after they heard that *Syphax* was taken prisoner, in whom they
had reposed more hope (well neer) then in *Aſdrubal* and their own army, were mightily affrighted
and daunted; and would give no more ear to any that perswaded war, but sent as orators to sue
for peace, thirty of their principall ancients: and they amongst them were (as one would say) their
privy councell of state, and had the greatest power and authority to sway and overrule the whole
body of the Senat. Who being entred into the Roman camp and the Generall his lodging and
pavillion, fell down prostrat (after the manner and guise as I take it, of the countrey * from
whence they were first descended) like those that worship & adore the gods. And to this their hum-
ble reverence, their language was sutable and correspondent; not excusing themselves and
F their fault, but transferring the beginning and occasion thereof, upon *Annibal* and his favorites a-
bout him and soothed him and bare him up in his wilfull pride and insolent ambition craving par-
don for their City of *Carthage*, which twice already had been subverted and overthrown by the
inconsiderat folly of her own citizens: yet once again you would gladly be saved and stand up-
right by the meanes and goodnesse of their enemies: for as much as they knew full well, that the
people of *Rome* fought not the utter extermination and destruction of those whom they had van-
quished by force of arms, but only the soveraignty and rule over them: promising fealty and ho-
mage to them ready to serve in all loyalty, and to perform whatsoever it should please them to im-
pole and lay upon them. *Scipio* made them this answer again, and said, that as he came into *Africk*
upon hope to return home with conquest and not with peace; so that hope of his by the prospe-
G rous and happy successe of his wars hitherto, was much bettered and augmented. How-
beit although he assured himself of the absolute victory, as if he had it fast enough in his hand,
yet a good accord he would not refuse: that all nations of the world might know, that the peo-
ple of *Rome* can both begin wars rightfully, and also end the same as justly. My will therefore
(quoth he) and pleasure is, that the conditions of peace shall be these. *Inprimis*, that the Car-
thaginians shall restore and diliver back all the prisoners that they have taken in the wars: with
all the renegates and fugitives that have fled to their side from us. *Item*, that they remove their

forces

* *Vt tunica rectæ togæ puræ, clavata prætextæ, sic palmata, togæ pictæ ve-sponder.* Cervius Sig. *De Iudic. lib 3. cap. 19.*

* *Tyrus in Phœnicia.* Where, like as in other countries of *Asia*, the people are most servile and very Idolatrous to their Princes.

"forces out of *Italy* and *France*, Item, that they forbear to meddle in *Spain*. Item that they abandon H
" and quit all the Ilands between *Italy* and *Africk*. Item, to yeeld up all their ships of war having
" only twenty. Item, that they deliver unto the Romans, of wheat 500000 Modii, and of bar-
"ley 300000. [Now what was the sum of money that he required or demanded of them, it is
" not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents: in others, five thousand pound
" weight only of silver: and there be that have set down, that they laid upon them a double pay
" of all the souldiers.] Upon these conditions (saith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye
" shall have three daies respit and liberty to consult and consider. If you will accept the of in these
" termes, make a truce with me for the present, and sent your Embassadors unto *Rome* to the Senat
" there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no ar- I
ticles and conditions of peace whatsoever, were dismissed. But in truth they sought for nothing
else but delaies and tract of time untill *Annibal* were sailed over into *Africk*. So they
addressed certain Embassadors unto *Scipio* to enter a truce: others they dispatched to *Rome* to treat
for a peace: who brought with them for a shew some few captives, renegates, and fugitives, to the
end they might obtain their sute more easily. But *Lelius* with *Syphax* and other captives (the
principall nobles and gentlemen of the Numidians) was many daies before arrived at *Rome*, and
had declared unto the LL. of the Senat all things in order as touching their good speed and successe
in *Africk*, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope
for the time to come. Then the LL. after consultation had, gave order that the King should be sent to
Alba, there to lie in ward and safe custodie, and that *Lelius* should be kept still at *Rome*, untill the
Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for four daies was decreed. And P. *Aelius* K
the Pretor, after he had dismissed the Senat, called presently an assembly of the people, and to-
gether with *C. Lelius* went into the Rostra (or pulpit for publick orations.) Where the people hear-
ing that the Carthaginian army was defeated, that the King of great name and renown was o-
vercome and taken prisoner; that all *Numidia* was overrun from one end to the other with a
noble and singular conquest; they could no longer contein their joy in silence, but in shouts and
acclamations and other tokens (usuall in the assembly of a multitude) expresse and signifie their
exceeding gladness and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretor immediately made procla-
mation, that the Church-wardens and sextons should set open all the holy temples and chappels
throughout the City, and give the people liberty and leave all the day long, devoutly to go about
the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thankigiving for this atchieved victory. L
The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of *Masanissa* into the Senat house, and gave
them audience. Who first and formost rejoyced in the behalf of the Senat, for the prosperous
" wars and happy successe of *P. Scipio* in *Africk*: than they gave thanks, that he not only had en-
tituled *Masanissa* their lord and master by the bare name of King, but also invested him a King in-
" deed by restoring him to his fathers Kingdome. Wherein it it pleaseth the LL. of the Senat, he
" might reign, now that *Syphax* was removed and gone, without fear and trouble at all. Also for
"that he solemnly in the open assembly praised him in most honourable terms, and adorned him
" richly with right stately and precious gifts. For to deserve which favors and honours done unto
" him, as he had indeavoured already, to would he henceforth not fail to do his best. Then they
made a petition that the Senat would confirm and ratifie by their act and decree, his royall style M
and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of *Scipio*. And this moreover particular-
ly *Masanissa* would request (if he might be so bold, and that it stood with the pleasure of the Senat)
that they would enlarge and set at liberty all the Numidian captives that lay in prison in *Rome*: for
this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gain great
love and favour amongst his people and countreymen at home. To these points the Embassador
received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affairs of the wars in *Africk*, they
congratulated likewise, and rejoyced reciprocally with the King. As for *Scipio*, they liked well, and
confirmed his act in giving *Masanissa* the name of King: and therein he had done well and justly
according to good reason. And whatsoever he had passed else to the honour of *Masanissa*, the
LL. approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certain presents that the Embassa- N
dors should carry unto the King: to wit, two purple souldiers cassocks, each of them with a clasp
of gold; and as many rich coats embrodered and bestudded with purple. Also two coursers bar-
bed and trapped, with their rich caparisons: two complete armours for horses, with their cuira-
ces: likewise pavillions, with all their military furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Con-
sul is allowed. These presents (I say) had the Pretor direction to send unto the King. As for the Em-
bassadors themselves, there was bestowed upon them no lesse than 5000 Asses a peece; and upon
their followers in the train, each of them 1000 Asses. Also a double suit of apparell for either of
the Embassadors, and one single sute to every one throughout their train; as also to those Numidi-
ans, who being set at large out of prison, were to be delivered again to the King. Over and be-
sides, there was appointed for the Embassdors, lodging of free-cost; gardenage and walking O
places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision else whatsoever, at the Cities ex-
pences.

In that summer when these decrees passed at *Rome*, and those affairs were atchieved in *A-*
frick, *P. Quintilius Varus* Pretor, and *M. Cornelius* Vice-consul, fought a set battell with *Ma-*
go the Carthaginian, in the territory of the Insubrians, within the province of *France*. In the
vanguard

vanguard were placed the legions of the Pretor. *Cornelius* kept the legions in the rereward, and
A himself in person rode to the standards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretor and
Vice-consull encouraged all that ever they could, the souldiers for to advance the ensigns, and
give a charge upon the enemy. But seeing he could not prevail nor do any good, then quoth
Quintilius to Cornelius: you see how the fight slaketh and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that
were timorous, are hardned and heartned by this resistance beyond their hope and expectation;
yea, and it is to be feared, that they will turn to be hardy also, and make head against us. We
must needs raise up a storm of Cavalry, if we would disorder them, and put them out of array. And
therefore either do you maintain fight either in the front, whiles I bring the men of arms into the
battell, or else will I fight here in the vangaurd, whiles you send out the horsemen of four legi-
ons upon the enemies. And when the Vice-consull was willing to accept of whether service the
B Pretor would, then *Quintilius* the Pretor, with his son aforenamed *Marcus*, a lusty young gallant,
went to the horsemen, commanded them to mount on horseback, and suddainly all at once sent
them against the enemy. The tumult and noise which the horsemen made, was answered & redoub-
led by the shout that the footmen set up. And verily the enemies battell had not been able to have
kept their ground, but that *Mago* at the first stirring of the Cavalry, made out the Elephants forth-
with into the battell, whom he had in readinesse for such purpose. At the uncouch braying, the
strong smell, and hideous sight of which beasts, the horses were affrighted: and so the aid of
horse-fight proved vain. And as the Roman Cavalry interlaced among the Infantry was more
strong and forcible, where they had the use both of lance point aloof, and of swords edge close
at hand: so when they were transported and carried far off with their panting and fearfull horses,
C the Numidians horsemen had the more room to shoot their darts against them with better ad-
vantage. Besides this disorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (whereof a great part was beaten
down and slain, more for shame then upon any strength and valour, kept their place still; but never
had been able to have held out any longer, but that the thirteenth legion drawn forth of the rere-
ward into the vanguard, reenforced the battell that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and Ma-
go withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the rereward, and opposed them a-
gainst this fresh legion; but when they were once discomfited and put back (which required no
great ado nor long fight) the Hastati or Iaveliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together
and charged upon the Elephants, which now also began to break the ranks of the footmen. But
when they had lanced their javelins against them standing thick together in multitudes (and lightly
D there was not one of them hit amisse but did his errand) they forced them all to turn back upon
their own battell; so four of them were sore wounded and fell down dead. Then the vanguard of
the enemies began somewhat to give ground; and withall, the whole strength of the Roman foot-
men seeing the Elephants turn tail, came forward at once for to encrease the disordered tumult, and
put them in greater fear. But so long as *Mago* stood stoutly to it, and standing in the forefront
of the ensigns, the ranks and files as they went back softly, and retired by little and little, still main-
tained fight as before in good order: but after that they saw him shot through the thigh and fallen,
and therewith carried forth of the battell for dead, incontinently they were all defeated and put
to flight. There were slain of enemies about five thousand, and of military ensigns eighteen won and
carried away. The Romans likewise bought not this victory without losse of blood. For of the
E Pretors army were lost two thousand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by far were
of the twelfth legion. Whereof two Tribunes Military or Colonels also lost their lives, *M. Cosco-*
nius and *M. Manius*. Likewise of the thirteenth legion, which came last to the conflict, *Cn. Hel-*
vius a Colonell, in renning the fight was slain, and eighteen men of arms besides, most brave
and excellent horsemen, with Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled un-
der foot, and so perished. And no doubt the battell had continued longer, but that by occasion of
the Generall his hurt, the victory was given away and yeelded. *Mago* in the dead time of the
next night dislodged and departed; and stretching out his journey so far as possibly for his wound
he might, he marched away untill he was come to the sea side, unto the Ingauni in *Liguria*: where
the Embassadors sent from *Carthage* (who a few daies before were arived in the French gulf) re-
F paired unto him: commanding him with all speed possible to sail unto *Africk*, for as much as his
brother *Annibal* likewise (unto whom also there were Embassadors gone with the like message
and commission) would do the same. For the State of *Carthage* now was not in case, nor up-
on terms to defend and keep in obedience by force of armes *France* and *Italy*, but to see to home.
Mago not only moved with the commandment of the Senat, and the danger of his countrey, but
fearing also lest the enemy following the train of his victory, would pursue and set upon him, if
he made long stay; and doubting lest the Ligurians likewise, seeing *Italy* abandoned by the Car-
thaginians, would revolt and turn unto those, under whose obedience they were like shortly to
be reduced: albeit he had no hope that his hurt should have lesse shaking at sea by sailing, then on
land by travelling, or to find things there more handsome and ready for the cure, embarked
G his army and departed. But before he was well gotten beyond the point and lands end of *Sar-*
dinia, he died of his wound beforesaid. Certain ships also of the Carthaginians, being scattered a-
sunder in the deep sea, were by the Roman Armado, that kept about the coast of *Sardinia* sur-
prised and boorded. These were the Acts performed both by sea and land, on the side of *Italy*
which lieth along the *Alps*.

Cn. Servilius

Cn. Servilius the Conſul having performed no worthy and memorable exploit, either in his province *Hetruria*, or in *France* (for thither he went alſo in the end) but only that he redeemed his father *Cn. Servilius* and his uncle *C. Lutatius*, from ſervitude and bondage, now ſixteen years after they had been taken priſoners by the Boii before the village *Tanetum*, returned to *Rome*, with his father going on the one ſide, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his privat deeds, then renowned for any publick and honourable act worthy of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it ſhould not be imputed for a treſpaſſe unto *Cn. Servilius*, that whiles his own father (who had ſitten upon the ivory chair of eſtate) was living (and that unknown to him) he had been both Tribune and Ædile alſo of the Commons againſt the laws in that behalf provided. This act being paſſed and granted, he returned again into his province. Unto *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul who was in the Brutians countrey, there revolted *Conſentia, Blfugum, Vergæ, Beſidiæ, Hetriculum, Sypheum, Argentanum, Dampetia*, and many other peeces of ſmall accompt, upon occaſion that they ſaw the Carthaginians war to wax cold and feeble. The ſame Conſul fought a battell with *Annibal* in the teritory of *Croton*: the maner of which fight is darkly and obſcurely reported. For *Valerius Antias* ſaith, there were ſlain five thouſand of the enemies: a thing of ſuch conſequence, that either it was meer impudency to forge it, or great negligence to overſlip it. But the turth is, from that time forward nothing was done by *Annibal* in *Italy*: for to him alſo there came from *Carthage* Embaſſadors to cal him home into *Africk*, even about the ſame time that the others did unto *Mago*. And as it is reported of him, all the whiles that he gave audience to the Embaſſadors, he gnaſhed and grinded his teeth, he kept a ſighing and groning, yea, and hardly could forbear to ſhed tears. After they had delivered their Meſſage according to their commiſſion, Yea, mary, qd. he, now they go no more about the buſh with me "by covert means and under-hand to ſend for me home, but openly are ſeen in the action: who all "this while in ſuffering no ſupplies either of men or money to be tranſported over unto me, fought "to draw and hale me from hence. Well then, It is not the people of *Rome* ſo often by me defeated, "ted and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome *Annibal*, but it is the Senat of *Carthage*, with "their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will *P. Scipio* rejoyce ſo much, and beare himſelf "proud upon this diſgrace of my return, as *Hanno* will; who with the ruine and ſubverſion of *Car*"*thage*, hath overthrown our houſe and family, when by no other means he could effect it. Now *Annibal*, whoſe mind fore-gave him that ſuch a thing would fall out, had prepared ſhipping afore-hand. And therefore after he had ſent away the multitude of ſouldiers that were of ſmall or no ſervice, into the towns of the Brutians countrey, under a colour and ſhew of garriſons for defence, which towns were but few, and the ſame rather held in by awe and fear, then abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he took with him the whole ſtrength and flour of his army, and croſſed over into *Africk*. But before he went to ſea, many of the Italian nation, who refuſing to follow him into *Africk*, had taken for ſanctuary the chappell of *Iuno Lacinia*, which never to that day had been violated and broken; notwithſtanding the liberty of the place, he cruelly maſſacred in the very temple. Seldome by report had ever any man been known to leave his native ſoil and countrey, and depart into exile with more heavy heart, then *Annibal* did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coaſts of *Italy*, blaming both God and man, yea, curſing himſelf and his own life, for that he led not ſtraight waies upon his freſh victory at *Canne*, his ſouldiers embrued as they were with blood directly even to *Rome*. *Scipio* (quoth he) had the heart "to go to *Carthage*, who when he was Conſul, had never ſeen in *Italy* the Carthaginian enemie: "and my ſelf, having ſlain at *Thraſymenus* and *Canne* 100000 armed men, have ſitten ſtill about "*Caſilinum, Cumes*, and *Nola*, wearing and decaying in ſtrength every day more then other. In this "manner he blamed himſelf, and complained of his hard hap and curſed fortune: and ſo he was pulled out of the poſſeſſion of *Italy* that he held ſo long.

News came to *Rome* about one and the ſame time, that both *Mago* and *Annibal* were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the leſſe in two regards, both for that their own captains ſeemed to have either little courage or ſmall force to ſtay them behind, and impeach them for going, conſidering they had expreſſe order from the Senat ſo to do: as alſo becauſe they at *Rome* were penſive and doubtfull, what would be the iſſue and end of all, ſeeing the whole weight of the war to bear and reſt upon the ſhoulders of one only Captain and army.

And much about this time came the Saguntine Embaſſadors, bringing with them certain Carthaginians priſoners, who were taken with ſums of money upon them, and had ſailed into *Spain* for to levy and wage men for aid. The mony they laid down in the very port-hall or entrie of the Senat-houſe, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of ſilver. The men they received and clapt them up faſt in priſon, the ſilver and gold both, they delivered again to the Embaſſadors, with many thanks, over and beſides they gave them rewards and ſhips to return again into *Spain*. Then the grave and ancient Senators began to reaſon and diſcourſe in this wiſe "That men naturally have leſſe ſenſe of good things then of bad: and feel not ſo ſoon "their own weal as their woe. We remember ſay they, what fear, what fright and terrour we "were put in, when *Annibal* paſsed over into *Italy*. Lord, what loſſes, what lamentable miſtor"tunes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was diſcovered and ſeen from the wals of the City; "what vowing, what praying was there then, both of all and ſome! How often in aſſemblies and "councels were men ſeen to ſtretch out their hands to heaven, & to utter theſe words & cry aloud;

When

When will that day come? and will it never be, that we ſhall ſee *Italy* again cleer of enemies, obtein repoſe, and flouriſh once more in joyning happy peace? Now at length, even at 16 yeer ſend "and not before, the gods have vouchſafed us this bleſſing; and no man ſaith a word, nor maketh "a motion of thankſgiving to their divine majeſty therefore. And ſurely, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulneſſe a benefit when it firſt cometh, they will be far ſhort, and fail "much more to remember the ſame when once it is paſt. Hereupon they cryed out and called aloud with one voice from all parts of the Senat-houſe to *P. Ælius* the Pretor, for to propoſe the matter to the court there aſſembled: and a decree was granted, that for five daies there ſhould be ſolemn proceſſions and ſupplications in every church and chappell before the ſhrines of the gods and goddeſſes: and greater beaſts killed for ſacrifice to the number of 120.

Now when *Lælius* and the Embaſſadors of *Maſaniſſa* had their diſpatch and were diſmiſſed, tidings were brought of the Carthaginian Embaſſadours coming to the Senat to ſue for peace, were ſeen at *Puteoli*, and that from thence they would travail by land unto *Rome*. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that *Lælius* ſhould be ſent for again and called back, that he might be preſent, and at the hearing of the treating of peace. *Q. Fulvius Gillo* a Lieutenant of *Scipio* had the conducting of the Carthaginian Embaſſadors to *Rome*: who being forbidden to ſet foot within the City, were lodged without the in great hall named *Villa Publica*, and had audience given them of the Senat, aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*. Who made in manner the very ſame ſpeech that they had before unto *Scipio*, cleering the whole State and their publick councell, and laying all the fault and blame upon *Annibal* for making war: ſaying, that he had no warrant, commiſſion, and commandment from the Senat to paſſe over the *Alps*, no, nor ſo much as over *Iberus*: and that of his own head he took armes; and warred not upon the Romans only, but alſo upon the Saguntins. In conſideration whereof, he that would eſteem all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, muſt needs judg, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of *Carthage*, the ancient league made with the people of *Rome*, hath continued to that day ſound and entire. And therefore nothing elſe had they in commiſſion to ſue for and requeſt, but that they might maintain and and remain ſtill in that accord & league which was laſt concluded and contracted with *Lutatius* the Conſul. Now when the Pretor, according to an ancient cuſtome of their forefathers, had given liberty to whomſoever that would for to put interrogatories unto the Embaſſadors; and the elder ſort, ſuch as had been preſent at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the ſaid peace, and demanded of them, ſome one thing, and ſome another; and the Embaſſadors anſwered again, that by occaſion of their yong age (for they were all in manner but yong men) they remembred no ſuch thing: the whole court from all parts thereof cryed out and ſaid, that this was but a fraudulent and traiterous Carthaginian trick, to chuſe and ſend ſuch for to ſue for the old peace which they themſelves could not not remember. And when the Embaſſadors were voided out of the Senat houſe, and the opinions of the LL demanded, *M. Livius* was of this mind, that *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul, who was the neerer of the twain, ſhould be ſent for, that the treaty of peace might in his preſence be conſulted upon. For ſince that there could not lightly a weightier matter then it was, come afore them to be determined of, he thought it ſtood not with the honor and reputation of the people of *Rome*, that ſuch a matter ſhould be debated of without the perſonall preſence of both, or at the leaſt wiſe one of the Conſuls. *Qu. Metellus* (who three yeers before had been Conſul and Dictator) ſpake to the cauſe in this manner. For as much as *P. Scipio* by defeating and putting to the ſword whole armies, by waſting and ſpoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble ſort they came to crave peace: and conſidering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they ſued for this peace then himſelf, who warred ever before the gates of *Carthage*; therefore no mans advice was to be heard, but only his, either to accept of the ſaid peace in queſtion, or to reject it. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had been twice Conſul, argued, that they were ſpies and not Embaſſadors, who now were come; and that it were a good deed to command them to avant and be packing out of the confines of *Italy*; & to ſend with them certain men of purpoſe to guard them to their ſhips; yea, & to write unto *Scipio* to go forward with his wars & not to ſlack one jot. *Lælius* & *Fulvius* added moreover and ſaid, that *Scipio* laid this eſpecially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in caſe *Annibal* and *Mago* were not called out of *Italy*: As for the Carthaginians, they would make ſemblant of any thing whatſoever, ſo long as they expected thoſe leaders and thoſe armies: but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never ſo freſh and new, yea, and without reſpect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintain and continue the wars. In theſe regards they enclined the rather to *Lævinus*, and approved his opinion. So the Embaſſadors were ſent away without any peace obtained, or certain anſwer returned unto them.

Much about that time, *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul, who made full reckoning that he ſhould have the honour of bringing *Italy* into quietneſs, made purſuite after *Annibal*, as if he had been courted & driven out by him; and firſt ſailed over into *Scily*, and then into *Africk*. Which being commonly noiſed and bruited abroad at *Rome*, at the firſt the LL. of the Senat thought good, that the Pretor ſhould write unto the Conſuls to this effect, that the Senat judged it meet and reaſon for him to return into *Italy*. But afterwards upon the Pretor his words, ſaying that the Conſul would ſet nought by his letters, *P. Sulpitius* was created of purpoſe Dictator, who by vertue of that more ſoveraigne rule and authority, called the Conſull peremptorily home into *Italy*. And the reſt

rest that year, be together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horse, spent in progresse and visiting all the Cities of *Italy* which in time of war had shaken off their alleageance, and in taking due knowledge of all their causes and reasons severally. H

During the time of the truce, there set forth also out of *Sardinia* from *Lentulus* the Pretor, an hundred hulks laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty gallies of war, and passed over into *Africk* safe, both from the danger of the enemy, and also from the perill of tempests by sea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from *Sicily*, with a fleet of two hundred hulks and thirty strong gallies, had not the like good speed. For as he sailed (well near) within the kenning of *Africk*, first he was calmed; then the wind turning South, troubled and disordered his ships, yea, and scattered them over the sea one from another. Himself with his gallies of war wrought against the wind and the current, and with exceeding toil and labour of the oare-men, I doubled the point of the cape of *Apollo*, & there in the bay rode at anchor but the hulks for the most part fell with the Iland *Ægimurus* (which shutteth upon the foreland, and lieth in the very mouth of that creek from the sea wherein *Carthage* standeth) almost ten leagues from the City: and some were driven by wind to a place called the *Hotwaters*, over against the City. All this happed within the sight of *Carthage*. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great running to the market place. The magistrats assembled the Senat; the people at the entry and porch of the Councell house, called upon the Senators and cryed out, that they should not let slip so great a booty out of their eies and hands. Some alledged against them, the fidelity of treating of peace: others also objected the faithfull promise of truce (the terme whereof was not yet expired.) But at last when both Senat and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it was by a general K consent, that *Asdrubal* with a fleet of fifty sail, should cut over to *Ægimurus*; and so from thence rally and gather together the Roman ships dispersed along the coasts and the havens. And the hulks (abandoned of their marriners that were fled, first from the Iland *Ægimurus*, and afterwards from the *Hotwaters* aforesaid) were drawn and towed as it were at the tails of their own ships to *Carthage*. As yet the Embassadours were not returned from *Rome*, neither knew they what the resolution of the Roman Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignity to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who sought both for the one and the other; presently dispatched an embassage to *Carthage M. Bebius, L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concourse and running together of the people, neer to a shrewd turn and mischief; and L foreseeing their return like to be a dangerous, craved of the magistrats (who saved them from violence) to send certain ships to waft them. So they were allowed two gallies called Triremes, which having conducted them until they were arived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were within sight of the Roman camp; returned back again to *Carthage*. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the rode before *Utica*. From thence there made out three gallies of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon some secret direction from *Carthage* so to do, or that *Asdrubal* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his own head adventured so foul an action (the state having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and espying the Roman Galley of five banks of oars past the point of the cape, suddainly assailed her from the main sea. But neither could they invest and strike her with their beak heads, making so good way, and shifting so well by reason of her swiftnes; neither M could the armed souldiers from out of their lower vessels boord her, being so tall a ship over them. And right valiantly she defended her self as long as shot lasted; which when it once failed, and that she had no other means to help her self, but only the nearnes of the land and a number of souldiers who from the camp were run to the shore, with the losse only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtles broken with one wickednes coming in the neck of another, *Lelius* and *Fulvius* came in the very nick from *Rome*, together with the Carthaginian Embassadors; unto whom *Scipio*, having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of arms, in abusing and evill intreating the persons of the Embassadors, yet himself would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of N the people of *Rome*, or unfiting his own maner and custome, dismissed the Embassadors, and made preparation for war.

When *Annibal* now approached the land of *Africk*, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the mast to discover the coast, and to see what part they were directed to: and when he made answer and said, that the prow made head upon a place called, the *Ruinat sepulchre*; he misliked the omen and presage of that place, and commanded the pilot to passe by, and leave it: and so he put his fleet within the bay of *Leptis*, and there set his army a shore. And these were the affairs of *Africk* for that year. The acts ensuing, reach to that year, wherein M. *Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horse; and *T. Claudius Nero* were made Consuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Embassiadors of the confederat Cities of *Greece* O made complaints, that their territories were wasted by the Kings garrisons: and when they sent their Embassadors into *Macedonia*, for to demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were four thousand armed souldiers transported over into *Spain*, under the conduct of *Sopater* to aid the Carthaginians: and certain summes of money likewise sent with them: the Senat gave order that Embassadours should be addressed unto the King, to give him to understand, the

A that the LL. of the Senat took all this to be done against the tenure and form of the league. So there were sent *C. Terentius Varro, Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Aurelius*. And three gallies of five course of oars they were allowed.

This was a year of special note, for a great scare-fire, whereby the publick cliff was burnt to ashes down to the ground: also for much abundance of rain and many flouds, and exceeding cheapnes of victual. For besides that all *Italy* was open by reason of a general peace throughout, *M. Valerius Falto*, and *M. Fabius Buteo*, Ædiles of the chair, divided the great store of corn that was sent out of *Spain*, among the people, street by street, and set the price at four Asses the Modius. The same year *Q. Fabius Maximus* departed this life, a man of great years and exceeding old, if that be true which some writers report, that he was Augur 42 years. But certain it is that he was a man worthy of so great and honourable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himself. He surpassed the dignities of his father, he was equal in honor to his grand-father: *Rullus* his grand-father, I must needs say, had more titles of victories, and of greater battails: but one enemy of his, *Annibal*, may countervail them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more wary and advised, than hardy and forward: and as a man may well doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take leisure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the wars properly then in hand; so verily nothing is more certain than this, that as the Poet *Ennius* saith: * Three pence English.

B

This only man by wise delay,
Restor'd our state fall'n to decay.

C His son *Q. Fabius Maximus* was invested or installed Augur in his place, and for Bishop in his room (for two sacerdotal dignities he had) *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* was chosen. The Roman plaies were exhibited one day, and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renued by the Ædiles *M. Sextius Sabinus*, and *Cn. Tremellius Flaccus*. They both, were made Pretors: and with them C. *Livius Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. The solemn election of the Magistrats for that year, whether *Cn. Servilius* the Consul held, or (because of important business in *Tuscany*, about the examinations of the conspiracies there of certain great men, by commission from the Senate, which might keep him there) *P. Sulpitius* the Dictator by him nominated; it is uncertain, by reason of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the year next following, *M. Servilius* and *T. Claudius*, after they had assembled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And for asmuch as both of them D desired *Affrick*, they were willing that *Affrick* and *Italy*, should be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the especial travail of *Q. Metellus*, the Province of *Affrick* was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Consuls were commanded to deal with the Tribuns of the Commons, that if they thought so good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in *Affrick*. So all the tribes in general gave their voices with *P. Scipio*. Nevertheless, the Consuls (for so the Senat had decreed before) cast lots for the Province of *Affrick*. Thus *Affrick* befell unto *T. Claudius*, namely, that he should sail over thither with an armado of fifty ships; all gallies of five ranks of oars, and be joyned in equal commission with *Scipio*. And *M. Servilius* had *Hetruria* allotted unto him. In the same Province *Cn. Servilius* also E was to continue in government, in case it pleased the Senat to stay the Consul in the City. Of Pretors, *M. Sestius* by lot had the rule of *Gallia*, with order, that *P. Quintilius Varus* should make over unto him the Province and two legions. And *C. Livius* took the charge of the Brutii with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by *P. Sempronius* the Vice-consul. *Cn. Tremelius* was appointed to govern *Sicily*, and to receive of *P. Villius Tappulus* the Pretor of the former year, that Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that *Villius* as Propretor, should keep in obedience and defend the coast of *Sicily* with twenty ships of war, and a thousand souldiers; and that from thence *M. Pomponius* should in the twenty ships behind embark one thousand and five hundred souldiers, and transport them over to *Rome*. Unto *C. Aurelius Cotta* was the civil jurisdiction of the City assigned. All the rest continued still in their government, and had F their commissions newly signed, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with sixteen legions and no more, was the State of *Rome* that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterprises in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Consuls before they went out to war, should set forth those games and plaies, and sacrifice those greater beasts which *T. Manlius* Dictator, in the year that *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quintius* were Consuls, promised by solemn vow, in case the Common-weal continued for five years following, in the same good estate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Cirque or shew-place four daies together, and the sacrifices slain accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

"But all this while, as mens hope, so their fear also encreased daily more and more, whiles they G "could not certainly resolve with themselves, whether they had more cause to rejoyce, that *Anni-*
"*bal* after sixteen years had abandoned *Italy*, and left the possession thereof free unto the peo-
"ple of *Rome*; or to be afraid, for that he had passed over into *Affrick* with the safety of his ar-
"my. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And surely *Q. Fabius* late
"deceased, no vain Prophet of so great a peril and hazard, was wont to foretel, and this was ever
"his song, That *Annibal* would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than
"he had been abroad in a forrain Land. And *Scipio* should find, that he had to deal neither with

"*Syphax* (King of a rude, untaught, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies of stale H
"grooms, and little better than water-bearers and camp-slaves to keep one place, and not re-
"move) nor with *Asdrubal* his father in law, a Captain of all others most light of foot, and rea-
"dieſt to run away: nor yet with tumultuary armies taken up in haſt and raiſed ſuddainly, conſiſt-
"ing of a rable of ruſtical clowns and peaſants armed by the halfs; but with *Annibal*, born in man-
"ner within the camp, yea, and in the royal pavillion of his father; a moſt valiant Captain, bred
"and brought up amongſt armed men: who long ago was no ſooner a child, but he was a ſouldier,
"and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General: who growing to be
"old in a continual courſe and train of victories, hath filled *Spain* and *France* from the one ſide
"to the other, and *Italy* from the *Alpes* to the narrow ſeas, with the marks and memorable monu-
"ments of worthy and noble exploits; and leadeth ſtill an army of as long ſtanding and continu- I
"ance in warfare as himſelf, hardened and beaten to endure all thoſe things which hardly one
would believe, men could abide and ſuffer, embrued and bathed a thouſand times in the blood of
Romans, and carrying with him the ſpoils not of common ſouldiers only, but alſo of moſt brave
Generals themſelves. *Scipio* ſhould be ſure to encounter and meet in battail thoſe who with their
own hands had ſlain Pretors, and killed Conſuls of *Rome*; all bedight and goodly to be ſeen in
mural and vallare coronets, for their good ſervice in ſcaling of walls, and mounting over rampiers;
thoſe I ſay who at their pleaſure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the
Romans. Neither at this day have the Magiſtrats of the people of *Rome* ſo many bundels of rods,
with axes born before them, as *Annibal* hath taken from the Roman Generals whom he hath ſlain,
& can if he liſt ſhew and carry before him. Caſting and toſſing theſe doubts and fears in their mind, K
they themſelves encreaſed their own care, and doubled their dread in this point alſo, that whereas
they were wont for certain years to make war in ſight of home, in diverſe and ſundry places of
Italy, with a lingring kind of hope, without regarding any iſſue thereof like preſently to enſue now
Scipio and *Annibal*, Captains matched together (as one would ſay) to make a final end & tryal of al,
had ſet all mens minds a work to expect the event now or never. And even they alſo who had re-
poſed exceeding confidence, and grounded no ſmall hope of victory in *Scipio*, the more their ſpi-
rits were amuſed upon it, and deſirous to ſee a ſpeedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt
of the ſequel. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewiſe affected and diſquieted in mind.
One whiles, beholding *Annibal*, and conſidering his noble and worthy acts, they repented that
they ſued for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembred, how twice L
they had been defeated in battail, *Syphax* ſlain, themſelves driven out of *Spain*, chaſed and hunted
out of *Italy*, and all this by the valor and policy of one man *Scipio*: they trembled for fear of him,
as if he were the fatal Captain born for their ruin and utter deſtruction.

Now by this time was *Annibal* come as far as *Adrumetum*; from whence, after he had beſtow-
ed ſome few dayes in refreſhing his ſea-ſick ſouldiers, he was rouſed with fearful poſts that
brought news, how all about *Carthage* was full of enemies and hoſtility: whereupon he made
long journies till he came to *Zama*. This *Zama* is a Town diſtant from *Carthage* five dayes jour-
ney. From thence he ſent out eſpials, who being taken by the Roman warders, were brought be-
fore *Scipio*, and he cauſed them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marſhals, with command-
ment, that they ſhould be led throughout the camp: and ſuffered without all fear, to ſee whatſo- M
ever they deſired. And when he had asked of them whether they had peruſed and conſidered
every thing to their content, and enough to ſerve their turn; he ſent them back again to *Annibal*,
with a ſafeconduct to accompany them. *Annibal* took no pleaſure at all in hearing of any thing
that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought news that *Maſaniſſa* chanced
that very day to come thither with ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. But moſt of all,
he was troubled and caſt down with the reſolut confidence and aſſurance of the enemy; which
no doubt (he thought) aroſe not of nothing. And therefore albeit himſelf was the only cauſe of
that war, and by his arrival had diſturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable cove-
nants; yet ſuppoſing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in caſe he ſued therefore
while he was entire and unfoiled, rather than after he were vanquiſhed and overcome: he addreſ- N
ſed a meſſenger or purſivant unto *Scipio* requeſting that he might confer and commune with him.
Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Councel of the State, I
have no reaſon to ſet down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. *Valerius Antias*
writeth, That he was by *Scipio* defeated in the firſt battel, wherein were ſlain in field 12000 armed
men, and 1700 taken priſoners, whereupon himſelf in perſon came as Embaſſador, with other ten
Orators into the camp unto *Scipio*. But howſoever it was, *Scipio* refuſed not to emparle; and ſo,
both Generals of purpoſe advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they
might be neerer one to the other when they ſhould meet in conference. *Scipio* made choice of a
plot of ground not far from the City *Nadagara*: which as it was handſome and meet in
other reſpects, ſo eſpecially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow ſhot. *Annibal* O
took an hill four miles from thence, ſure enough and commodious otherwiſe, but only that they
were far from water. In the mid way between they choſe a plain, open on every ſide, where they
might diſcover and ſee all about them, that no ambuſh there were laid: and after they had cauſed
their armed ſouldiers to retire a like diſtance from either party, then came together with one
truch-man or interpreter apeece, not only the greateſt and braveſt Captains of their time, but al-
ſo equal to the mightieſt Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been afore them
in

The enter-view of *Scipio* and *Annibal*.

A in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they ſtood one beholding the other, and ſaid never a word, raviſhed and aſtonied with a mutual admiration: and at laſt *Annibal* began and ſpake in this wiſe. "If the Gods by deſtinies have ſo appointed, that I who firſt levied war againſt "the Romans, and who ſo often have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, muſt needs "of my ſelf and mine own motion, come now firſt likewiſe to ſue for peace: glad I am and well "pleaſed, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whoſe hands I ſhould "ſeek the ſame. And certainly, you alſo for your part among many your ſingular and excellent "praiſes, may ſcore up this for none of the leaſt, namely, That *Annibal* (unto whom the Gods "have vouchſafed the upper-hand over ſo many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yeelded the "bucklers, and given place unto your ſelf; now that you have had the honor to end this war, "more notable and renowned at the firſt for your loſſes and overthrows than ours: and that B "fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this prety ſport with me, who at the beginning took "arms when your father was Conſul, gave him battail firſt of all other Roman Generals, and am "now come unarmed unto his ſon to crave peace. Verily much better it had been, and ſimply the "very beſt, that the Gods had inſpired into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might "have contented your ſelves with the Dominion of *Italy*, and we likewiſe of *Africk*. For ſurely, "*Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, are nothing ſufficient to make amends and ſatisfaction, and it were but "only of your part, in recompenſe of ſo many brave fleets, ſo many puiſſant armies, and ſo many "noble Captains that ye have loſt. But faults done and paſt may well be blamed and reproved, "when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedy were we on both ſides to conquer C "the Lands of others, that in the mean time we have hazarded our own. Neither had ye war in "*Italy* only, or we again in *Affrick* alone: but both ye have ſeen the enſigns and armies of ene- "mies hard at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewiſe from *Carthage* "have heard the noiſe and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have cauſe moſt "to deteſt and abhor, and you to wiſh above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is "fallen out in time of your better proſperity, and more favourable aſpect of fortune unto you. "We again are the agents therein, whom it moſt ſtandeth upon and importeth that there ſhould "be peace: and who are aſſured, whatſoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence "we come, will approve and ratifie the ſame. There needs no more but a willing mind, well "affected and enclined to thoſe courſes which tend to repoſe and quietnes. For mine own part, D "one while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my countrey, from whence "I came a child: another while proſperity and adverſity both, hath ſo ſchooled me, that I would "now rather be ruled by reaſon, than ſwayed by fortune. But I fear me greatly, that you as well in "regard of youth, as alſo of your continual felicity and fortunat train of ſucceſs, are over-hauty "and ſtout, for to yeeld unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-caſteth no variable "chances, who never taſted of adverſe fortune. And the ſame are you at this day, that ſometimes "I was at *Thraſymenus* and at *Canna*. You being hardly come to that age which is meet for war- "fervice, had the charge and command of an army: and look what enterpriſes you took in hand "moſt venturouſly, the ſame you ever exploited as happily. You purſued the vengeance of fathers "and uncles death, and wan by the calamity of your houſe and family a notable name and reputa- "tion of ſingular vertue and piety. *Spain* full and wholy you have recovered and conquered a- E "gain: four armies of Carthaginians you have chaſed from thence: no ſooner were you created "Conſul, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keep *Italy*, you failed never- "theleſs hither over into *Affrick*: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt "in one hour two camps of your enemies, taken *Syphax* priſoner, a moſt mighty and puiſſant "Prince, wan ſo many cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominion; you pulled me maugre "my head out of *Italy*, whereof I had been now ſixteen years poſſeſſed. Well may your hauty "mind affect victory rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what ſpirit and ſtomack "you are, more reſpective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time F "hath been, when I alſo had the lightſome countenance of fortune lovingly ſmiling and ſhining "upon me. And were we ſo bleſſed of God as to have our right wits and perfect ſenſes in time of "proſperity, we would conſider and think not of things only which have hapned, but of thoſe "alſo that might happen. But if you ſhould forget all other, I alone might ſerve as a ſufficient "example & mirror of accidents of fortune whatſoever. For, whom not long ſince you either ſaw "or might have ſeen encamped between the river *Anio* and your City, and ready in manner to "ſcale the walls of *Rome*; you ſee me now after the loſs of my brethren, two right valiant war- iors "and moſt renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my countrey little better than be- "ſieged, making means in humble manner to avert and avoid thoſe dangers from mine own City, "with which erewhiles I terrified yours. Well, the greateſt and happieſt fortune is leaſt to be "truſted, and never is it worſe relying on her, than when ſhe is ſo free & bountiful. Now that you G "flouriſh and we fade, whiles you are aſloft and we ſink: a peace, unto you that giveth it, is a glo- "rious and goodly matter: to us that crave it, more neceſſary than honorable. Better it is yet and "ſafer of the twain, to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in "your hand to effect, the other as it pleaſeth the Gods to diſpoſe. Beware therefore, how in one "hour you hazard the felicity of ſo many years. And as you conſider your own ſtrength & forces: "ſo think withal upon the power of fortune: ſet before your eyes the alternative courſe of *Mars* "in war. You ſhall ſee armor and the edge of the ſword: you ſhall ſee the bodies of men as well of

The Oration of *Annibal* to *Scipio*.

"one side as the other: and no where leſs than in war do events anſwer to our hope and expecta-H
"tion. And make full accompt of this, that you ſhall not gain ſo much overplus of honor, (if
"haply you ſhould win a field) above that which by granting a peace you may preſently have in
"hand and be poſſeſſed of: as you ſhall forgo and loſe of the principal, in caſe you ſhould do amiſs
"and take the foil. One hours misfortune is able to overturn all the honors and triumphant tro-
"phees as well paſt & gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained. In knitting and concluding
"a peace, O *P. Cornelius*, all lieth in your power. Refuſe that once and come to the tryal of a bat-
"tail, you muſt take your hap as God ſhall appoint. If *M. Attilius* in times paſt being conqueror,
"would have granted peace unto our fore-fathers at their ſuit and earneſt petition: a rare and ſin-
"gular example had he afforded of vertue and felicity, and few comparable unto him: but not ha-I
"ving the grace to ſee when he was well; not able to ſet a gage to his proſperity in ſome meaſure
"and in due time; not willing to reſtrain and ſtop the pride and hautineſs of his good fortune,
"the higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall: and the more he mounted, the greater was his
"overthrow. It is for him (I confeſs) that giveth peace, to capitulat and ſet down the covenants
"and conditions, and not for him that craveth the ſame. And yet peradventure we might not be
"thought unworthy, to ſet upon our own heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuſe not therefore
"but are content, That all ſhall be yours, for which the quarrel and war firſt began: *Sicily*, *Sardi-*
"*nia*, *Spain*, all the Ilands whatſoever lying in the Sea between *Affrick* and *Italy*. And we Catha-
"ginians holding our ſelves incloſed within the bounds and coaſts of *Affrick* ſince the will and
"pleaſure of God is ſo) can abide to ſee you to rule and govern in forein lands and ſtrange ſeas. I
"cannot deny, but that you have good cauſe to ſuſpect the Carthaginians for their faith & truth, K
"whoſe late deſire of peace and attendance about the ſame, was not ſo plain and ſimple as it
"ſhould have been: Yet *Scipio*, take this withal: That it importeth much to the aſſurance of keep-
"ing and obſerving peace once intertained, to conſider who the perſons be that ſeek and crave
"the ſame. And even your own Senators and LL. of the Councel, as I hear ſay, were moved not
"a little to deny and reject the motion of peace, for this cauſe, that our embaſſie ſeemed unto
"them not ſo honorable as it ought to have been. But now I, even I, no worſe a man than *Anni-*
"*bal*, do ſue for peace: which as I would not ſeek, unleſs I thought it profitable; ſo I will intertain
"it in regard of that profit for which I ſought it. And like as when I had once begun the war, ſo
"long as the Gods impeached and envied me not, I maintained it ſo, as no man of ours had cauſe
"to be weary thereof: ſo will I endeavour that none ſhall repent of the peace obtained by my L
The anſwer of *Scipio* to *Annibal*. "means. When *Annibal* had thus ſaid, the Roman General made anſwer again in this ſort. "I
"knew full well, O *Annibal*, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your coming, have both di-
"ſturbed the aſſurance of the preſent truce, and alſo troubled the hope of the future peace. Nei-
"ther do you your ſelf diſſemble ſo much, in defalking all out of the former conditions and capitu-
"lations of peace, ſave only thoſe things which long ſince have been in our power and poſſeſſi-
"on. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens ſhould know & perceive, what heavy
"burdens they are by your means diſcharged and eaſed of; even ſo muſt I endeavour and labour,
"that the points which then they covenanted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day out of
"the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their falſhood and treachery.
"For unworthy you are to have the overture and poſſibility of any peace at all, ye ſeek alſo, that M
"fraud and deceit may turn to your profit and commodity. Neither began our predeceſſors firſt
"to make war for *Sicily*, nor we ſince for *Spain*. But as then the danger wherein our allies the
"Mamertins ſtood; ſo now the ruin and deſtruction of *Saguntum*, moved us to take arms moſt
"juſtly, even for pity and compaſſion. That you began the quarrel and provoked us firſt, your ſelf
"confeſs, and the Gods do witneſs who, as in the former war, they granted and gave the iſſue, ac-
"cording to right, equity, and juſtice: ſo they do in this, and ſo they ever will. For mine one part,
"I remember well, and think upon the frailty of mankind, and the tickliſhnes of this world: I con-
"ſider alſo the power of fortune and what ſhe is able to do: I know likewiſe, that all our actions
"whatſoever, are ſubject to a thouſand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge
"my ſelf to have dealt proudly and outragiouſly, if before I paſſed over into *Affrick*, when of N
"your ſelf well nigh you abandoned *Italy*, when you had imbarked your army, and came of your
"own accord to ſeek peace, I had then rejected you and caſt you off: even ſo at this time, when I
"have haled and drawn you into *Affrick* by ſtrong arm, as it were to try an iſſue in law (all the
"haſting, all the ſhifting and reſiſtance you could make to the contrary notwithſtanding) I am not
"bound to have any reſpective regard at all of you. Wherefore, if beſides thoſe points and capitu-
"lations under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what thoſe were you
"know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence and amends for our ſhips,
"which being charged with victual and munition, you took perforce from us in time of the ceſſa-
"tion of arms: as alſo for the outrage and violence committed upon the perſons of our Embaſſa-
"dors: there is ſome reaſon that I ſhould conſider thereupon, and be adviſed by my Councel. But O
"if you think hardly thereof alſo, as being thereby too ſore preſſed: look for battel, you that could
"not like of repoſe: provide for war, ſince you would abide no peace. Thus without any concloſi-
"on of accord they left parling; & being returned to their own companies, they related unto them,
how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind, and did no good: and
therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of ſword, and they to truſt to that for-
tune which the Gods had appointed for them. So ſoon as they were come into their camps, both
of

A "of them made proclamation, that the ſouldiers ſhould buckle themſelves, make ready their ar-
"mour, pick up their ſpirits, and addreſs themſelves to a final tryal of the quarrel: where, if they
"ſped well, they were to be victours, not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the mor-
"row next at night, they ſhould know, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give laws unto all nati-
"ons of the earth. And as neither *Affrick* nor *Italy*, but the whole world ſhall be the prize and
"guerdon of the conquerors: ſo they, whoſe hap were to loſe the field, muſt make account of dan-
"ger and damage, equal to the winnings and gain of the other. For as the Romans had no way
to eſcape, nor place of ſafe retreat, being in a ſtrange and unknown land; ſo *Carthage* (having laid
all upon this one caſt) if they now miſſed, made accompt that all was gone, and preſent deſtruction
at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtful and dangerous tryal, two moſt
B noble and renowned Captains, of two right mighty and puiſſant ſtates: two moſt valiant and
hardy armies came forth into the field, reſolute that day either to win the ſpurs or loſe the ſaddle;
to gain more glory to their former honour, or elſe to loſe all that ever they had gotten. Thus
therefore between hope and fear their minds were perplexed and diſtracted; and beholding one
while their own forces, and another while their enemies power; meaſuring rather by their eye,
than weighing by reaſon their ſtrength they had at once preſented unto them, objects of joy and
content as well as of ſorrow and heavineſs. And look what the ſouldiers themſelves could not
think upon, tho e things their leaders put them in mind of: ſuggeſting unto them by way of admo-
nition and exhortation, whatſoever was thought expedient and good. *Annibal* rehearſed his no-
ble acts atchieved in *Italy* for the ſpace of ſixteen years, he reckoned up how many Roman Cap-
C tains he had ſlain, how many armies he had defeated and put to the ſword: and even as he met with
any ſouldiers of note and mark for ſome worthy and memorable battail, he put them in remem-
brance of their honourable ſervice and good deſerts: *Scipio* related the conqueſt of *Spain*, recoun-
ted the freſh fought-en fields in *Affrick*, alledged the very confeſſion of the enemies; who neither
for fear could do other but ſeek for peace, nor yet upon an inbred falſhood imprinted in their
hearts, continue long in the ſame. Beſides, he inferred the communication and ſpeech of *Annibal*
had with him in ſecret and apart from others: which according as he was diſpoſed to deviſe, he
might turn at his pleaſure to fit his purpoſe. And forasmuch as the Gods had ſhewed unto them as
they went out into the field the ſame ſigns and tokens of birds, by direction whereof their fathers
before them fought in times paſt before the Ilands *Ægates*; he offed and preſaged that the war
D was come to an end, all dangers and troubles overblown, that the ſpoil and pillage of *Carthage* was
at their devotion, and they at the point to return home unto their country, their parents, wives,
children, and domeſtical Gods. And this he ſpake with ſuch a lofty geſture of his body, with ſo
pleaſant and lovely a countenance withal, that a man who had ſeen him, would have thought
verily he had atchieved the victory already. Then he embattailed firſt his Haſtati (or ſpears) in the
vanguard behind them the Principes; and the rereward he guarded and fortified with the Triarii.
Neither marſhalled he whole cohorts thruſt thick and cloſe together, in the head of the battail
before their enſigns, but divided them into Squadrons, diſtant a pretty way aſunder one from the
other: to the end there might be room and ſpace to receive the Elephants of the enemies, that
they ſhould not break the arraies and ranks. As for *Lælius* (whom he had employed before as
E Lieutenant, but that year in quality of a Queſtor by a ſpecial order and direction from the Senat,
and not by choice of lot) him with the Italian Cavalry he put in the left point: and *Maſaniſſa* with
the Numidian horſemen in the right. The open waies and void ſpaces between the Squadrons
aforeſaid, placed in the front before the enſigns, he filled with the Velites or Javelotiers, who at
that time were light armed ſouldiers: with this commandment, that preſently upon the violent
charge given by the Elephants, they ſhould either retire behind the files, or elſe run to a ſide, both
on the right hand and the left, and joyn cloſe to the formoſt ranks, and make the Elephants way to
run upon their ſhot from the one ſide and the other. *Annibal* to ſtrike a terrour into the enemies,
firſt arranged the Elephants in the front, who were in number four-ſcore, and more than ever he
had before in any battail. Then he embattailed the aid-ſouldiers of the Ligurians and Frenchmen,
F with the Baleare ſlingers and the Mores intermingled amongſt them. In the main battail he placed
the Carthaginians and Africans, with the legion of the Macedonians: behind whom (leaving a
little ſpace between) he ſet in array the battailon of the Italian ſouldiers in the rereward for ſuc-
cour: and thoſe were moſt part of them Brutii; who followed him more perforce and by con-
ſtraint, than of any good will, when he departed out of *Italy*. The Cavalry alſo he diſplaied and
ſped round like wings about the two points; whereof the Carthaginians kept the right, and the
Numidians the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the army, amongſt ſo
many men: whoſe language was diſſonant, whoſe complexions far unlike, whoſe manners and
conditions were divers, who differed in laws and cuſtoms whoſe armours were not al one, whoſe
raiment and apparel not ſutable, and finally, whoſe quarrel and cauſe of war was not one and the
G ſame. The auxiliaries and aid-ſouldiers fed themſelves with the hope of ready and preſent pay-
ment and wages for the time paſt, yea and with a duple and triple augmentation thereof to boot,
out of the ſpoil and pillage. The Frenchmen upon a ſpecial hatred of their own, and the ſame
deeply ſeated, were ſoon kindled and enflamed againſt the Romans. The Ligurians, who were
brought out of the rough and craggy mountains, and whoſe teeth watered at the ſmirkful and plen-
teous fields of *Italy*, were quickly by him moved to hope after victory. The Mores and Numidians
he frighted with the proud and tyrannical rule of *Maſaniſſa*, under which they ſhould ever after
live.

live. Before the Carthaginians he presented the walls of their native City, their houses and house H
Gods, the sepulchres and tombs of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea, and their timorous and fearful wives: he set before their eyes either final destruction of all those things and slavery of their persons, or else the empire and soveraign dominions of the whole world: and no mean between these extremities either of fear or hope.

When as the General was most busie thus in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of the strangers, amongst the souldiers of their own Nations, and that for the most part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them; the Trumpets sounded, and the horns blew from the Roman host. And such a wonderful shout arose from thence, that the Elephants turned upon the Mores and Numidians of their own side, especially in the left point of the battail. Whom *Masaniſſa* seeing once affrighted, he soon redoubled their fear; and riding upon I them with a hot charge, laid naked the battaillon of footmen on that side, and clean without the aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the enemy, made foul work among the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrew a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites leaping again nimbly to the Squadrons, after they had made way for the beasts, tearing they should be trodden underfoot by them, let flie their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they did like buts to the shot on either hand. Neither lost they any time who were in the vanguard before the Ensigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a volley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battail: and then they turned head also upon the very Horsemen of the Carthaginians in their own right point, and forK ced them to run away. *Lælius* for his part, seeing the enemies in disarray and sore troubled, charged upon them with his Horses, and encreated their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battaillon was disfurnished and stript of their Horsemen on both wings. By which time the Cavalry joyned battail, whose hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speak of, but yet in fighting-time and in the very conflict, of great consequence and importance. The shout and cry from the Romans was ever alike and consonant in all parts, and therefore the greater and more terrible; but the enemies made dissonant noises, according as they differed in language, being as they were, of many and sundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was sure and stedfast, by reason of the peise of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing L still and pressing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other side, shewed more swiftness and agility, than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shock the Romans incontinently enforced their battaillon to retire and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to shouldering and knocking them with the pikes and bosses of their bucklers: which done, they set foot forward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still, and no man seemed to make head against them; whiles they that were hindmost in the files, perceiving one that battaillon to go on and win ground, still put forward the formost, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the second battaillon which consisted of Africans, and Carthaginians, were so far from seconding and upholding the auxiliary strangers thus dismaching; that contrary-wise, for fear left the Roman by M killing them in the forefront (who stood to it lustily and made resistance) should come as far as to them behind, they likewise retired and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-souldiers also suddainly shewed their hin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: some of them retired for refuge into the second battaillon; others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: and good reason they had, for as a while before they had no help at all of them, so then they were altogether excluded and shut out from them. So as now the Carthaginians had to deal at once in two skirmishes shuffled together, whiles they were compelled to close and come to handfight, both with their enemies, and also with their own fellows. Yet notwithstanding for all they were either so affrighted, or so angry with them receive them they would not in no hand into their battaillon: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they cast them to N side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all became they would not intermingle any souldiers thus scared upon running away and many wounds, with that battaillon which stood still sure enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were ranged, was so full of slain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another that the Romans had weineer more ado to pass that way now, than they should have had through the press of the enemies standing thick together. And therefore the formoit of the Hastati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the slippery filth of the bloud, made a pell-mell of their own ensigns, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensigns also of the Principes began to wave, when they saw the battail afore them so wandering and inconstant. Which *Scipio* when he O once perceived, commanded in all hast to sound the retreat unto the Hastati: and when he had withd awn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and bestowed them in the rereward, he brought the Principes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof; to the end, that the middle battaillon of the Hastati should be more sure and strong. By this means there began a new skirmish. For now were they come to their very enemies indeed; such as for armour and weapons of all sorts, for practise and experience of warfare; for fame and renown of worthy

A worthy exploits, and last of all for greatness either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superiour, for that already they had discomfited the Cavalry, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battail. Now *Lælius* and *Masaniſſa* having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to flie as is beforesaid, returned in good time, and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battail. And this assault of theirs it was, that struck the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place, many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and so slain. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and B weineer as many taken prisoners: of military ensigns there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants besides, alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thousand. *Annibal* with some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to * *Adrumentum*, having assaied and tried all means possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battail, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he won even by the confession of *Scipio* himself, and all others that were expert warriors, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battel, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whose adventurous force and intollerable violence in giving the onset, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arraies; the only thing wherein they reposed their greatest hope and confidence. Then, before the main battail of the C Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-souldiers, of purpose, that being a confused rable and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by alleageance, but tied only by gain and wages, should have no liberty to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the forlorn hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies sword. After this, in the battel, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and African souldiers: that being otherwise in all things else equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the ods, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and lusty. As for the Italians, who also were divided from the rest by a good space between, he removed far off into the rereward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies. *Annibal* having done this doughty deed and work, as it were D for the last proof of his vertue and valour, fled to *Adrumetum*, and was from thence sent for to *Carthage*: whither he returned in the 36 year, after that he first departed thence a very child. Where in the Councel house he confessed and said, "That overcome he was not only in a battel "once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: protesting in plain terms, that now there was "no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, if they could obtain it.

Scipio immediatly after this battail, having forced by assault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ships, being advertised afore by a messenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Utica* with five ships of war, and a hundred Hulks laden with provision of all kinds of victual. And supposing it good policy now that *Carthage* was troubled and E throughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terrour on every side: so soon as he had dispatched *Lælius* away to *Rome*, with tidings of this victory, he commanded *Cn. Octavius* to lead the legions by Land against *Carthage*, Himself in proper person, after he had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from *Utica*, and sailed directly to the Haven of *Carthage*. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with insules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beset with branches of Olive; wherein were ten Orators embarked, the best men of the City, sent by the advice and motion of *Annibal* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hin-deck and poop of the Admiral ship, put forth the vails and tokens of suppliants, praying and beseeching the protection and mercy of *Scipio*. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repair F to *Tunes*, whither he intended to remove. Then himself after he had well viewed the situation of *Carthage*, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Utica*, whither he had called back *Octavius* also. As he marched forward from thence toward *Tunes*, he had intelligence given him, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horsemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with the whole Cavalry was sent: whereof the light horse and van-curriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmish discomfited the Numidians: and having stopped all passages every way with the Horsemen, so as they could not get out and flie, there were upon a fifteen thousand men of them slain, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian Horses also were gotten from them alive, and 72 military ensigns. The young Prince himself in the G midst of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped. Then encamped *Scipio* neer *Tunes*, in the same place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*. And they verily, as they were in harder case and greater distress, made much more pitiful entreating than before: but in their audience found less favour and mercy by a great deal for their late treachery and falshood so fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were set in counsel, all of them had just cause to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to destroy & raze *Carthage*: yet upon better advisement and consideration, how great and difficult and enterprise, and what a long

Annibal defeated by *Scipio*.

* Or *Adrumetum*, now *Mahometta*, according to *Mercator*.

long peece of service it was to beſiege a City ſo ſtrong and ſo well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himſelf was troubled in mind with the expectation of a ſucceſſour, who ſhould come to win the credit and honor of finiſhing the war, which indeed was gotten by the travail and hazard of another, all their hearts were turned and enclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them; and after they had been well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treachery and warned withal, that after ſo many loſſes and overthrows which they had received, they ſhould now learn to be wiſe, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, theſe conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. *Imprimis*, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws: *Item*, What Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and were poſſeſſed of before the war began, the ſame they might keep ſtill. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romans I from that day forward ſhould not waſt and ſpoil the countrey. *Item*, That the Carthaginians ſhould deliver all renegate traitors, all fugitive perſons, all captives and priſoners, yea, and yeeld unto them all ſhips of war with braſen heads, above ten triremes or gallies of three ranks of oars. *Item*, That they ſhould put into their hands all thoſe Elephants which they had already tamed and manned, and ſhould break and tame no more of them. *Item*, They ſhould make war neither in *Affrick*, nor without *Affrick*, but by order and warrant from the people of *Rome*. That they ſhould make reſtitution and amends to *Maſaniſſa* for all harms, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they ſhould find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-ſouldiers, until their Embaſſadors were returned from *Rome*: yea, and tender payment of ten thouſand talents of ſilver by even portions in fifty years. *Item*, That they ſhould put in a hundred hoſtages at the K pleaſure of *Scipio* and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. Laſt of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ſhips which were taken during the time of the former ceſſation of arms, ſhould be reſtored back again, with all things eſſe that were therein: otherwiſe no truce for the preſent, nor hope of peace hereafter. Theſe articles and conditions the Embaſſadors were willed to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general aſſembly of the people, *Giſgo* mounted up the pulpit to diſſwade peace, and had audience given him with great applauſe of the multitude; who as they were heartleſs and unmeet for war, ſo they were as peeviſh and unruly, and could not long continue in repoſe. Hereat, *Annibal* took great indignation, and was highly diſpleaſed, that in ſuch a time, thoſe things ſhould either be delivered or heard: and he made no more ado, but ſtepped to *Giſgo*, laid hand upon him, and pul- L led him down from the pue out of which he ſpake: whereat the people were moved and grumbled in great diſcontent to ſee ſo ſtrange a fight and unuſual, in a free City. Then *Annibal*, as he was a meer martial man and could not skill of civil affairs, nor well away with theſe citizens liberty. "I went, quoth he, from you when I was but nine years old, and now after 36 years I am "come again. All military skill and knowledge which fortune ſometime in my private matters, "and otherwhiles in publik affairs, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learn- "ed ſufficiently: mary, for the rights and priviledges for the laws cuſtomes and faſhions of the "City and the common Hall I muſt be informed and inſtructed by you. Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuſe, he diſcourſed at large of peace, arguing how reaſonable and equal, yea and how neceſſary it was. The greateſt point of difficulty in all the capitulations miniſtred unto them M was this, That touching the things aboveſaid which were taken during the abſtinence of arms, there was nothing now forth-coming and to be ſeen but the bare veſſels; and no eaſy matter was it to ſeek up the reſt. Now when as they that gainſaid the peace were convinced and put down by reaſon, agreed it was, that the ſhips ſhould be redelivered, and the men likewiſe be ſought out and found: as for all the reſt that was wanting, there ſhould an eſtimate be made according to the value, at the diſcretion of *Scipio*, and ſo the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Writers there be that have delivered, how *Annibal* preſently from the field ſped him to Sea and there finding a ſhip ready prepared for him, ſtreight-wayes embarked and went directly to King *Antiochus*: Alſo, when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* ſhould be yeelded into his hands, anſwer was made, that *Annibal* was not in *Affrick*. After that the Embaſſa- N dors were returned to *Scipio* the Queſtors or Treaſurers were commanded to draw an extract according to their books upon record, of all ſuch things as were in the ſhips, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private perſons, the owners thereof were willed to declare and teſtify. In conſideration and recompenſe whereof, there was a ſum of money ſet down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of ſilver, and the ſame to be paid preſently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three moneths: with this clauſe annexed over and beſides. That during the ſaid term they ſhould ſend their Embaſſadors to no other place but only to *Rome*: and what Embaſſadors ſoever came to *Carthage*, they ſhould not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their meſſage and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rome*, *L. Veturius Philo*, O *M. Martius Rallus*, and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came ſuch ſtore of grain and victuals out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and thereby corn was ſo cheap, that the Merchant was fain to leave corn behind him to ſatisfie the ſhipmen and marriners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at *Rome* upon the firſt newes and rumor that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and *T. Claudius* had commiſſion to conduct a fleet with all ſpeed

A ſpeed into *Sicily*, and from thence to paſs over into *Affrick*: likewiſe the other Conſul was commanded to ſtay ſtill at *Rome*, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters ſtood in *Affrick*. But *T. Claudius* went but ſlowly to work either in preparing and rigging an armado, or in putting it to ſea; becauſe the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the diſpoſition of *Scipio* than of the Conſul. Moreover, there were certain prodigious ſigns reported even preſently before the very rumour of the foreſaid riſing and inſurrection, which cauſed men to fear greatly. At *Cumes*, the circle and compaſs of the ſun appeared leſs: and it rained a good ſhower of ſtones. Alſo in the territory of *Velitre*, the earth ſetled and ſunk, and made huge hollow chinks, in ſo much as trees were quite ſwallowed up under the ground. At *Aricia* the market-place and the ſhops all about, likewiſe at *Fruſino* the B wall of the City in divers places, yea, and the gate, were ſmitten with lightning from heaven: and in mount Palatine it rained ſtones. This wondrous ſight laſt rehearſed, was expiate after the ancient cuſtome, by keeping a Novendial ſacrifice and feaſt for nine dayes; the reſt by killing of greater ſacrifices. Among all, there were unuſual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and conſciences of men: for the *Tyber* ſo ſwelled and roſe ſo high, that by reaſon that the ſhew-place of the *Circus* was overflown, preparation was made for the ſetting forth of the games *Apollinares*, without the gate *Collina*, neer the chappel of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very day when the plaies ſhould be exhibited, it grew to be ſo fair weather of a ſuddain, that the pageant and pompous train of the ſhew, which was a going to the gate *Collina*, was called back and conveied into the *Circus*; and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from C thence: ſo the people were more joyous, and the paſtimes celebrated with greater reſort, for that the uſual and ordinary place ſerved again for the ſolemnity to be performed.

Claudius the Conſul at laſt departed from the City of *Rome*, and went to ſea; where between the havens of *Coſſa* and *Lauretum*, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempeſt that aroſe and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the *Populonii*, and there ſtaied until the tempeſt was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the Ile * *Ilua*, and from *Ilua* he ſailed to *Corſica*, and from *Corſica* he paſſed over to *Sardinia*; where, as he doubled the point and was paſſing the race of the mountains called * *Inſani*, there aroſe a far more cruel guſt, and in places of more peril and hazard, which ſcattered the fleet. Many of the ſhips were weather beaten and ſore ſhaken, many loſt their tackling quite, yea, and ſome were cracked and ſplit. Thus the Armado be- D ing much toſſed and torn, arrived at length at *Carales*; where, whiles the ſhips were drawn up into the dock to drie Land, and there a repairing, the winter came upon them, and the year turned about. And ſo *T. Claudius* (as a private perſon, by reaſon that no man renewed his commiſſion for a further time) brought the Armado back to *Rome*. But *M. Servilius*, becauſe he ſhould not be called home to the City for the ſolemne election of Magiſtrats, after he had declared Dictator, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his Province. And the Dictator choſe *P. Ælius Paetus* General of the Horſemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publiſhing of the election, but by reaſon of tempeſts it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magiſtrats left their office after the Ides of *March*, and no new ſubſtituted in their room, the City was clean without any Magiſtrats of ſtate to ſit in the ivory chair. *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Biſhop, that year E died. In his place was inveſted *C. Sulpitius Galba*. The Roman games were thrice exhibited anew by *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *Q. Fulvius*, Ædiles of the chair. The Clarks and Scribes belonging to the Ædiles, together with their beadles and ſummoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treaſure and chamber of the City: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, not without ſome touch and diſcredit of *Lucullus* himſelf the Ædile. *P. Ælius Tubero* and *L. Lectorius* Ædiles of the commons, for that there was ſome error and default in their election, reſigned up their places, after they had repreſented the playes, and in regard thereof ſolemnized the feaſt of *Jupiter*, and ſet up beſides in the Capitol three images made of the ſilver that was forfeited and raiſed upon the fines of the perſons condemned aforeſaid. The Dictator and General over the Horſemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called *Ce-* F *rules*, to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Roman Embaſſadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of *Affrick* to *Rome*, the Senat aſſembled to give them audience in the Temple of *Bellona*: where *L. Veturius Philo* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the LL. of the Senat) that they had fought a battail with *Annibal*, (the laſt that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on ſtill and related, that *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* was vanquiſhed and ſubdued; which was no ſmall increaſe of the other exploits ſo happily atchieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the aſſembly of the people, there to impart theſe gladſome news unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thankſgiving) all the Temples in the City were ſet open, and ſolemn proceſſions G decreed for three dayes. Now when as the Embaſſadors of the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for they alſo were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senat: the Dictator by direction from the Senat, returned them this anſwer, That the new Conſuls ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt. After this, was the ſolemn aſſembly holden for the election of Magiſtrats; and Conſuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Ælius Paetus*: for Pretors, firſt *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civil juriſdiction in the City: then *M. Valerius Falto*, unto whom the Brutians countrey fell by lot to govern: next, *M. Fabius Buteo*, whoſe hap was to rule *Sardinia*, and

* Elba.

* Mainomena, Ptolom. Cancelli, Modernis.

and *P. Ælius Tubeno*, to be L. deputy of *Sardinia*. Concerning the Provinces wherein the Consuls were to be employed; it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the Embassadors of King *Philip* and likewise of the Carthaginians, had delivered their embassages: for as they saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul was inflamed with an ardent desire of the Province of *Affrick*: for if the war continued, he aimed at an easy victory: and if it were at the point of an end, he gaped at the honor of finishing the same, and hoped to have the name, That determined it was whiles he was Consul. And therefore he protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of *Affrick* were assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discreet man) gave his consents for he saw full well, that as the contending for that glory with *Scipio*, was unjust and unreasonable, so in it he would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him. *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, two Tribuns of the commons, gave out and said, That *Cn. Cornelius* went about to compass that, which was commenced and assaied in vain the year before by *T. Claudius* the Consul. For when by warrant from the Senat a bill was proposed unto the people, whom their pleasure was to nominate for government of *Affrick*, all the 35 Tribes gave their voices and awarded that Province to *P. Scipio*. Much contention there passed and many bickerments both in Senat-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end they grew to this point, to refer all to the judgment of the Senat. So the LL. of the Senat having taken their oath (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. First, that the two Consuls should either agree together between themselves, or else cast lots for their Provinces; namely, which of them should have the rule of *Italy*, and who the charge of a fleet of fifty K sail. *Item*, to whether of them twain befel the navy, he should sail over into *Sicily*: and if peace might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to cross over into *Affrick*; where the Consul should war by Sea, and *Scipio* by Land, by vertue of the same commission and authority that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, that then the Tribuns of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and pleasure, whether the Consul or *P. Scipio* should conclude the peace: and which of them (if the victorious army after conquest obtained, were to be brought back out of *Africk*) should have the conduct thereof home again. Also, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring away the army likewise, then the Consul should not cut over from *Sicily* to *Africk*. As for the other Consul who had the government of *Italy*, he should receive of *M. Sestius* the Prætor, two legions. L So *P. Scipio* had his commission sealed again for to remain in the Province of *Sicily*, with the same forces which he there had. *M. Valerius Falco* the Pretor in the Brutians country was allowed those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the command the year before. It was further-more agreed, that *P. Ælius* the Prætor should take the two legions in *Sicily* of *Cn. Tremellius*: and that one legion which *P. Lentulus* the Propretor had under his conduct, was appointed to *M. Fabius* for *Sardinia*. And *M. Servilius* the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with his own two legions for *Hetruria*. As concerning the provinces of *Spain*; sith *L. Cornilius Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had been there for certain years, the said Consuls were to deal with the Tribuns, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know their minds whom they would appoint to govern *Spain*: and that he whosoever it was, should M out of two armies enrol one entire legion of Roman souldiers, and of the allies of the Latin nation make up fifteen cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them joyntly, keep in obedience and defend the province. *Item*, that *L. Cornelius* and *L. Manlius* should bring over the old souldiers into *Italy*. Unto *Cornelius* the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be deducted and drawn out of two other Armadoes; the one of *Cn. Octavius* which was in *Africk*, the other of *P. Villius* which guarded the coasts of *Sicily*: and to choose thereout what ships he would: and that *P. Scipio* should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case his pleasure was that *Cn. Octavius* should be Admiral over them still, like as heretofore; then *Octavius* was to continue in government for that year as Vice-prætor: but if he made *Lælius* the Admiral, then *Octavius* should depart and come home to *Rome*, and bring back with him those N ships that the Vice-consul had no use or need of. *M. Fabius* likewise had ten gallies of service allowed him into *Sardinia*. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enrol two legions of citizens, that with the power of fourteen legions, and an hundred ships of war, the affairs of *Rome* that year might be managed.

These things thus ordered, they began to debate in counsel about the Embassadors of *Philip* and the Carthaginians: and thought good it was to admit the Macedonians into place for to have audience. Divers and sundry speeches they made, whiles they laboured partly to cleer that point as touching the complaints that the Embassadors sent from *Rome* made before the King, for the forraging and spoiling of their confederats: and partly complained themselves of the allies of the people of *Rome*, laying much to their charge: but far more bitterly accusing *M. Aurelius*, for that he being one of the three Embassadors sent unto them, staid behind and took musters of souldiers; yea, and against the covenant comprised in the league, made war upon them, and oftentimes gave battel unto their Captains and Governors in open field: partly also they demanded, that the Macedonians and their Captain *Sopater*, who had served in the wars of *Annibal* for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be enlarged and set at liberty,

To

A To these points *M. Furius*, sent of purpose from *Aurelius* out of *Macedonia*, made answer briefly in this wise, That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for fear that the associats of the people of *Rome*, wearied with rodes and incursions into their territories and other injurious oppressions, might revolt unto the King; never departed out of the confins of the associats aforesaid, and endeavoured only, that those robbers and forragers of the country should not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for *Sopater*, he was a stare and peer of the realm, and one neerly allied unto the King, who lately was sent into *Affrick* with four thousand Macedonians and with money, to aid and assist *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. When as the Macedonians being required what they could say to these challenges framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their answer: That since the King sought war if he proceeded and went on still, he should shortly have his hands full but forasmuch as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies or the peoB ple of *Rome*, and molesting them by way of war and hostility; and secondly, in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it, that not only *P. Scipio* both did & doth well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of *Rome*, and were taken captive; but also *M. Aurelius* performed good service to the State, and a great pleasure to the Senat, in defending the Allies of the people of *Rome* by force of arms, when by right of league he could not. When the Macedonians had their dispatch, and were sent away with this heavy answer, then the Carthaginian Embassadors were called in.

When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their personage (for they were the C best and principal men simply of their City) then every man was fully perswaded for his own part and said, That now they dallied no longer, but meant in deed and good earnest to crave & have peace. But the chief and most portly person of them all was one *Asdrubal*, in his countrey and among his citizens surnamed *Hædus*, a man that ever perswaded peace, & opposed himself against the Barchine faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived "the blame from the Common-weal, and laid all the fault upon the wilfulness and greedy avarice of some few. Who after he had used diverse and sundry speeches, one while excusing and "clearing the crimes, another while confessing some things objected, left if they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then "also giving the LL. of the Senat an admonition and warning by the way, to use their prosperity "and good fortune modestly and with moderation, he added moreover and said, That if the Carthaginians would have been ruled by him & *Hanno*, and had been so wise as to have taken their "time and the opportunity when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of "peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wise both at "once, it is a rare and special gift, and seldome seen. And here it is that the people of *Rome* (quoth "he) is invincible, because in prosperity they can remember to be wise, and to take the best way "for themselves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they should do otherwise. For those "commonly who happen to meet with some new good success, and have not been used thereto "before, overshoot and pass themselves too much in excessive joy; which they have not the grace "to govern with sobriety and discretion: whereas the people of *Rome* have ever been accusto- "med to the continual felicity of joyous victories; insomuch as they are grown into a disuse of E "taking pleasure and delight in them (so common they are) and have encreased their dominion "and Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, "than by the very conquest of them indeed.

The Oration of *Asdrubal Hædus* in the Senat of *Rome*.

"The speech that the other Embassadors made, was more pitiful and lamentable, whiles they "recounted before the Senat from what high estate, and to how base condition they were fallen: "who but a while since held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them "now but the bare walls of the City of *Carthage*, within which they were shut up, and could see "nothing either by land or sea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. Nay, the very "City it self and their houses, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of *Rome* is willing, "and forbeareth to proceed by rigour and extremity against the same, since there is nothing else "behind to work upon. Now when as the LL. of the Senat seemed to encline to mercy and compassion, one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deep and inveterate hatred of the Carthaginians, treachery, spake out aloud and said, "What Gods will they regard and swear "by in making of a new league, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom "they called to witness in the former? Mary (qd. *Asdrubal*) even those and no other that are so sharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were enclined to peace, *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul, who had the government of the navy, opposed himself against the decree of the Senat for to cross the same. Then *M. Attilius*, and *Q. Minutius*, Tribuns of the Commons, preferred a solemn bill unto the people, in this form: Pleaseth it you, and will you grant, That the Senat shall resolve and determine, that peace may be concluded with the Carthaginians? Pleaseth it you to chuse and appoint who shall be the man to make that peace, and who shall bring the army out of *Africk*? As concerning peace, the tribes every one as they were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (*Uti rogatis*) that *Scipio* should conclude it, and also bring away the army. By vertue of this Act passed by the people, the Senat made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advice and counsel of ten Commissioners, should contract an accord with the people of *Carthage*, under what conditions he thought good. After this

the

the Carthaginians rendred thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter H into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives aforetime, and lay in the common goal and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and communed with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suit, to give them leave to ransome and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willed to give them their names: and when they had named fast upon two hundred, an order was granted out of the Senat, that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into *Affrick* unto *Scipio* two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him from the Senate, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver I those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransome. Now when the heralds of arms were appointed to go into *Affrick*, for to confirm and establish the peace according to the solemn order, at their own request there passed an act of the Senat framed in this form and tenor. *Imprimis*, That they should carry with them every one by himself, certain flint stones of their own, and likewise Verven. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors should command them solemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor sacred herbs or Verven. A kind of grass or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from *Rome*: who being come into *Affrick* to *Scipio*, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is aboveſaid. And so they delivered up K their gallies and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegate traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Cuello*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soon as they were launched forth into the deep, *Scipio* caused them to be set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every sort, and all directed and guided by oars. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavy spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if *Carthage* it self had been on a light fire. The renegat traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latin Nation lost their heads: all that were natural Romans, were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The war began three and L twenty years after, whiles *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Ælius Petus* being Consuls. Many a time after, *Scipio* by report, would say, that the willful and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the only stay and let, that this war ended not with the final ruin and utter destruction of *Carthage*.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought the levy and contribution of money for to furnish out the first payment, lay heavy and sore upon them, insomuch as in their Senat-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and piteous weeping; it is said, that *Annibal* was seen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hedus* rebuked him for laughing in that publick lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of those tears, "If (qd. *Annibal*) as we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might soon perceive, "that this laughter of mine, which ye so much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad "and joyful, but rather senseless, stupified, and astonied with the exceeding griefs and calamities "that have hapned. Yet is not it so unseasonable and impertinent to our present condition, as "these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and nothing to the purpose. Then "should ye have wept and shed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when "our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with forrain "nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never "think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye N "bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet. If it "have no enemies abroad, it findeth some at home: much like unto strong and lusty bodies, which "seeming sure enough against all outward accidents and causes of sickness, are overcharged with "their own strength and fulness of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So "much, forsooth, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth "and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth nearer "to the quick, than to forgo our mony, and part with our pence. And therefore when *Carthage* "was conquered and despoiled of all her ancient honors, when ye saw her disarmed and stripped "naked, when ye saw her forlorn of all the armed nations of *Affrick*; no man then sighed, no man "groned thereat: but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of your privat purses, ye O "keep a weeping and wailing, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I "fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and feel, That your weeping this day hath been "for the least loss of all the rest. Thus spake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole army together before them all, restored *Masanissa* to his fathers Kingdom: and over and besides, endued him with the possession of the City *Cirtha*, and other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syphax*, and were now in subjection to

A to the people of *Rome*. Unto *Cn. Octavius* he gave order to conduct the fleet into *Sicily*, and there to make it over to *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul. The Carthaginian Embassadors he willed to go to *Rome*, that those acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the ten Commissioners, might likewise pass under the approbation of the Senat, and the consent of the people, and so be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus *Scipio* having obtained peace both by sea and land, and embarked his army, sailed toward *Sicily*, & arrived at *Lilybæum*. From whence he sent away a great part of his army by sea, and himself passed by land through *Italy*, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded, as the victory atchieved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers also of the country peasants out of the Villages, filled B all the high-waies along untill he came to *Rome*: where he entred the City, riding in the most stately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chamber 100033 pound weight of silver. He divided among his souldiers out of the spoil * four hundred Asses a peece. *Syphax* by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly shew and pageant in the triumph, than diminished any whit the glory of the triumpher: he died at *Tybur* not long afore, to which place he had been removed from *Alba*: howbeit his death was not obscure, by reason that he was solemnly carried to his buriall, with the pomp of a publike funerall at the charges of the City. But *Polybius* a writer of good account, reporteth, That this King was led in the very triumph. As *Scipio* rode triumphant *Q. Terentius Culleo* followed after with a cap of liberty set upon his head; and ever after, so long as he lived, he honoured him (as beseeming it was) and acknowledged C him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn, whether it were the favour of his souldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and linage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies *Sulla* was surnamed * *Felix*, and *Pompeius*, * *Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their Images, and honoured their houses with noble stiles and additions.

* Or, as some think 40. which cometh to 2 sh. 6 d. English.

* Happy. * Great.

D

The one and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and thirtieth Book.

E *THe causes of the war begun again with* Philip *King of* Macedony, *which had discontinued, are set down to be these; In the time of the holy feast of* Ceres, *two young men of* Acarnania, *who had not been professed in those sacred mysteries, came to* Athens, *& chanced among other of their countrimen to go into the Chappel of* Ceres. *For which, as if they had committed some hainous fact in the highest degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acarnanians moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, required aid of* Philip *to be revenged for them: Some few months after peace granted to the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of* Rome, *when the Embassadors of the Athenians, who now were besieged by* Philip, *craved aid of the Senat, and they were of advice and resolved to help them, notwithstanding the Commons gainsaid it (by reason that they thought the continual troubles of so many wars were grievous and heavy unto them) yet so far prevailed the authority of the Nobles, that the people also gave their consent to succour their confederate* F *City. This war was committed to the managing of* P. Sulpitius *the Consul: who led an army into* Macedony, *and fought certain battels fortunately against* Philip, *which were performed by horse-service. The Abydens being invested and beleaguered round about by* Philip, *following the example of the Saguntins, slew their wives and children, and their own selves after them.* L. Furius *the Prator overthrew in a pitcht field the Gauls, called* Insubres, *that rebelled, and likewise* Amilcar *the Carthaginian, who began to make war in those parts, where* Amilcar *was slain, & with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, this book containeth the expeditions and voyages of King* Philip *and* Sulpitius *the Consul. and the winning of certain Cities by them both.* Sulpitius *the Consul warred with the help of King* Attalus *and the Rhodians,* L. Furius *the Prator triumphed over the Gauls.*

G

The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

FUll well apaid am I likewise, that I am now come to an end once of the Punick war, as if my self had been in person there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit unfitting it is for me (who have undertaken and professed so boldly to write a compleat and full story of the Romans) to be wearied in the severall parts of so great a work: yet when I

think and consider, how threescore years and three (for so many are reckoned from the first Punick war, to the end of the second) have taken up no fewer books of mine than four hundred eighty eight years before, even from the foundation of *Rome* unto the Consulship of that *Appius Claudius*, who was the first that warred upon the Carthaginians; methinks I foresee already, that like as they who being once entred into the shallows near the shore, are trained on still, and venture to wade into the sea, even so I, the farther I go forward, the deeper I step, and am carried away in a vast Ocean, and bottomless gulph (as it were) which cannot be sounded; and that my work groweth still upon me in my hands, which as I went away apace, and rid matters at the first, I would have thought by this time should have decreased.

The Carthaginian peace was no sooner concluded, but the Macedonian war straightwaies ensued: nothing comparable to the Punick, if ye regard the hazard and danger, the vertue of the Captains for direction, or prowess of the souldiers: but if a man consider the Nobility and reputation of the ancient Kings, the fame and antiquity of the nation, the greatness of their seignory and dominion, who in times past had conquered and held by the sword much in *Europe*, and the better part of *Asia*, I dare well say, as noble and renowned, if not more, But the war commenced against *Philip* ten years almost before, had ere three years end been laid down and discontinued by means of the Ætolians: who as they gave occasion to enter into arms, so they wrought a composition of peace. But afterwards in process of time, when the Romans by reason of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to do, and were at leisure; and yet bearing an inward grudge, and owing a displeasure to *Philip*, as well for his faithless peace with the Ætolians and other allies and confederates of that country, as also for aid both of men and money lately sent into *Affrick* to *Annibal* and the Carthaginians: behold, the Athenians, whose territories he had clean wasted and spoiled, and whom he had driven within their City walls, importuned them with their prayers, and perswaded them to take arms and renew the war aforesaid. And much about the same time there arrived Embassadors from King *Attalus*, as also from the Rhodians, giving notice that divers Cities and States of *Asia* were sollicited likewise by *Philip* to band against the Romans. These Embassadors had their dispatch, and received this answer, That the Senat would have a carefull eye to the affairs of *Asia*. But the entire treaty and consultation concerning the Macedonian war was wholly reserved and referred unto the Consuls, who then were employed in the war with the *Boii*. In the mean season three Embassadors were addressed unto *Ptolomeus* the King of Ægypt, to wit, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, with this commission: First, to signifie and let him understand, that *Annibal* & the Carthaginians were subdued: secondly, to give thanks unto the King for continuing so fast and faithfull unto the Romans in their distress and adversity, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forsook and abandoned them: last of all, to request him, that in case they should be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage war against *Philip*, he would vouchsafe the same mind still and his wonted affectionate favour toward the people of *Rome*.

Near about this time, *P. Ælius* the Consul being in *France*, advertised that the Boians before his coming had made rodes into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romans, presently in all haste levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult and trouble; and joyning thereunto four cohorts of footmen out of his own army, sent *C. Appius* a Colonell or Captain of the Confederates, with this power so suddenly raised, and with commandment to march through that part of *Umbria*, which is called, the Tribe *Sappinia*, and to invade the territories of the *Boii*, whiles himself in person led his forces the open way traversing through the mountains, and came thither. *Appius* being entred into the confines of the enemies, at the first had a good hand, and sped well in forraging the country with safety of himself. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place near unto a Castle called * *Mutilum*, for to cut down and reap the corn, (for now the fields were ready for harvest) but yet, without espials sent out to discover the coasts about, without setting strong and sufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed, might defend the unarmed that were busie in their harvest work; he chanced himself and all his forragers and reapers to be surprised at unawares by the Frenchmen, and assailed on every side. Whereupon they also that were armed fled in great fright; and 7000 men straggling here and there over the corn fields were slain; and among them *C. Appius* himself their leader. The rest for fear were driven to put themselves within their Camp: from whence without direction and guidance of any certain Captain and only upon a generall consent of the souldiers, the night next following they abandoned their hold, left much of their baggage behind them, and through blind forrests, chases, and wild mountains (in manner unpassable) they came in the end to the Consul: who, after he had performed in his Province no memorable act, save only that he wasted the borders and frontiers of the *Boii*, and in a league with the *Ingauni* (a nation of the Ligurians) returned to *Rome*. So soon as he had assembled the Senat, all the whole house with one voice called upon him to treat and consult upon no other matter before they had determined of King *Philip*, and the complaints made by their allies: so he proposed that out of hand to be debated in Councill. And the Senate in a frequent number there met, passed a decree, that *P. Ælius* the Consul should send whom he thought good with commission and authority for to receive the Armado which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring out of *Sicily*, and therewith to cross over into *Macedonia*. So *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Vice-Prætor was sent; and when he had taken the charge of the fleet, consisting

* *Medina, Leandro.*

A sting of eight and thirty sail, at the hands of *Cn. Octavius* about *Vibo*, he passed the seas to *Macedonia*. Now when *M. Aurelius* the Lieutenant was come, and had enformed and advertised him, what puissant armies, what numbers of ships the King had prepared and got together; how partly himself in person by going about not only to all the Cities of the Continent, but also the Islands in the sea; and partly by sending his Embassadors every way, had sollicited unto war, and raised much people to take arms: shewing moreover, that the Romans were not to enterprise that war without preparation of greater forces; and that more speedily, for fear lest if they made slow haste and lingred, *Philip* might enterprise that adventure, which *Pyrrhus* (a Potentate and Prince of a far lesse Dominion) had done before: it was thought meet that *Aurelius* should dispatch his letters to the same effect unto the Consuls and
B the Senat.

In the end of this year, when a motion was propounded in the Senat-house as concerning the setting out of lands unto the old souldiers for recompence of their good service, who, under conduct and fortunate government of *Scipio* the Pro-Consul, had brought the war in *Affrick* to an end: the LL. enacted a decree, that *M. Junius* the Prætor of the City, if he thought so good, should create ten Decemvirs as surveyors, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, so much as had been forfeit and confiscate to the people of *Rome*. And these were they: namely, *P. Servilius*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *Cneus* and *Marcus*, named *Servilii*, and both surnamed *Gemini*, *Lucius* and *Aulus* both *Hostilii*, and surnamed *Catoes* likewise, *P. Villius Tappulus*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *P. Ælius Pætus*, and *Q. Flaminius*.

C At the same time *P. Ælius* the Cos. called the assembly and high Court of Parliament for election of Magistrates: and for Cos. were created *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. After them were the Prætors chosen, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Fulvius Gillo*, and *C. Sergius Plancus*. The Roman stage-plaies were that year exhibited with great state and magnificence most sumptuously, by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, Ædiles of the Chair, and for two daies together were repeticented anew. These Ædiles distributed and divided most faithfully among the people a mighty deal of corn, which *Scipio* the Pro-Consul had sent out of *Affrick*, at four Asses the Modius: whereby they won great love and favour of all men. Also the Plebeian plaies were thrice set forth all whole again by the Ædiles of the Commons, *L. Appuleius Fusto*, and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. This man from his Ædileship stepped to the Prætors place. And by occasion
D of those plaies there was a solemn feast celebrated in the honour of *Jupiter*.

In the 544 year from the foundation of the City, when *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* were Cos., the war with King *Philip* began, within four months after peace granted to the Carthaginians. And before all other matters this affair was propounded in the Senate by *P. Sulpitius* the Cos. upon the Ides of *March*, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the Consulship. Where by the Senate it was decreed, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should sacrifice with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemn prayer in this form: That whatsoever the Senate and people of *Rome* minded and intended to do, either concerning the affairs of the Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprise of this new war, the same might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, their allies, and
E namely, the nation of the Latines. *Item*, That after sacrifice and divine prayer they should consult with the Senat about the state of the City, and the government of the Provinces. At the same time it fell out very fitly to provoke and stir up their minds unto war, that not only letters were brought from *M. Aurelius* the Lieutenant, and from *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Vice-Prætor: but also a new Embassie of the Athenians arrived; the one importing, and the other reporting, that the King drew near and approached their confines, and within a while would be not only Lord of their lands and territories, but also Master of their City, unless the Romans set too their helping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacrifices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the Gods gave ear unto their prayer, and accepted thereof: and the southsayers and bowell-priers likewise out of their learn-
F ing made answer and shewed, that the inwards of the beasts were as they should be, and signified happiness, namely, the enlarging of their confines and frontiers, with the atchieving of victory and triumph. Then were the letters aboresaid of *Valerius* and *Aurelius* read, and the Athenian Ambassadors had a day of audience After this, there passed an Act of the Senate, That thanks should be rendred unto their allies, for that they being long rempted and sollicited for to revolt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegeance, nor forsaken their fealty, no, not for fear of a present siege. As touching sending aid unto them, it was thought good to give answer, when the Consuls had their Provinces allotted unto them; and when that Consul whose hap it should be for to go into *Macedony*, had proposed unto the people, That defiance should be given to *Philip* King of *Macedony*, and open war proclaimed against him. Now it fell by lot unto *P. Sulpitius* to take that charge in *Macedony*, who preferred and presented a bill unto the peo-
G ple in this manner: Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed and denounced against King *Philip* and the Macedonians within his Realm and Dominion for the wrongs offered and the war levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*? Unto the other Consul *Aurelius* befell the Province of *Italy*. Then upon this the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. *Cn. Sergius Plancus* had the jurisdiction of the City; *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was to govern the Province of *Sicily*, *Q. Minutius Rufus* of the *Brutii*, and *L. Furius Purpurio* of *France*.

The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, H was in manner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped & flatled denied. Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-wearied with long and sore wars, and worn out for very irksomness of tedious travel, and painfull perils: and partly *Q. Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to set them on: who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they sowed the seeds of war still, and ceased not to raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senat-house with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms; and every man did his part to encourage the Consul to publish a new assembly and scrutiny, for the proposing of the same bill: to chastise and rebuke the sloath and idleness of the people; yea, I and to open and shew unto them what great damage and loss, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delaies before the war began. Then the Consul having assembled the people for this purpose in *Mars* field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: "It seemeth (quoth he) that you are "ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye "would have war or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, "who already prepareth mortall war both by sea and land) but whether ye would rather choose "to transport the legions into *Macedony*, or receive your enemy here within *Italy*. And what dif- "ference there is between the one and the other, you have had sufficient proof and experience "(if ever at any time before) even in this last war, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he K "that maketh doubt, but if we had with speed relieved the Saguntins besieged, who fled unto us "for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due "time assisted the Mamertins; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war "into *Spain*, which by our long driving off & lingring delaies we entertained in *Italy*, to our great "loss and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto staid "*Philip* in *Macedony*, (who without question had combined with *Annibal* by means of letters "and entercourse of Embassadors, for to have passed over into *Italy* before this time) only by "sending of *Lævinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make war in his own king- "dom. Defer we then to do that now, when *Annibal* is chased out of *Italy* and the Carthagini- "ans defeated; which then we did, when we had the same *Annibal* our enemy within *Italy*? Go L "we on still and suffer the King by winning the City of *Athens* (like as we permitted *Annibal* by "forcing of *Saguntum*) to try and see our slackness and cowardise: we shall have him I warrant "you arrived in *Italy*, not at five months end, as *Annibal* was after his departure from *Saguntum*; "but within five daies, after he is disanchored once & under sail from *Corinth*. Set case ye will not "compare *Philip* with *Annibal*, no, nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians: yet I am sure "ye will make them matches, and equall with King *Pyrrhus*: so far forth I say, as one man excelleth "another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. *Epirus* hath never been account- "ted, nor is at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdom of *Macedony*, and of least im- M "portance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entire seignory of *Peloponnesus* is under him, and Lord "he is of *Argos* it self, a City nobled as well by the death of *Pyrrhus*, as the ancient name and re- "nown that goeth of it. Compare now again the times of our state. How much flourished *Italy* in "those daies more than now? Our affairs were then much more sound and unfoiled: our Cap- "tains safe, our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the Carthaginian wars after- "ward consumed: yet as puissant and great as we were, *Pyrrhus* assaied us, he put us to trouble and "sorrow enough, yea, and came in train of victory to shake our free hold, even wel-near to the Ci- "ty of *Rome*. So as not only the Tarentins, and all that tract of *Italy*, which they call the greater "*Greece*, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very "language and those of their name: but the Lucans also and the Brutians, yea, and the Samnits re- "volted from us, and rebelled. And are ye of belief that these will be quiet and remain in loyalty "and obedience, if *Philip* once were passed over into *Italy*? yes mary will they, there is no questi- N "on: for they stood fast afterwards, and continued true in the Punick war. Nay, nay, never make "reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any one unto whom "they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pass over "into *Affrick* in truth at this day ye should have had *Annibal* and the Carthaginians your enemies "(still in *Italy*. Let *Macedony* therefore be the seat of war rather than *Italy*: let our enemies Cities "and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found well by good experience, that our "fortune is better, and our forces wore puissant abroad in forrain parts, than at home in our own "Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the Scrutiny and give your voyces; and those "things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do, grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye "have not only the Consul author of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as O "I offered sacrifice and prayed devourly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and "benefit of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies "and armadoes) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me "that all shall be well, and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they went presently to deliver up their voices, and gave* affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pass according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemn supplication for

The Oration of *P. Sulpitius* to the people of *Rome*.

*vti rogasti.

A for three daies proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chappels, and before every shrine & altar the gods were praied unto, that the war (which the people had allowed of) against K. *Philip* might be wel atchieved, and have an happy end. Moreover, the Consul *Sulpitius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice, Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced against King *Philip* should be intimated to himself in person: or thought it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all, where he kept a garrison and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Consul should please himself, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consul was permitted by the LL. of the Senat to chuse whom he would, so he were not a Senator, for to send as a messenger or pursevant of arms, to give the King defiance, and to publish war. After this it was debated in Council how the armies should B be disposed as well of Consuls as Prætors. The Consuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to discharge and casse the old armies. *Sulpitius*, who by a decree was to manage this new war of so great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which *Scipio* the Vice-Consul had brought out of *Affrick*, as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no case to urge any old souldier against his will. Also it was decreed, that the Consul should allow unto the Prætors *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Quintus Minutius Rufus* 5000 men apeece of the associats of the Latine nation: whom they should employ, the one in the Province of *Gallia*, and the other in the Brutians country to defend those parts and keep them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was himself likewise commanded to chuse out of that army which *P. Ælius* the Consul commanded, as many as had served fewest years, untill he made up the number of 5000 also of the allies & C Latines; which should be a garrison to keep in order and safety the Province of *Sicily*. *M. Valerius Falto*, Prætor the year before, and L. deputy of the Province of *Campan*, had his Commission signed anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prætor to pass over into *Sardinia*, with direction to chuse out of the army there 5000 of the allies and Latines, such as had served least time. And the Consuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be sent to any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in *Italy* tainted and infected with the fellowship and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever since, were swelled with anger and despite against the Romans. Thus the Common-weal for that year was to use the employment of six Roman Legions.

Amidst these preparations for war, there arrived Embassadors from K. *Ptolomeus*, giving intelli- D gence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Master, against *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would send into *Greece* neither a fleet of ships, nor an army of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authority and consent of the people of *Rome*. In case therefore the Romans were resolved, and sufficient withall of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to sit still and take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romans were rather disposed to rest and take their ease, he would himself be well content to send such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them easily against all the power of *Philip*. The Senat returned great thanks unto the King, with this answer, That the people of *Rome* were purposed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they stood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the King: as E being assured and making full account, that all the puissance and wealth of his kingdom was a sure prop and trusty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senat the Embassadors had given them for a reward * five thousand Asses apiece. Now whiles the Consuls were busie in taking musters, and providing all things meet for the war; the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings especially of all new wars, after they had performed their supplications aforesaid, and done their devotions at every altar and shrine: because nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done; ordained that the Col- unto whom the Province of *Macedony* fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honour of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich present beside. But *Licinius* the High Priest staid this F publike vow for the time that it went not forward, alledging that it was not lawful to make a vow of an uncertain sum of money not determined: & if such money might not serve for the use of war, it ought presently to be set by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other monies: and unless that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites. Albeit the thing it self and the person of the man that moved this scruple, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consul should propound the matter to the colledge of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain peece of money. The Bishops set down their opinion and judgment, that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consul pronounced the vow, according to the very same form of words (as the High Priest endited and spake before him) which aforetime they were wont to use, in making the quinquennal vows from five G years to five: save only thus much, that he vowed and promised to represent the plaies, and to present oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to such a sum of money, as the Senat should set down when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate sum of money ever assigned: but these were the first that were not limited within any certain stint and compass.

* 25 li. 13. sh. 6 d. sterl.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a sud- den, when they feared nothing less than such a thing, there arose a rumour of French troubles and

tumults: for the Insubrians, the Cenomans and *Boii*, having sollicited and raised up by way of insur-
H rection the *Sallii*, the Ilvations, and other states of *Liguria*, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts staid behind with the remnant of *Asdrubal* his army, were seized of *Placentia*: and after they had sacked the City, and for very dispiteous anger burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruins thereof chanced to save themselves, crossed the river *Po*, and advanced forward to the spoil and pillage of *Cremona*. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the misery and calamity befalln upon their neighbour-City, had some respit and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least wise be first besieged or ever they were forced, and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of *Rome*. *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that Province for the time; who having by order from the Senat discharged all the rest of I the army but only five thousand of allies and those Latines, abode with that power in the next country to that Province, about *Ariminum*. He then addressed his letters unto the Senat, signifying in how bad terms the province stood, namely, that of those two Colonies, which all the time of the Punick war had escaped those great storms and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies and put to the sacage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would his forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed Cremonians, unless he should willfully cast away five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies (for so many they were strong) to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in peeces: and by so great a loss and overthrow of his, to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruff, and puffed up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already. Upon the reading of these K letters, there went forth a decree from the LL. of the Senat, that *C. Aurelius* the Consul should send out precepts for the army to be ready at *Ariminum* that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Rendezvous* in *Hetruria*: and that either himself in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or else write to *L. Furius* the Prætor, that when the Roman Legions presented themselves unto him out of *Hetruria*, he should send in their stead his own five thousand allies for the guard of *Hetruria* in the mean time, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before *Cremona*, and to set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Embassadors into *Affrick*, who should go to *Carthage*, and afterwards to *Masanissa* in *Numidia*, To *Carthage*, for to intimate unto them, That *Amilcar*, a Citizen of theirs, left behind in *France*, (and I whether he were of the army of *Asdrubal* before or afterwards of *Mago*, they knew not for certain) waged war there against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of *Rome*: and therefore, if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of *Rome*. Over and besides, they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the runnagate rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to *Carthage*, and there went up and down, and converted openly; which persons were, after diligent search made, to be attached and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masanissa*, M and to declare what joy they took in his behalf namely for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the Realm of *Syphax*. Moreover, commanded they were to signifie unto him, that they had undertaken to war upon King *Philip* because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of *Rome*, even at what time as all *Italy* was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, for to send their armies and their armadoes into *Greece*, and so by dismembring and dividing their forces into sundry places, was the principall cause that they were so late ere they passed over into *Affrick*: requesting him for the maintenance of this war, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers peeN ces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich cassock or coat wrought in palm-tree work, with a royall Scepter of Ivory, also a robe embroydered before with purple, with an Ivory chair of state. Last of all, they are willed to make promise unto the King, that if he could think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his royall estate, the people of *Rome* would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compass the same to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senat, excusing the errour, and pretending the youth of the Prince, cleering him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians, promising for their King and Master in this wise, That like as *Masanissa* of a professed enemy O was become a sworn friend to the Romans, even so would *Vermina* do his best, and strain himself, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of *Rome*, neither *Masanissa*, nor any other should surpass and go beyond him; and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King of Ally, and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their answer, That not only *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate friend suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy to the people of *Rome*; but also himself had practised already in his young

A young years, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be invested by them with the terms of King, of Ally, and Friend: for the honour of that stile the people of *Rome* were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deserved singularly well of them. Mary there should be certain Roman Legats in *Affrick*, unto whom the Senate would give order to minister and tender unto *Vermina* certain conditions of peace, according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of *Rome*, To do what they thought good. And in case the King misliked ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must recourse again to the Senat, and demand the same. So there were Legats or Commissioners sent into *Affrick* with such a Commission aboveisaid name-
B ly, *C. Terentius Varro*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*, and each of them had a galleace directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minutius* Prætor in the Province of the *Brutii*, importing thus much, That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Locri* was by night stoln out of her treasury; but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them directly. The Senat took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly, That sacrilegious men fell still to Church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late and fresh example of *Pleminius* (so notorius as well for the hainous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to terrifie them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Consul was enjoyned to write unto the Prætor into the Brutians country, to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that due enquiry and
C examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed, after the same precedent and course that *M. Pomponius* the Prætor took three years before. And look what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be supplied and made good again. Also (if he thought meet) that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices, according as the Bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the Temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the Lucans country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Prævernum*, while the sky was bright and fair, the sun appeared red all day long. At *Lanuvium*, in the Temple of *Juno Sospita*, there was heard in the night-season a mighty great noise. Nay, and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were ma-
D ny monstrous and strange births seen. In the Sabins country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it, male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen years of age, a very Hermaphrodite of doubtfull sex between both. At *Frusino* there was a lamb yeaned with a swines head: and at *Sinuessa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the Lucans country there was foled upon the common ground a colt with five feet. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea; even as of late daies when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commanded to turn over and peruse
E the books of *Sibylla*, to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three severall quires, of nine virgins in every one; and an oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen *Juno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consul caused all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs. And as in our fathers daies *Livius* composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time *P. Licinius Tegula* framed and set down a form of song which they could sing. Thus when all things were expiate, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appeasing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at *Locri* also the sacrilege was found out by *Q. Minutius*, and the money missing was raised out of
F the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senat, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the stock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of puissant armies, and therefore flatly denied them, and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfie and make present payment. The Senat could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian war also, which was granted in loan for the Punick war,
G this would be the end of it, that (one war following thus in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a curtesie and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chest of the City. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and profit; and that was this: That forasmuch as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common grounds

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of *Rome* every way, should be granted unto them in fee H farm, and the Consuls to set down an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chief rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to testifie only that they were the Cities lands; to the end that if any man hereafter (when the City should be aforehand and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. These private Citizens (who were the foresaid creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of *Trientius* and *Tributus*, because it was set out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone mony. Then *P. Sulpitius* after he had pronounced his vows abovesaid in the Capitoll, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Lictors and Ushers afore him, arrived at *Brundusium*; and so with the old voluntary souldiers drawn out of I the army that was returned from *Affrick*, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ships chosen out of the fleet of *Cornelius* the Consul; he loosed from *Brundusium*, and the next day after landed in *Macedonia*: where attended him the Embassadors of the Athenians; who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their City. So *C. Clau. Cento* was incontinently sent to *Athens*, furnished with twenty long ships of war, and a strength of men: for the King himself in person besieged not *Athens*, but even then made hot assault upon the town *Abydus*, as having already given proof of his forces in sea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good success. But besides the ordinary stoutness and pride engrafted in him by nature, he was aloft now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made between him and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of *Ægypt*, unto K which they both aspired, upon the news they heard of the death of *Ptolomeus*. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themselves the war against King *Philip*, upon a small occasion and of no importance; who of all their ancient estate and glory, retain nothing else but great heart and hauty spirit. It fortuned that two young men of *Acarnania*, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entred among the other multitude into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the feastivall daies, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddess belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the custome of that solemnity and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soon bewrayed by their speech and language: who being convented before the Prelates of the said Temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and known, that upon an errour only & oversight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the L Church, yet were they put to death as fellons, and guilty of some hainous fact in the highest degree. The people of *Acarnania* complained unto King *Philip*, and informed him of this villanous part and hostile act by them committed; and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make war upon the Athenians. This army at first invaded the territories of *Athens*, and with fire and sword made waste & havock of all, and so with a rich booty of all sorts returned into *Acarnania*. These were the first quarrels on both sides, that stirred coals and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the generall decrees of both States. For when King *Attalus* and the Rhodians pursued after *Philip*, as he retired into *Macedony*, and were come as far as *Ægina*, then the said King passed over to *Pyreæum*, for to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his coming M the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich vestments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entred the City: the very gods themselves in a manner abandoned their shrines to give him entertainment. Immediatly was the people summoned to a generall assembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more sage advice, it was thought to stand better with the honour and Majesty of a Prince, that he should set down in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place either to blush himself in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abashed and ashamed of their grosse and unmeasurable flattery. But in his letters which he sent unto the assembly, and were there openly read and published, first he made a rehearsall of the benefits that this con- N federate City had received at his hands. Secondly, he discourse of the worthy exploits which he had performed against *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himself, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans to friend them, they should put themselves in arms and begin war; as who if they now forslowed the enterprise, and let slip the present opportunity, should hereafter seek in vain to find it, which once they had so retchlesly lost. Then had the Rhodian Embassadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleasure, in recovering and sending home unto *Athens* four long foists, which newly had been boorded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with generall accord they decreed to denounce and wage war against King *Philip*. But first they did King *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all measure and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech mo- O ved of adjoyning unto the ten ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name should be called *Attalis*. Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of *Rhodes* had granted free Burgeosie of their City to the Athenians, so they of *Athens* now endured the Rhodians with their liberties and franchises. This done, K. *Attalus* returned to his fleet in the rode of *Ægina*. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from *Ægina* sailed to * *Cea*. From whence along the * Iflands, they passed to the *Rhodes*: and

* *Zia.*
* Called *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, or *Archipelago.*

A and in their voyage confedered themselves with them all, excepting * *Andros*, * *Paros*, and * *Cythnus*, which were guarded by garrisons of the Macedonians. In *Ægina* King *Attalus* made his abode a certain time, and entred into no action, by occasion of messengers whom he had sent into *Ætolia*, and Embassadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the Ætolians, & perswade them to take arms, contenting themselves with the peace that in some sort they had concluded with *Philip*: so himself, and the Rhodians (who no doubt, if they had pressed and followed hard upon *Philip*, might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title, That they alone of themselves had delivered *Greece* from servitude) by suffering him once again to cross the seas as far as * *Hellespontus*, and to possess himself of the commodious and important towns of *Greece*, B and in the end let the Romans go away with the honour, both of managing and also of finishing the same. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and Kingly courage: who, although he was not able to match and make his part good so much as with *Attalus* and the Rhodians his enemies, yet was he nothing at all danted with the thundring threats of the Roman war; but sent *Philocles*, a Captain of his, with a power of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to invade and spoil the territory of the Athenians, commited his Armado to the charge of *Heraclides*, to set sail for * *Maronea*, and himself in person marched by land thither with another regiment of two thousand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of arms. *Maronea* he forced at the first assault. But as for *Ænus*, after he had with much labour and travell laid siege thereto a long time, in the end he was Master thereof, through the treason of *Ganymedes*, deputed C I. Governor there for King *Ptolomæus*. After this he surprised and won other Castles, as *Cypsela*, *Dorisson*, and *Serrheum*. From thence he advanced forward to *Chersonesus*, where he gained *Eleus* and *Alopeconnesus*, which willingly surrendred: *Callipolis* also and *Madytos*, with some other peeces of base account and reckoning. But the Abydens shut their gates against the King, and would not suffer so much as his Embassadors to set foot within their Cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and surely had not *Attalus* and the Rhodians foreslacked the time, it might have been saved and the siege raised. *Attalus* sent thither three hundred souldiers and no more to lie in garrison, and the Rhodians one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at *Tenedos*. And afterwards when as *Attalus* himself was thither come, at what time as the townsmen could hardly hold out any longer against the siege, he made D them a shew only near at hand of some help: other relief would he afford none to his allies either by land or sea. The Abydens at first planted their engins and artillery along the walls, and with shot from thence not only distressed their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but also annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ships: but afterwards, seeing part of their walls ruinate and laid open; and perceiving besides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great haste had raised within, forthwith they sent Embassadors to the King to treat and article about some conditions for delivering up the City. The townsmen capitulated and demanded, that the Rhodian Galley aforesaid, with all her mariners, and the garrison also of King *Attalus*, might be sent away in safety, and themselves permitted to depart the town every one with a sin- E gle suit only of apparel. But *Philip* made answer again, that they had no peace for them at all, unless they would quit the place, and simply commit themselves unto his mercy. This Embassage related unto them, set them in such an heat and choler, that partly for spight and indignation, and partly upon despair, they fell into the like rage that the Saguntins did in times past. All the dames and wives of the City they commanded to be shut up within the Temple of *Diana*: their young boies and maidens that were free-born, the sucking babes, together with their nurses, they caused to be bestowed within the common place of publike exercise: their gold and silver they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their costly apparell and furniture, to be cast into the two Galleys, the one of *Rhodes*, and the other of *Cyzicum*, which rid in the haven: and last of all, that their Priests should be brought forth with their beasts for sacri- F fice, and altars erected in the midst of the place. There first were certain men chosen of purpose: who so soon as they perceived the battaillon of their countrimen defeated and slain, fighting before the breaches of the wall, immediatly should run upon their wives and children, and kill them without mercy, cast away into the sea their gold and silver, and all the furniture aboveside that was in the Galleys, and set the edifices and houses afire, as well publike as private, in as many places as possibly they could. For the performing and execution of these premises, they were bound by an oath ministred unto them; the form whereof, with a cursed malediction thereto annexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawfull age to bear arms, sware likewise. That not one of them would depart out of the battell alive, but with victory. Thus remembring the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to G witness, they fought so resolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combate, the King terrified with their furious rage, first gave over the conflict. The chief and principall men of the City, whose charge was to play the more cruell and horrible part in this tragicall act, seeing there remained but few alive after this skirmish, and those grievously wounded and tired out of heart for weariness; the next morning early by day-break sent their Priests with their insules and veiles of peace, to render the City unto *Philip*. Before the town was fully yielded, *M. Æmylius* the youngest of those three Roman Embassadors which were sent to *Alexandria*, hearing of the

* *Andro.*
* *Paro.*
* *Cythno*, or *Cauro.*
* *Stretto de Caſtipoli, Brachiuos S Georgii. S. Georges arm.*
* *Maronea*, vel *Marolia.*

the ſtraight ſiege of the Abydens came by the conſent of the other two unto *Philip*. Where he laid open their grievances, and made complaint, That he had warred upon *Attalus* and the Rhodians, and namely even then beſieged and aſſailed *Abydus* moſt forcibly. And when the King anſwered that *Attalus* and the Rhodians without juſt cauſe on his part offered, began firſt to moleſt and trouble him. What! (quoth *Æmylius* again) were you moleſted and troubled firſt by the Abydens too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth ſo plainly, thinking this rejoynder of his more bold and malapert than to be offered to a King, "Your youthfull age, quoth he, & fair face, "and above all the Roman name maketh you hardy and audacious. But I would adviſe you all, "firſt to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in caſe ye once begin "with me, and put me to it: I do you underſtand, that I alſo am fully reſolved to make you feel "the ſmart, and know, that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no leſs renowned for feats of arms than the Romans. *Philip* having diſmiſſed the embaſſador, and ſeized upon all the gold and ſilver that lay on an heap together, loſt all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ranſom. For the multitude of common people fell into ſuch a fit of rage and madneſs, that all of a ſudden they imagined thoſe who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed: and ſo caſting one in anothers teeth their perjury, and charging the Prieſts eſpecially that they were forſworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death; they ran at once from all parts to the pitifull maſſacre of their own wives and children: and when they had ſo done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by ſword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick diſpatch and clean riddance of themſelves alſo. The King aſtonied to ſee them thus horn-mad, ſtaid the bloudy his own ſouldiers, ſaying, that he would allow the Abydens three daies to dye in. During which term of time, the conquered Abydens exerciſed more fearful cruelty upon their own perſons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and cholerick fury. Inſomuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but ſuch as either faſt tied with bonds, or otherwiſe by ſome forcible means were ſtaid from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garriſon at * *Abydus* returned into his own Realm. Now when this miſerable calamity of the Abydens had fleſhed *Philip* to enterpriſe war againſt the Romans, like as *Annibal* afore him took heart by the woſull deſtruction of *Saguntum* to do the ſemblable: behold, he was encountred with poſts that brought news, how the Conſul was in *Epirus* already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to *Apollonia*, and beſtowed his ſervitors at ſea in *Corcyra*, there to winter.

* *Abydos.*

In this while the Embaſſadors who were ſent into *Affrica* had their diſpatch and this anſwer from the Carthaginian. Firſt, as touching *Amilcar* the Generall of the army and forces in *France*, they could do no more but baniſh his perſon, and confiſcat his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitors and rebels which were run from the Romans, they had ſent home again unto them as many as they could ſearch out and come by: and to that purpoſe they would addreſs Embaſſadors themſelves unto the Romans, to ſatisfie the Senat in that behalf. And preſently they ſent to *Rome* two hundred thouſand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thouſand into *Macedony* to the army there. From thence the Roman Embaſſadors went forward to the King in *Numidia*. To King *Maſaniſſa* they delivered the preſents which the Romans ſent, and declared unto him their commiſſion; at whoſe hands they received a thouſand Numidian horſe, whereas he offered them two thouſand: himſelf took order for their embarking, and ſo diſpatched them into *Macedony*, with proviſion of two hundred thouſand * meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embaſſage they had to *Vermina*, who met the Embaſſadors as far as the utmoſt marches of his Realm, and to their diſpoſition and diſcretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themſelves: ſaying withall, that he held any peace whatſoever, that he ſhould have with the people of *Rome* for good and juſt. So there were preſented unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof he was enjoyned to ſend his Embaſſadors to *Rome*.

* *Modii.*

Much about the very ſame time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Vice-Prætor returned out of *Spain*: who having declared in the Senat his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had atchieved in *Spain*; and in conſideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawfull for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senat judged that his noble acts deſerved no leſs than he ſued for: but they had no ſuch precedent from their anceſtors, that he ſhould be allowed to triumph, who had warred, neither as Dictator, nor Conſul, nor Prætor: and as for *Lentulus*, in quality of Vice-Prætor only, and not of Conſul or Prætor he took upon him the charge of the Province of *Spain*. Howbeit, in the end they came down to this point, that he ſhould ride into the City on horſeback as Ovant. But *T. Sempronius Longus* a Tribune of the Com. interpoſed his negative, alledging that they had as little example to ſhew for that; and no practiſe or cuſtome at all of their ancient predeceſſors. But in fine the Tribune gave place to the generall accord of the LL. and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order ſet down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entred *Rome* in that ſolemnity and pomp before-named. He preſented in ſhew of the pillage that he had got, * 44000 pound weight of ſilver, * 2450 pound weight of gold. To his ſouldiers he diſtributed out of the ſpoil * 120 Aſſes apeece.

* 137500 li. ſterl. after 5. ſh. the ounce.
* 88:00 li. ſterl. at 3 li. an ounce.
* 78 l. 6 d. Engliſh.

Now was the army of the Conſul tranſlated already from *Aretium* to *Ariminum*, and five thouſand Latine allies were paſſed out of *France* into *Etruria*. Therefore *L. Furius* departed from *Ariminum*

Ariminum, made haſte by taking great journeyes to come againſt the Gauls, who then laid ſiege to *Cremona*, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, if immediatly upon his firſt coming he might have aſſailed their Camp: for they wandred to and fro in ſcattering wiſe up and down the country a forraging, and had left no ſufficient guard for the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his ſouldiers were weary and tired: became the companies marched apace thither in exceeding great haſte. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp, and the morrow after ranged themſelves in battell array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to ſet themſelves in order, the enemies ran ſo ſuddenly, and made ſuch haſte to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the rereward; *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Cecilius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Prætor kept with him two Lieutenants, *Cn. Lectorius*, and *P. Titinius*, by whoſe means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppoſe himſelf againſt al ſudden attempts whatſoever of the enemies. At the firſt, the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they ſhould be able to tread down and trample under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But ſeeing that enterpriſe ſped not well, they endeavoured to environ the corners and ſides, and to compaſs the enemies round about: which they thought they might ſoon do, being ſo many as they were in compariſon of ſo few: which when the Prætor perceived, to the end that he alſo might ſpread out his battellions at large, he diſplaied the two legions in the rereward, ſo as he compaſſed on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard: and therewith vowed two Chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be ſo fortunate as to vanquiſh his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one ſide he ſhould with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other ſide with the horſe belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not ſuffer them in any caſe to encloſe the battell about. Herewithall himſelf alſo, eſpying the midle battaillon of the Gauls to be but thin, by reaſon they were ſtretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his ſouldiers to keep cloſe together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the horſemen diſcomfited, and they in the midſt repulſed back & chaſed by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed, they ſhewed their backs, and fled as faſt as they could to the camp. The horſe purſued them in the rout and chaſe; and anon the legionary footmen made after alſo, and gave an aſſault upon their Camp. There eſcaped from thence not all out ſix thouſand: ſlain there were and taken priſoners above 35000, with ſeventy banners and enſigns, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amilcar* the Generall of the Carthaginians loſt his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name. The Placentine captives, to the number of two thouſand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory; and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to *Rome*, received there with great joy: and ordained it was, that a ſolemn proceſſion ſhould be held for the ſpace of three daies. Of Romans and allies one with another, there died in this battell two thouſand: moſt of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict moſt of all diſcharged their fury.

Albeit the Prætor had brought the war to a good paſs, and in manner finiſhed it, yet the Conſul alſo *C. Aurelius*, having accompliſhed his neceſſary affairs at *Rome*, made no ſtay but took his journey into *France*, and received the victorious army of of the Prætor. The other Conſul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about *Apollonia*. The Roman gallies which from the Armado that lay in dock at * *Corcyra*, were ſent as is afore-ſaid to *Athens* with *C. Claudius*, were no ſooner arrived at *Pyræum*, but they mightily comforted the allies, whoſe hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more inrodes now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* ſide by the way of *Megara* along into their territories: and the men of war and Pyrats ſhips which from *Chalcis* had made not only the ſeas dangerous to the Athenians, but alſo the mariſime & ſea coaſts, durſt not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, no, nor venture into the open main ſea from out of the ſtraights of *Euripus*. Over and beſides, there came in to them three Rhodian gallies with four banks of oars: there were alſo three open ſhips of *Athens* well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appaied, and thought he had got enough for the preſent, in caſe the City and Territory of *Athens* might be ſufficiently guarded by this fleet. But ſee, there preſented unto him an occurrent beſides of far greater importance and conſequence. Certain baniſhed perſons of *Chalcis*, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of thoſe that ſided with King *Philip*, advertiſed him, that the City of *Chalcis* might be eaſily ſurpriſed without any conflict or reſiſtance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down, becauſe there were no enemies near at hand to fear; but alſo the townſmen preſuming upon the garriſon of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the aſſurance of their words, he ſet forward: and although he was arrived at *Sunium* with ſo good ſpeed, that he might with eaſe have ſailed to the entrance of the ſtreights of *Eubœa*, yet for fear of being

* *Corphu.*

being discovered (when he was once got past the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay still untill
night: and at the shutting in of the evening he weighed anchor and lanched forth, and having a
calm sea, he arrived before *Chalcis* a little before the break of day, and presented his forces against
those parts of the City that were least peopled: and with the help of some few souldiers he scaled and got the Tower that stood next, with the wall about it, whiles in some places the warders were found asleep; and in others not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward unto those parts that were more inhabited, and stood thicker with houses; where, after they had killed the guard and broke open a gate, they received into the town all the rest of their souldiers. Whereupon, there was running now on every hand into all parts of the City, and much hurry and confusion; which was the greater, because the enemies had set fire on the houses about the market place. The Kings garners also were of a light fire, together with the arsenall and armory, where there
was exceeding store of provision, of engins, of artillery and other ordnance and instruments for
war. After this they fell to execution and to massacre in every place, as well those that fled as those
that made head; so as they missed not one that was of age meet to bear arms, but either he was
killed or put to flight. *Sopater* likewise the Acarnanian Captain of the garrison was there slain. All
the pillage was first brought and piled up together in the common place of the City, and afterwards embarked. The common Goal besides was broke open by the Rhodians, and the prisoners
and captives let out, whom *Philip* had there lodged as in a place of surest guard and custody.
Then they overthrew the Images and statues of the King, and brake their necks: which done, they
sounded the retreat, went a shipboord, and returned to *Pyreæum*, from whence they came. But if
the number of Roman souldiers had been such, that they might have kept *Chalcis* still with a gar-
rison, without quitting and abandoning the defence of *Athens*, a great matter had been got in the
very beginning of the war: to wit, the City of *Chalcis* and the passage of *Euripus*, had been taken
from the King. For as the narrow pass of *Thermopyle* stoppeth the waies into *Greece* by land, so the
streights of *Euripus* maketh all sure by sea. *Philip* at that time lay in the City *Demetrias*; where,
after he heard the news of the calamity befain upon a confederate City, albeit now it was too
late to help when all was lost; yet because he would be revenged (which is a thing that cometh
near to the nature of aid and succour) he went forth immediatly with five thousand footmen
lightly appointed and nimble, and three thousand horsemen, with all the speed and haste he could
to reach near unto *Chalcis*; making full reckoning that the Romans might be surprised on a sud-
den: but being disappointed of this hope, and thither come where he could see nothing else but a
pitious spectacle of a friend-City half ruinate and still smoaking and so few people left alive, that
they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as hastily as he came; and having passed over *Euripus* at a bridge, he lead streight to *Athens* by the way of *Bœotia*, with a deep perswasion
and hope, that a like enterprise unto the Romans should have the like issue. And verily he had not
missed of the semblable effect, correspondent to his designs, but that a certain watchman (one of
those whom the Greeks call *Hemerodromos*, that is, posts and carriers that in one daies space will
run and rid a mighty deal of ground) descried from a watch-tower the Kings troops marching:
whereupon he ran out afore, and came to *Athens* ere midnight. There were they all asleep too,
and as retchless as they of *Chalcis* were a few daies past, which was the loss of their town. The
Prætor of the Athenians, and *Dioxippus* the Captain of a regiment of hired strangers and aid-
souldiers, awoke at this so fearfull and sudden tidings and got up, assembled the souldiers into
the market-stead, and commanded to sound alarm from the highest place of the City, that all men
might take knowledge that the enemies were near at hand. By which means they ran every man
from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within few hours after, and somewhat before day-
light, he approached the City: and seeing many lights every where, hearing also a noise of people running to and fro (as in time of such a tumult) he staid his march, and commanded his souldiers to sit them down and rest themselves, intending to proceed by overt and open forces, since
covert and crafty courses sped no better: and so at length he came before *Dipylos*. This *Dipylos* is a gate, standing in the very front of the City, greater and wider a great deal than the rest.
Both within and without that gate are large and broad streets, so that both the inhabitants
within may marshall an army, and lead in battell array from the common place directly to the
gate, and also the enemies without have room at will to conduct a power as well of horse as foot,
by means of a spacious causey or high-way, which reacheth out almost a mile in length from
the foresaid gate, and leadeth to the place of exercise or school called *Academia*. At this quarter
of the City the Athenians, together with the garrison of *Attalus*, and the regiment of *Dioxippus*,
issued forth, and entred the causey abovenamed, having first within the gate set their men in or-
der of battell. Which when *Philip* saw, he made full account, That he had his enemies as he would
himself to do his pleasure with them, and that now he should have his fill of a massacre and
slaughter that he had wished for so long (for there was not a State or City in all *Greece* that he
maliced more than this of *Athens*.) And therefore he exhorted and encouraged his souldiers, that
they should have their eye upon him ever as they fought, and know well this, that where the King
was, there should the banners and cornets be displaied, there should the strength and force of the
battell be: and so he set spurs to his horse, and ran with full carreer to charge the enemies. Thus
was he not only carried away with heat of choler, but ravished also with a desire of glory, es-
teeming it a goodly thing, and a matter tending to his great honour, for to be seen fighting in
the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battlements of the walls
(as

(as it were) to behold a solemn spectacle. Thus being advanced a good way before the main battail, accompanied with some few men of arms, he rode among the mids of the enemies, where he bare himself so valiantly, that as he mightily heartned his own men, so he affrighted no less his enemies. Many a one he wounded with his own hand, reaching at them that were neer; levelling at those that were farther off, and driving them afore him like sheep and followed hard upon them in person to the very gate; where he made soul work among them, thronged and crouded as they were together in the streight of the passage, for hast they made to escape, and committed a grievous slaughter. And albeit this was but an unwise and rash adventure of his, yet he retired himself in safety, without farther danger of his person, by reason that they who were placed in the turrets of the gate, forbare to shoot and lance their darts, because they would not hurt their own side, intermingled among the enemies. But after this, when the Athenians kept their souldiers within the walls, *Philip* sounded the retreat and pitched his tents at *Cynosarges*, where there was a Temple of *Hercules*, and a school of learning, and a grove standing about it. As for *Cynosarges*, and the school *Lyceum*, and whatsoever was either religious, or pleasant and delectable about the City, was burned. And not only the edifices, but the sepulchres also and monuments of the dead were defaced and cast down: in which furious heat of anger, nothing was spared, were it sacred or prophane, without regard of God and man. The next morrow, when the gates were first kept shut, and afterwards set open again upon a suddain, because the garrison of *Attalus* entred into the City from *Ægina* and the Roman from *Pyreæum* side; *Philip* dislodged and removed back from the City almost three miles. From whence he went to *Eleusine*, hoping to surprise the Temple at unawares, together with the Town and Castle, which both environeth the Temple, and also commandeth the same. But when he perceived that the *corps de guard* was not neglected, and that a fleet besides was coming from *Pyreæum* to succour them, he gave over this design and led his army to *Megara*, and so streight forward immediately to *Corinth*; and having inteliigence, that the Achæi held a general Diet and counsel at *Argos*, thither he came unlooked for of the Achæans, and put himself amongst them at the very session and assembly. Consultation there was, about waging war with *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians: Who seeing, that the Seignory of *Achaia* was taken from *Philopœmenes* and conferred upon *Cycliadas*, a Captain not to be named and compared with him, and perceiving also that the aids, which the Achæans had, were fallen from them and gone, took their vantage, renued the old quarrel, and made fresh war upon them, wasting the villages and territories of the borderers, yea, and threatning the good Towns and Cities also. Now whiles they sat devising and consorring together what number of souldiers should be levied and enrolled out of every several state and City, for to withstand this common enemy, *Philip* franckly promised to ease them all of that care as touching *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians, and nor only to impeach them for spoiling the lands of their Allies, but also to lead his army out of hand into the very territory of *Laconica* and *Sparta*, and thither to turn the whole terror of this war. This kind speech and friendly offer of his, being with a general applause of them all accepted. "Mary, this you must (quoth he) take withal, that good reason it is, whiles "I my self am content to defend and maintain your country by my forces, mine own territories "in the mean time be not disfurnished of their garrisons and left naked: and therefore, if ye think "good, provide me as many souldiers as may suffice for the guard of *Oreum*, *Chalcis* and *Corinth*, "that thus making all sure behind me, I may be secured from danger that way, and with more re-
"solution prosecute the war against *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians. The Achæans smelled him "quickly & knew full well, to what end this gracious promise of his and frank offer of aid against the Lacedemonians tended. His only drift was to draw forth of *Peloponnesus* the youth and flour of the Achæans as a pledge and sure hostage for to engage the whole nation so far as they should be interessed in the war that he had with the Romans. *Cycliadas* the Prætor of the Achæans thinking it bootless, and no good policy, to discover so much and to enforce that point against him, inferred only this speech and said, That it was not lawful by the customes and ordinances of the Achæans, to propose other matters to parle of, than those for which they were assembled together: and so after the order enacted for levying and waging an army against *Nabis*, he dissolved and brake up the assembly, which he now had held right stoutly and with the liberty of the place, who otherwise before that time was taken ever for no better than one of the Kings flatterers and favorits. Thus *Philip* put besides the great hopes that he had conceived, levied some small number of voluntary souldiers, and returned to *Corinth* and the land of *Attica*.

During the time that *Philip* was in *Achæa*, *Pisiades* a Captain under the King, departed out of *Eubœa* with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, for to wast and spoil the confines of the Athenians; and overagainst *Eleusina* passed over the forrest and hill *Cytheron*, from whence having sent out the one half of his forces every way to prey upon the plain country, he sat himself down close with the other half in a convenient place for an ambush, to the end, that if per-
adventure they should make out from the Fort at *Eleusine*, and set upon his souldiers as they drave booties, he might suddainly arise and charge upon the enemies at unawares, spred and scattered all abroad. But this ambushment was discovered. And therefore after he had called the souldiers back who were run all abroad a foraging, he put them in order well armed & appointed to besiege and assault the Fort of *Eleusine*, against which he led all his forces: but after much hurt and many a wound received from them, he retired, and joyned with *Philip* as he returned out of *Achaia*. The King also himself in person, assaied to force and batter the said hold: but the Roman

ships coming from *Pyreæum*, and a fresh garrison received into the place, caused him perforce to H give over the enterprise. After this the King divided his power, and sent one part thereof against *Athens*, under the conduct of *Philocles*, and himself with the other marched to *Pyreæum*: that whiles *Philocles* kept the Athenians within the City, by approaching their walls, and threatning to besiege and assault it, he might himself with facility win and gain *Pyreæum*, wherein there was left but a small and slight guard. But he found as hot a peece of service about the assailing of *Pyreæum*, as before at *Eleusine*, by reason of the same souldiers in manner that defended as well the one as the other. So on a suddain he departed from *Pyreæum* & marched directly toward *Athens*. From whence he was repulsed and chased by a suddain sally both of horse and foot, made from the streights of the wall half ruinac; which wall stretching out, as it were, two arms, joyneth the port *Pyreæum* to *Athens*. So he left battering and assaulting the City, and parting again his army with I *Philocles*, he went out to forrage and spoil the country: and as in his former saccage he exercised himself in demolishing the tombs all about the City, so because he would leave nothing entire and safe, he commanded the chappels of the Gods, which were consecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled down, rased, and burnt.

The countrey of *Attica* was marvailously beautified and embelished (as it were) with goodly peeces of work in that kind, (by reason as well of the store they had of native marble, as also of their industrious and excellent workmen) which ministred matter and occasion unto him of this outrage and madness. For not contented and satisfied with the ruin of the Temples, and casting down of images, he commanded that the very stones should be broken and barter'd in peeces, that left being whole and sound they might serve to make up and stop the breaches of the ruins. K And after that his fell mood and anger was not so much satisfied and satiate, as it wanted matter to work upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies countrey into *Bœotia*, and performed no other deed in *Greece* worthy of remembrance.

* Sissopoli, Pizeto, Pierge, Nigro.
* Duazzo.
* Vrco, Nigro.

Sulpitius the Consul at that time lay in camp between * *Apollonia* and * *Dyrrachium*, neer the river *Apsus*: and having caused *T. Apustius* the Lieutenant to come thither, he sent him with part of his forces to wast the borders of his enemies. *Apustius* after he had forraged the frontiers of *Macedony*, and forced at the first assault certain holds, as *Corrhagum*, *Gerrhenium*, and *Orgessum*, came with his army before *Antipatria*, a City seated in the narrow streights of a certain passage. And first he called forth the principal and chief citizens to a parly, and assaied to perswade and induce them for to commit themselves under the protection and safeguard of the Romans: but L afterwards, seeing they insisted upon their greatnes, the strong walls and situation of the Town, and therefore made no reckning of his motives, but rejected them, he assailed it by force of arms, and wan it in the end. All that were above fourteen years of age he put to the sword; the whole pillage he dealt amongst the souldiers; the walls he rased, and set fire on the Town. The fear of like misery was the cause that *Codrio*, a Town of good strength and well fortified, was yeelded to the Romans without assault, or any sword drawn. There he left a garrison: and after that, he forced *Ilium*, a Town better known for the name that it carieth of the other famous *Ilium* in *Asia*, than for any thing else. As the Lieutenant returned with a great booty to the Consul, one *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, charged upon the tail of the arreergard, disordred the hindmost, and impeached their passage over the river: but the Lieutenant, at their cry and suddain affright rode in M all hast back, caused them to turn again and make head, set them in battail ray, and bestowed all their bag and baggage in the mids upon a heap. The Kings souldiers not able to abide the violence of the Romans, were many of them slain, and more taken prisoners. So the Lieutenant having retired his army in safety, was immediatly sent back unto the Consul to the Armado.

The war being thus begun, and the exploit of this first expedition happily performed, the Princes, Potentates, and LL. that bordered upon the Macedonians, repaired into the Roman camp, to wit, *Pleuratus* the son of *Scerdiletus*, *Aminander* King of the Athamans: and from *Dardania*, *Bato* the son of *Longarus*. This *Longarus* had waged war aforetime in his own name and quarel, with *Demetrius* the father of this *Philip*. These States offring and promising their aids unto the Consul, had this answer from him, That for the Dardanians and *Pleuratus*, he would use them, N when he entred with an host into *Macedony*. As for *Aminander*, he gave him in charge the while to sollicit the Ætolians to war. The Embassadors of *Attalus* (for they also were come at the same time) he dispatched with this order, That their King should attend the coming of the Roman fleet at *Ægina*, where he wintered; with which and his own jointly together, he should assail *Philip* at sea, like as he had done beforetime. Embassadors also were addressed to the Rhodians, that they likewise should have their hand and be seen in this war. *Philip* for his part foreflowed not to make preparation (for now by this time was he come into *Macedony*) and sent with part of his forces for to keep the streights of the passage of *Pelagonia*, his son *Perseus*, a very child of young years, having chosen certain of his trusty friends, to direct and govern his tender age. As

* Sciatho.
* Lemno.

for * *Sciathus* and * *Peparethus*, two Towns of no small importance he destroied, for fear the enemies fleet should seize upon them, and with their pillage content and pay themselves. He sent likewise Embassadors to the Ætolians (a nation inconstant and unquiet by nature) that they should not upon the arrival of the Romans, change their alleageance. Now the Diet or general councel of all the states of *Ætolia*, which they call *Panætolium*, was to be held at a certain day appointed. And therefore to prevent and meet with all dangers, both the Kings Embassadors made hast to be present thereat: and also *L. Furius Purpurio* presented himself there, as sent Embassador from the Consul.

A Consul. Athenian Embassadors likewise were at this assembly. And first the Macedonians (with whom a league was but lately concluded, and therefore freshest in remembrance) had audience, who said, "They had no new matter to speak of, seeing there was no new occurrent and "business fallen out: only this, that upon what motives and considerations they were entred into "an accord and peace with King *Philip*, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romans "never did them good) for the very same they should maintain it still, being once concluded & "confirmed. Or, love ye rather (quoth one above the rest of the Embassadors) to imitate the "Romans licentiousnes or their levity, I know not whether? who, as they gave order and com- "mandment, that your Embassadors being at *Rome*, should receive their dispatch and answer in "these terms: Come ye now to us indeed my masters of *Ætolia*, when without our consent and B "warrant ye have made peace with *Philip*? so likewise at this present are ready to require that ye "should band with them, and war upon *Philip*. They pretended aforetime that they took arms a- "gainst him, by occasion of you, in your quarel and defence; & now they forbid you to be in peace "with *Philip*. At first, they entred into *Sicily* for to aid and succour *Messana*. A second time they "went thither to set free and deliver *Syracusa* out of the oppression of the Carthaginians. And "now at this time they hold in possession both *Messana* and *Syracusa*: and all *Sicily* entire they "have made it tributary, yea, and reduced it into the form of a Province, to be ruled under their "sword, and the jurisdiction of their Deputies and Magistrates. In good faith, I assure you, that as "ye according to your laws & customes hold your Diets & Councels at *Naupactum*, by your own "Magistrats elected and created among your selves, wherein ye have liberty to make choice both C "of friends and enemies whom ye will; and to entertain either peace or war at your pleasure: so, "writs are sent out to the States of *Sicily* for their knights and burgesses, to assemble in Parlia- "ment at *Syracuse*, at *Messana*, or *Lilybæum*. And the Roman Pretor it is and no other that sum- "moneth them thither, as also to their Assises and Sessions: at his commandment & not otherwise "they are cited to general Councels. Him they see sitting on high in his tribunal seat, guarded "with Lictors, attended upon with Ushers, there to hear and determine causes, and from aloft to "pronounce hard sentences and proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and sides, his axes are "ready to chop their heads from their shoulders: & from year to year new Lords still they choose "and send among them. And this dealing, none of them either can or ought to marvail at: for "why? they see Cities of *Italy*, by name *Rhegium*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, (to speak nothing of their D "neighbour Towns, by whose fall they arose, by whose ruins *Rome* grew mighty) subject likewise "to the same rule and government. As for *Capua*, the very sepulcher and tomb of the Campanian "tion (now that the natural people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled "persons) remaineth at this day as a monster and wonder in nature, resembling a headless and "limbless dismembred trunk of a body: a Town (I say) without Senat, without Commonalty, with- "out Magistrats: where more cruelty was shewed, in leaving it to it self thus abandoned, and in "this manner to be inhabited, than if it had been clean rased and laid even with the ground. Meer "folly it is and without all sense and reason, to believe or hope, that if these strangers and aliens "born (who differ more from us in language, in customes and laws, than they are distant and dis- "joyned by space between of land and sea) be once seized and possessed of these places, that any E "thing will continue long entire in the present state. The Kingdom of *Philip* (ye will say) is a block "in your way, and seemeth to prejudice your freedom & liberties: yet he being made your heavy "friend, and that through your own fault and desert, required no other thing at your hands for a- "mends, but peace: and even now desireth nought else but your alleageance; and the faithful ob- "servance of the same. Acquaint forein legions once with this your countrey; you take the yoke "of servitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romans once for your Lords: too late it will "be then and in vain for you, to seek *Philip* again, and wish him your ally. Small matters and mo- "mentany occasions may well cause the Ætolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians, (men of one "language) to fall out, and as slender motives, will soon make them friends again: a little thing "fetteth them at a jar, and as little bringeth them in tune. But all Grecians both are and ever will F "be at war with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetual and immutable; and "not by occasions which alter every day. But where I began my speech, there will I leave & make "an end. In this very place you the same men, agreed three years past to have peace with *Philip*: "and the self-same Romans as they misliked then & disavowed that peace, so now they wil needs "disquiet and trouble it after it is once passed and accorded. And since the case still is all one, and "fortune hath made no alteration, I see no reason why ye should vary and change your minds.

The Oration of the Macedonian Embassadors.

After the Macedonians, the Athenians entred in place, for the Romans were well contented therewith, and would needs have it so: "These Athenians having suffred many wrongs and in- "dignities at the Kings hands, had juster cause of complaint, and more reason to inveigh and ag- "gravate matter against his cruelty and outragious dealings. First, they bewailed the pitious G "spoil & miserable saccage of their territories: neither complained they so much and found them- "selves grieved, in that they had sustained harms and suffred hostility from an enemy, (for there be "certain laws and rights belonging unto war, by vertue whereof, to give and take, to suffer harm "and to do harm interchangeably, is an ordinary matter and allowable: As for example, the burn- "ing of standing corn in the field, rasing and pulling down of houses, harrying and driving of boo- "ties both of men and cattail, rather pitiful calamities, than shameful indignities to endure.) "But this is the point say they, and hereof we complain, That he who termed the Romans,

The Oration of the Athenian Embassadors.

"strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man: H
"so as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernal
"Gods and Spirits beneath: and in the second with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All
"the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their
"graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lye covered with mould. Temples
"we had and Chappels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds,
"hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one City,
"and enrolled into wards and parishes, they forsook not nor abandoned altogether. Round a-
"bout these sacred Churches hath *Philippe* set fire, and consumed all: the holy images of the Gods,
"lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembred, among the pillars and posts
"of the Temples thrown along on the ground. And look what foul work he hath made in the I
"country of *Attica*, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havock if he might
"be let alone, would he make in *Ætolia* and in all *Greece* throughout. For had not the Romans
"come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and piteously disfigured. For
"with like mischievous intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing
"the goddess *Minerva*, the patroness and protectress of our Town and Castle: the same wicked
"mind he caried against the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Jupiter*
"and *Minerva* in *Pyræum*. But being repulsed by force and arms not only from our Temples,
"but also from the walls of our City he wreaked his anger and raged against those Chappels and
"religious houses, which had nothing for their defence, but only the reverent regard of the Gods,
"whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the Ætolians, to have com- K
"passion of the Athenians, and to enterprise the war, under the conduct first of the immortal
"Gods, and then of the Romans, who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then
"the Roman Embassadour spake in this wise. "The Macedonians first, and after them the Athe-
The Oration of the Roman Embassadors. "nians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither
"was to complain of the injuries done by *Philip* to so many Cities of our allies and associats: the
"Macedonians by accusing the Romans first, have put me so hardly to my shifts, that I need ra-
"ther to employ my wits in making a defence of our selves than in framing an accusation against
"others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious, abhominable, and in-
"human parts of King *Philip* committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have
"they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have said, L
"you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Abydus*, *Ænus*, *Maronea*, *Thasos*,
"*Paros*, *Samos*, *Larissa* and *Messene*: those also here of *Achaia*, complain of the same, yea, and
"of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt. As
"for such things as he hath laid to our charge, if they deserve not honor and glory, I confess they
"cannot be answered and defended. Reproched us he hath with *Rhegium*, with *Capua*, and *Sy-*
"*racuse*. I cannot deny, but during the war of *Pyrrhus* we sent a legion to *Rhegium*, there to lie
"in garrison at the instant prayer of the Rhegins themselves, who requested us to send them.
"This legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and possessed it
"to their own use, for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. A vowed we (I pray
"you) that act of theirs? Nay, pursued we not by arms that lewd légion and ungratious? and M
"when we had them in our power and at our devotion forced not we them to make amends and
"satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their back and sides, and with the loss of their heads
"in the end? And when we had so done, restored we not unto the *Rhegins* their City, their
"Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for
"the Syracusians, when they were oppressed by strange and forrain tyrants, we judging it to be a
"great indignity, relieved and succoured them: and after we had been (for three years space al-
"most) wearied and toiled out with continual siege and uncessant assault both by land and sea of
"their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified; we seeing that the Syracusians themselves
"made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them
"their City again both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither deny we that *Sicily* is our N
"Province, and that the Cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians, & joyntly with
"them accorded to wage war against us, are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pen-
"sions nay, we are so far from not taking this upon us, that contrary-wise we would, that both
"you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
"tune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the Capuans, should we repent that we have
"chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after
"we had maintained war against the Samnits in their quarrel and defence, for the space well near
"of seventy years, to no small dispence of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow, after we had
"linked them unto us, first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by
"freedom and burgesie of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first of all other O
"nations of *Italy* that villanously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto *Annibal*: and
"then for very spight and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent *Annibal* to assail the City
"of *Rome*. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City
"standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That
"they had been more hardly entreated and dealt withal than they deserved? There were more of
"them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made
"them-

A "themselves away and so perished, than were by us executed and put to death. As for the rest, we
"took from them indeed their Town, we deprived them of their possessions and livings, yet so, as
"we left them both lands to occupy, and place to dwell in: the guiltless Town it self we suffered
"to stand still safe and sound, that whosoever at this day seeth it, can not find the least token or
"shew of a City either forced or won. But what speak I of *Capua*? seeing we have afforded unto
"*Carthage* (a City conquered and subdued) both peace and also liberty? Insomuch as we have
"cause rather to be afraid, lest by remissenes and over-willingnes to pardon those whom we have
"vanquished, we give occasion to many more to be so bold as to trie the hazard and fortune of
"war against us. And thus I had to say in defence of our selves. Now somewhat I have to speak
"against King *Philip*; whose horrible murders committed upon those of his own house, even his
B "neerest kinsfolk and friends; whose loose life and unbridled lust (more unkind and inhumane in
"manner than his cruelty) ye know better that are neerer unto *Macedony*. As for you, my ma-
"sters of *Ætolia*, we have for your sakes begun war with *Philip*, and you again without us have
"concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that whiles we were occupied in the
"Punick war, ye were forced and compelled for fear to take such conditions of peace at his hands,
"who was the stronger: we likewise (pressed with greater affairs and troubles) forbare to prose-
"cute and follow that war, which by you first was laid down & given over. At this present, seeing
"by the grace and goodness of the Gods the Punick war is come to an end, both we have em-
"ployed and bent all our forces against *Macedony*, and ye also have good occasion and opportuni-
"ty offered to reenter into amity and alliance with us, unless ye had rather perish with *Philip*,
C "than vanquish with the Romans.

When the Roman Embassador had ended this Oration, the Ætolians generally were enclined and affected to the Romans; but *Damocritus* their Pretor (corrupted as the speech went with a sum of money received from King *Philip*, and made for him) gave assent neither to the one party nor the other, but said, "That in counsels of great weight and importance, there was nothing "more hurtful and prejudicial, than hast: for repentance (qd. he) follow it never so soon, when a "thing is once done, yet it cometh too late and booteth not: considering, that rash counsels can "not be revoked, hasty and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor matters once past be "reduced again to their former state. As for the proper time of that resolution now in hand, "whereof my self am of advice, that the due maturity & full ripeness should be expected, it might D "now at this present be set down and concluded upon. For seeing that by our laws & ordinances "provided it is that we may not treat of any affairs concerning peace or war, but in the general "councels called *Panætolaik* or *Pylaik*: therefore for the present I would have you to ordain and "decree, that your Pretor without fraud or covin might call and hold a Diet or court of Parlia-
"ment, whensoever he is minded to treat of war or peace: and whatsoever then and there shall be
"proposed and determined, it may stand in as good force, strength, & vertue, as if it had passed in
"a full * *Panætolaik* or * *Pylaik* councel. Thus the Embassadors being dismissed and sent away in
"suspence, and nothing decided and concluded, he said, That he had performed a singular peece of
"service to his nation and countrey. For now they would side and take part with those, whose
"fortune it were to speed better in the field. Thus went matters in the assembly of the Ætolians.
E Now *Philip* with all diligence prepared for war both by sea and land. His sea forces he assem-
bled together unto *Demetrias*, a port in *Thessaly*, making account, that *Attalus* and the Roman fleet
would in the beginning of the next spring depart from *Ægina*. Over his navy and all the sea coasts
he appointed *Heraclides* Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Himself levied and gathered his
land-forces, supposing verily that he had debarred and bereft the Romans of two great means of
aid, to wit, the Ætolians of the one side, and the Dardanians of the other: in that the narrow
streights and passage of *Pelagonia*, was stopped and made sure against them by his son *Perseus*. The
Consul on the other side made not preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already,
conducting his army through the confines of the Dassaretians, and transporting with him out of
his wintering harbor all the provision of grain, whereof the country yeelded him sufficient to the
F maintenance of his souldiers. The great Towns and Villages were surrended unto him, partly for
love and partly for fear: some were forced by assault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and
were found desolat, by reason that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by,
to save themselves: and at *Lingum* near the river *Bevus* he encamped: from whence he sent to pur-
vey for corn out of the garners and barns of the Dassaretians. *Philip* saw well enough that the
country all about was in an hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being uncertain to
what place the Consul intended to march, he sent out a cornet of light horsemen as espials to dis-
cover what way the enemies took, and whither they pretended to go. The Consul likewise for his
part was as doubtful: well he wist that *Philip* was dislodged from the places where he had win-
tered, but in what quarter he journied, he knew not: and therefore he also had set forth certain
G horse in espial to scour the coasts. These two bands or troops from divers and contrary parts, en-
countred in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered at adventure through the
countrey of the Dassaretians. Both parts knew well by the noise they heard a far off, as well of men
as horse, that enemies approched; and therefore they had both horse & armour in readines, before
they were in sight one of another: for so soon as ever they were within their entervew, they made
no stay, but charged immediatly and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both,
they were equally matched, as being choice and elect men of either side: whereupon they fought

* *Panætolium.* A general councel, where the States of *Ætolia* were assembled.
* *Pylaicum concilium:* Another Diet holden at *Thermopylæ*, where the States of *Greece* or *Amphictyones* met, and sent each one their deputy or agent, called *Pylagoræ*.

for certain hours alike, until such time as their own wearines and the faintnes of their horses par-
H ted the battail in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horsemen: and of the Romans five and thirty. And for all this, neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence to their King, nor the Romans to their Consul, of the place where the enemies were incamped. But certain fugitive traitors gave advertisement thereof: who commonly in all wars, upon a running head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and to enquire in what terms enemies stand. *Philip* imagining that it would avail somewhat both to purchase the affection at love of his souldiers, and also to induce them more cheerfully and readily to undertake all hazards for his sake, in case he seemed to have a careful regard to bury those horsemen which were slain in the journey and expedition aforesaid; commanded their bodies to be brought into the camp, to the end that all men might see what honour he did them in their funerals. But I see how nothing is more uncertain, nor whereof a man may make less reckoning than the minds and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatsoever, even that, wrought a contrary effect and caused them to be most fearful and backward. For they who were used to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, and to see mens bodies wounded with push of pike, galled with arrows, and pierced with lance here and there in this or that part; after they beheld once their fellows so butcherly mangled with the Spanish curtelaxes and arming swords, the arms cut away from the body, the heads either smitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the shoulders; their panches ript with the bowels open, and guts drawing after; with other deep wounds
K and broad slashes, most hideous and fearful to behold; then they saw all full well (fearful creatures as they were) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal against. Nay, the King himself was terribly afraid, who had not as yet encountred with the Romans in any set field. Whereupon he sent for his son to come back with the garrison that he had in the streights of *Pelagonia*, thereby to increase and strengthen his own forces: and so laid open the way into *Macedonia*, for *Pleuratus* and the Dardanians. Himself in person with a power of 20000 foot, and 4000 horse, guided by the fugitives aboresaid, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a mile or somewhat less from the Roman camp, possessed himself of a little hill neer to *Athecum*, which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encamped hard under him he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole body of the camp, with the form and order thereof in general, but also how every part was ranged and set out in several,
L both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the wayes for breadth and length between. And having viewed and considered every thing accordingly: "Believe me (qd. he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either think or say, it is the camp "of a barbarous nation. For two daies space the Consul and the King (expecting one anothers attempts and enterprises) kept their souldiers close within their holds. When the third day was come, the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field. But the King fearing to hazard all so soon upon a cast, drew forth 400 Triballians (which were, as we have said elsewhere, of the Illyrian nation) and 200 Cretensians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of horsemen; and sent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants,
M for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whose main battail was little above half a mile off, put out against them their light armed van-curriers, and as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemen: to the end, that they might be equal with the enemy in number both of foot and horse. They of the Kings part supposed verily, that they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemen should by turns, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again; sometime follow in chase and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometimes turn and shew their back parts: that the nimbleness and activity of the Illyrians would stand in good stead to make excursions and disdain skirmishes; also that the Cretensian archers should be employed in shooting arrows aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side:
N but the violent charge of the Romans, no less continual and obstinat, than fierce and eager, put them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been a set battail between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soon as they had lanced and let go their javelins from them, took them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the horsemen likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either staying their horses they fought on horseback, or else alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmish. By this means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, because they had not been used to a steady battel; nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their ground, and skirmish, never standing still, and withal in manner half naked for any harness they had, was able to make their parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their swords and bucklers, and were furnished with armour, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to
O maintain fight, but were forced to retire into their camp, and by nothing else saved themselves but by good footmanship and riding apace. There passed one day between, when the King minding to make a conflict with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in await by night certain targatiers, whom they call *Peltastæ*, in a covenient place between both camps, and given direction and charge unto *Athenagoras* and his men of arms, That if they sped well in open battel and plain fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the worse,

A worse, and were too weak, they should give ground by little and little, and train the enemy to the place of ambush. Well, it fell out so, that the horsemen indeed retired accordingly, but the leaders of that cohort aforesaid of targatiers, not attending the signal long enough, but raising their men out of ambush before time, lost the opportunity of playing their part & performing a good service.

The Roman Consul having both obtained victory in open battel, and escaped the danger of a covert train, rerired himself into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battel array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vangard. And this was the first time that ever the Romans had use in their wars, of this beast; by occasion, that in the late Punick war they had taken some of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that *Philip* kept himself close within his camp, he approched under the very
B rampier, yea, and reproched him for his cowardise. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battel: considering also, that if he kept there a standing camp long, so neer unto the enemy, his provision of corn should be exposed to dangers; for no sooner should the purveyors and forragers be gone abroad into the countrey, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be ready at their heels to fetch them in, and cause them to come short home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almost eight miles off, called *Octolophum*, where he might make his provision with less danger. Now when the Romans purveied for corn and victuals in the territory thereabout, and were come upon a time somewhat neer and within
C danger of *Philip* at first the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturous, and withal, less wary and circumspect: but espying them once straggling asunder here and there out of order, he set forward with all his Cavalry, and the auxiliaries of the Candiots, and marched so fast, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horsemen: thus having gotten between them and home, he pitched down his ensigns betwixt the Roman camp and the forragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he sent forth to course and chase them, so dispersed as they were; giving speD cial charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he staied himself behind, and beset all the waies, and stopped the passages by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their camp. Soon were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one escaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this discomfiture: for, as many as fled back chanced upon the guard that the King had set: and more were slain by them
D that beset the waies, than those that were sent out to the pursuit and execution. At length some hapned to escape through the midst of the Kings *corps de guard*, and in great haste and fearful manner came into the camp with a troublesome noise and tumult, rather than any certain tidings. The Consul, after order given to the horsemen, that every man should succour and relieve what way soever he could, their distressed fellows in this extremity, himself led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a foursquare battaillon advanced toward the enemies. The Horsemen being spred over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcryes heard from a contrary part: other some met with their ene-
E mies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and sundry places. The band that guarded about the King, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their own number as well of horse as foot a full army weneer; and also most of the Romans light upon them, because they kept the very port and rodeway in the mids. In this regard also were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, because the King himself was present in person to encourage and exhort them: and withal the auxiliary Candiots wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforehand, ranged thick and close together, and so fought against them that rode scattering abroad one from another, and without arF ray. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the main point of the whole war. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a bloudthirsty desire that they had of massacre, they chanced, upon the Roman Squadrons which were gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels, in so much as the Horsemen aforesaid, who before fled, when they once saw the ensigns of their own infantery, reined their horse heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse necks: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battail changed and came about, and they that erewhile made pursuite, now shewed their backs and fled amain. Many of them were slain that came to close handfight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of the sword, for some there were who plunged into bogs and marishes, where both horse and man sunk in the deep mud and mire, and so were swallowed up and perished. The King himself also was in great danger: for his
G horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down to the ground, and hardly escaped, but he had been troden under foot and mischieved as he lay along. One horseman above the rest saved his life, who hastily lept himself from horseback, and withal mounted the King (so scared as he was) upon his own horse: who being now on foot, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a stab and thrust soon dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was seen to fall. And the King after he had ridden in fearful flight about the fenny meers, one while where there was some way, and otherwhiles where there was none at all to be seen, chanced at length to come to his camp, when most men were in despair that he could possibly escape in safety. In this skirmish there were 200

Maces

Macedonians slain, a hundred almost taken prisoners: fourscore brave and goodly coursers, with rich caparisons and other furniture, together with the spoil of fair armours caried away.

There were that blamed the King for being too rash that day, and the Consul for his slackness. For *Philip*, say they, should have kept him quiet in rest and repose, knowing, as he did, that the enemies within few dayes would have been brought to extream want and penury, now that the territory all about was clean spoiled and wasted. And the Consul for his part, when he had foiled the Cavalry and light armed souldiers of the enemies, and as good as taken the King prisoner, ought presently to have advanced against the Kings camp: for never would the enemies so discomfited have stood to it: and so in the minute of an hour, they had been vanquished for ever. This is soon said, but (as most things else) not so soon done. For in case that the King had likewise brought forth into the field all his Infantery, peradventure in that tumult, when all his men were discomfited and driven to flie out of the field to their camp, yea, and to keep within the rampier, for fear of the enemy, ready upon his victory to get over the counterscarp and other fortifications, the King might have been disseized of his hold, and lost all. Again considering, that the whole power of *Philip* his footmen remained still intire within the camp, the *corps de guard* before the gates warding; the sentinels and watch set in convenient places of the rampier attending: what other good should the Consul have done in advancing thither, but imitated the rash fool-hardiness of the King, who a little before so hotly followed the chase of the horsmen discomfited? Neither was the Kings first designment to be reproved and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, scattered as they were over all the fields: if he could have seen when he was well, and have used his good hand in measure and moderation. Lets marvail it is besides, that he was willing to trye the fortune of a battail; because there ran a rumor, that *Pleuratus* and the Dardanians were departed from home, and with a puissant power entred already into *Macedony*: And if he thus were beset round about with these armies, there was no doubt but the Romans might have vanquished and subdued him, and never stirred foot for the matter. *Philip* therefore supposing that upon these two late received foils of the horsemen, he should have but unquiet and dangerous sitting in the same standing camp still: and minding to dislodge from thence, and in his remove to beguil the enemy and not be seen, dispatched a Pursevant at arms or herald unto the Consul a little before sun setting, to crave surcease of arms, until he had buried his horsemen that were slain: and at the relief of the second watch he deceived the enemy; for leaving many fires through all his camp, he marched without any noise and departed. The Consul had newly supped, and was going to rest, when he was advertised that a Pursevant was come, and what his errand was. And for the present, he made the messenger no other answer but this, that the next morning he would talk with him, and give him audience. But *Philip* by this means got the advantage of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gain riddance of way in his journey, which was the only thing he sought for. And toward the mountains he took his flight, for that way he wist well the Romans would not follow after, with an army so heavy and charged as it was. The Consul by day break, granted the Pursevant a cessation of arms, and gave him his dispatch: but it was not long after that he was advertised how the enemy was gone: and not knowing which way to follow after, he passed some few dayes in foraging and purveying provision all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to *Stubera*, and gathered together all the grain that was to be had about *Pellagonia*. From thence he went forward as far as to *Pluvina*, and all this while knew not for certain into what quarter of the countrey the enemies were retired. *Philip* having first set him down and encamped before *Bruana*, and departed from thence by cross and crooked wayes, struck a suddain fear into the enemy, whereupon the Romans dislodged from *Pluvina*, and neer unto the River *Osphagus* pitched their pavilions. The King likewise rested himself not far from thence, and had cast a trench and raised a rampier along the banks of the River, which the inhabitants call *Erigonus*. And after he was for certain advertised, that the Romans intended to go to *Erdunea*, he marched afore to seize upon the streights, and to empeach the enemies, that they should not gain the passage that lyeth as it were in a narrow gullet, barred and enclosed on each side. There he raised in one place a rampier, and cast a trench in another: made barricadoes here and there, partly by piling stones up on heaps in stead of a wall, partly by felling of trees across, according as either the ground would give leave, or the place afford matter: And thus stopping up all the wayes by sundry devices and means, he made the place (to his thinking) both unpassable and impregnable, which of it self by nature was hard enough and troublesome. The countrey all about was for the most part forrests, and full of wood, very incommodious, especially for that manner of battailons and ordnance of array, which the Macedonians call *Phalanx*: which serveth them in small or no stead at all, unless with their long pikes they may make a pallisade, or stay (as it were) and oppose them before their shields: which they cannot well do, unless they have free scope and liberty of plain and open ground. The Thracians also were souly troubled and cumbred with their spears named *Rhomphæa*, which were likewise of a mighty length, and by reason thereof (catching as they did, and snarling within the boughs and branches of Trees that grew in their way every where about) hindred them very much. There remained the Cohort or band of the Candiots, that seemed of some use for to be employed. And yet the same also as it was able to discharge arrows against both Horse and man, and to annoy them so long as they lay open and exposed to shot, if haply they offered

offered to charge: so they were not of strength sufficient to drive their shafts level, and to pierce thorough the Roman targets: for otherwise there was no part of the body offered it self unarmed and naked for to aim at. And therefore so soon as they perceived that kind of shot to serve them to little or no purpose, they caught up stones which lay all over the valley, and let them flie at the enemy. Which stones, as they light and beat upon their bucklers, kept a great clattering, and with the sound they made (rather than with any hurt besides) kept the Romans for a time from mounting up the bank. But the Romans making no reckoning of these stones neither, partly by pavoises and target-fences over their heads, made way directly through the thickest of their enemies: and partly by wheeling a little and fetching some compass about, gained the pitch of the hill, and were got up to the very top: from whence they drave the Macedonians (all affrighted as they were) down the hill, and chased them from their holds and guards: and by reason they had much ado to flie (the ground was so rough and uneven) most of them were killed and cut in pieces. Thus the difficulty of the streights was overcome, and they were possessed thereof, with far less trouble and conflict than they looked for and made account of. Then they marched on forward as far as to *Erdues*, where the Consul after he had put the fields all over to the wast, retired himself to *Elmæa*. From thence he forced *Orestides*, and assailed the Town *Celetrum*, situate as it were, in a demy Iland: there is a lake that environeth the walls, and but one way by land that leadeth to the Town from the main, and the same very streight and narrow, in form of a gullet. At the first when the Town was summoned the inhabitants trusting to the natural strength of the place, kept their gates shut against the Consul, and refused his summons. But after they saw once the ensigns displayed and marching against them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a pavoise to approch close to the gate, and the narrow streight and avenue aforesaid, beset with a band of them: before they would encounter and fight, they yeelded themselves for very fear. From *Celetrum* he marched on towards the Dassaretians, and wan by assault the City *Pelium*. From thence he caried away the bondslaves, with the rest of the pillage: but all persons whatsoever free born, he let go at liberty without paying ransom. The Town he gave them again, after he had planted in it a strong garrison: for it stood well, and in a very good place, for to make rodes and incursions into *Macedony*. Thus the Consul having ranged over the countrey of the enemies, brought his army back through the peaceable parts into *Apollonia*, where he began first to make war.

Now the Ætolians, the Athamans, and Dardanians, and many other wars rising suddainly at once, some from one place and some from another, had diverted and turned *Philip* a contrary way. Against the Dardanians (as they returned out of *Macedony*) he sent *Athenagoras* with the footmen lightly armed and appointed, and the greater part also of the horse giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heels as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the tail of their rereward: to teach them against another time, not to be so hasty to come abroad with an army again. *Democritus* the Prætor of the Ætolians (who in the Diet aforesaid held at *Naupactum* perswaded to take a longer time for to consult about this war) had in the next Councel or Parliament following, moved the Ætolians to enter into arms; namely, upon the same that was spread abroad of the horsemens fight before *Octolophus*; and also upon the coming of the Dardanians, and *Pleuratus* with the Illyrians into *Macedony*: besides the arrival of the Roman fleet at *Oreum*, and the general voice and bruit that went, how *Macedony* should shortly be assailed also by sea, over & above so many nations that from all parts about were come already by land. These motives regained *Democritus* and the Ætolians to friend the Romans again. Who joyning unto them *Aminander* the King of the Athamans, went forth together for to besiege *Cercinium*. They within the Town had shut their gates, whether by constraint or willingly of themselves, it was not known for they had the Kings garrison within among them. However it was, within few dayes *Cercinium* was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeat, as well bond as free one with another, were with the rest of the pillage carried away. This fearful example caused all the people inhabiting about the marish of *Bœbe*, to abandon their cities, and to retire themselves for security into the mountains. The Ætolians for want of rich prey and booty (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward *Perrhæbia*. In that quarter they won by force the City *Cyretia*, and cruelly put it to the ransack. The inhabitants of *Mallæa* surrendred of themselves without compulsion, and were received into protection as allies. Out of *Perrhebæa Aminander* was of advice and desirous to march against *Gomphos*, by reason that the countrey of *Athamania* bordered so neer upon that City, and it seemed easy to be forced without much trouble. But the Ætolians fingers tickled and itched again to be doing with the rich and fertile fields of *Thessalie*, and thither went they to raise booties and seek pillage. *Athamander* followed still for company, albeit he liked well neither of these fashions of the Ætolians thus outragiously to make rodes and to spoil every where; nor of their manner of encamping at adventure, in what places soever they chanced to come, without all discretion, regard, and care of fortifying and guarding the army. Fearing therefore lest their inconsiderate rashnes and supine negligence, might be an occasion that he or his should come to a shrewd turn, and incur some damage, spyed his time: and seeing them to incamp in a plain neer to the City *Phacadum*, he took a little Hill little above half a mile off, where both he and his, might with the help of any small guard, lie in security. Now when as the Ætolians seemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies country, but that they drave some booties: whiles they were some of them wandring and straggling, disbanded and half armed,

others

others within their camp without any *corps du guard*, swilling and sleeping all night and day long, H
and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it
being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he ap-
proched; then *Damocritus* and the rest of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about
noonetide of the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full lode of wine and vi-
ands, lay along fast asleep. Then they fell to awake and raise one another, and to give the alarm:
anon they sent out every way to call in those that were spreading abroad in the fields. So much
they were astonied, that for haste many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and
most of them forgat to put on their cuirasces. Thus being led out in post haste, and hardly in all (foot
and horse together) able to make up the number of six hundred, they light upon the Kings Caval-
ry, for number, armour, and courage much better than themselves: And therefore at the first I
push were discomfited: for before they were well entred into skirmish, they fled shamefully a-
way toward their camp. Some of them came short thither, and were either slain or taken prison-
ners, even as many as the Kings horsemen overtook, and gat between them and their other com-
panies. *Philip*, when he saw his men approch neer unto their camp, commanded to sound the
retreat: for both horse and man was weary, not so much with fight as with their long journey
and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horse-
men by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons should water
their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour
for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward, by reason they
were heavily armed at all pieces: who being come, they also were enjoyned to pitch down K
their ensigns, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short bait and hasty pittance, ten-
ding two or three at the most out of every band for to water the horses. All this while the horse-
men, together with the light armed souldiers, stood well appointed and in readiness, if haply the
enemy would have given any attempt. The Ætolians bestowed armed men all about the gates
and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications, for now by this
time they also that were scattered over the fields, had retired themselves into the camp. And so
long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not stir, and were themselves in a sure hold,
they made their bravadoes, and were very lusty: but after that the ensigns of the Macedonians
began to advance forward, and march in order of battel well appointed, close unto their trenchs:
all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the back part of their camp, L
and fled to the foresaid hill, where the Athamanians were encamped. Many of the Ætolians were
likewise in this hasty flight killed or taken prisoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the Atha-
manians also might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind: but
the day being spent already first in the skirmish, and afterward in the ransacking of their camp,
he set him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforesaid, intending very early
the next morning to assail the enemy. The Ætolians scared as much now, as they were before
when they quit their own camp, fled scattering away the night following. Here *Aminander*
stood them in very good stead, by whose good guidance and direction, the Athamanians being
skilful in the coasts of the country, conducted them into *Ætolia*, over the high mountains,
whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-wayes. Some few of them M
hapned in this confused and scattered flight to lose their way, and stumble upon the Macedonian
horsemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had sent to cut off the tail of the enemies, so soon as he
perceived the hill abandoned. About the very same time, *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King,
overtook the Dardanians as they returned into their country, and at the first put their reerward
in disarray. But afterward the Dardanians turned head again, and embattelled themselves: so they
fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor lost on any side. The Dardanians began not so
soon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horsemen and light
armed souldiers came upon them afresh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no such
means of help, and were besides surcharged with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great
advantage to those of the Kings part. Very few were slain, more wounded, none at all taken pri- N
soners: for the manner of the Dardanians, is not to break out of their ranks and arraies for a little,
and upon small occasions; but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip*
having restrained these two nations, by two brave exploits, which were as happily performed as
bravely enterprised, recovered the losses again, by him received in the Roman war. There hapned
besides, another occurrent, which diminished the number of his enemies the Ætolians. For *Sco-*
pas, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being sent from *Alexandria* by King *Ptolomæus*,
with a mighty mass of gold, caried away with him into *Ægypt* six thousand footmen, and certain
horsemen, waged for mony to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and youth of
Ætolia, if *Damocritus* had not chastised and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them
at home; making remonstrances unto them, one while of the war that was toward, and another O
while of the desolation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good
zeal and care that he had of his countrey, or only to cross *Scopas* because he had not fed him
well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs
passed between *Philip* and the Romans for that summer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to Sea from *Cor-*
cyra, together with the Lieutenant *Au. Apustius* passed beyond the point of the cape *Malea*, and
joyned

A joined with King *Attalus*, neer *Scyllæum* in the territory of *Hermione*. Then the whole City and
State of *Athens*, upon hope of present aid and succour, brake out and poured forth at once all the
hatred and malice which they had conceived against *Philip*, and which a long time for very fear
they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable terms with him. Now
in this City there never want prompt and ready tongues to stir up and provoke the common peo-
ple to a commotion. And as in all free States generally such kind of men are entertained and
born out by the favour of the multitude, so in *Athens* especially, where eloquence is in most re-
quest, and beareth greatest sway. Presently therefore an Act was put up and proposed unto the
common people, and by them granted and confirmed, That all the Statues and Images of King
Philip, together with their titles and stiles, likewise of all his progenitors and predecessors, as
B well men as women, should be defaced, pulled down, and destroied. *Item*, That all the festival
daies, the sacrifices and sacrificers, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor of him,
should be profaned and unhallowed again. *Item*, That the very places, wherein ought had been
erected, or inscriptions graven to his honour, should be held as detestable and accursed: and that
from thence forward, it might not be lawful to set up there any of those things that ought to
stand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place. *Item*, That the publick Priests of the City, in
all their prairs, and so often as they praied for the good estate of the people of *Athens* and their
allies, for the preservation of their armies and armadoes: should detest and curse by name King
Philip, his children and realm, his forces both by land and sea, with all the race and name of the
Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward,
C would prefer and propound any thing that might tend to the disgrace and infamie of *Philip*, the
whole people of *Athens* should approve and allow the same whatsoever, and make an act there-
of. Contrary-wise, if any person say or do any thing for honour, or to impeach and check his dis-
honour, whosoever should happen to kill the said party, he should be deemed and reputed, that
he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was comprised within the decree, That
all things ordained in times past against *Pisistratus* his line and progeny, should be observed and
stand in force against *Philip*. Thus verily warred the Athenians against *Philip* with letters and
words: wherein they are right valiant, and to say truth, good at nothing else. But *Attalus* and
the Romans, having from *Hermione* shaped their course for *Pyræum*, arrived there. And after
D they had sojourned some few daies in *Athens*, and were loden with a number of decrees, where-
as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice against their enemies; they set sail from Py-
træum to *Andros*. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called *Gaurelon*, they sent certain men to
sound the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they would chuse to yeeld the Town willingly, or
rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who answered again, that the Kings garrison being
possessed of the Castle, and keeping it for *Philip*, they were not their own masters. Whereupon
the King and the Roman Lieutenant set their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines
and artillery fit for an assault, approached the City divers waies. The Roman standards and their
arms, not seen before in those parts, the resolute courage also of the souldiers, who so lustily and
nimbly came neer to scale the walls, terrified and amazed the Greeks, much more than any thing
E else. Therefore immediatly they fled into the Castle, and the enemies were LL. of the City.
Now, after they had for two daies space held out in the fortress, presuming more upon the
strength of the place than the force of their armour and weapons: they and the garrison together,
compounded upon the third day to quit the place, so they might be brought with a convoy to
Delium, a Town in *Bœotia*, and every man to have one single suit of apparel. Then the Romans
leaving the bare City unto King *Attalus*, ransacked it themselves, and took away with them all
the pillage and ornaments that beautified the same. And to the end, that the Isle should not lie
waste and desart, *Attalus* perswaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain also of the Andri-
ans, there to remain. Afterwards, they also who by composition were transported to *Delium*,
were by the fair promises of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit
unto the sooner, for the love of their native country the mist whereof they might hardly brook.
From *Andros* they crossed to *Cythnus*. There they spent certain daies in assaulting the City, to no
purpose: and seeing the gains would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Neer unto
Prasie (which is a place of *Attica* within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty
pinnasses of the Issæans, who were sent to rob and spoil the territory of the Carystians: the rest of
the fleet remained at *Geresthum*, a noble rode and port of *Eubœa*, until such time as the Issæi were
returned from *Carystum*. Then all together they made sail, and passing the mids of the main sea,
they fell with the Isle of *Icus*, neer unto *Scyrus*. There they were staied for certain daies, by reason
of the raging Northwind: which being once laid and the sea calm again, they passed to *Scyathos* a
City lately pilled and ransacked by K. *Philip*. The souldiers ranged over the country, and brought
corn with them to their ships, & whatsoever else was fit for mans food. Other booty neither was
there any, nor deserved had the Greeks to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course
for *Cassandrea*; & first they rode at anchor neer unto *Mendis*, a village situat by the sea side, and be-
longing to that State. From whence having sailed beyond the cape, & desirous to come about with
their vessels for to approach the very walls of the City, there arose a tempest & suddain gust: wherin
they had like to have been cast away: but scattered they were asunder: & having for the most part
lost the tackling of their ships, they escaped with much ado to land. This tempest at sea, was also

a sore-token presaging unto them, that they were to follow the war by Land, and to give over sea H
service. For when they had brought all their ships together and set their men a shore, they assailed the Town: but they had the repulse with many a bloudy blow besides (for there was within, a strong garrison of the Kings) whereupon they gave over their enterprise, returned back and sailed over to *Canastæum* a City of *Pallene*. And having doubled the point of *Torona*, they set their course for *Acanthus*. There at first they foraged the territory: then forced the Town, and ransacked it. And for that their ships had their full fraught and charge of pillage, they sailed no farther forward, but returned from whence they came to *Scyathus*, and from thence to *Eubœa*: where leaving behind them their main navy, they put in with ten ships lightly appointed, to the Bay or gulf of *Malea*, for to parley with the Ætolians about the whole course and managing of the wars. The chief of this embassage sent from the State, was one *Stypyrrhicas* an Ætolian, who came to *Heraclea* for to treat and confer about these affairs together with the King and the Roman Lieutenant. They demanded of *Attalus* by vertue of the accord and agreement before made, to furnish them with a thousand souldiers: for so many ought he by right to set out and maintain, whensoever they were to wage war against *Philip*. But this demand was denied to the Ætolians: in regard that aforetime they likewise thought much to make a rode to spoil *Macedony*, at what time as *Philip* kept foul work about *Pergamus*, burning all edifices before him; as well sacred as prophane, when they might have drawn him perforce from thence into his own realm to look unto his proper affairs there. Thus the Ætolians were dismissed with more hope than help: for the Romans feed them only with fair words, and large promises of all things. Then *Apustius* with King *Attalus* returned to the fleet. K

After this they laid their heads together, and began to consult about the siege and assault of *Oreum*. A strong City this was both in regard of the walls, and also of a good garrison, by reason that heretofore it had been once assailed. Now there were 20 sail of Rhodian ships all close covered with hatches and decks, which under the conduct of Captain *Agesimbrotus* had joyned with the fleet of *Attalus* and the Romans, after the winning and conquest of *Andros*. These ships they sent to lie in the Bay of *Zelasium*, (a promontory or cape above the City *Dasycrias*, lying very conveniently over against *Isthmia*) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ships should come abroad from thence, they might be ready in gard to make sail against them. *Heraclides* an Admiral for King *Philip*, lay there at rode with the navy, attending rather some enterprise by opportunity and vantage of the enemies negligence, than by plain and open force. The Romans and L
Attalus in the mean time planted their ordnance against *Oreum* at divers parts. The Romans at the Castle side that standeth upon the Sea: The King from the vale that lieth between two sorts, where as the City is enclosed also with a wall. And as they assailed in sundry places; so their manner of assailing was much different, and their engins divers. The Romans assayed to approach the wall with tortoises, pavoises and mantilets, and to shake it with the Ram: They of the Kings part used Crosbows, Balists, Catapults, and all manner of ensigns to shoot forth quarels and darts, yea, and to level and weigh mighty stones of exceeding great weight. They undermined also: and in sum, they practised all means which they saw by experience did good during the former assault and siege. But the Macedonians were not only more in number than the time before to defend the City, but also of better courage and resolution; by reason that the King had rebuked M
them sharply for their fault passed: and they remembred well both his menaces, and also his promises for the time to come: in so much as the assailants had small hope to win the Town in hast. Mean while the Roman Lieutenant, supposing that some other exploit might be performed, leaving a sufficient number (as he thought) for the finishing of the Fabricks begun, and other engins of assault, put over to the next places of the continent: where he surprised on a sudden *Larissa* (not that noble and renowned City in *Thessaly*, but another, which they call *Cremaste*) and won it, all but the fortress. *Attalus* in like sort took *Ægeleon*, fearing nothing less than such an accident from them that were busie in besieging another Town. By this time, as the engins and other Fabricks without *Oreum* were at the point of finishing, and ready to perform the battery for which they were made: so the garrison within was overtoiled with continual pain and travail, spent with watching night and day, and faint with many a grievous wound. Moreover, part of the wall, shaken underneath with a butt and push of the Ram, was already fallen down in sundry places, in so much as the Romans entred by night at the open breaches, and all the way above the Key, and so were possessed of the Castle. *Attalus* likewise by the break of day, after he saw the banner reared upon the fortress, and the signal which the Romans put forth, entred the City; for now the walls in many places lay along. The garrison and the Townsmen fled to a second citadel that they had, from whence after two dayes they yeelded. The City was the Kings lot: the bodies of the prisoners were the Romans share. Now drew the sun neer unto the Æquinoctial line in Autumn, at what time the Eubœan gulf called *Cela* is dangerous, and not well trusted of mariners. Therefore being desirous to be gone into a place of safe retreat, before the troublesome winter weather overtook them, they turned their course and made head to *Pyræum*, from whence they came: where *Apustius* leaving behind him thirty ships, set a compass about the cape of *Malea*, and sailed to *Corcyra*. But the King stayed still so long as the festival dayes of *Ceres* continued, because he would be present at the celebration of those solemnities. After the feast ended, himself likewise retired into *Asia*: but first he sent *Agesimbrotus* and the Rhodians home again. These were the affairs and exploits performed this summer by sea and land

A by the Roman Consul and the Lieutenant Generall, with the aid of King *Attalus* and the Rhodians, against King *Philip* and his allies.

The other Consul *C. Aurelius* being come into his Province when the war was brought to an end, could not smother and conceale his anger conceived against the Prætor for fighting in his absence. When he had taken order therefore to send him into *Etruria*, himself with the legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and spoiling he warred so as he got more prey than praise. But *L. Furius*, seeing there was little to do in *Etruria*, and withall desirous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gauls (which he supposed to obtain with more ease, whiles the Consul was absent, who was both angry with him, and also envied at him) arrived at *Rome* before any man looked for him, and assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, B after he had declared what acts he had atchieved, he requested that he might be permitted to ride into the City with triumph. In great credit and account he was with many of the Senators, both for his noble and worthy deeds, in which regard they honoured him: and also for a speciall favour and love, in which respect they affected him. But the more ancient and elder Senators denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with the army of another, as also because he had abandoned his own Province and government, upon a greedy desire to catch a triumph, by waiting his opportunity, and taking advantage: a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example. And as many of them as had been Consuls said moreover, That above all things he ought to attend upon the Consul his return. "For well might he (say they) being encamped near unto "the City, have defended and guarded the Colony only, and so have drawn the time out untill C "his coming, and never needed to have sought a set battell for the matter. And although the Præ- "tor have omitted so to do, yet ought not the Senat to follow his example, but expect the Con- "sul. When as therefore they have heard the Consul and Prætor discoursing and arguing the "matter both together face to face, then they should be able to judge better and more soundly "of the cause. A great part of the house was of opinion that they ought to look unto nothing else but the good service done, and whether he were lawfully called thereunto, as a Magistrate of himself, to manage his affairs by his proper conduct and the guidance of his own fortune. "For, "of the two Colonies (say they) which were opposed as two forts and bulwarks to restrain the "sudden impressions and tumults of the French; when the one was sacked and burnt, and the "same fire like to leap from it to the other so near, (as from house to house, that joyn together) D "what could the Prætor have done otherwise in that case? For if there might be nothing attempted without the Consul, it must needs follow, that either the Senat did amiss in giving the Præ- "tor the charge of an army (for if their will was that the war should be managed not by the Præ- "tors army, but by the Consuls, they might have limited it in the Commission by especial words, "expresly forbidding the service to be done by the Prætor, but only by the Consul) or else the "Consul hath committed a fault, who having commanded the army to go out of *Tuscany* into "*France*, came not himself in person to *Ariminum* to encounter the enemy, and be present in that "war, which without him might not be lawfully fought. Over, and besides, the occasions and sea- "sons of war attend no staies, and tarry for no politick delaies of Generals. And other whiles, sight "a man must, not because a man is willing thereto, but because his enemy puts him to it. To con- E "clude, the very battell it self, and the happy issue thereof, ought only to be considered and regar- "ded. The enemies are defeated and slain; their Camp taken and ransacked; the siege raised "from the one Colony, and it preserved; the captives of the other recovered and restored to "their friends; and to be brief, in one battell the quarrell is decided, and the war finished. And "not only men have rejoyced for this victory, but also there have been processions for three daies "space to the honour of the immortall gods: [*For that* L. Furius *hath managed the Common- "weal well and happily and not ill and rashly.*] Finally, these French wars fall by a fatall destiny to the "house and race of the *Furii*. By these and such like remonstrances alledged by himself and his friends, the majesty of the Consul absent was over-weighed with the favour born to the Prætor present. And so in a frequent assembly of Senators a decree was granted, That *L. Furius* should F ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gauls *L. Furius* Prætor, whiles he was in office. He brought into the common treasury 320000 Asses, 170000 pound weight of silver. But neither were there any prisoners led captives in shew, nor spoils carried in pomp before his chariot, nor yet his souldiers followed after. So as it appeared, that all other things besides victory alone, pertained properly to the Consul.

After this were the plaies exhibited with great magnificence by *P. Cornelius Scipio*, which he had vowed in *Affrick*, during his Consulship. Also there passed an order for the lands of his souldiers: That for so long as each one had served in *Spain* or *Affrick*, he should have two acres for every year: and that these lands should be set out and assigned unto them by ten Decemvirs for the purpose deputed. Then were certain Triumvirs created for to supply and make G up the number of the Roman Inhabitants in *Venusia*, by reason that during the time of *Annibal* his war, the strength of that Colony was much enfeebled and impaired. *C. Terentius Varro*, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, enrolled new Coloners to inhabit *Venusia*.

The same year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, who governed *Spain* as Pro-Consul, discomfited a great host of the enemies in the country of the Sedetans. In which battell, by report, were slain 15000 Spaniards, and 78 military ensigns taken. *C. Aurelius* the Consul, when he was returned

out of his Province to *Rome* against the solemn election of Magistrates, complained, not as men H made reckoning he would have done, (That the Senat expected not for his coming, nor that the Consul was not permitted to debate the matter with the Prætor) but found himself grieved, "That the Senat had decreed a triumph so, as the party only was suffered to speak who was to tri- "umph, and none of them might be heard who were present at the battell, And whereas our fore- "fathers ordained, that Lieutenants, Colonels, Marshals, and Centurions, yea, and in one word, "the souldiers should be at a triumph; for this end and purpose, that the truth might appear to "the world, of al things atchieved by him unto whom so great honour was to be done: Was there "any one (quoth he) of all that army which fought with the Gauls, I say not a souldier, but so "much as a lackey or horse-boy following the Camp, of whom the Senat might enquire, whe- "ther the Prætor spake true or false? This done and said, he published the day of assembly for the I election above said: wherein were created Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. After them were Prætors chosen *L. Quintius Flaminius*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *C. Bebius Pamphilus*. Grain and other victuals that year were cheap. Great store of corn was 21 d. ob. sterl. brought out of *Affrick*, which the Ædiles of the chair distributed to the people, at two Asses a Modius. They also set forth the Roman games and pastimes right sumptuously; yea, and repre- sented them one day more than ordinary. Moreover, of the silver raised by fines and forfeitures, they made seven brazen statues, which they set up in the treasure-house of the City. The Plebeian plaies likewise were thrice renued all over by the Ædiles of the Commons *L. Terentius Massali- ota*, and *C. Bebius Pamphilus* Prætor elect. Finally, the funerall games that year were four daies to- gether exhibited in the common place of the City, occasioned by the death of *M. Valerius Lævi- K nus*: and celebrated they were by his two sons *P.* and *M.* who also shewed unto the people a brave spectacle of fencers at the sharp: wherein there were five and twenty couples that entred the lists and performed combat. *M. Aurelius Cotta*, one of the Decemvirs, that year departed this life; and in his place *M. Acilius Glabrio* was subordained. In the solemn assembly for electing Ædiles of the chair, it chanced that those two which were chosen might not immediately enter in- to office: for *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was created in his absence, whiles he governed the Province of *Spain*. And *C. Valerius Flaccus* who was present at his own election, might not be sworn to main- tain the laws, because he was the Flamin or Priest of *Jupiter*. For lawfull it was not for any Magi- strate to exercise his place above five daies, unless he were sworn to the laws. Then *Flaccus* pre- ferred a petition that he might be dispensed with: whereupon the Senat ordained, That if the Æ- L dile would find one to swear in his name at the good pleasure and discretion of the Consuls, then the Consuls (if they thought it meet) should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, to pre- pound it unto the people that it might pass under their grant. So *L. Valerius Flaccus* (the Prætor elect for the year following) was presented to take the oath for his brother. Then the Tribunes put it to a canvase before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother should be of the same validity as if the Ædile himself had taken it in his own person. Concerning the other Æ- diles also there passed an act of the Commons. For when the Tribunes proposed unto the peo- ple, Which two they would have to go into *Spain* as LL. deputies with command over the ar- mies; the people ordained, that *C. Cornelius* the Ædile of the chair might come home to bear his office, and *L. Manlius* also after so many years, depart out of his Province: the people ordained M that *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Stertinius* should have the conduct and government in *Spain*, in quality and title of Pro-Consuls.

The two and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

N

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and thirtieth Book.

MAny strange and prodigious sights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here related and set down: among which, this is one, that in Macedony *there was a bay tree sprung up of it self in the poop of a galley.* T. Quintius Flaminius *the Consul fought fortunately against* Philip *in the streights of* Epirus: *and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom. Himself, with the assistance of the Ætolians and Athamans, infested sore and plagued* Thessaly, *which bordereth upon* Macedony. L. Quintius Flaminius *the Consul his brother, by the aid of King* Atta- O lus *and the Rhodians, made conquest by war at sea, of* Eubœa *and all the sea-coast. The* Achæi *were received into amity. The conspiracy of slaves, that complotted to deliver and set at large the hostages of the Carthaginians, was detected and took no effect. The number of Prætors was encreased to six. The Consul* Cornelius Cethegus *defeated the French Insubrians in battell. League and amity was concluded between the Romans and the Lacedemonians, with their tyrant* Nabis. *Over and besides, there is con- tained in this book the winning of many Cities in* Macedony.

The

A

The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

WHen the Consul and Prætors were entred into office upon the * Ides of *March*, they * 15 of *March*. cast lots for the government of the Provinces. To *L. Lentulus*, fell *Italy*; and to *P. Villius*, *Macedony*. As for the Prætors, *L. Quintius* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*, and *C. Bæbius* the government of *Ariminum*; *L. Valerius* ruled *Sicily*, and *L. Villius* his lot was to command *Sardinia*. *Lentulus* the Consul had order given him to levy new legi- ons and *Villius* to receive the army of *P. Sulpitius*, with commission and licence to take up as ma- B ny souldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which *C. Aurelius* Consul had in charge, were assigned over to *Babius* the Prætor, with condi- on to keep them with him, untill the Consul were arrived in *France* with a new army: and so soon as he came, to discharge and dismisse all the souldiers home to their houses except 5000 allies: forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about *Arimi- num*.

The Prætors of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. *Cn. Sergius* was enjoyned to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those souldiers who had served many years together in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sardinia*. And *Q. Minutius* had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the Brutians country, upon C which he had sitten already as Prætor with great fidelity and diligence: and also to send unto *Lo- cri* for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attainted and convicted of sa- criledge, he had sent bound to *Rome*. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Tem- ple of *Proserpina*, to be restored thither again, with an over-encrease, to make satisfaction and to raze out the wicked part committed. The Latine feasts and holy-daies were solemnized again by vertue of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion, That certain Embassadors from *Ardea* complained in the Senat, how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts aforesaid in the mount *Alba*, according to the old custome. News came from *Suessa*, that two of their City gates, and all the wall between, was smitten with lightning. Messengers also from *For- mia* reported that their Temple of *Jupiter* was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of *Ostia* brought D word of the like mischance with them in the Church of *Jupiter*. And from *Velitræ* tidings came of the like mishap, fallen upon the Temples of *Apollo* and *Sangus*. And that in the Temple of *Hercules* there sprung up a bush of hair. Letters came also from *Q. Minutius* the Pro-Prætor out of the Brutians country, that there was a colt foled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apeece. After all this, *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Prætor sent letters from out of *Macedony*, con- taining among other matters this news, that there was a Laurell tree grew of it self in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consul should sa- crifice greater beasts unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Sooth- sayers that pry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-house; and by direction of their E answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great de- votion.

The Carthaginians this year came to *Rome* with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and forasmuch as the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawful, and being brought to the trial, was found too light by one fourth part wash- ed away those Carthaginians were constrained to take up money of the bankers of *Rome*, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver aboresaid. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat that it might stand with their good pleasure to re-deliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendred back, and good hope there was of the rest, if so be they conti- F nued loyall and fast in their allegeance. And when they made a farther request in behalf of those hostages which were not delivered that they might be transported from *Norba* (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. In like sort, the Gaditans made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the Romans a captain to govern *Gades*, any thing to the con- trary in their covenant (concluded with *L. Martius Septimius*, when they yielded themselves un- der the subjection of the Romans) notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of *Narnia* made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain strangers enterming'ed among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Co- G lonets: therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies or Commis- sioners, called Triumvirs for to reform this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose, *Pub- lius* and *Sextius Ælius*, who had both of them the surname of *Pætus*, and *C. Cornelius Lentulus*. This that was granted to them of *Narnia*, was denied to the Embassadors of *Cossa*, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be encreased.

The affairs thus finished at *Rome* that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their seve- ral Provinces. *P. Villius* so soon as he was arrived in *Macedony*, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the souldiers, which long afore being kindled, was not well quenched

at the first beginning. These were those two thousand, which after the defeat of *Annibal*, were H
sent out of *Affrick* into *Sicily*: and from thence, a year after almost, transported into *Macedony*
for voluntary souldiers: but they themselves stood stoutly to it, that it was no voluntary act of
theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And
howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason,
that the time of their souldiery should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alledging,
that for these many years they had not seen *Italy*; that they waxed old men under their harneis,
having born arms in *Sicily*, in *Affrick*, and in *Macedony*: that with toil and travel so tedious, they
were weak and feeble; and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more bloud to
lose. The Consul made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the
handling; and meet he thought it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it I
in modest terms: but neither it, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny
and sedition. Therefore, if they could be content to keep to their colours, and be at command as
loyall souldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the Senat, as touching their conge
and dismission: for be they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behaviour,
than by any such stubborn, froward, and wilfull demeanor.

At the same time *Philip* assailed the City of *Thaumaci* with terraces & mantelets in all forcible
manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden
arrival of the Ætolians enforced him to surcease his enterprise; who by the conduct of *Archida-*
mus having passed through the midst of the Macedonian guards, & entred the town, never ceased
day nor night to make sallies forth, one while upon their standing watch, otherwhiles upon their K
fabricks & engins. The natural situation of the place yielded them good help and vantage: for the
town of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to amans thinking as he goeth from *Pyle* & the gulph of *Me-*
lea by the way of *Lamia* & sheweth it self aloft, seeming to overlook & command the streight pas-
sage of the torrents called *Cæ*. Again, when one travelleth over the craggy places, and the crooked
waies entangled with so many windings in the vallies of *Thessaly*, and is approached once near to
the City, all on a sudden he may discover before him a mighty large and open plain, as it were a
wide and vast sea, so as a man shall have much ado to reach with his eye so far as these downs lye
out every way under him, and see all over them. And hereupon by reason of this strange and mar-
vellous prospect, the City is called * *Thaumaci*. Over and besides that the high grounds affordeth
it security, it standeth also upon a huge rock, divided into divers crags and broken cliffs. These L
difficulties forced *Philip* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed
withall, that the town it self when it was won, would not quit the painful labour, and pay for the
danger about it. Besides, the winter was now at hand, when he departed from thence, and retired
his forces into *Macedony*, there to harbor. Where, when all others, during the time that they could
catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and disports;
Philip only, how much respit soever he had, either of intermission or remission from continual la-
bour of marching in journey, and fighting in battell; so much more trouble he had in his mind
whiles he courted and discoursed with himself, what the total and finall issue might be of this war:
whiles he stood not only in fear of the enemies, which persecuted him by sea and land, but also in
doubt, as well of the hearts of his allies, as of the affections of his own subjects: left the one in hope M
of the Romans friendship should revolt, and the other (even the Macedonians themselves) desire
novelties, and long for a change. Therefore he addressed his Embassadors into *Achæa*, both to
exact an oath of the Achæans for their allegeance (for they had capitulated in the accord and a-
greement made, yearly to swear fealty unto *Philip*) and also to deliver into their hands, *Orchome-*
nus, *Hercæa*, and *Tryphylia*. And when they demanded also *Aliphera*, the Embassadors answered,
that the City never pertained to *Tryphylia*, but that of right it ought to be restored unto *Philip*:
as being one of them, which in the general councill and assembly of the Arcadians, were assigned
and set out for the building of *Megalopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firm alliance with the
Achæans. As for the Macedonians he gained their hearts unto him, by occasion of *Heraclides*: for
seeing that by means of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceit, and that he was N
charged with many grievous crimes, he cast him in prison to gratifie his own subjects: whereat the
people took great joy, and hearts content. Then made he preparation for war, with an earnest en-
deavor, as at any time before: he exercised as well the Macedonians as mercenary souldiers in pay,
namely, to wear their armor, and handle their weapons; & in the very prime of spring, he sent all
his forrain aids and light armed souldiers, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Chaonia* by the
way of *Epirus*, to seize upon the straight passage near to *Antigonia*, which the Greeks call *Stena*.
Himself a few daies after followed with his main army more heavily appointed. And when he had
well viewed & considered the situation of the country, and how it lay, he judged that the quarter
coasting upon the river *Aous* was the meetest place to fortifie and encamp in. This river between
two hills, the one by the peasants of the country called *Æropus* the other *Asnaus*, runneth within O
a narrow vale, and yieldeth but a small passage upon the bank side. He commanded *Athenage-*
ras to gain and fortifie *Asnaus* with his light armed souldiers: himself encamped upon *Æropus*.
And look what way as the hill was fenced with broken and cragged rocks, there he kept a small
guard of some few souldiers: but whereas there was more danger, and easier access for the
enemy he fortified with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks. He planted also and disposed in conve-
nient places a great number of engins to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keep the enemies
aloof,

The sight of the City *Thaumaci*.

* Admirable, or wonderfull.

A aloof. The royal pavilion of the King himself was pitcht before the rampier upon a bank, in a most
conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his
own men, when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul advertized by *Charopus*
the Epirot, what passages the King with his army was possessed of, after he had passed the winter
in *Corcyra*, himself likewise in the beginning of Spring, went up into the main land, and held on
his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within five miles of the Kings camp, he
left his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himself in person forward with certain lightly
appointed in espiall to discover the quarters, and the morrow after held a consultation, Whe-
ther he might do better to assay to pass through the place which the enemy kept (notwithstand-
ing he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his
B army about and fetch a compass the same way, whereas the year before *Sulpitius* entred into *Ma-*
cedony. This deliberation held him for certain daies in even balance and suspence, untill news
came unto him that *T. Quintius* was created Consul; and having the Province of *Macedony* allot-
ted unto him, made haste thither, and was already passed to *Corcyra*.

Valerius Antias writeth how *Villius* was entred the pass aforesaid & because he could not take
the straight and direct way (by reason that the King and his forces had beset all places) followed
the valley along through the middle whereof the river * *Aous* runneth and having made a bridge
over it, in great haste passed over to the bank, whereas the King was encamped, and there fought
a battell: wherein the King was discomfited and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that * Æm. Plin.
15600 enemies were slain in that conflict, 2200 taken prisoners, 132 ensigns won and carried a- *Guid & Melæ.*
C way besides 256 horse. Also that during the combat there was a Temple vowed unto *Jupiter*, in *Pirro Nigro.*
case the Consul sped well in the battell. But all other writers both Greek and Latine, at least wise *Valesiæ aliis.*
whose Annals I have read, report that *Villius* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul
T. Quintius who next succeeded, took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

Whiles things thus passed in *Macedony*, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at *Rome*,
held a general assembly for the election of Censors: And among many famous and noble perso-
nages who sued for that dignity, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Ælius Paetus* were created
Censors. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected a Senat without defaming
any person: and also farmed out the toll for portage of all things that were sold at *Capua*: Item,
they set & to farm let the custome for passage that way whereas the camp stood, and where now
D there is a town built: and enrolled three hundred Colonets (for that number was limited by the
Senat) there to inhabit. They sold also the lands of *Capua* lying under the hill *Tifata*.

About the same time *L. Manlius Acidinus* departed out of *Spain*, and was prohibited by *M.*
Porcius Læca a Tribune of the Commons, to enter at his return into the City with the solemn
pomp of an Ovation, notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the Senat. So he came into
Rome as a private person and brought into the Chamber of the City 1260 pound weight of silver,
and thirty pound weight well-near of gold. The same year *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*, who had recei-
ved the Province of *France* from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former year, engaged himself rash-
ly within the marches of the French Insubrians, and was environed and enclosed round about,
both he and in manner his whole army. He lost above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was
E received in a war, whereof there was no reckoning made, and from whence no danger was fea-
red any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the City of *Rome*, who being ar-
rived into a Province full of trouble and tumult after he had received the charge of affrighted and
dismaied army, gave the Prætor a great check and rebuke, & took him up roundly with reproach-
full terms, yea, and commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to *Rome*.
Neither performed the Consul himself any exploit worthy of remembrance by reason that he was
called home to *Rome* for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates: which also was staid by
M. Fulvius, and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quin-*
tius Flamininus, having been but Quæstor, for to stand for a Consulship. "Now adaies, say they,
"the dignities of Ædiles and Prætors are nought set by, and not worth the seeking for: and these
F "noblemen will needs mount into the Consuls place, not by steps and degrees of other offices,
"wherein they should make proof of and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping o-
"ver those in the midst, joyned the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in
Mars field in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the Senat. And the
Lords ordained, That forasmuch as he which sued for that dignity was by law capable thereof, it was
reason that the people should have plenary and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever
else they pleased. So the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the Senator. And
for Consul were elected *Sex. Ælius Paetus*, and *T. Quintius Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of
the Prætors. In which were created *L. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Porcius Cato*,
and *C. Helvius*, who had been Ædiles of the Commons. By whom the Plebeian plaies were re-
G nued, and a solemn feast made in the honour of *Jupiter* in regard of those plaies. The Curule Æ-
diles likewise *C. Valerius Flaccus*, who also was the Flamine Dialis or Priest of *Jupiter*, and *C. Cor-*
nelius Cethegus, exhibited the Roman games with great magnificence. The great Pontifices or
Bishops *Servius Sulpitius*, and *L. Gallus* died that year: In whose places were enstalled *M. Æmy-*
lius Lepidus and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. Now when *Sex. Ælius Paetus* and *Titus Quintius Flamininus*
the Cons. were entred into their Magistracy, they assembled the Senat in the Capitoll: where the
H gave order, that concerning the two Provinces of *Macedony* and *Italy*, the Consuls should

either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should govern the one or the H
other: And that he, whose hap was to have the charge of *Macedony*, should enroll of Romans three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: Also of Latine allies five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, for to supply and furnish out the legions. And for the other Consul it was decreed, that he should have an army all entire and new. *L. Lentulus* the Consul of the former year, continued still Governour in the Province with expreis commandment, that neither himself should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Consul were come with the new legions. So the Consuls referred themselves to the direction of the lots. To *Ælius* fell *Italy*: and *Macedony* to *Quintius*. As for the Prætors, who all were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*, *M. Claudius* governed *Sicily*. To *M. Porcius* was allotted *Sardinia*, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be L. Deputy in *Gaul*. After this they I began to take musters. For over and besides the Consular armies, the Prætors also were charged to levy souldiers. To *Marcellus* were assigned four thousand footmen of Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen to go into *Sicily*. And for *Cato* three thousand foot of the same kind of souldiers with two hundred horse to serve in *Sardinia*: upon condition, that when both these Prætors were come into their Provinces, they should discharge all the old souldiers there, as well footmen as horsemen.

Then the Consuls granted the Embassadors of King *Attalus* leave to come into the Senat-house: where having audience given them, "after they had declared how their King and Master "had assisted the State of *Rome* with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewed himself chear- "full, ready, and obedient to this present day for to execute and perform whatsoever the Roman K "Consuls had enjoyned him to do: they said now, that they much feared lest from henceforward "he would not be able to do the same, by reason he was impeached by *Antiochus*. For *Antiochus* "taking his vantage, and finding the realm of *Attalus* disfurnished of garrisons, and unprovided "of forces both by sea and land, had invaded the same. For which occasion *Attalus* besought the "LL. of the Senat there assembled, that if they minded to use his navy, and employ the means "that he could make in the service of the Macedonian war, they would then send him a sufficient garrison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his request was to "permit himself to return with his fleet and other forces, to the defence of his own. The Senat gave order to return this answer unto the Embassadors: "Whereas King *Attalus* had succoured "the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senat accepted thereof in- "the best part. But as touching *Antiochus* the King, an ally and friend of the people of *Rome*, they "neither would send any aid against him: nor yet detain the aids of King *Attalus* in any service "of theirs, longer than the King himself should think it stood with his own commodity. For, the "manner of the people of *Rome* hath alwaies been to serve their own turn with the help and assi- "stance of others, but yet at the good pleasure & discretion of others. And whosoever were wil- "ling to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would "themselves. Howbeit they purposed to address their Embassadors unto *Antiochus*, to advertise "him and let him understand that the people of *Rome* employed the help of *Attalus* his ships and "souldiers against *Philip*, a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if "for their sakes he forbare the Realm of *Attalus*. and abstained from war. For meet and reasonM "it was, that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of *Rome*, should likewise enter- "tain peace and amity among themselves.

T. Quintius the Consul made haste to be gone into his Province: and when he had levied and mustered his souldiers so, as that he had enrolled those old experienced servitors for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of *Spain* and *Affrick*, he was detained so long at *Rome* by occasion of certain prodigious signs reported, until he had taken order for the appeasing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning scorched and blasted the great port way from *Veii*: the Common Hall likewise of publike assemblies, and the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Lanvvium*: also the Temple of *Hercules* in *Ardea*: the walls besides and turrets of *Capua*, and the Temple there which is called *Alia*. At *Aretium* the sky appeared to be on a light fire. N At *Veliterna* the earth settled and sunk down, leaving a great gaping chink for the compass of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought, that in *Suessa Aurunca* a lamb was yeaned with two heads; and in *Sinuessa* a porket with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Consuls intended devoutly to their sacrifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. *Ælius*, together with *C. Helvius* the Prætor went into *France* and gave unto the said Prætor the army which he received of *L. Lentulus*, and should have dismissed and discharged of their service: because he purposed himself to employ in his own wars the fresh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Consul *T. Quintius* having taken the sea and departed from *Brundusium* sooner than other Consuls were wont, arrived at *Corcyra* O with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. From thence he crossed the seas with a galleace of five tanks of oars, directing his course for the neareſt coasts of *Epirus*, and by great journeys made haste until he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licensed *Villius* to depart, and staid there some few daies, until his forces which were at *Corcyra* could overtake him, he called his Councill together to resolve, Whether he should keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any such

such attempt (which could not but carry with it great pain and perill) fetch a compass about with safety, and so enter into *Macedony* by the way of the Dassaretians country and *Lyncus*. And verily, this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hands, if the King haply were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the desarts and forrests, that he should spend all the long summer and do no good. Therefore come what would of it, he resolved to assail the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not so ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they sate still and spent forty daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to assay a peace, by the means and intercession of the Epirot B nation. And after consultation had there were certain agents chosen for that purpose, to wit, *Pausanias* the Prætor, and *Alexander* General of the horses who brought the Consul and the King together for to parl, unto a place whereas the river *Aous* is narrowest, and the banks neareſt together. The demands of the Consul in sum were these: That *Philip* should remove his garrisons out of the Cities *Item*, That whose territories or towns he had pilled and spoiled, he should make restitution again unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer again, "That all "those peeces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he "would be content to set them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors "and predecessors, he would not forgo the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right C "of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had warred made complaint, that they were "ever endamaged by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would them- "selves, and stand to their award, so they were neuters, or in peace as well with the one side as "the other. The Consul hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needless to refer "themselves to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that "he hath done the wrong who first took armes? And that *Philip* before ever that he was molested "and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After, when it was debated "what Cities should be set free, the Consul named first of all *Thessalonica*: at which word the King was in such a heat of choler that he cried out aloud, "What harder condition O *Quintius* would "you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, he flung away in a chafe from off D the place of meeting and enterview, and would no longer parl. And much ado they had on both sides to hold their hands from shooting one at another, for the river ran in the midst between them that they could not try it out by the ears. The morrow after there passed many light skirmishes between the *corps de guard* on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plain that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the Kings men retired themselves into the narrow straights and rough rugged places, the Romans of an ardent desire to be fighting, entred thither soon after. The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintain a skirmish in a set battell. The enemies again for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the help of sundry engins to cast forth shot afar off (as ballists and catapults) planted and ranged almost upon every E cliff and rock as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slain on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battell the night at length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these terms, there hapned a certain herdman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirots to be brought before the Consul: who gave him to understand that he kept cattell a grazing in that forrest (which then was overspread with the Kings pavillion) and knew all the cranks, all the windings, turnings, and blind waies of those mountains promising, that if he would send out a band of souldiers with him, he would conduct them thorow a place that was neither dangerous, nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they should be over their enemies heads and able to command them. And these things (quoth he) F you may surely trust upon; for *Charopus* willed me to make declaration, That he could wish you the Consul were Master of all rather than any other. The Consul was desirous to beleeve all, but durst not credit him. And thus being troubled in spirit, whiles he entertained in his heart both joy and fear together, at length the authority of *Charopus* induced him to resolve and give the adventure of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following he never ceased to assail and provoke him, setting companies of armed souldiers in every place, to charge upon him, and ever seconding them with fresh men to succeed in the place of the wearied. After this, he delivered to a Tribune or Colonell four thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen: with this direction, to lead forward the Cavalry, as far as the ground would give leave: and when they were come G once to a place where the horsemen could not pass nor march farther, then to plant them in some plain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on as the guide should lead them and point out their way: but after they were mounted above the enemies heads, according as he undertook and made promise, then to give a sign by smok, and not to shout and to set up a cry untill one might guesse that upon signall of battell by him given, the battell was begun. And the Consul gave commandment to march by night (for as good hap was, the Moon was at full, and shone all night long) and take their refection and sleep in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid, he

he made unto him many fair and large promises, if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman Generall travelled and endeavoured so much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while, the Romans that were sent out with the Colonel, marched forward; and upon the third day, when they had given token by smoak, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and held it still: then the Consul divided his forces into three squadrons, and entred the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to re-encounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hot desire of conflict, it fell out, that the Roman souldier had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, more skilful, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings souldiers, whe eof many were wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man, the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsiderately were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could no retire with ease. And surely they had not returned back again unpunished for their rashness, but that the Kings men hearing first an outcry behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were astonied at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away; others that made a stand and tarried still, for that they rather wanted ground to flie than had heart enough to fight it out, were environed by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. But the straights and the roughness o the waies hindred the horse, and the weight of armor cumbred the footmen. At first the King rode amain with bridle in horse neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before & guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not possible make way after; he rested upon a certain mount and sent his people all abroad over hils and dales, to rally his souldiers together that were dispersed. Thus with the loss not all out of two thousand men, the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a *Rendezvouz* upon some signal given, & so marched with a great train into *Thessaly*. The Romans pursued them as far as they might with safety, killing them, and rifling the dead; yea and ransacked the Kings camp, which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult access unto it, they had much trouble to win: & that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Consul made pursuit after the enemy along the straight, whereas the river runneth amoung the vallies. The K. came the first day unto the hold or camp of *Pyrrhus* (a place so called in *Tripolitia*, belonging to the territory of *Molotis*. From whence the morrow after he marched a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he must go that fear drives) & approached the mountain *Lingos*. These mountains are in *Epirus*, situate between *Macedony* and *Thessaly*. The side that lieth to *Thessaly* regardeth the East: that which butteth upon *Macedny* hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overspred with abundance of woods; yet so as the very tops do afford open plains and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, casting and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to return immediatly into his own kingdom, or possible for to retire himself into *Thessaly*. In sum, his resolution was to bring down his army into *Thessaly*. And so to *Tricca* he marched the next way he possibly could. From thence he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The towns he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own goods: all the rest fell to the souldiers share. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he practised among his own allies. And *Philip* himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at the heart: but alas he could do no other: yet his desire was, in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy to save the bodies at least wise of his associats. In this manner were ransacked & spoiled these towns following, *Phacium*, *Ireſia*, *Eubydriam*, *Eretria* & *Palaephatus*. Against his coming to *Phera* the gates were shut upon him. And because it would ask some time to win that town by assault and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, & passed into *Macedony*: for the bruit went that the Ætolians also approached. Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river *Aous*, first wasted and ransacked all the country near unto *Sperchia* and *Mara Come* (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into *Thessaly*, won *Cynoscephalæ* and *Angeas* with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they took at *Metropolis*, while they harried the fields about it by reason that the townsmen ran together to the defence of their wals. After this they gave the attempt upon *Callithera*, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies: but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they drave the enemies that issued forth within their walls, and contenting themselves with that victory, they departed thence seeing no great hope to force the town. Then they won and pilled two villages, *Thea* and *Catathana*. As for *Achaya*, it was surrendred by composition. And upon the like fear *Xynia* also was abandoned of her own inhabitants. These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garrison which was a leading into *Athamania*, for the better guard of the forragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell mell together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was hewn in peeces by

A by the armed souldiers, and *Xynia* was sacked, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this the Ætolians won *Cyphara*, a fort and town of strength, well seated for to empeach and command *Dolopia*. These exploits performed the Ætolians hastily, all in few daies. * Oneblacha.

Neither rested *Aminander* nor the Athamans quiet and still, after they heard the news of the prosperous battell which the Romans had fought. But *Aminander* reposing small trust in his own souldiers, craved of the Consul a small supply of other forces: and as he marched toward *Gomphi*, he surprized forthwith and forced a town named *Phœa*, situat between *Gomphi* and the straights that divide *Theſſ. ly* from *Athamania*. From thence he advanced before *Gomphi*, and assailed the town, which was detended right valiantly for certain daies: but after that he had erected scaling ladders against it, he forced the townsmen within, for very fear to yield and render all into his B hands. The surrender of this City terrified the Thessalians exceedingly: in such sort, that the Citizens of *Argenta*, *Pheretrum*, *Thimæum*, *Liſinas*, *Stimon*, and *Lampſum*, one after another submitted themselves, with other peeces thereby of small importance.

Whiles the Athamanians and Ætolians (secured from all danger of the Macedonians) made spoil and raised again to themselves by the victory of others: whiles *Thessaly* was pilled and sacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust: the Consul passed over into the country of * *Epirus*, by the way of the straights which he had opened and made clear by reason that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Epirots in generali went, and with whom they had sided, excepting only Prince *Charopus*, yet because he saw them not only carefull to make amends and satisfaction, but also willing and C forward to do whatsoever he commanded, he esteemed and regarded them by their present state, more than by their demeanor past, and so by shewing himself inclined to mercy and ease to pardon a fault, he won their hearts, and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to *Corcyra*, to will that the kulks and ships of burden should put into the gulph of * *Ambracia*, whiles himself travelled by easie journies: and the fourth day after pitched his tents upon the hill * *Cercetius*: and thither he sent for *Aminander* to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, so as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journeys for *Thessaly*. Most of the Epirots also, for the same intent were received who voluntarily offered their help and assistance. The first City that he assaulted in *Theſſ. ly* was *Phaleria*, wherein there D lay a garrison of two thousand Macedonians. Who at first held out and resisted most manfully, and as much as either armor or the walls were able to do, defended themselves. But the assaut & battery continuing unceſſantly both night and day, overcame at length the constant and resolute valour of the Macedonians. For the Consul made this reckoning, That upon this point depended the hearts and dispositions of all the other Thessalians, if the first should not be able to abide the violence and force of the Romans. *Phaleria* was no sooner won, but there came Embassadors from * *Metropolis* and *Piera* to render up their Cities into his hands, who raised pardon and obtained it. *Phaleria* was burnt and sacked. From thence he set forward to *Æginium*, but seeing the place defensible with any small garrison, and in manner impregnable, he bestowed some small shot of darts upon the next *corps de guard*, and turned his army toward the country against *Gomphi*, and from thence he marched down into the Plains of *Theſſaly*. And be ause his army was distur- E nished of all necessaries (for that he had forborn to make spoil in the territories o the Epirots) after he had sent out espials before, to discover whether the hulks aboue said were arrived at * *Leucas* or *Ambracia*, he sent out his companies one after another to *Ambracia*, for to purvey corn and victuals. The way between *Gomphi* and *Ambracia*, as it is cumberous and hard for passage, so again, it is but short and very compendious. So that within few daies he had transported certain convoies of victuals from the port of *Ambracia*, whereby the camp was stored with plenty of all provision. From thence he passed to *Rhages*, a town almost ten miles distant from *Larissa*. The Citizens thereof are descended from *Perrhœbia*, and the City it self seated upon the river * *Peneus*. The Thessalians were nothing affraid at the first coming of the Romans. As for *Philip*, like as he F durst not him self in person march forward into *Thessaly*, so having taken a place within * *Tempe*, which he held with a standing camp, he espied into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and ever as he could find opportunity and advantage, sent underhand succour and relief thither accordingly.

Much about the same time that the Consul first encamped against *Philip* in the straights of *Epirus*, *L. Quintius* also, the Consul his brother, who by commission from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all sea-coasts, sailed beyond *Corcyra* with two Galleaces of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navy was departed from thence, seeing also there was no staying there, he made sail after apace; and having overtaken them at the Isle *Zamma* he dismissed *Apustius*, in whose place he succeeded: from thence he went fair & softly, haling after him the most part of the ships which followed with the provision of victuals, untill he came to *Malea*. From G whence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could after him, he went with three Quinqueremes lightly appointed, and arrived before at *Pyræum*, where he received the other ships that *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of *Athens*.

At the same time there were two Armadoes set out of *Asia*, the one conducted by King *Attalus*, consisting of four and twenty sail of Quinqueremes: the other were of Rhodians, and stood of twenty covert ships with decks and hatches, commanded by *Agesimbrotus* the Admirall.

These

* Albania.

* Golfo del Arta.

* Strabo saith it is a part of the mountain Ampelos.

* A City in Thessaly or rather Macedony, of which name a ten more, according to Ptolem.

* S. Maura.

* Selampria, or Pegæ.

* The pleasant meadows and fields along the river Peneus.

These fleets joyning together about the Island *Andros*, crossed the narrow seas from thence to H
Eubœa. And first they forraged the territory of the Carystians: afterwards seeing *Carystus* strong enough against them, by reason of a garrison sent to them in all haste from *Chalcis*, they approached to *Eretria*, *L. Quintius* having intelligence that King *Attalus* was come, repaired thither also with those vessels which had been at *Pyraeum*, & gave commandment, that as many ships as arrived thither belonging to his fleet, should bend their course for *Eubœa*. Now was *Eretria* by all forcible means assaulted, for not only the vessels of three joynt navies had brought thither all sorts of engins and artillery deviled for to shake and batter the walls of Cities, but also the fields and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The townsmen from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall over-I
thrown by the ordnance and engins of the enemy, enclined to yield: but they had amongst them a garrison of Macedonians, whom they feared no less than the Romans. Moreover, *Philocles* a Captain under the King, sent messengers unto them from *Chalcis*, assuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thus hope and fear together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Philocles* had a repulse by the way, and in great haste and fear was retired and fled to *Chalcis* again, then immediatly they sent their Embassadors unto *Attalus*, to crave pardon and protection. While they were wholly bent to seek peace (whereof they had some hope) and foreslacked the affairs of war-service, opposing their *corps de guard* on that
K
side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, *Quintius* in the night-season gave a camisado in that quarter which was least suspected, and with scaling ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Castle, which also afterwards was rendred up. As for money, gold, and silver, there was no great store to speak of: but Images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought, and such like ornaments, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bigness, or other wealth besides, of such a City as that was. From thence they set sail once again for *Carystus*, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into their fortress: from whence they sent their Orators unto the Roman Generall, humbly craving their mercifull protection. The townsmen presently had their lives and libertie granted them. But the Macedonians were put to their ransom, and they compounded to pay * three hundred silver sesterces apeece, and to give up their armour and weapons, and so to depart: With this sum of money having redeemed themselves they were set out disarmed into *Boetia*. These forces at sea having in few daies gained two noble and renowned Cities in *Eubœa*, coasted about *Sunium*, a promontory or cape within the territory of *Attica*, and arrived before *Cenchreæ*, a town of merchandise and traffick belonging to the Corinthians.

* 39 sh. 7 d. engl. sh. reckoning a sesterce (which is two and 2 d

The Consul all this while had a longer and more dangerous piece of service in the siege (of *Elatea*) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have least of all suspected. For he supposed verily that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battering down the wall, & making some breach. For thus he thought that if he had once opened way for his armed souldiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be slain, as it falleth out commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were got over at the breaches & ruins thereof: then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toil afore. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were many in number, and those approved and select souldiers, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of sword, rather than by the strength of walls, had ranged themselves in a battell within, strongly marshalled into many ranks and files close together: and when they perceived the Romans were mounting over the breaches to enter the City, they repelled and beat them back in that place of great disadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themselves. The Consul hereat was much displeased, and vexed in himself: and making this account, that such a foul foil and disgrace was not N
only an occasion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City; but also materiall and important for the main progress and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly dependeth upon the occurrences of light matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleansed the place which was choaked up with the ruins of the half-broken wall lying there upon heaps, he reared a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, consisting of many stories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drave the same upon wheels and rollers close to the wall. Moreover he sent out certain ensigns one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close battailon of the Macedonians (which they themselves call *Phalanx*.) But the place being so streight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) O
the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the form of battell wherein they were ranged. For when the Macedonians standing close one to another with a continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romans neither with their darts could hurt them afar off, nor with their swords drawn come near them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes in two: and if it chanced that they whipt off or snapt any asunder, yet the steel and truncheon thereof

A thereof being sharp still at the point (headless though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an hay or pallaisade. Over and besides that part of the wal that stood whole and sound still, was a sure defence unto both flanks of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to fetch their beir, and so give a violent charge, which is the thing that usually breaketh and disordereth ranks. Moreover, there chanced one thing by meer fortune that encouraged them within: for as the tower aforesaid was in driving over a terrass or bank whereof the floor was not fast and soundly hardned with the rammer, one of the wheels hapned to sink in and make a deep rout in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded so forward, that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armed souldiers standing upon it within, quaked for fear, and were put well-near besides their wits.
B Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Consul was vexed at the heart, to see himself so over-matched in souldiers, in armour, and in manner of service: and withall he considered, that he had no help to force the City and to win it in any short time, nor could make means to pass the winter in those parts so far from sea, and left naked already and waste by those calamities that follow wars. Whereupon he raised the siege: and because there was no haven in all the tract and coast of *Acarnania* and *Aetolia*, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulks that brought victuals for his army, and also to yield winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Isle *Anticyra* within the country of *Phocis*; which lying toward the gulph of *Corinth*, seemed to him most fit and commodious for his purpose: because they should not remove far from *Thessaly*, and the territories belonging to the enemies ha-
C ving besides *Peloponnesus* affront even over against them, divided but by a small arm of the sea: at their back *Aetolia* and *Acarnania*: and of each side *Locris* and *Boetia*. At the first assault, the Consul without any resistance won *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Anticyra* likewise long endured not the siege. Then *Ambrysus* and *Hyampolis* were received by composition. *Daulis* by reason that it was situate upon an high hill could neither be scaled nor forced by instruments and engins of battery. But the Romans by lancing their darts and shooting arrows against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish; and after some light scufflings to no effect, whiles one while they seemed to flie, and other whiles to pursue, they brought them to be so careless, so negligent and so little respective, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entred pell-mell with them, and so were Masters of the town. Other small forts likewise of *Phocis* yielded rather
D for fear than any force offered unto them. *Elatea* kept their gates shut, and made a countenance, that unless they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor army.

Whiles the Consul lay at the siege before *Elatea*, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely, of withdrawing the nation of the *Achæ* from the Kings alliance to the amity of the Romans. For they had expelled and banished *Cycliadas* the chief of that faction that sided with *Philip*: and *Aristhenus* who friended the Romans and sought to be confedered with them, was Prætor for the time.

Now the Roman Armado, together with *Attalus* and the Rhodians, rode at anchor in the haven of *Cenchreæ*, and they all were agreed in common to assail *Corinth*. But the Consul thought
E good, before that they should put that designment in action, to send Embassadors to the State of *Achaia*, promising, if they would revoke from the King and turn to them, to deliver *Corinth* into their hands, for to be incorporate into the ancient league and councill of their nation. And so by the advice of the Consul, there were Embassadors addressed to the Achæans from his brother *L. Quintius*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians and the Athenians. And at * *Sicyone* was there a Councill * Basilica, and Diet held, for to give them audience. Now the Achæans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous, an ordinary, and continuall enemy of theirs) put them in
F fear of one side: the Romans they had in dread and horrour of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The K. himself they held in jealousie for his cruelty and treachery: and casting a proof and conjecture by those courses which he then took, and by his practices for the time, they foresaw well, that after the war ended he would be intollerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not only ignorant, what every man had said in the severall councels of every particular State, and in the generall Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions; but also uncertain and unresolute among themselves in their own minds what to will or wish. Unto men thus doubtfully disposed and unsettled, the Embassadors aboveſaid were admitted, and license was given them to deliver their message. First, the Roman Embassador *L. Calphurnius*; after him, those
G that were for King *Attalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians spake and made discourse: and consequently, the Embassadors of *Philip* were permitted to parl. The Athenians had audience given them last of all, and were reserved of purpose to confute whatsoever should be spoken and alledged by the Macedonians. And these Athenians inveighed most sharply and bitterly against the King, for none had received either more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time (by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many Embassadors) brake up about sun-setting. The morrow after they assembled again: where the Magistrates by the voice of the Beadle or publike crier (after the custome of the Greeks) gave liberty to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking wistly

wistly one upon another who should begin first. And no marvell if they whose spirits were altogether inclined in some sort within them, when they of their own accord cast and tossed in their minds things so different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations on either sides that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & advising many matters so hastily, so difficile, and unpleasant unto them. At length, because the Councill should not be dissolved without some speech and parl, *Aristhenus* the Prætor of the Achæans began to speak, and said: "What is become (my Masters of *Achæa*) of those hearts of yours and couragious stomacks, whereby at all "your feasts and in your private meetings (when talk is ministred of *Philip* and the Romans) you "can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in anothers face? And now, when as this "honourable Court of Parliament is published & holden for the same purpose only; while ye have "heard the reasons & allegations of the Embassadors of all parts; when the Magistrats propound I "the matter to be debated in council; when the publike crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye "are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you "to open your lips; cannot the private respects and affections neither (which have enclined and "carried your minds to the one side or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths? "Considering especially, that no man is so gross and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is "the very time or never for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himself, and as he thin- "keth best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once pas- "sed, that all men are bound (even they themselves that before misliked it) to defend and main- "tain the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was so far short of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it caused not so much as the least noise or humming in so frequent an auditory and congregation of so many States together. Then *Aristhenus* the Prætor began again and followed his speech in this manner. "It seemeth (my Masters "and friends of *Achæa* here assembled) that ye are not so much to seek for counsell and advice, "but ye are as short of your tongues and loath to speak. And every one here is un willing to pro- "vide for their generall good for fear least he should incur some particular perill. My self likewise "peradventure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a private person: But now being Pra- "tor, I see thus much, That either there should have no audience at all been given unto the Em- "bassadors, or else, that they ought not to be sent away from hence without an answer: and an- "swer them how can I without your ordinance? now seeing that there is none of you all, who "have been summoned hither to this Councill, that either will or dare say a word to the cause: L "let us examine throughly and consider well in lieu of your opinions, those speeches which ye- "sterday were pronounced by the Embassadors: let us (I say) revise them so, as if they had not de- "manded those things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro- "posed such points they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi- "ans, and King *Attalus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage against "*Philip* they think it reason to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our society "with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles, "he saith he will be content that we should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is "there no man here knoweth the reason, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave "more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modesty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of M "the Romans that is the cause hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of *Achæa*, which mi- "nister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the same from them again. "From *Philip* we see nothing but only an Embassador. The sea-forces of the Romans and their "fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreæ*: they carry afore them in shew the spoiles of the Cities in "*Eubœa*. The Consul himself with his land-army of the legions we see disjoyned from us by a "small arm only of the sea, ranging at their pleasure all over *Phocis* and *Locris*. Marvell now lon- "ger if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embassador of *Philip* demanded erewhile so coldly and diffi- "dently, that we should take arms for the King against the Romans: who, if we by vertue of the "same league and oath, wherewith he seemed to charge us in conscience, required of him again, "that *Philip* should defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and also from the Ro- "mans; would be to seek not only of a garrison and power of armed men to shield us, but like- "wise of a very answer to shape us. And verily he would be no more ready to satisfie us, than "*Philip* was himself the last year; who notwithstanding he frankly promised to levy war against "*Nabis* & thereby assisted to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Eubœa*; af- "ter that he saw once that we neither agreed to send him that power, nor yet were willing to en- "tangle our selves & be interessed in the Roman war, forgot soon that society that now he stan- "deth and vaunteth so much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæ- "monians, to be spoiled pilled, & wasted at their pleasures. And surely so much as I can conceive "of *Cleomedon* his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together, and one peece thereof forreth "not well with another. He seemeth to speak of the Roman war contemptuously, as if it were a "matter of nothing; saying the event & issue thereof would be like the former, which they main- "tained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himself away, and in his absence demandeth "our help rather than with his personall presence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans? "Us, I say, his ancient allies? But what speak I of us? Why hath he suffered them so to force and "win *Eretria* and *Carystum*? Why endured he, that so many Cities of *Thessaly* should be lost? "How could he abide *Locris* and *Phocis* to be over-run so as they are? And *Elatia* now at this day

The Oration of *Aristhenus*.

* Negropont.

A "day so streightly besieged, and hotly assaulted? Why quit he the streights of *Epirus*, and aban- "doned those impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or "howsoever? and when he had forgone and dissieged himself of that pass which he held, why re- "tired he into the inland parts of his realm for his safety? If willingly and of his own accord he "abandoned so many of his allies, and left them to be spoiled and ransacked by the enemy, what "can he alledge or say for himself, why those allies afore said may not provide for themselves the "best they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewise, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquished B "by force of arms, and therefore retired back, shall we, good *Cleomedon*, sustain and endure the "Roman puissance and their mighty armies, against which ye Macedonians were not able to "stand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war now at "this present, either with greater numbers or stronger forces than they have done heretofore, "rather than trust our own eyes, and that which daily we see before our faces? In those dayes "they succoured the Ætolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct nor with "the army of a Consul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble "and tumult: but all the mediteranean parts within the continent, were so fenced and fortified "from the Roman forces, that *Philip* spoiled and forraged the Ætolians, imploring and seeking "for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finished the "Carthaginian war, which for sixteen years space they supported in the very heart and bowels of C "*Italy*, have not sent a garrison to succour and maintain the Ætolians in their wars, but are come "themselves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred up- "on *Macedony*. And this is the third Consul of theirs, who at this present maintaineth mortal "war upon it, to the uttermost of his power. *Sulpitius* hath encountred the King in the midst "of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, discomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waste and de- "solat the wealthiest quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of camp "and field, notwithstanding he were possessed of the streight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himself "boldly and confidently upon the natural situation of the ground, of his strong defences, and force "of a complete army: and having pursued him as he fled into *Thessaly*, hath taken the garrison "Towns of the King, and in manner within his own sight, won by mere force his confederate Ci- "ties. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged con- D "cerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the King, be not true, but suppposed slan- "ders: admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, against "the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal spirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much less "pertinent, than those outrages which the Elæuntii and the Abydens, so far remote from us, have "endured. Forget we our selves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and losses that we have recei- "ved, the murders, the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Messena* in the midst of * *Peloponnesus*. **Morta.* "Likewise, how his friend and host *Garitenes* at *Cyparissia*, was killed against all Law of God and "man, even in a manner sitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing also of "*Attalus* the father and son, both Sicyonians, who were cruelly massacred, and yet he was wont to "call the silly and wretched old man, Father. Also forbear we to speak of the sons wife, who was "carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine, and to abuse her at his plea- E "sure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that "we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip* for fear of whose cruelty ye were all so mute, "and could not open your mouth. For what other cause of silence had ye, being called hither to "this counsel? Let us put the case, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that most "mild and just Prince, at whose gracious hands we have received so many favours and pleasures "above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we should do that which possibly then "could not be done? *Peloponnesus* is a demy Island, joined to the firm continent and main land, by "the narrow streight or bank of *Isthmus*, lying open and exposed to nothing more than to Sea- "forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches, and fifty lighter vessels which are "open, together with thirty Brigantins or foists of *Issa*, should come to pill and spoil our sea coasts, F "and begin to assail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very strand "and Sea banks; should we retire our selves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why? "what else? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with intestine war, which stic- "keth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians by land, the Ro- "man navy by Sea shall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how should I call upon the Kings society, "or for the help of the Macedonians? Or shall we of our selves, by our own strength and means "save our Cities which shall be assaulted against the puissance and power of the Romans? For in "the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyme*. We have examples e- "nough of the fearful calamities and losses of others, that we need not to make our selves examples G "unto others. Take heed (I beseech you) how you set light and disdain, that the Romans have "of their own motive offered their friendship and alliance, which indeed ye were to wish for, "and seek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a "strange land to flie unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly shroud themselves un- "der the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and sustained by your victual "and provision. No, no, Lords they are first of the seas who can deny it? there is not a land they "set foot into, but immediatly it is their own, and in subjection unto them: whatsoever they seem "to request, they can command if they list. And because they are willing to spare and forbear you, O

wiftly one upon another who ſhould begin firſt. And no marvell if they whoſe ſpirits were affo-
nied in ſome ſort within them, when they of their own accord caſt and toſſed in their minds
things ſo different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by thoſe orations beſides
that had laſted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & adviſing many matters ſo harſh, ſo difficile,
and unpleaſant unto them. At length, becauſe the Councill ſhould not be diſſolved without ſome
The Oration of *Ariſtbenus.* ſpeech and parl, *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans began to ſpeak, and ſaid: "What is be-
"come (my Maſters of *Achæa*) of thoſe hearts of yours and couragious ſtomacks, wherewith at all
"your feaſts and in your private meetings (when talk is miniſtred of *Philip* and the Romans) you
"can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in anothers face? And now, when as this
"honourable Court of Parliament is publiſhed & holden for the ſame purpoſe only; wherein ye have
"heard the reaſons & allegations of the Embaſſadors of all parts; when the Magiſtrats propound the
"the matter to be debated in council; when the publike crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye
"are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cauſe you
"to open your lips; cannot the private reſpects and affections neither (which have enclined and
"carried your minds to the one ſide or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths?
"Conſidering eſpecially, that no man is ſo groſs and blockiſh, who can be ignorant that now is
"the very time or never for each one to ſay and deliver his mind as he will himſelf, and as he thin-
"keth beſt, before we reſolve and determine of any courſe: and when a decree or act is once paſ-
"ſed, that all men are bound (even they themſelves that before miſliked it) to defend and main-
"tain the ſame, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was ſo far ſhort
of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it cauſed not ſo much as the leaſt noiſe or
humming in ſo frequent an auditory and congregation of ſo many States together. Then *Ariſthe-*
nus the Prætor began again and followed his ſpeech in this manner. "It ſeemeth (my Maſters
"and friends of *Achæa* here aſſembled) that ye are not ſo much to ſeek for counſell and advice,
"but ye are as ſhort of your tongues and loath to ſpeak. And every one here is unwilling to pro-
"vide for their generall good for fear leaſt he ſhould incur ſome particular perill. My ſelf likewiſe
"peradventure would be ſilent and hold my peace if I were a private perſon: But now being Pre-
"tor, I ſee thus much, That either there ſhould have no audience at all been given unto the Em-
"baſſadors, or elſe, that they oughr not to be ſent away from hence without an anſwer: and an-
"ſwer them how can I without your ordinance? now ſeeing that there is none of you all, who
"have been ſummoned hither to this Councill, that either will or dare ſay a word to the cauſe: L
"let us examine throughly and conſider well in lieu of your opinions, thoſe ſpeeches which ye-
"ſterday were pronounced by the Embaſſadors: let us (I ſay) reviſe them ſo, as if they had not de-
"manded thoſe things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro-
"poſed ſuch points they eſteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi-
"ans, and King *Attalus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage againſt
"*Philip* they think it reaſon to be aided from us. *Philip* again purteth us in mind of our ſociety
"with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to ſtand and band with him: otherwhiles,
"he ſaith he will be content that we ſhould ſit ſtill, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is
"there no man here knoweth the reaſon, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave
"more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modeſty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of M
"the Romans that is the cauſe hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of *Achæa*, which mi-
"niſter confidence and aſſurance to thoſe demanders, and take away the ſame from them again.
"From *Philip* we ſee nothing but only an Embaſſador. The ſea-forces of the Romans and their
"fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreæ*: they carry aſore them in ſhew the ſpoiles of the Cities in
* Negropont. "* *Euboea*. The Conſul himſelf with his land-army of the legions we ſee diſjoyned from us by a
"ſmall arm only of the ſea, ranging at their pleaſure all over *Phocis* and *Locris*. Marvell now lon-
"ger if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embaſſador of *Philip* demanded erewhile ſo coldly and diffi-
"dently, that we ſhould take arms for the King againſt the Romans: who, if we by vertue of the
"ſame league and oath, wherewith he ſeemed to charge us in conſcience, required of him again,
"that *Philip* ſhould defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and alſo from the Ro- N
"mans; would be to ſeek not only of a garriſon and power of armed men to ſhield us, but like-
"wiſe of a very anſwer to ſhape us. And verily he would be no more ready to ſatisfie us, than
"*Philip* was himſelf the laſt year; who notwithſtanding he frankly promiſed to levy war againſt
"*Nabis* & thereby aſſaied to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Euboea*, af-
"ter that he ſaw once that we neither agreed to ſend him that power, nor yet were willing to en-
"tangle our ſelves & be intereſſed in the Roman war, forgot ſoon that ſociety that now he ſtan-
"deth and vanteth ſo much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæ-
"monians, to be ſpoiled pilled, & waſted at their pleaſures. And ſurely ſo much as I can conceive
"of *Cleomedon* his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together, and one peece thereof forteth
"not well with another. He ſeemeth to ſpeak of the Roman war contemptuouſly, as if it were a O
"matter of nothing: ſaying the event & iſſue thereof would be like the former, which they main-
"tained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himſelf away, and in his abſence demandeth
"our help rather than with his perſonall preſence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans?
"Us, I ſay, his ancient allies? But what ſpeak I of us? Why hath he ſuffered them ſo to force and
"win *Eretria* and *Caryſtum*? Why endured he, that ſo many Cities of *Theſſaly* ſhould be loſt?
"How could he abide *Locris* and *Phocis* to be over-run ſo as they are? And *Elatia* now at this
day

A "day ſo ſtreightly beſieged, and hotly aſſaulted? Why quit he the ſtreights of *Epirus*, and aban-
"doned thoſe impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or
"howſoever? and when he had forgone and diſſeiſed himſelf of that paſs which he held, why re-
"tired he into the inland parts of his realm for his ſafety? If willingly and of his own accord he
"abandoned ſo many of his allies, and left them to be ſpoiled and ranſacked by the enemy, what
"can he alledge or ſay for himſelf, why thoſe allies aforeſaid may not provide for themſelves the
"beſt they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewiſe, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquiſhed
"by force of arms, and therefore retired back, ſhall we, good *Cleomedon*, ſuſtain and endure the
"Roman puiſſance and their mighty armies, againſt which ye Macedonians were not able to
"ſtand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Romans war not at
B "this preſent, either with greater numbers or ſtronger forces than they have done heretofore,
"rather than truſt our own eyes, and that which daily we ſee before our faces? In thoſe dayes
"they ſuccoured the Ætolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct nor with
"the army of a Conſul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble
"and tumult: but all the mediteranean parts within the continent, were in ſecure and fortified
"from the Roman forces, that *Philip* ſpoiled and forraged the Ætolians, imploring and ſeeking
"for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finiſhed the
"Carthaginian war, which for ſixteen years ſpace they ſupported in the very heart and bowels of
"*Italy*, have not ſent a garriſon to ſuccour and maintain the Ætolians in their wars, but are come
"themſelves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred up-
C "on *Macedony*. And this is the third Conſul of theirs, who at this preſent maintaineth mortal
"war upon it, to the uttermoſt of his power. *Sulpitius* hath encountred the King in the midſt
"of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, diſcomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waſt and de-
"ſolat the wealthieſt quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of camp
"and field, notwithſtanding he were poſſeſſed of the ſtreight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himſelf
"boldly and confidently upon the natural ſituation of the ground, of his ſtrong defences, and force
"of a complete army: and having purſued him as he fled into *Theſſaly*, hath taken the garriſon
"Towns of the King, and in manner within his own ſight, won by mere force his confederate Ci-
"ties. Suppoſe and ſay, that all thoſe things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged con-
"cerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled luſt of the King, be not true, but ſuppoſed ſlan-
D "ders: admit that thoſe enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, againſt
"the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal ſpirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much leſs
"pertinent, than thoſe outrages which the Elæuntii and the Abydens, ſo far remote from us, have
"endured. Forget we our ſelves, if ye will, the hurrs, the wounds, and loſſes that we have recei-
"ved, the murders, the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Meſſena* in the midſt of * *Peloponneſus*. **Morea.*
"Likewiſe, how his friend and hoſt *Garitenes* at *Cypariſſia*, was killed againſt all Law of God and
"man, even in a manner ſitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing alſo of
"*Attalus* the father and ſon, both Sicyonians, who were cruelly maſſacred, and yet he was wont to
"call the ſilly and wretched old man, Father. Alſo forbear we to ſpeak of the ſons wife, who was
"carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine; and to abuſe her at his plea-
E "ſure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that
"we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip* for fear of whoſe cruelty ye were all ſo mute,
"and could not open your mouth. For what other cauſe of ſilence had ye, being called hither to
"this counſel? Let us put the caſe, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that moſt
"mild and juſt Prince, at whoſe gracious hands we have received ſo many favours and pleaſures
"above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we ſhould do that which poſſibly then
"could not be done? *Peloponneſus* is a demy Iſland, joined to the firm continent and main land, by
"the narrow ſtreight or bank of *Iſthmus*, lying open and expoſed to nothing more than to Sea-
"forces. If one hundred covert and decked ſhips with hatches, and fifty lighter veſſels which are
F "open, together with thirty Brigantins or foiſts of *Iſſa*, ſhould come to pill and ſpoil our ſea coaſts,
"and begin to aſſail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very ſtrand
"and Sea banks; ſhould we retire our ſelves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why?
"what elſe? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with inteſtine war, which ſtic-
"keth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians by land, the Ro-
"man navy by Sea ſhall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how ſhould I call upon the Kings ſociety,
"or for the help of the Macedonians? Or ſhall we of our ſelves, by our own ſtrength and means
"ſave our Cities which ſhall be aſſaulted againſt the puiſſance and power of the Romans? For in
"the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyme*. We have examples e-
"nough of the fearful calamities and loſſes of others, that we need not to make our ſelves examples
"unto others. Take heed (I beſeech you) how you ſet light and diſdain that the Romans have
G "of their own motive offered their friendſhip and alliance, which indeed ye were to wiſh for,
"and ſeek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a
"ſtrange land to flie unto you for your alliance, becauſe they would gladly ſhroud themſelves un-
"der the ſhadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and ſuſtained by your victual
"and proviſion. No, no, Lords they are firſt of the ſeas who can deny it? there is not a land they
"ſet foot into, but immediatly it is their own, and in ſubjection unto them: whatſoever they ſeem
"to requeſt, they can command if they liſt. And becauſe they are willing to ſpare and forbear you,

" therefore it is that they ſuffer you not to enter into any action that might be cauſe of your ruin H
" and overthrow. For whereas *Cleomedon* erewhile ſeemed to ſhew and lay before you a mean and
" indifferent courſe, and that forſooth, which ſhould be the ſafeſt way that you could take, name-
" ly, to enter into no arms at all, to ſit ſtil and ſleep in a whole skin; that, I ſay, is no middle way, no,
" nor (to ſpeak truth) any way at all. For beſides this, that ye muſt either accept or refuſe the alli-
" ance with the Romans, what elſe wil become of us, but to be a prey unto the conqueror, having
" loſt the grace and favour both of the one and the other? as men that like neuters, expecting the
" iſſue of the war, frame our deſignments and counſels to the blind direction of fortune. Wel, once
" again I ſay, take heed you think not ſcorn of that which with all your heart you ſhould wiſh &
" pray for, only for that it is tendered and preſented unto you. And never think, that becauſe to
" day you have the choiſe of both in your own hands, therefore ye ſhall ever have the ſame liber- I
" ty hereafter. Occaſions & opportunities are not alwaies the ſame, neither do they continue long.
" All this whiles have ye had a deſire to ſave and free your ſelves from *Philip*, but evermore by
" wiſhes & praiers in ſecret heart, rather than by taking arms in open hand. Now there are thoſe
" which with great armies & armadoes have paſſed the ſeas, who without your pain and peril are
" ready to deliver you from his hands. Theſe men, if ye reject and refuſe for your allies, ye are not
" well in your wits, & have them you muſt either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedy.

After this Oration of the Pretor, there aroſe a muttering and noiſe in the aſſembly, whiles ſome approved and gave aſſent unto that which he ſaid, others rebuked in churliſh wiſe thoſe that accorded. Inſomuch, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there aſſembled were at variance, yea, and this debate between the Magiſtrates of the whole nation K (whom they call *Demiurgi*, and ten they are in number) was as hotly maintained, as among the multitude. Five of them ſaid, they would propound unto the people, and debate with them in counſel about accepting the alliance of the people of *Rome*, and put it to voices. The other five proteſted, that this was directly againſt a law, in that caſe provided, forbidding expreſly that no Magiſtrats ſhould either propound or determine ought in any Diet, prejudicial to the ſociety and league with *Philip*. Thus was this day alſo ſpent in debating and wrangling, and nothing done. There remained one day yet of a full Diet and Councel, for by law they were to conclude and decree ſomewhat within three dayes at the fartheſt. Againſt that time, the parties were ſo hotly bent one againſt the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very children. There was one *Rhiſiaſus* of *Pellenæ*, who had a ſon named *Memnon*, and he was a *Demi-* L *urgus*, who took part and ſided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to queſtion, and determined by a ſcrutiny of voices. This *Rhiſiaſus* having inſtantly a long time importuned his ſon, and beſought him to ſuffer the Acheans to provide for their weal publick, and not by his peeviſh ſtowardnes undo the ſtate of the whole nation: when he ſaw once that all his prayers prevailed nothing, he ſware a great oath that he would kill him with his own hands, and not take him for his ſon, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained thus much in the end, that content he was the next day to joyn with them that put the matter to queſtion: who now being more in number than the other, made a report and propoſed the cauſe to the aſſembly: and when all the States in manner there met enclined thereto, and approved thereof, ſo as they avowed openly what they would ordain; the Dymæans, Megapolitans, and certain Argives, before M the decree was enacted, roſe up all at once, and departed out of the aſſembly, and no man either wondred at it, or blamed them for it. As for the Megapolitans, no longer ago than in their grandſires dayes, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the Lacedemonians, K. *Antigonus* had reſtored them again. The Dymeans being but lately taken priſoners, and ranſacked by the Roman army, *Philip* having given order that they ſhould be redeemed whereſoever they were in ſlavery and bondage, he not only ſet free, but alſo replanted in their own country. The Argives laſt of all, beſides that they are of a ſetled opinion and belief that the Macedonian Kings are deſcended from them, were for the moſt part linked unto *Philip* in the right and regard of privat hoſpitality, and familiar friendſhip. In theſe reſpects, they went out of that aſſembly which inclined to the contract of alliance with the Romans, and were held excuſed for this departure; being thus N obliged unto *Philip* the adverſe part, by great favours and benefits, yea, and thoſe newly received at his hands. All the other States of the Achæans, when they were demanded their opinions, without delay confirmed by their immediat decree, the ſociety with *Attalus* and the Rhodians: but the league with the people of *Rome*, becauſe it could not be ratified and eſtabliſhed without the Act of the people, was referred and put off until the time that Embaſſadors might be ſent unto *Rome*. But for the preſent it was thought good that three Embaſſadors ſhould be addreſſed unto *L. Quintius*, and that all the forces of the Achæans ſhould march toward *Corinth* for that *Quintius* having won the port of *Cenchreæ*, was already at the ſiege and aſſault of that City.

Theſe Achæans encamped themſelves over againſt that gate that openeth toward *Sicyone*: the Romans lay againſt that part of the City which looketh toward *Cenchreæ* and *Attalus* having led O his army through the narrow ſtreight of *Iſthmus*, aſſailed them of *Lecheæus* ſide, which is an haven of the other Sea. At the firſt they made no hot aſſault, hoping that there would be ſome mutiny between the Towns-men and the Kings garriſon. But perceiving they were all of one mind and reſolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the City, as their own native country: and alſo the Corinthians were content to be at the full command and direction of *Androſthenes* the Captain of the garriſon, as well as if he had been their fellow-citizen, and lawfully choſen by their

A their own election and ſuffrages: then the aſſailants had no other hope but in the violent force of arms and engins. And of all ſides they had rai ed banks and mures, and were come cloſe to the walls, although with hard acceſs thereto. Now had the Ram, from that quarter where the Romans lay, beaten down a good part of the wall. To which breach, becauſe it lay naked without defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend it by ſtrength of arms: where there was a cruel fight between them and the Romans. At the firſt the Romans were ſoon repulſed by means of the great numbers of defendants: but after the ſuccours of the Achæi and *Attalus* came unto them, they received them with equal valour: neither doubted they but to be able with eaſe to drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their ſtandings, and force them to retreat. But there were within the Town a multitude of Italian fugitives revolted and fled from the Romans: part B of them, a reſidue left of *Annibal* his army; who having tranſgreſſed the laws, for fear of puniſhment were fled from the Romans, and took part with *Philip*: part alſo were marriners and ſeafaring men, who for hope of more honorable intertainment and ſervice, had abandoned their ſhips, and were gotten into the City of *Corinth*. Theſe fellows paſt all hope of life, if the Romans haply ſhould have the better hand, fared more like mad men than hardy and audacious ſouldiers. Now there is over-againſt *Sicyone* a promontory of *Ino*, which they call the Cape of *Acreæ*, and it runneth into the Sea: from whence the paſſage over to *Corinth* is a cut almoſt of ſeven miles. Thither *Philocles*, a Captain alſo under King *Philip*, had conducted through *Bœotia* 1500 ſouldiers: and certain Brigantins of *Corinth* were there ready to embark that ſupply of aid, and to tranſport them to *Lecheæ*. By this time *Attalus* adviſed to ſet on fire the engins and fabricks that they had C made, and preſently to give over the ſiege. *Quintius* perſiſted yet more obſtinatly in his enterpriſe begun. But he alſo ſeeing the Kings guards ranged and quartered at every gate, and that if they ſhould hap to ſally out, their violence would hardly be ſuſtrained, was of the ſame mind with *Attalus*. So without effecting any thing, the Achæans were diſmiſſed, and the reſt returned to their ſhips, *Attalus* to *Piræum*, the Romans to *Corcyra*.

During this ſervice by Sea forces, the (other) Conſul who lay in camp before *Elatea* in *Phocis*, firſt aſſaied to gain the City by conference and parly with the principal citizens thereof: but after anſwer made that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the King, outwent the Towns-men both in number and ſtrength: then at once from all parts he gave an aſſault unto the City both by force of arms, and alſo by engins of artillery. The Ram was bent againſt the walls, D and as much thereof beaten down with a mighty craſh and fearful noiſe, as ſtood between the Towers: whereupon the Town was diſmantelled and laid naked, and with al a cohort of Roman ſouldiers entred at the open breach; ſo as from all parts the defendants abandoned their guards, and ran to that place that thus was diſtreſſed by the enemies. And at one inſtant the Romans advanced themſelves over the breach, and ſet up ſcaling ladders againſt the wall which was ſtanding; and whiles the enemies were amuſed wholly, and had their eye only upon that one place where the conflict was, the wall in many parts was ſcaled, and armed ſouldiers mounted into the City. At which ſuddain tumult and alarm, the armed men having quit the place which they guarded with a thick troop fled all into the caſtle for fear: and the unarmed and naked multitude followed after. Thus the Conſul was maſter of the City: which being ranſacked, he ſent unto the Caſtle E certain meſſengers, promiſing life to as many of the Kings garriſon as would depart away without arms, and offering liberty to the Elatians: and after ſecurity given hereof, within few dayes the Caſtle alſo was rendred into his hands. Moreover, by the arrival of *Philocles* (a commander for the King) in *Achæa*, not *Corinth* only was delivered from ſiege, but the City alſo of the Argives, was by certain of the principal rulers betrayed unto *Philocles*, who before had ſounded and ſolicited the minds and affections of the common people. There was a cuſtome in this City, that upon the firſt day of their general aſſemblies, the Pretor ſhould in token of good luck pronounce the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*: and afterwards ordained it was beſides by a law, that the name of *Philip* ſhould make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded between them and the Romans it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of *Philip*: whereat the mul- F titude firſt began to mutter and grumble: then aroſe a loud cry of thoſe that put him in mind to name the King, willing him to give him his honor due by law: until at laſt his name was alſo pronounced with great applauſe and conſent. Upon the confidence and aſſurance of this favour *Philocles* was ſent for, who by night ſeiſed upon an hill that commandeth the City, which commonly is called the fort of *Lar iſſæ*: and having put a garriſon there, the next morning betimes he advanced forward with banner diſplaid, and came down toward the common place lying under the fortreſs aforeſaid: where there encountred him a band of armed men well appointed in order of battail. Theſe were the garriſon of the Achæi lately there placed, to the number of 500 elect men choſen forth of all the States of *Achæa*: and one *Æneſidemus* a Dymean was their commander. Unto him *Philocles* (one of the Kings Captains aforeſaid) addreſſed a ſpecial meſſenger to per- G ſwade and exhort him to quit the City; giving him to underſtand, That he and his Company were not able to match the Town-men alone, who caried the ſame mind that the Macedonians had done: much leſs then ſhould they ſtand out when the Macedonians were joined unto them: the Macedonians (I ſay) whom the very Romans themſelves could not ſuſtain at *Corinth*. At firſt he did no good either with leader or ſouldier: yea, and when within a while they beheld the Argives alſo marching armed againſt them with a great troop from another part, and ſaw preſent death before their eyes, yet it ſeemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict,

and fought to the last man, in case their Captain would have stuck to it, and not relented. But H
Æne sidemus for fear left together with the City, the flour of all the youth of *Achæa* should perish, capitulated with *Philocles*, that they might be permitted to depart and go their way: but himself kept his ground still in his armour, with some few of his followers and vassals, and removed not a foot. Then *Philocles* sent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he was he would live and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and shot at him, and so both he and the company about him were slain every one. Thus after the accord of alliance between the Achæans and Romans, two most noble and famous Cities (*Argi* and *Corinth*) came under the subjection of the King. These were the acts atchieved by the Romans as I
well by Land as Sea this summer.

In *France* there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Ælius* the Consul, notwithstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained still with him, which by order he should have discharged, and was the same that had before been commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Pro-consul, and now by him was committed to the charge of C. *Ælius*: the other, that he brought himself with him into the Province. So that he employed the whole year almost in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to return into their Colonies, from whence by sundry casualties of war they were chased and dispersed. As *France* that year was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the City of *Rome* there had like to have been a commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at K
Setia, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles and Princes of *Carthage*) a mighty train and retinue of servants. The number of them was the greater by occasion of the late African war; during which time and presently after, the Setins also themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port-sale with the rest of the prizes. These having conspired together, sent out certain of their own company to sollicite also the other slaves that were in the territory of *Setia*, and so forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circeii*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided aforehand, they should upon the very day of the solemn games and plaies (which shortly were to be exhibited and set forth in *Setia*) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were busy in beholding the spectacle and shew represented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and L
when they had by massacre in this suddain hurlyburly possessed themselves of *Setia*, then to go forward and surprise *Norba* and *Circeii*. This horrible complot and conspiracy was detected, and information given at *Rome* to *L. Cornelius Merula* Pretor at that time of the City. For two bondslaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their safe custody at home within his own house, called the Senate together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these informers had revealed, he was commanded to go abroad to search out and repress this conspiracy. Forth he marched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he tendred unto them a military oath, and constrained M
them to arm and follow him. Thus in this hasty manner of levy, he armed well neer 2000, and with them all together (who knew not whither he meant to go, nor to what peece of service he led them) to *Setia* he came. At his first entrance, he suddainly in great hast apprehended the principal heads of the conspiracy; whereupon the slaves fled out of the Town. Then were sent out certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this business there were
See the account of the first Classis, *l.* 1. two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the Senat gave order, that there should be paid 100000 Asses in brass coin: but unto the slaves 25000 and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out of the Chamber of the City. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracy purposed to surprise *Prenestе*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretor of the City, where he exe- N
cuted about 500 persons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to see how the hostages and captives of the Carthaginians practised such troubles. Therefore in *Rome* a standing watch was kept in every street: and the inferior Magistrats were charged to see to it and to walk the round, and the Triumvirs likewise (or three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the Quarry-prison. The Pretor also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doors, and not suffered to go abroad into the streets: that all captives and prisoners should have gyves about their heels of ten pound weight at least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.

The same year came Embassadors from King *Attalus*, who presented in the Capitol a golden Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senate, that King *Antiochus* in O
88. *lib.* English, in angel gold, or thereabout. regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embassadors, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The same summer two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modii of wheat sent from King *Masanissa*, arrived at the camp in *Greece*. Likewise out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, there was sent great store of victual and liveries for the army. In *Sicily* *M. Marcellus* was L. Governour, and in *Sardinia* *M. Porcius Cato*, an upright man and living without touch and reproach, save only he was thought somewhat too severe in restraining of usury.

A usury. He banished out of that Iland all usurers: he abridged also and cut off clean, the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretor.

Sex. Ælius the Consul being returned to *Rome* out of *France* in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrats, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. And two daies after, the election was held for Pretors. This year first were chosen six Pretors, by reason that the number of Provinces encreased, and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And these were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volso*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Si-* Six Pretors first created.
lus, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *L. Acilius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were Æ-
diles of the Commons; *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *T. Sempronius Longus* Ædiles of the chair. The Roman games this year were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* being Consuls,
B above all things went in hand with the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretors (a matter that might be decided by casting lots.) To *Sergius* fell the jurisdiction of the City, and to *Minutius* the forein, over strangers. *Acilius* was appointed to *Sardinia*, *Manlius* to *Sicily*, *Sempronius* to that part of *Spain* between *Italy* and *Iberus*; and *Helvius* unto the other beyond the River.

When the Consuls were upon the point to cast lots likewise for their provinces; namely, *Italy* and *Macedony*, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius* Tribuns of the Commons, interposed themselves and staied them alledging, "That *Macedony* was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing
"that had more empeached and hindred the proceeding of wars to that day than this, That in so
"remote parts, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were setled in his
C "affairs, and when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already
"gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded to follow the Macedonian war; during
"which time, *Sulpitius* spent the greater part of his year in seeking after the King and his army;
"*Villius*, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had effected any ex-
"ploit; as for *Quintius*, he was kept at *Rome* still for the most part of the year, in attendance a-
"bout Church-matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affairs of wars under his conduct were ma-
"naged so well, that if either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later,
"he might have dispatched the wars there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his standing
"camp and wintring harbors, the report is, that he hath brought the war to that good pass and
"forwardness, that unless he be not hindred by a new successor, in all likely-hood and apparence,
D "he will make a final end thereof the next summer.

With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and set down by the Senat in this behalf upon condition, that the Tribuns would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation the LL. of the Senat assigned to both the Consuls the government of *Italy*, and continued the command of the army still with *T. Quintius*, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consul, with commission to war upon the Gauls between *Rome* and the *Alps* who had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And for *Quintius* ordained it was, that there should be sent into *Macedony* unto him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 sea-servitors and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Quintius Flaminius* should be
E Admiral of the navy, as before. For the Pretors who were to go into *Spain*, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation and 400 horsemen, so that they dismissed the old souldiers out of *Spain*: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bounds of their several provinces, whereas the higher *Spain* and the lower should part. And for *Macedony* there were two Lieutenants more for the army appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who had been Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretors went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which happed. For at *Rome* the Temple of *Vulcan* and *Summanus* at *Fregellæ* the wall and a gate of the City, were striken with lightning. At *Frusino* it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night season. At *Asculum* a Lamb was yeaned ha-
F ving two heads and five feet. Also at *Formiæ* two wolves entred into the Town, and worried some that were in their way. Last of all, at *Rome* there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

C. Acilius a Tribun of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies conducted to the Sea side and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Vultumnus* and *Liternus*, one at * *Puteoli*, another in the Burrough Town of *Salernum*, and to make the fift * *Buxentum* was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty households sent. The three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for the conducting of these Colonies were created; namely, *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*.
* Pozzolo.
* Pisciotta Nisco Fresola, Lagnio.
G and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they set forward both, into their provinces. *Cornelius* took his way directly against the Insubrians, who accompanied with the Cenomans, were entred at that time into arms: *Q. Minutius* in his journey bare on the left hand of *Italy* toward the nether sea; and conducting his army to *Genua*, began with the Ligurians to make war. *Clastidium* and *Litubium*, Towns both of the Ligurians, likewise two States of the same nation, the Celelats and the Cerdiciats surrendred unto him; insomuch as all the country on this side the *Po*, were in subjection to the

Romans, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Illuats among the Ligurians. By report H there were fifteen Towns containing twenty thousand men, which yeelded unto them. From thence he led the legions into the territory of the Boians. The army of the Boians had passed over the *Po* a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cænomans: for hearing that the Consuls would war jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the bruit being blown abroad, that once of the Consuls invaded and fired the country of the Boians, presently there arose a tumult. For the Boians demanded, that they all in general would help them in their distrets. The Insubrians refused and said, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they disbanded. The Boians went to the defence of their own country, and the Insubrians with the Cænomans, sat them down upon the banks of the River *Mincius*. Five miles beneath that place, the Consul I *Cornelius* also encamped himself neer the said River: from whence he sent certain messengers all about the villages, and to *Brixia*, the head City of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and consent of their ancients; and that the Cænomans joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by vertue of publick counsel and authority: he sent for the principal persons among them, and began to labour and deal with them, that the Cænomans would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their ensigns advanced, either to return into their own country, or turn to the Romans. This they could not bring them to: howbeit they assured the Consul, that in the field they would either sit still and do nothing, or else, if any good opportunity was presented unto them, they would aid the Romans. The Insubrians knew nothing of this complot: and yet, some doubt and suspition they had, that their allies halted, and were not K found of all feur: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not trust them with either of the two wings and points of the battel, for fear if they retreated like false brethren, they should hazard the main chance: but placed them behind the ensigns in the reergard. The Consul in the beginning of the battel vowed a Temple to *Juno Sospita*, in case he discomfited the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The souldiers set up a shout, and cried aloud that they would bring it to pass that the Consul should have his desire, and therewith charged the enemy right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shock. Some write, that in the very conflict the Cænomans also suddainly set upon their back, whereby they were distressed and in danger both before and behind; and that there were slain enclosed in the mids five and thirty thousand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them *Amilcar* the General of L the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirty ensigns carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the Towns that followed this revolt, yeelded to the Romans.

Minutius the Consul, at the beginning made excursions into the country of the Boians, waiting and spoiling it all over: but afterwards when they had forsaken the Insubrians, and were retired home to defend and save their own, he kept himself within camp, making full account to trie a set battel with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted and broken their hearts. Whereupon they forsook their leader, quit the camp, and bestowed themselves in the Towns and Villages to guard every man his own, and quite altered the course of their enemy his M war, and put him besides his account. For the Consul past all hope now to determine the quarrel in one ranged battel, began again to forrage the fields, burn all buildings, and force Towns by assault. Much about the same time *Clastidium* was set on fire. And from thence the legions were conducted against the Iluats among the Ligurians, who only stood out and would not come in, and yeeld obedience. Which nation like wise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battel, and that the Boians were so scared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted themselves. At the same time the letters of the Consuls, containing their happy affairs in *France*, were brought to *Rome*. *M. Sergius* the Pretor of the City first read them in the Senat, and afterwards by the advice of the Senate, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a procession was decreed for the space of four dayes.

N

Now was winter come, and whiles *T. Quintius* after the winning of *Elatia*, wintred his armies in divers harbors within *Phocis* and *Locris*, there arose a mutiny in *Opus*. The one faction sent for the Ætolians their neer neighbours to side with them: and the other for the Romans. The Ætolians came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched a messenger to the Roman General, they held the Town until his coming. The Kings garrison kept the fortress, neither could they be brought to abandon it either with the menaces of the Opuntians, or the authority and countenance of the Roman commander. The only let and stay why it was not immediatly assaulted was this; Because there was come an herald from the King, requesting time and place of a parle, which with much ado was granted to the King: not because *Quintius* of himself was not desirous and wished that he might be thought to have ended this war, O either by force of arms or conditions of peace; for as yet he knew not whether one of the new Consuls should be sent to succeed him, or his government continued still unto him (according as he had given his friends and kinsfolks in charge to bring that about by all the endeavour and means that he could make:) but he supposed verily, that this parling would be to good purpose for him, if it might be in his liberty to drive matters unto war if he stayed still, or draw to a peace if he departed home. So upon the strand and shore of the gulf *Malea*, they chose a place neer unto *Nicæa*.

Thither

A Thither came the King by water from *Demetrias* with five brigantins or pinnaces, and one ship of war with a brass beak-head. There accompanied him the chief LL. of *Macedony*, and *Cyciadas* a noble personage of great mark among the Achæans, and one that was from thence banished. With the Roman General were King *Aminander*, *Dionysidorus* an Embassador of King *Attalus*, and *Agesimbrotus* Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, *Phaneas* the chief and principal Magistrat of the Ætolians, and two Achæans *Aristhenus* and *Xenophon*. The Roman General in the mids of the c, advanced himself forward to the edge of the very shore, even to the bank side, whiles the King came forward to the foredeck of his ship standing at anchor: and thus he began and said unto the King: "Sir, you may do better to come ashore that we may commune and confer together close, "and both speak and hear one another more easily. The King refused so to do: and why so? quoth B "*Quintius*, who is it that you fear, if a man may know? Then with an hauty spirit and kinglike: I "fear none (quoth he) but the immortal Gods; but I trust not the fidelity of all that I see here a- "bout you, and namely, the Ætolians least of all other. Why (saith *Quintius* again) this is the "common case of all them that come to parly with enemies; namely, to be in danger one of ano- "ther. Yea mary, quoth the King, but by your leave *Quintius*, the price and recompence of trea- "chery and falshood (if it should come to that) is not all one for killing *Philip* and *Phaneas*: for "the Ætolians should not find it so hard a matter to substitute another Pretor, as the Macedonians "to create another King in my room. This said, there was not a word more to the point: while the Roman General thought it reason that he should begin who sought for a parle; and the King supposed it meet that it was his part to speak first who should give conditions, and not for him C that stood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then *Quintius* began and said, that his speech should be plain and simple: for he would say no more, but propose only those points, which if they might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. First, that the King must withdraw his garrisons out of all the Cities of *Greece*. *Item*, That he is to deliver up all the prisoners and fugitive revolts that he hath, unto the allies of the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That he restore again to the Romans all those pieces in *Illyricum*, which after the peace concluded in *Epirus*, he had seized upon. Last of all, that he surrender unto *Ptolomeus* King of Ægypt, all those Cities which he possessed himself of, after the death of *Ptolome Philopator*. These (saith he) are the conditions, that I and the people of *Rome* do demand: but meet it is besides, that you hear the demands also of the allies. Then the Embassador or agent for King *Attalus* required, that the ships D and captives which had been taken in the Sea-fight before *Chius*, should be rendered, and that *Nicephorium* and the Temple of *Venus*, which he had pilled and spoiled, should be restored as good and entire, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claim to *Peræa* (a country in the continent right over-against their Isle, and an ancient appurtenance of their Seignory) and demanded withal, that the garrisons should quit *Iassus*, *Bargylla*, and the City of the Euromeusians, and about *Hellespontus*, likewise the Cities of *Sestos* and *Abydos*. *Item*, that *Panopolis* should be restored unto the Bizantins, with the ancient charter of their franchises and liberties. Finally, that all the Merchant Towns and Ports in *Asia* might be freed from paying custome. Then came upon him the Achæi, and challenged *Corinth* and *Argi* as their own. After them, when as *Phaneas* (the Pretor of the Ætolians) had demanded in a manner the same that the Romans had before; E namely, that the Kings forces should depart out of *Greece*, adding moreover, that those Cities should be rendred unto the Ætolians which in times past belonged to their dominion and jurisdiction: then one of the heads of the Ætolians named *Alexander* an eloquent man among them, as any other, presently inferred and said; "That he had a long time sitten still, and opened not his "mouth, not because he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or con- "clusion, but for that he would not interrupt any of his allies in their speech. And as for *Philip*, "quoth he, he dealeth not soundly and *bona fide* in treaties of peace, no more than ever heretofore "he hath managed his wars with vertue and true valour. For in all these parles and conferences "he layeth trains, and lieth to catch advantages: in war he never striketh a battail in plain field, "nor cometh to close fight hand to hand; but in his retreats and flights, burneth and sacketh Ci- F "ties: and thus being himself vanquished, spoileth and maketh havock of that which by right is "the due reward and recompence of conquerors. But the noble Macedonian Kings in old-time, "took no such courses. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to spare Cities and "Towns, all that ever possibly they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wealthy "and puissant. For what kind of policy is it, for him to ruinate and destroy utterly that, about the "possession whereof he is in question, and reserve nothing for himself but only war? This *Philip* "the year past hath laid desolate in *Thessalie* more Cities of his allies there, than all the enemies "have done that ever *Thessalie* had; and hath taken more from the Ætolians themselves, while "he was a confederate friend with them, than all the time that he was their professed enemy. He "hath seized upon *Lysimachia*, expelled their Pretor, and chased out the garrison of the Ætolians. G *Chios* also, a City under his own subjection he hath rased, subverted and quite destroyed. By semblable falshood and deceit he is possessed of * *Thebes* in *Phthia*, *Echinum*, *Larissa*, and *Pharsalus*. Philip netled and galled at these words of *Alexander*, commanded that his ship should approach neerer to the bank, to the end that himself might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter invectives against the Ætolians principally, *Phaneas* cut him off, saying, That the quarrel was not to be decided by word, but with the sword: and either he must win it by mere force, or yeeld obedience to the mightier. That is true, quoth *Philip*, and so evident, that a blind man may see it;

* For distinction of *Thebes* in Ægypt and other places.

jesting

jesting merily at *Phaneas*, who was troubled with a pair of bad eies. And given he was by nature H
to be pleasantly conceited, yea, and fuller of his frumps, I wot than beseemed the Majesty of a
King: so as many times even in treaty of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not
forbear but make himself mery and laugh a good while. " Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and
" indignation, that the Ætolians should take upon them like Romans to command him out of
" *Greece*, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set down the bounds
" of *Greece* & limit how far it reached. For asmuch as the Agrei, the Apodeotes and Amphilochi,
" which take up a great part of *Ætolia*, are not within *Greece*. And what just cause (quoth he) of
" complaint have they, in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves
" hold this old custome for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take arms and serve against
" their own allies, so they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very I
" often a man may see Ætolians in contrary armies, & come to aid as well the one side as the other.
" As for *Chius* it was not I that forced it; I did no more but aid *Prusias* my friend and ally, in the
" siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lysimachia*, I defended it against the Thracians: but
" for asmuch as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this war, the Thraci-
" ans now hold it. Thus much by way of answer to the Ætolians. Now concerning *Attalus* and
" the Rhodians, by right I owe them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the war.
" Howbeit, for the honor that I bear to the Romans, I will make restitution to the Rhodians of
" *Peræa*, and restore I will to *Attalus* the ships and the captives as many as are forth coming and
" may be found. As for the restitution and making good again of *Nicephorium* and the Temple of
" *Venus*, what answer should I return to them that demand it, but this, that I will endeavour and K
" be at charge of planting new trees (which is the only way and means whereby groves and
" woods that are cut down and fallen, may be recovered again) seeing that ye will needs have it,
" that Kings (forsooth) must commune and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In
" the last place, he framed his speech to answer the Achæans: wherein, first he began with the
" benefits and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation; then, of the favours and good
" turns they had received from his own self; and with all he commanded their decrees and edicts
" to be read, containing all kind of honors as well divine as human: adding moreover the late
" and fresh revolt of their army from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloy-
" alty and treachery, yet he promised to render *Argos* unto them. As for *Corinth*, he would con-
" fer and consult with the Roman General, and demand of him, whether he thought it reason L
" that he should depart from those cities which he won by arms, and held by right of conquest or
" dispossess himself of those also, which he received from his progenitors as his lawful inheri-
" tance? The Achæans and Ætolians, addressed themselves to answer those points; but the sun
was welneer down: whereupon the conference was adjourned until the morrow. *Philip* retired
to the harbor from whence he came, and the Romans with their allies to their camp. The day fol-
lowing, *Quintius* at the time appointed was ready before the City of *Nicæa* (for that was thought
a convenient place.) But *Philip* appeared not, nor for the space of certain hours came there any
at all from him, not so much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repair
thither, behold of a suddain his ships were descried. For himself he said by way of excuse, that
considering how hard, how grievous and intolerable indignities were imposed upon him, he had M
employed all that day time until then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally
thought among them all that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even to-
ward evening, because the Achæans and Ætolians should have no leisure to answer unto him.
And this opinion of theirs himself confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parly
with the Roman General himself, and that all others should go aside and absent themselves; to
the end they two might spend and lose no more time in debate and wrangling, but go briefly to
the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted
by *Quintius*, pretending that he would not have it seen that the allies were excluded out of the
conference. But afterwards upon his importunate suit, by the advise of them all the Roman Ge-
neral together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonel, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward N
to the bank side: the King with the other two whom he had with him the day before came aland.
There after they had parled in secret together a certain time, they parted. What *Philip* related
unto his company is not certainly known: but *Quintius* made report unto his allies of their con-
ference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quit the whole coast and tract of *Illyri-
cum*, for the Romans to enter upon. Item, to send back all the traitorous renegats, and as many
captives as were to be found. *Item*, to redeliver unto *Attalus* the ships and the mariners taken
prisoners therein. *Item* to render unto the Rhodians the country of *Peræa*: but in no wise to be
dissuaded of *Iassus* and *Bargylia*. *Item*, to deliver unto the Ætolians *Pharsalus* and *Larissa* but not
Thebes in any case. Last of all, to part not only with *Argos*, but with *Corinth* also for the behoof of
the Achæans. There was not one of them all well pleased a this limitation and setting out of par-
ticular parts, which he would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckoning & account O
they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) he remove his forces and garrisons
out of all *Greece* throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrel. As they all
cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voyce was heard of *Philip*, albeit he
stood aloof. Whereupon he requested *Quintius* to refer the whole matter once more unto the next
day; and then certainly without fail, he would either persuade him and his allies and bring them
to

A to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himself to be perswaded and over-ruled by them.
The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand near *Thronium*: and thither they repaired
on both parts betimes. There *Philip* first and foremost, besought both *Quintius* and all those that
were present, not to disturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to some effect: and in con-
clusion, craved time wherein he might send his Embassadours unto the Senat of *Rome*; assuring
them, that if he could not obtain peace under those articles aboveseid, he would accept of any o-
ther conditions, which it should please the Senat to put upon him. All the rest misliked hereof, sup-
posing that he sought for nothing else but delayes and tract of time, whiles he might gather his
forces together. But *Quintius* inferred again, That well it might so be, and a truth indeed that they
alledged, if it were summer time and a season fit for war and martial exploits: but now, consider-
B ing winter was at hand, they could lose nothing by granting him respite to address an embassage.
For neither (qd. he) will any capitulation and composition which we should make with *Philip*
stand good and firm without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of ne-
cessity we must surcease from war) it may be known what the Senate by their authority will ap-
prove. To this advice the chief of the confederats accorded, and therein rested. So there was a
cessation of arms for two moneths granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each
of them likewise should dispatch one Embassador to advertise the Senate, to take heed they were
not over-raught by the subtilty and fraud of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the
truce aforesaid, That incontinently the Kings garrisons should void the territories of *Phocis* and
Locris. *Quintius* also himself sent (together with the Embassadors of the allies) *Aminander* King
C of the Athamans: and to make the embassage more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his own wives sisters
son) *Q. Fulvius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the King.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, the Embassadours of the allies had audience given them be-
fore those that were sent from King *Philip*. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the
King: but in this one point they most of all moved the Senat to give ear unto them, namely, when
they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of those countries as well by Land as
Sea, that all men might plainly see, that if the King might hold in his hands the City *Demetrias*
in *Thessalie*, *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, and *Corinth* in *Achaia*, *Greece* could not possibly be at liberty, con-
sidering that *Philip* himself was wont to term them (no less truly than tauntingly) The shackles
and setters of *Greece*. After them were the Kings Embassadors permitted to enter into the Se nat-
D house: and having begun to make a long Oration, their speech was cut off with this one brief and
short interrogatory, Whether *Philip* would quit those three Cities aforesaid, or no? Where-
unto they made this answer, That they had no express warrant in their commission touching that
matter by name. So the Kings Embassadors were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and
Quintius had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by
this, that the Senat was not weary of war, and being himself more desirous of victory than peace,
he would never after grant *Philip* any more parlies, but gave him to understand, that he would
admit no other embassage from him, but that which should bring him news of his departure
quite out of *Greece*.

Philip seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a main bat-
E tail, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed most of all for
the Cities of *Achaia* (a countrey far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of *Argi*
than *Corinth*; he thought it best policy to make it over (as it were upon trust) into the hands of
Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, *Nabis*
should deliver it up unto him again; but if ought should come to him but well, then *Nabis* him-
self to have and hold it as his own. Unto *Philocles*, Governor of *Corinth* and *Argi*, he dispatcheth
his letters, That he should himself in person commune with the tyrant above-named about it.
Philocles, besides that he came now with a present, added moreover of his own head (for the
better assurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King) That *Philip* would give his
daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his sons. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that City,
F unless he were sent for, by a decree of the Argives themselves to come for to aid the City. But
afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequent assembly there, they not only rejected him, but
also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abhomination; supposing
now that he had a good occasion and quarrel offered to make a spoil of them, he willed *Philocles* to
deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the
night season, without the privity and knowledge of any person: and by break of day he seised up-
on all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few of the principal heads in the beginning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses ransacked
and their goods pilled: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them;
besides, great sums of money were imposed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and
G were not long about it, but tendred ready coin, were let go without any outrage or hurt done
unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled
and tortured like bondslaves. After this, he assembled the people together and published
two Laws; the one, for crossing all debt-books and cancelling obligations: the other, for divi-
sion of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to serve their turn that seek for
change and alteration in a State; enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chief
of a City.

When

When the City of *Argos* was thus brought in subjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remembring at whose hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent Embassadors to *Eldius* unto *Quintius*, likewise to *Attalus* wintring then in *Ægina*, certifying them, That *Argos* was in his hands and at his devotion; and if *Quintius* would repair thither to parle with him, he doubted not but they two should agree well enough in every point. *Quintius* granted to come thither, to the end, that by this means he might disfurnish *Philip* of that garrison: and he sent likewise to *Attalus*, willing him, that he would depart from *Ægina* and meet him at *Sicyone*: himself loosed from *Anticyra*, and with ten Galeaces called Quinqueremes; which (as hap was) *L. Quintius* his brother some dayes before had put to sea out of the wintring harbor of *Corcyra*, crossed over to *Sicyone*. Now was *Attalus* there already, who making remonstrance unto *Quintius*, That it became a tyrant to come unto a Roman General, and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced *Quintius* to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of *Argos*. Not far from the City is a place called *Mycenica*, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintius* came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. *Attalus* was guarded with his Princely and Royal train. *Nicostratus* the Prætor of the Achæans repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliary souldiers: and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guard likewise armed he advanced himself into the midst (well neer) of the plain that lay between. *Quintius* unarmed came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King *Attalus* likewise between the Prætor of the Achæans of the one hand and a courtiour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speech with an excuse, That being in arms and attended with a guard of armed men, he presented himself to a parle seeing the General of the Romans and King *Attalus* unarmed: and said that he stood not in fear of them but of certain exiled persons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of amity, *Quintius* the General demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with the Achæi: the other, That he would send with him certain aids against *Philip*. And verily to send succour he granted: and in lieu of peace he was content there should be a truce, until the war with *Philep* was dispatched. Also about *Argos* King *Attalus* began to enter into some question, saying: That having the City treacherously betrayed unto him by *Philocles*, he now held it by force of arms: but he answered again, That he was sent for by the Argives themselves, for to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereof. The King replied again, that the assembly should be free, and at their liberty to speak, and to that effect the garrisons were to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedemonians intermingled among them: to the end that the Argives might frankly speak their mind. But the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no conclusion, and the conference brake up, after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 600 Candiots, and a truce made for the term of four moneths, between *Nicostratus* Prætor of the Achæans, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. From thence *Quintius* departed to Corinth, and approached the gate with a Regiment of Cretensians, that it might appear to *Philocles* the Kings Captain there that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philocles* also entred into a parle with the Roman General: and when he was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yeeld the City, he returned such an answer unto him, that he seemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From *Corinth* *Quintius* crossed the Sea to *Anticyra*, from whence he sent his brother to sound the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Attalus* departed directly from *Argos* to *Sicyone*. Where the City not only encreased the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new: but also the King over and besides that he had purchased for them in time past, the sacred land of *Apollo*, with a great sum of money: because he would not seem now also to pass by this friend City allied unto him, without some royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them six talents of silver, and 10000 Medimns of corn: and so returned to his ships at *Cenchreæ*. *Nabis* also having strengthened the garrison in *Argi* returned to *Lacedæmon*: and after himself had robbed the men of their money and goods, he sent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who sending for the honourable & worshipful dames of the City inviting them one by one to her house, and otherwhiles many together at once such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatning got from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end stript off their apparel also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

The three and thirtieth Book *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and thirtieth Book.

TItus Quintius Flaminius *the Pro-consul ended the war with* Philip, *after he had vanquished him in a pight field neer* Cynocephalæ *in* Thessalie. L. Quintius Flaminius, *brother to the said Pro-consul,*

A *consul, having forced* Leucas *the head City of* Acarnania, *received the Acarnanians upon their submission and surrender.* C. Sempronius Tuditanus *the Prætor was slain, and his army defeated by the Celtiberians.* Attalus *being fallen suddainly sick, was removed from* Thebes *to* Pergamus, *and there departed this life.* Peace *was granted to* Philip *upon his suit, and liberty restored to* Greece. L. Furius *and* C. Claudius Marcellus, *the two Consuls, subdued the Boians and Insubrians in* Gaul, Marcellus *triumphed.* Annibal *having practised in* Affrick *to raise war, but to no effect, was thereupon accused unto the Romans, by letters sent from the principal of the adverse faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had dispatched their Embassadors to the Carthaginian Senat about him, he fled unto* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *who also prepared then to make war upon the Romans.*

B *The beginning is not extant in the Latine.*

adjoyning in those quarters to *Acarnania*. There was a streight pass or gullet there, half a mile almost in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this streight standeth the City *Leucas* planted against an hill that turneth to the East, and looketh toward *Acarnania*. The base Town is built upon a plain, reaching along the sea that divideth *Leucadia* from *Acarnania*. Whereupon the City as well on the land side, as by sea, is easie to be forced. For the foords of the water resemble a standing lake rather than a Sea, and the whole soil is a light earth, minable and easy to be wrought into, so that in many places at once the walls either undermined or shaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the Town it self was assaultable, so the hearts of the Townsmen were invincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the shaken wal, to fill up the open breaches and ruins; to make head lustily, and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to save themselves by strength of their walls. And surely a longer siege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped, but that certain banished persons, Italians born, dwelling in *Leucas* let in and received armed souldiers on the Castle side. Howbeit, the Leucadians embattelling themselves in their market place, encountred them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battel with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in diverse places were scaled with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of stones that lay at the breaches, entred the Town. And now by this time the Lieutenant in person, with many companies environed them as they fought: some slain in the midst, others flung away their weapons, and yeelded to the conquerour. After few dayes, upon the news of the field fought at *Cynocephalæ*, all the States of *Acarcania* came in, and submitted themselves to the Lieutenant.

At the same time, whiles fortune turned thus about, and bare down a side all at once: the Rhodians also sent out *Pausistratus* their Prætor, with 800 footmen of *Achæa* & about 1900 souldiers well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regain and reconquer from *Philip* the country of *Perea*, lying in the main and firm land, which had been held sometime, and possessed by their ancestours. And these aids were compounded and mixed of French, Nisuets, Pisuets, Tanians, and Areans of *Affrick*, and Laodiceans of *Asia*. With these forces *Pausistratus* encamped in the territory of *Stratonicea*, and there he seized of a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, unwares to the Kings company that had holden the same. Thither came also to aid them in very good time, a Regiment of a 1000 foot and a 100 horse of Achæans, levied for that purpose, and were commanded by *Theoxenus*. *Dinocrates* a Captain under the King, willing to recover the said hold again, first pitched his tents, hard against the enemies camp. But afterwards he removed to another sort in the territory likewise of *Stratonicea*, which they call *Asbragon*: and having rallied together all the garrisons dispersed asunder in divers places, and sent for the auxiliary bands also of Thessalians, even from *Stratonicea*, he took his way and marched toward *Alabanda*, where the enemies were. The Rhodians likewise for their part were ready for battel, and after they were encamped of both sides neer together, immediatly they entred into the field to fight it out. *Dinocrates* placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the Agrians he put in the left, in the main battel he bestowed all those that he had gathered together out of the garrisons belonging to the forts abovesaid, who for the most part were Carians, the points he flanked round about with his cornets of Horse. The Rhodian cohort was marshalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candiots and Thracians kept the right point, the hired souldiers (and they were a power of elect footmen) stood in the left, in the midst were the aids (a mixture of many nations:) the Cavalry and all the light armed souldiers that were, compassed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies stood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some loose shot discharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and struck a battail exceeding the proportion of their number; for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even marched not in number only and armour, but also in equal courage and hope alike. The Achæi first passed over the said brook, and charged upon the Agrians: afterwards the whole army ran as one would say, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful. The Achæi being of themselves in number a thousand, disordred some four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat, and afterwards the entire right point of the battail began to shrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians, so long as their battaillon called Phalanx kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be stirred or removed; but after their left side was laid naked, and they began

began to reach out on an all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them across upon the flank, they were presently troubled: and first they put themselves in diiarray, afterwards they turned their backs, and last of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life, until they were come to *Bargilia*. Thither also was *Dinocrates* fled. The Rhodians having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, retired into their camp. And for certain it is known, if in this train of victory they had presently made speed to *Stratonicea*, they might have been masters of the Town, and never drawn sword for it: but whiles they spent time in recovering the burrough Towns and forts of *Peræa*, they let this opportunity slip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the mean space, they that lay in garrison and held *Stratonicea*, were encouraged, and took better heart. *Dinocrates* also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himself within the walls. Then was the Tower besieged and assailed, all in vain, neither could it be forced and won but by *Antiochus*, a certain time after. Thus went the affairs in *Thessalie*, in *Achæa*, and in *Asia*, much about one and the self-same time.

Philip being advertised that the Dardanians were entred within the confines of his realm, and wasted the high country of *Macedony*, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappy fortune still followed and coursed both him and his wheresoever they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavy than death it self to be disseized of the possession of *Macedony* also, he made a levy in great hast out of all his cities of six thousand foot, and 500 horse: with which power of Macedonians, he suddainly surprised the enemy (unprovided and not aware of his coming) about *Stobi* in * *Pelagonia*. Great numbers of men were slain in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and ranged abroad for greedines of booty and pillage. But as many as could make means to flie more readily and easily away, never stood out the tryal of a battail, but returned home into their own countrey. Having thus put life as it were again into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the total adventure of his whole estate) he retired himself to *Thessalonica*.

* Otherwise called *Tribolitis*, of three cities therein.

The Punick war was not atchieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romans (who otherwise should have warred at once both against the Carthaginians and *Philip*) but it fell out as well and in as fit a season, that *Philip* was now vanquished; just against the time that *Antiochus* in *Syria* prepared to levy war against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have been if they had banded both at once, and brought their forces together, it chanced also that *Spain* about the very same instant brake out to a tumultuous insurrection.

Antiochus being returned to *Antioch* there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the Cities belonging to *Ptolomæus*, within the country of * *Cœle-Syria*, was yet never the more at quiet, and mindful of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of Land and also of Sea-forces, and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realm, he sent afore by Land in the beginning of the spring, his two sons *Ardues* and *Mithridates* with a mighty army, commanding them to attend him at *Sardis*: himself in person set forth a Voyage by Sea, with a fleet of a hundred sail of covert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter Vessels, as Galions and Brigantins, purposing at one time to assay all the Cities in * *Cilicia* and *Caria*, coasting along the Sea side, which were within the Dominion of *Ptolomæus*: and withal to aid *Philip* as well with shipping as souldiers, for as yet *Philip* was not utterly subdued, nor the war with him brought to a final end. Many brave and worthy exploits enterprised the Rhodians both by Sea and Land, in their loyalty and faithfulnes to the Romans, and for the safeguard and defence of all the Greekish Nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a World of wars threatned against them, they sent Embassadors to the King, to let him understand, that if he failed forward and stayed not his Armado, they would encounter him at the Bay of *Nephelis* (which is a promontory or Cape of *Cilicia*, renowned for the ancient league of the Athenians.) And this they did, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for coming to join with *Philip*, thereby to hinder the Romans in their good course of setting *Greece* at liberty. At the same time *Antiochus* was busied in the siege and assault of *Coracesium*, against which he had placed all ordnance and engins of battery: for he was already master of the Cities of * *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, * *Aphrodisias* and * *Coryeus*, and having doubled the point of * *Anemurium* (a Cape or forland also of *Cilicia*) he had won likewise the City of * *Selinus*. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yeelded unto him by composition, either for fear or willingly, without any assault, only *Coracesium* shut their gates against him, and staid his progress beyond his expectation. There the Embassadors of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassie was such as might have set a King into a fit of choler and chafed his bloud, yet he tempred his anger, and made answer that he would send his Embassadors to *Rhodes*, and give them in charge to renew the ancient rights and privileges as well of his own as of his ancestours with that City and State, and so will them not to stand in fear of the Kings coming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should sustain harm or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and break the amity which he had with the Romans, as it may appear as well by his late embassie sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senat and sent unto him. Nor it fortuned that even then the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* were returned from *Rome*, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time required:

* *Boea*, or *Balbalbee*.

* *Turcomania*, and *Finicbia*.

* *Scendelora*.
* *S. Theodoro*, *Curcu*, or *Charachisar*.
* *Stolemæa*.
* *Iflenos*.

A quired: for as yet the issue of the war against *Philip* was uncertain. Whiles the Kings Embassadors delivered these points in the assembly of the Rhodians, there arrived a post with news, that the war was ended by means of a victory atchieved by the Romans against *Philip* at *Cynoscephale*. These tidings being once heard, the Rhodians past all fear now of *Philip* were of advice to meet *Antiochus* at sea with their navy. For they had a second care besides which they neglected not, to maintain the liberty of those allied Cities pertaining to King *Ptolomy*, against which war was menaced from *Antiochus*. Some they succoured with sending aide unto them, and others by forecast and giving them warning of the designments and enterprises of their enemies: whereby they were a cause, that the *Caunii*, *Myndii*, they of *Halicarnassus* and *Samos* enjoyed still their entire freedom. But needless it is for me, to prosecute all the occurrents and affairs that passed B in these parts, considering how I shall have enough to do, and hardly be able to set down and go through with those that properly concern the Roman war. At the same time also King *Attalus* was brought sick from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, and there departed this world in the seventeenth year of his age, when he had reigned forty four. This man was beholden to fortune for nothing else but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdom. He employed the same with such wisdome and magnificence, that first in his own conceit, and afterwards in the judgment of others, he was not thought unworthy to be a King. Afterwards when he had vanquished in one battell the Gauls (a nation at that time newly arrived in *Asia*, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he took upon him to be stiled King, and ever after carried a mind answerable to the grandeur and Majesty of that name. His own subjects he governed with singular C justice. To his allies he shewed himself most fast and faithfull. His friends he used with all kindnes and bounty. A wife and four children he had living when himself died: and left his kingdom so sure and well setled, that the possession thereof continued firm to the third discent and generation after him.

The commendation of King *Attalus*.

Whiles things stood thus in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Macedony*, and the war with *Philip* scarcely ended, or at least wise peace not fully concluded, there arose a mighty war in the Province of *Spain* beyond the river *Iberus*. *M. Helvius* at that time was governor there, who by his letters advertised the Senat, That *Colcas* and *Luscinus*, two Princes in those parts, were gone out, and had taken arms; that with *Colcas* there banded seventeen towns, and with *Luscinus* the strong and puissant Cities *Cardo* and *Bardo*; that the whole sea coast, which hitherto by open re- D volt shewed not their rebellious heart, would doubtless upon the commotion of those their neighbours, make likewise an insurrection together with them. After these letters were read by *M. Sergius* the Prætor, who had the jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senat ordained, that after the election of new Prætors was past, he to whose lot the government of *Spain* fell, should propose unto the Senat in all convenient speed as touching the war in *Spain*.

About that very time the Consuls repaired to *Rome*, (from their Provinces) who held an assembly of the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*: and when they demanded triumph in consideration of their good service, and happy exploits in war atchieved: *C. Atinius Labeo* and *C. Ursanius*, Tribunes of the Commons required, That the Consuls should speak severally by themselves, con- E cerning triumph: for suffer them they would not joyntly to propound that thing in the house, to the end, that equall and semblable honour should not be conferred upon persons of unlike quality, worth, and desert. And when *Minutius* inferred again and said, That the Province of *Italy* fell unto them both in one commission, and *Cornelius* seconded him withall, averring, That he and his companion in government had managed all their affairs with one mind by common counsell and advice; that the Boians who passed over the river *Po* against him for to succour the Insubrians, and Cænomans, were forced to turn back again to defend their own, by reason that the other Consul his Collegue made such waste and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes confessed that *Cornelius* indeed had atchieved so worthy exploits in war, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of rendring praise and thanks to the immortall F gods: but neither he nor any other Citizen stood ever at any time in such grace, favour, and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himself, he should impart that glory unto his Collegue and fellow, if he were so shameless as to crave it. As for *Q. Minutius* (say they) he made some sleight skirmishes with the Ligurians not worth the talking of: mary in *France* he lost a good number of his souldiers. And with that they named *T. Juventius* and *Cneus* the brother of *Labeo*, two Colonels of Tribunes of the camp, who were slain in an unfortunate battel, with many a brave and hardy man besides, as well Citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were some few towns and villages colourably yielded and rendred up for the time, without any assu- G rance and security. These janglings and debates between the Consuls and the Tribunes continued for two daies: but in the end, the Consuls being overcome with the importunity of the Tribunes, were content to propose the matter distinctly by themselves. And with the generall voice and accord of all, a triumph was decreed for *Cn. Cornelius*. The Placentins also and men of *Cremona*, were a great cause that this Consul found more favour; by reason that they gave thanks, and reported on his behalf, that they were delivered by his good means from the siege, yea, and most of them recovered from servitude out of the hands of their enemies. *Q. Minutius* having only cast a proffer and made an assay of proposing his cause to the Senat, seeing them wholly banded and set against him, said aloud, That in maintenance of Consular authority, and by vertue of,

that place, yea, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned personages, he would triumph, and aske them no leave, in the mount *Alban*. But *Cn. Cornelius* whiles he was still in office, triumphed over the Insubrians and Cænomans. He carried in pomp before him a number of military ensigns: he caused great store of French spoil and pillage to pass in a pageant upon charriots taken from the enemies. Many Noblemen of *France* were led in a shew before his own triumphant chariot: among whom (as some write) was *Amilcar* Generall of the Carthaginians. But above all others, the goodliest sight was, a number of Coloners and inhabitants of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, who with * bonets or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 237500 Sesterces, 7900 Bigats of silver coin. He divided among his horsemen seventy Asses apeece, to every horseman he gave double, and to each Centurion trebble so much. *Q. Minutius* likewise triumphed in mount *Alban* over the Ligurians and the Boians in *Gaul*. The honour of this triumph as it was less, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his acts, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common Chest or Camber of the City: so for number of ensigns, of chariots and spoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equall and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well-near as much as *Cornelius*: for of brass coin he had in shew 254000 Asses, of silver coin in Bigat peeces 53200. To common souldiers or footmen, to Centurions and horsemen, he gave as much as his Collegue. After this triumph there was a generall assembly held for the election of Magistrats: wherein were created Consuls, *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after these Prætors were chosen, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *L. Apustius Fullo* and *C. Lælius*.

* In token that they were by him freed from captivity.

In the end of that former year, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battell ranged with King *Philip* within *Thessaly*, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. These letters were first read in the Senat by *Sergius* the Prætor, and then by order from the LL. in the publike assembly of the people. For this happy success, it was ordained, That there should be solemn processions for five daies. Shortly after there arrived Embassadors both from *T. Quintius*, and also from the King. The Macedonian Embassadors were brought without the City to the place or hamlet called *Villa publica*, where they were appointed their lodging, rich presents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themselves and their train. In the Temple of *Bellona* the Senat was assembled, where there passed not many words by reason that the Macedonians promised, That the King should perform whatsoever the Senat would set down. So (according to the ancient custome and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegats, by whose advice and counsell *T. Quintius* the Generall, was to present and tender unto *Philip*, articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of Delegats, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Valerius* should be comprised by name; who when they were Consuls governed the Province of *Macedony*. The same day, the Cossans demanded and made suit, That the number of their Coloners or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon an order was granted, That there should be a thousand new enrolled to the former: with this provise, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who after the Consulship of *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius* had been enemies to the people of *Rome*. The Roman games and plaies were that year exhibited as well in the *Circus* as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the Ædiles Curule *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*: which, as they were set out with more state and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy, contentment and pleasure, in regard that all things fell out so fortunatly in the wars: and they were renewed and represented all thrice over. As for the plaies called *Plebeii*, they were set forth no less than seven times one after another. *Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Lælius* exhibited those pastimes: who also of their silver that arose of fines and forfeitures, caused three cast images of brass to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*. *Liber*, and * *Libera*.

* *Venus.*

Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entred into their Magistracy, and after question made concerning their Provinces, the Senat passed a decree, That both of them joyntly should govern *Italy*; they requested that they might cast lots for *Macedony* and *Italy* together. *Marcellus* more desirous of the twain of the Province of *Macedony*, alledged, that the peace was not sound but counterfeit, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the King would take arms and war again, in case the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senat into a deep study and suspence, what to do, or to think of it. And haply the Consuls had obtained their request, but that *Q. Martius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two Tribunes of the Commons, protested, that they would oppose themselves and crosse it by their negative voice, unless they might first propose unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleasure was to entertain peace with King *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitoll before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, *Uti rogastis* [*i.e.* So be it as ye demanded.] And to the end, that all men might have more cause to rejoyce that peace was confirmed with *Macedony*, there came heavy news out of *Spain*, and letters were divulged abroad, containing thus much, That *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Vice-Prætor in the hither Province of *Spain*, was vanquished in battell, that his army was discomfited and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark slain. That *Tuditanus* himself was carried forth of the conflict grievously wounded, and soon after died. The Province of *Italy* was assigned for both the Consuls with those two legions which the former Consuls had in charge, and

A order granted, that they should levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two should be sent whither it pleased the Senat to appoint. And *T. Quintius Flamininus* was commanded to rule his Province still with the same army, and his Commission of longer government was renewed. After this, the Prætors cast lots for the parting of their Provinces. *L. Apustius Fullo* obtained the jurisdiction of the Citizens of *Rome*, and *M. Acilius Glabreo* was *L.* Chief Justice between Citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the base or farther *Spain*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither *Spain*. To *C. Lælius* fell *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* to *T. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the Provinces in *Spain* befell, the Consuls should out of those four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apeece, which they thought good, and of allies and of the Latine nation, four B thousand footmen besides, and three hundred horsemen to either of them. And these Prætors were enjoyned to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The war in *Spain* began afresh, in the fifth after that the former together with the Punick war was ended. But before that these Prætors went forth to this war (which may be counted as it were new, in regard that the Spaniards now first, and never before, warred in their own proper name, without either leader or army of *Carthage*) and before that the Consuls themselves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old custome they should provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported. *L. Julius* as he rode on horseback into the Sabins country, was both himself and his horse under him strucken dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territory of *Capena*, was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the Temple of C *Moneta*, the Iron heads of two spears were sent to burn on a light fire. A Wolf happned to enter into the City at the gate *Esquilina* and ran through the most populous part thereof as far as unto the market place, and so forward to the Tuscan street, and from thence through the *Velium*, and passed forth again at the gate *Capena* untouched, and in manner without taking any harm.

These prodigious signs were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the Province of high *Spain* before *Tuditanus*, entred the City by order from the Senat in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in bullion 20000 pound weight: and in coin 34550 deniers. *L. Stertinius* from the nether *Spain*, brought into the treasury 5000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles D won from the enemies, he caused two arches to be erected in the beast market, even before the Temple of *Fortune*, and the goddess *Matuta*: and one besides in the grand Cirque or shew-place. And upon these arches he set up guilded Statues. These were all the affairs, to speak of, that passed this winter-season.

There wintered at that time in *Athens Quintius*. And among many other suters that came unto him with their petitions, the Bœotians exhibited a request, and obtained the same, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the wars under *Philip*, might be restored and sent home again unto them: which was easily granted by *Quintius*, not so much, for that he thought them worthy of that favour, but because he was to win the love and affections of the States in *Greece* unto the Roman name, now especially that he had some doubt of King *Antiochus*. They were E not delivered so soon, but seen it was, how little the Bœotians would be beholding to him for it. For they sent presently unto *Philip*, and gave him thanks for the rendring of those men, as if they had been delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the Romans. And in their next assembly generall for their solemn election, they chose one *Barcillas* for their Bœotarches, or Lord governour of *Bœotia*; for no other reason, but because he had been the Colonell of those Bœotians that bare arms for the King: but they passed by *Zeuxippus*, *Pisistratus*, and others, that had perswaded to make a league with the Romans. This wrought discontentment in these persons for the present, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, If they would do thus while the Roman army lay encamped near to their gates, what should become of them when the Romans were departed into *Italy*, and whiles *Philip* was so near at hand to assist those F that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they complotted and concluded in the end to make away *Barcillas*, the head of the Kings bend, whiles the Roman forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpose, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publike solemn feast, accompanied with certain pleasant and effeminat persons, who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast: he was forelaied and beset with six armed men, whereof three were Italians, and three Ætolians, and so murdered. His train that attended him ran away, and raised hue and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were escaped out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number assembled in the Theater, being called together by the voice G of the common Beadle, as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even those filthy wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed *Zeuxippus* the author of the murther. For the present it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they should be examined. Whiles search was made for them, *Zeuxippus* came forth into the assembly, with the like intent to avert all suspition of crime from himself, saying, that men were much deceived to think that so horrible and strange a murder was committed by such weaklings & persons as they were.

This he argued and discoursed by many likelihoods and probabilities to the same effect: by which means some were verily perswaded, that if himself had been guilty of the fact, he would never have offered and pretented himself in the face of the assembly, or broached any words at all of the murder, especially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were again, who made no doubt but by this impudent face, his drift was to prevent an accusation, and to turn away all suspition from himself. The innocent and guiltless creatures within a while after being examined upon the rack and tortured, knowing what was the general opinion and conceit of men, made their use of the same for to bolt out and reveal the fact; and so they named *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* for the principals; without any presumption or light given how they should seem to come to the knowledge of any thing. Howbeit *Zeuxippus* accompanied with one *Stratonidas*) fled by night to *Tanagra*, fearing the remorse and prick of his own conscience more than the appeaching and information of those persons who neither were party nor privy to any thing. But *Pisistratus* making no regard of these accusers, remained still at *Thebes*. Now had *Zeuxippus* one bondslave, (whose hand was in all this action, and had been a courrier between) whom *Pisistratus* feared that he would bewray him, and by that very fear caused him to open and declare the whole matter. He dispatched therefore his letters unto *Zeuxippus*, advising him to rid that slave out of the way, who was privy to their dealing; advertising him, that in his conceit he was not so meet to conceal the thing now done, as he was a fit instrument at the time to execute the same. The bearer of these letters he straightly charged to deliver them unto *Zeuxippus* immediatly with all speed. But he, because he could not spy a convenient time to meet with him himself, gave the letters to the very same slave, whom he supposed to be most fast and trusty to his Master: adding moreover, and saying, That they came from *Pisistratus* unto *Zeuxippus*, and imported matter of great consequence. The bond slave promised to deliver them incontinently. but being touched in conscience, he was so bold as to break them open; and when he had read them through, he fled back in great fear to *Thebes* (where he bewrayed *Pisistratus*.) *Zeuxippus* troubled in spirit for the flight of his bondman, retired himself to *Athens*, supposing it a place of more security to live in, as a banished man. As for *Pisistratus*, after he had been divers times examined upon the rack, was put to death in the end. This murder wondrously estranged the Thebans and Bœotians and set their hearts against the Romans; insomuch as they hated and detested them to death, taking great indignation that *Zeuxippus* (a principall and chief personage of their nation) had committed so foul and hainous a fact. To rebell in open terms, they had neither force sufficient to maintain them, nor a principall head to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next cousin to plain war, even to thieving and robbing by the high waies side, in such sort, as they surprized as well some souldiers who lodged near unto them, and were their guests, as others that wandred and ranged abroad from the garrisons in winter time, and travelled about their affairs, who otherwhiles were caught up by the way, and came short home. Some passengers were killed in the port-rode-waies, by those that lay in wait for them in notorious thievish corners: others were trained and led deceitfully through by-lanes into desert places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdred. At length they plaid these pranks not only of malice unto them, but also for greedy desire of booty and spoil, by reason that commonly these waifaring men went about their trade and merchandise, and therefore had some charge about them, and carried silver in their belts. Now when as at first there were some out of the way, and every day more than other many men missing, and no man knew what was become of them, all * *Bœotia* began to have an ill name, and the souldiers were more affraid to travell there, than in the enemies country. Then *Quintius* sent certain Embassadors to all the Cities for to make complaint of these robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the mear or lake * *Copais*, where their carkasses were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawn out of the standing water, tied and fastned as they were to heavy stones or some great vessels, that by their poise they might be plunged, and sink to the bottom. Many such like outrages were found to have been committed at *Acraphea* and *Coronea*. *Quintius* at the first demanded to have the offendors delivered unto him, and for five hundred souldiers (for so many were caught up by the way and murdred) he enjoyned the Bœotians to make payment of five hundred talents of silver. But the Cities would do neither the one nor the other: only they paid with bare words, and excused themselves in that nothing had been done by publike warrant or counsell from the State. Whereupon the Embassadors were sent to *Athens*, and into *Achæa*, to make protestation unto their allies, that they would pursue the Bœotians with open war, upon good ground and just cause offered. And so after he had given commandment unto *P. Claudius* to go unto *Acraphea* with one part of his forces, himself with the other set him down about *Coronea*, and planted siege unto it. But first the territory was laid waste, all the way as the two armies marched from *Elatia* in divers quarters. The Bœotians plagued with these losses and calamities, seeing nothing but fear and flight in every place, sent their Embassadors unto him: but when they could not be admitted into the camp, the Achæans and the Athenians were fain to come with them. The Achæans were of greater credit, to entreat in their behalf: for unless they might obtain pardon and peace for the Bœotians, they determined also to enter into the quarrel, and to make war themselves. By whose mediation the Bœotians had access unto the Roman Generall, and audience granted. Who after they were enjoyned to deliver up the offenders and malefactors to Justice, and to pay thirty talents for amends and satisfaction, obtained peace: and so the siege was raised.

* *Stramuzipa.*

* *Lago stivo.*

After

After some few daies, the ten Delegats or Committees from *Rome* were arrived, by whose advice and counsell peace was articled and capitulated with King *Philip*, upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That all the Greek Cities, as well in *Europe* as in *Asia*, should enjoy their liberty, and live under their own laws. *Item*, That *Philip* should withdraw his garrisons out of as many of them as had been in subjection under him. *Item*, That he do the like by those which were in *Asia*, to wit, *Euromos*, *Pedasa*, *Bargylla*, *Iassus*, *Myrina*, *Abydus*, *Thassus*, and *Perinthus*: all which, the Romans required to befree. As concerning the liberty and freedom of the *Cyani*, it was covenanted, That *Quintius* should write his letters to *Prusias* the King of Bithynians, giving him to understand the advice and pleasure of the Senat, and the ten Delegats aforesaid. *Item*, That *Philip* render all the prisoners and fugitive traitors to the Romans, and yield up all the covered ships with hatches: and over and besides, one huge royall Galliace or Argosey, which by reason of the exceeding bigness was unweildy and of little use, and was directed with sixteen banks of oars on a side. *Item*, That he should not have above five hundred men in arms, nor one Elephant at all. *Item*, That he should not war (but by leave and permission of the Senat) without the marches of *Macedony*. *Item*, That he pay unto the people of *Rome* a thousand talents, the one half in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the term of ten years. *Valerius Antias* writeth moreover, that there was imposed upon him a tribute of four thousand pound weight of silver yearly, for ten years: and besides, twenty thousand pound weight presently. The same author saith, that expresly it was capitulated, that *Philip* should not war at all with *Eumenes* the son of *Attalus*, who was newly come to the crown. For the assurance of these covenants, there were received hostages, and amongst them *Demetrius* King *Philip* his son. *Valerius Antias* hath written moreover, that the Island *Ægina*, and certain Elephants were given in pure gift to *Attalus* in his absence: and that upon the Rhodians was bestowed *Stratonicea*, a City in *Caria*, with other Cities also which *Philip* had possessed. To conclude, that the Athenians received of free gift these Isles following, to wit, *Paros*, *Imbros*, *Delos*, and *Scyros*.

When all the States of *Greece* approved and thought well of this peace, only the Ætolians secretly muttered & found fault with this order set down by ten Delegats above said: giving out, that they were but bare letters and vain words, shadowed with a counterfeit apparance of liberty. For to what end, say they, should some Cities be delivered to the Romans, and those not named? others again be named, and yet order taken, that they without delivery should be free? but only for this purpose, that those Cities which are in *Asia* should be set free, because they be far off and therefore in more safety; but those that are in *Greece*, being not precisely named, should be seised upon by them, to wit, *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Oreum*, with *Eretrias*, and *Demetrias*. And to say a truth, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivolous, and without occasion given: for some doubt there was of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: because in the order and act of the Senat, by vertue whereof those ten Delegats aforesaid were sent from the City, all other Cities of *Asia* and of *Greece* were doubtless in plain terms freed: but as touching these three before named, the Delegats had in commission to take order, as they should see it stand with the good of the Common-wealth, according to their own judgment and discretion, and the trust that was committed unto them. For well they wist that King *Antiochus* would pass over into *Europe*, so soon as ever he could bring his affairs about to his mind, and unwilling they were on any hand, that these Cities so commodious for his designs, should lie open and ready to his hand for to seize upon at his pleasure. So *Quintius* together with the ten Delegats sailed from *Elatia* to *Anticyra*, and from thence to *Corinth*, where they held their Councill and consulted of their affairs. *Quintius* would very often say unto them, That all *Greece* might be delivered and set at liberty, if they could restrain the tongues of the Ætolians: if they were willing that their good affection should be deemed sincere, and the majesty of the Roman name maintained among all: finally, if they would pretend and make it known abroad, that they were passed the seas to set *Greece* free, and not after they had shaken off the seignory of *Philip*, to translate it unto themselves. The other again contradicted nothing as touching the liberty of those Cities: howbeit, they made remonstrance, that it was the safer course for them, to remain awhile under the protection and safegard of the Romans than that instead of *Philip* they should receive *Antiochus* for their Lord. In conclusion decreed it was, That *Corinth* should be rendred to the Achæans, but yet so, that there should be a Roman garrison in the highest quarter of the City called *Acrocorinthus*. *Item*, That *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be retained still, untill such time as they were no more in fear and doubt of *Antiochus*.

Now approached the ordinary solemnity of the Isthmian games, unto which at all times usually there was great recourse of people, as well in regard of the naturall disposition of that nation (desirous to see such sports and pastimes, wherein was represented the triall of masteries in all kind of arts, in all feats either of mere strength, or of agility and nimbleness of the body) as also in respect of the commodious seat of the place: whereunto from all parts of *Greece* they repaired thither by two divers and sundry seas. But being amused in expectation to know what the estate of *Greece*, and what their own particular condition would be hereafter, divers men not only devised secretly with themselves, but also gave out and whispered in their speech and talk. Well, the Romans were set to behold this solemnity: and the publike Crier with a trumpetter went forth into the midst of the Cirque or shew-place, from whence the manner was to proclaime the sports and games aforesaid in a solemn set form of words: and after he had by sound of trumpet

made silence, he pronounced with a loud vice in this manner, "Be it known unto all men, that the H
"Senat of *Rome*, and *T. Quintius* the General of their army, having vanquished King *Philip* and
"the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phocensians, and the Locrensians, be all
"free, and delivered frow all taxes what soever, and to live according to their own laws. *Item*, That
"the Isle *Eubœa*, the Magnesians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Acheans, and Phthiots do enjoy the
"like freedom and immunity. And consequently he rehearsed all the nations which had been in
"subjection to *Philip*. Upon this proclamation of the beadle there was such joy, that men were
not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man could hardly beleeve that he had heard the
thing which he so wished and desired afore to hear: one looked upon another wondring at the
matter, as if it had been a vain vision or illusion of some dream: and well they trusted not their own
ears in hearing that which particularly concerned every one, but enquired of them that stood next I
unto them. The Crier was called back again: such a desire had each one not only to hear the glad
tidings, but also to behold the happy messenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but
once again he must publish and pronounce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed,
they set up such a shout, and followed it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the same so often,
as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome
unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in such haste, that neither
the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the sight thereof, so wholly
had that one joy possessed them and foresta lled the sence of all other pleasures and delights. But
when the pastimes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman General, in such
sort, that his person was in some danger of the multitude, crowding so hard upon him alone, for K
desire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and la-
bels of sundry colours upon him: but being a man fast upon three and thirty years of age, both
the vigour of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act,
afforded him strength enough to abide the press of the people. This gladness of all men shewed it
self not only for the present, but continued also for many daies space, entertained not only in
thankful minds, but expressed also in joyful discourses: namely, "That there was one nation yet in
"the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their own pain and perill made war for
"the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to the neighbours and bor-
"derers only, or to those that were joyned near to them in the continent and firm land, but pas-
"sed over the seas; to the end, that throughout the whole world there should be no unjust and L
"tyrannicall government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevail most and carry
"greatest sway. Lo, how by the only voice of one Beadle all the Cities of *Greece* and *Asia* are set
"free. To conceive and enterprise so great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart:
"but to effect the same is a singular vertue and rare felicity.

This done, *Quintius* and the ten Delegats gave audience to the embassages of divers Kings and Princes, Nations and States. And first of all others were the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* called in: who used the same speech in manner that they had at *Rome*, vanting great words without any ground and substance of credit. But answer was returned unto them, not covertly by way of circumstance as aforetime (when *Philip* was on foot and things stood doubtfull) but openly in plain terms. *Imprimis*, That *Antiochus* must quit and abandon all the Cities of *Asia*, which belon- M
ged at any time either to King *Philip* or King *Ptolomeus*. *Item*, That he meddle not with any free City or State, and especially with those of *Greece*: but above all, warned he was and forbidden, either to pass over himself, or to send any forces into *Europe*. After the Kings Embassadors were licensed to depart, all the nations and states had a generall session and meeting together, which was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegats all the Cities and States were pronounced by name. Unto the Orestians (a people in *Macedony*) for that they revolted first from the King, their own lands and priviledges were restored. The Magnesians, the Perrhæbians and Dolopians were likewise declared free. Unto the people of *Thessaly* over and above the grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Achæans were annexed, excepting the City of *Thebes* in *Phthia* and *Pharsalus*. As for the Ætolians who required, that according to covenant *Pharsalus* N
and *Leucas* should be rendred unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded them the Phocenses and Locrenses, with other appurtenances adjoyned before by vertue of the decree, *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea* (which also is a City of *Peloponnesus*) were rendred unto the Achæans. Moreover, these ten Delegats gave *Oreum* and *Eretria* unto *Eumenes* the son of *Attalus*, but by reason that *Quintius* would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Senat for to be decided: and the Senat granted freedom unto these Cities, together with *Caristus*,
* Clavon at Unto *Pleuratus* were freely given *Lingus* and *Parthenus*, which were two nations in * *Illyricum*,
and had been both subject to *Philip*. It was ordained also, that *Aminander* should hold those Castles still, which during the wars he had won from *Philip*. When the assembly was dissolved, the ten Delegats having divided between themselves their severall charges, departed every man to O
set free the Cities of their particular regions and quarters. *P. Lentulus* to *Bargyllæ*, *L. Stertinius* to *Hephæstra*, *Thassus*, and other Cities of *Thracia*; *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius* toward King *Antiochus*: and *Cn. Cornelius* toward *Philip*. Unto whom after *Cornelius* had declared his Commission concerning some smaller matters, and withall demanded of him, Whether he could with patience abide to hear counsell not only profitable unto himself, but also necessary? The King made answer again and said, That he would not only give him the hearing, but also yield him thanks besides,

in

A in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he perswaded him earnestly, that forasmuch as he had obtained peace already, he should send his Embassadors to *Rome*, to crave league also and amity: to the end, that if *Antiochus* began to stir, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make war. [This conference and communication with *Philip* was at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*.] And when he answered, That he would immediatly dispatch his Embassadors: *Cornelius* came to *Thermopylæ*, where a solemn Diet and assembly of all *Greece* is wont to be held upon certain set daies, and thither resort great numbers of people. Which meeting is called *Pylaicum*: where he advised the Ætolians especially to persever constant and faithfull in the amity of the people of *Rome*. Some of the principall Ætolians seemed to complain between whiles, that the Romans were not so well affected to their nation after vi-
B story, as they were in time of the war: but others, more sharply blamed and reproached them, yea, and upbraided them with this, That *Philip* could not have been vanquished, no, nor the Romans ever able so much as to pass over into *Greece*, without the help of the Ætolians. *Cornelius* forbare to make answer again to those points, for fear of farther wrangling and altercation; and promised, that if they sent to *Rome* they should obtain any thing that was reason. Whereupon by his advice and approbation there were deputed Embassadors. This was the issue and end of the war with *Philip*.

Whiles these affairs thus passed in *Greece*, *Macedony*, and *Asia*, all *Tuscan* in manner was gone out and risen up in arms, by occasion of a conspiracy of bondslaves. For to enquire into these troubles and to repress the same, there was sent *M. Acilius* a Prætor (who had the civill jurisdiction
C between Citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom many were slain, and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and round trussed up, hanging them on gybbets, even as many as were the principall and chief of the conspiracy: and others there were whom he sent home again to their Masters.

Now the Consuls were gone into their Provinces. *Marcellus* so soon as he was entred into the marches of the *Boii*, and had over-wearied his souldiers with marching all day long, sate him down upon a certain rising of a hill, and there as he was encamping himself and his men, *Corolamus* a Prince or great Lord of the *Boii*, with a mighty power assailed and charged him, and slew upon three thousand of his men. In which sudden and tumultuary skirmish, certain brave men
D of mark were slain; among whom were *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *M. Junius Syllanus* two Colonels of the allies: also *A. Ogulnius* and *P. Claudius* two Knight Marshals or Tribunes of the second legion. Howbeit the Romans strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their fortunat victory had long assailed to no effect. And in the same standing camp he continued certain daies, whiles he cured his souldiers of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after so great a fright. The *Boii* (as they are a nation that of all things cannot endure any tedious delay of time) dispersed themselves into their towns and forts. Then *Marcellus* presently crossed the Po, and led his army into the territory of *Comum*, where the Insubrians lay encamped after they had sollicited and caused those of * *Comum* to take arms. The legions * Come.
E made no more ado, but gave them battell in the very way: and at the first encounter the enemies charged them so hotly, that they forced the forefront of the battell to give ground. Which when *Marcellus* perceived, fearing lest being once discovered they should be repulsed and discomfited, he made a cohort of Marsians to make head; and at once set forth all the troops of the Latine Cavalry against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the enemy, advancing forward lustily and pressing upon them in great fury: whereby the rest of the Roman army taking heart again and being encouraged, at the first received them manfully and made resistance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: insomuch as the Gauls were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran away by heaps. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that in this battell there were forty thousand men slain and above, five hundred and seven military ensigns taken, with 432 chariots: besides many chains
F of gold, whereof *Claudius* presented one (very massie above the rest and of great weight) unto *Jupiter*, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The same day was the Camp of the Gauls forced and ransackt, and the town of *Comum* also within few daies taken by assault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted to the Consul. But the Historiographers agree not upon this, Whether the Consul led his forces against the Insubrians first, or the Boians; and whether he rased out the dishonour of a former foil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battell: or contrariwise, after a prosperous fight atchieved before *Comum*, he blotted and defaced the same with a shamefull overthrow received at the Boians hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, *L. Purpurio* the other Consul, marched into
G the Boians Country through the tribe *Sappinia*. And when he was approached near to a Castle called * *Mutilum*, he feared lest he should be enclosed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligu- * Mutilina, Blondo, Mediana. Leandro.
rians: whereupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetching a great compass about through the open country in safety and security, he came at length to his Collegue. Who having joyned both their powers together, first ranged over the Boians territories, wasting and spoiling untill they came as far as * *Felsina*. This Town with other strong burroughs * Bologna.
and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yielded themselves, save only their youth, who were

up

up in arms to pill and spoil, and were at that time retired unto the forrests and glins out of the H way. After this the army marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to assail the Roman army at unawares, which marched without good regard of themselves, and not close together (for that their enemies seemed to be far off) followed after through the blind and covert forrests. But when they saw that they could not overtake them, they suddenly all at once passed over the *Po* in small bothoms and punts, and after they had spoiled and pilled the Levians and Libuans, as they returned from thence with a booty raised out of the country, they chanced in the utmost frontires of *Liguria*, to light upon the army of the Romans in their march. Sooner and with more eagerness fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been prepared aforehand to strike a battell. There it well appeared, of what force anger is to prick on and sharpen mens spirits to conflict. For the Romans more greedy of murder and bloudshed, I than of victory, fought so, as they scarce left the enemies one messenger to carry the news of their unhappy overthrow. In regard of these exploits, upon the Consuls letters brought to *Rome*, ordained it was, that there should be a solemn procession and thanksgiving to the gods for three daies. Shortly after *Marcellus* came to *Rome*, unto whom was granted a triumph with great consent of the LL. of the Senat; and whiles he was in his Magistracy he triumphed over the Insubrians and Comians, leaving for his Collegue good hope likewise of a triumph, because himself (to say a truth) in that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his Collegue sped well enough, and had a lucky hand. Much spoil of the enemies was carried in a pomp, upon the Chariots that were taken and won from them. Many ensigns and banners were born in a shew, besides in money, to the value of 320000 asses of brass coin; and 234000 bigate peeces of silver. The footmen had 800 asses K given them apeece, every horseman and centurion had thrice as much.

The same year King *Antiochus*, whiles he kept his winter at *Ephesus*, assaied to reduce all the Cities and States of *Asia* unto the ancient form of government and subjection, assuring himself, that the rest would not be hard to be subdued and brought under, because the towns were either situate upon plains, or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furnished with men and munition. As for * *Smyrna* and * *Lampsacus*, they stood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted it was, and great danger, that if he should let them go clear away so, some Cities in *Æolis* and *Ionia* would take after *Smyrna*, and others in *Hellespontus* follow the example of *Lampsacus*. Therefore both himself sent from * *Ephesus* to lay siege unto *Smyrna*, and gave commandment, That the forces which were at *Abydus* (leaving only a small garrison behind) should be lead to L the siege and assault of *Lampsacus*. And yet he threatned and terrified them not so much with forces and violence, but assaied them rather by fair means, sending to them his Embassadors, to as, partly by flattering and gentle words wherewith he entertained them, and partly by mild proof for their rashness and obstinacy, he endeavoured to put them in some hope, that shortly they should have whatsoever they desired: and then, both they themselves, and all others should evidently see, that they had obtained their liberty by the especiall grace and favour of the King, and not usurped and gained it by occasion of some advantage and opportunity. To this they answered again, That *Antiochus* ought neither to marvell, nor be offended and displeased at them if they could not wel endure the hope which they had of freedom, thus to be deferred from time to time. Then he departing from *Ephesus* in the beginning of the spring sailed unto *Hellespontus* with M his fleet. His land forces he transported over to * *Madytos* a City in *Chersonnesus*, and joyned them to his strength by sea. And because they shut the gates upon him, he environed the town with armed men, and when he was at the point to give the assault, and to bend his engins of battery against the walls, it was surrendred into his hands. Upon the like fear the Inhabitants also of other Cities in *Chersonnesus* yielded themselves. After this he came to * *Lysimachia* with his whole power, as well of land-souldiers as sea-servitors. And finding it abandoned, ruinat, and lying (as it were) along, (for but few years before the Thracians had forced, sacked, and burnt it) he had a great desire to rear and set upright again th-t noble and famous City, seated in so good and commodious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavour to re-edifie the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ransom the Lysimachians that were in slave- N ry, to seek out all those that were dispersed over *Hellespontus* and *Chersonnesus*, and gather them together, yea, and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gain and profit, and by all means possible to store and people the City again. And withall, because he would ease them of the fear they had of the Thracians, he went in person with the one half of his land-forces to waste and spoil the confines of *Thrace*; the other part with all the sea-souldiers and mariners he left hard at work about the repairing of the City.

About this time as *L. Cornelius* (being sent by the Senat to compose the controversies and variance between the two Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*) abode at *Selymbria*; so of the ten Commissioners aboveſaid, *P. Lentulus* departed from *Bargylla*, *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius* from *Thassus*, and arrived all three at *Lysimachia*: where *L. Cornelius* likewise met them from *Selymbria*; and O a few daies after King *Antiochus* being newly returned out of *Thracia*. The first meeting and salutation between him and the Commissioners was friendly and courteous, yea, and there passed to and fro afterwards divers amiable kindnesses and loving entertainments mutually. But when they entred once to parl of their Commission that they had in charge, and of the present State of *Asia*, then there was fretting and fuming and their bloud up. The Roman Agents stuck not to tell him to his face that all that he had done, since he took the sea, and departed with his fleet out of *Syria* was

* *Ilmyr*, Leunclavio.
* *Lepsek*. Leunclavio.
* *Ephso.*

* *Maitos.*

* *Hexamil*, Sophiano. *Policastro*, Nardo.

A was displeasant unto the Senat, saying, "That they thought it meet, that all the Cities should be "restored unto King *Ptolomeus*, which had been under his dominion. For as touching these "towns, which sometime *Philip* had been possessed of, and which *Antiochus* had surprized and "seized upon, taking his time and vantage, when *Philip* was employed another way in the Ro- "man wars, it was no reason, nor a thing tolerable, that the Romans should so many years "space, by land and sea endure so great toil, and hazard such perils; and suffer *Antiochus* in the end "to go away with the fruit and reward of all the service. But set the case, that the Romans would "take no knowledge of his coming into *Asia*, as a matter impertinent unto them: can they dis- "semble also, that now he is come over into *Europe* with all his forces but for no other end and "little wanteth of making open war upon the Romans? Many (as for him, he will not stick to deny B "that he levieth any war, although he were arrived and landed in *Italy*. The Senat challenges the "King made answer, and said, That he saw well enough and knew before what the Romans were "inquisitive and curious enough to search what King *Antiochus* ought to observance "thought of their own selves, how far forth they should by right proceed, as well by land as by "sea. As for *Asia*, it appertained not at all to the people of *Rome*, neither had they more ado into "enquire what *Antiochus* did in *Asia*, than *Antiochus* to search into the affairs of "*Rome* in *Italy*. As concerning *Ptolomeus*, from whom they complain that he had taken away Ci- "ties: he did them to understand that there was amity between him and *Ptolomeus* and they were "now in terms of knitting themselves shortly in nearer bonds of alliance and affinity. Neither "sought he the spoil of *Philip*, and to enrich himself by his adversity and misfortune: for passed o- C "ver into *Europe* against the Romans * * * * * But when he was vanquished once, all that e- Somewhat wanting in the Latine. "ver he had, by right and law of war, became the possessions of *Seleucus*, and so consequently (as "he took it) appertained unto him. And during the time, that his progenitors and predecessors, "were busied and troubled with other affairs, first *Ptolomeus* catched at some things, and *Philip* "after at other, and so between them they usurped and seized upon other mens possessions, and "namely, of certain places near and hard by in *Thacia*, which without all controversie belonged "unto *Lysimachus*. For to reduce which into their ancient State, he was thither come, and now "was in hand to re-edifie *Lysimachia* anew, lately destroyed by the violence of the Thracians, to "the end, that *Seleucus* his son might hold it as the royall seat of his kingdom. Thus as they continued arguing and debating for certain daies, there ran a rumor, but without any certain author, D that King *Ptolomeus* was dead: whereupon they could grow to no conclusion of all their parlies: yet they made semblance on both sides, that they heard nothing thereof. And as well *L. Cornelius*, who was sent in Embassage to both the Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*, requested respite of some small time to confer with *Ptolomeus*, to the end that himself might be arrived in *Ægypt*, before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom: as also *Antiochus* made reckoning, that *Ægypt* would be his, if this good occasion then were presented unto him. Therefore having dismissed the Romans, and left his son *Seleucus* behind him with all the land-forces, for to finish the building again of *Lysimachia* which he had begun, himself with all his fleet sailed to *Ephesus*: and having sent his Embassadors to *Quintius* to treat soberly about a league and amity, he coasted along *Asia*, and so arrived in * *Lycia*. And when he heard for certain at * *Patara* that *Ptolomeus* was * *Briçaia*, Giravæ. E yet living, he gave over his purpose of sailing into *Ægypt*: yet nevertheless he shaped his course & * *Patera.* set sail for *Cyprus*: and when he had doubled the point of *Chelidonium*, he staid awhile in * *Pam-* * *Cecilia*, where of the North part is called *Caraman*, and the rest *Scandalorum*, Niger. * *Zacuth*, Thieve o. * *Sangro.* *phylia* about the river * *Eurymedon*, by occasion of a mutiny among the mariners & oar-men. From thence he weighed anchor, and when he was sailed as far as a place called [*The heads of the river* *Sarus*] there arose a gust and fearful tempest, wherein he had like to have been cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there escaped not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of base mariners only, and unknown common souldiers, but also of his near and special friends. Having rallied the dispersed reliques of this shipwrack, seeing he had no means and was not able to reach and gain *Cyprus*, he returned again to *Seleucia*, with an army nothing so puissant nor so F well furnished, as when he set out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled aland, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) & himself took his journey to * *An-* * *Antiochia*, Nigro. *Aleppo.* *tiochia*, there to lye all that winter time. And in these terms stood the affairs of the Kings. Villenovanos

At *Rome*, there were first instituted in this year three Triumvirs called *Epulones*, to wit, *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Romuleius* (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and *P. Porcius Lecca*. And by a law in that behalf ordained, these Triumvirs were allowed as well as a Bishop, the long embrodered robe of purple. But in this year great debate & variance there was between the Questors or Treasurers of the City *Q. Fabius Labeo* & *L. Aurelius* of the one side, and all the Priests on the other side. These treasurers were at some fault for mony, because they were minded and appointed to make the last payment unto certain privat persons, for the loan-silver which G they had disbursed for the wars: these monies the Treasurers demanded of the Augurs and Bishops, to furnish out the said paiment; for that during the wars, they only had not been contributers in any levy. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their lawfull favour: but all was in vain, and so they were forced to satisfie all the arrerages for the years past, wherein they had paid nothing. This year there died two Bishops, and new were installed in their rooms. *M. Marcellus* the Consul entred in place of *T. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who deceased Prætor in *Spain*; and *L. Valerius* instead of *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. *Q. Fabius Maximus* also an Augur died a very young

young man, before he had born any office of State: but for that year there was not substituted a new Augur in his room.

After this, *M. Marcellus* the Consul held the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls. And Consuls were created *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Portius Cato*. Then were the Prætors chosen, namely, *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, *Cn. Atinius Labeo*, *C. Manlius Volso*, *Ap. Claudius Nero*, *P. Manlius*, and *P. Porcius Læca*. The Ædiles of the chair *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *C. Flaminius* divided among the people 100coop Modii of wheat, at two asses a Modius. This store of corn had the Sicilians brought to *Rome* for the honour of *C. Flaminius* and his father. And *Flaminius* was content that his companion in office should reap a full part of the thanks for this gratuity. The games called Roman were exhibited in most sumptuous manner, and thrice repreiented all over again. The Ædiles of the Commons *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *C. Sempronius*, who also was the high Parish-Priest, and Superintendent, called *Cirio Max.* called in question many of the City Bailiffs that gathered their rents for pastures, judicially to answer upon their accounts before the people. Three of them were condemned, and of their silver raised upon their fines they built the Temple of *Faunus* in the Island. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for two daies, and a solemn publike feast was celebrated in regard of them.

The same day that *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius* entred their office, they proposed unto the Senat concerning the government of the Provinces. And order was given by the LL. of the Councill, that forasmuch as the war increased so in *Spain*, as required not only a Consular army, but a Consul also for the Leader; the Consuls should either agree between themselves for the government of the two Provinces, to wit, the hither *Spain*, and *Italy*, or else to cast lots therefore: that he whose hap it was to rule *Spain*, should have with him two legions, five thousand Latine allies, and five hundred horse; and likewise to have the conduct of a fleet of twenty gallies of war: that the other Consul should levy and enroll two legions; which were thought sufficient to defend and keep *France* in obedience, considering the courages of the Insubrians and *Boii*, were well cooled and abated the last year. *Cato* by lot had the charge of *Spain*, and *Valerius* of *Italy*. Then the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. To *C. Fabricius Luscinus* fell the jurisdiction over the Citizens of *Rome*: to *C. Atinius Labeo* over the strangers. *C. Manlius Volso* governed *Sicily*, and *Ap. Claudius Nero* the farther *Spain*. *M. Porcius Lecca* was assigned to rule * *Pise*, to the end he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and *P. Manlius* was appointed as an assistant and co-adjutor to the Consul in the higher *Spain*. As for *T. Quintius*, his Commission was renewed for L one year longer, in regard that not only *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, but also *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, were doubted and suspected not to stand sound to the Romans: and for him were set out two legions: and if need were of any supply to make up the companies thereof, the Consuls were enjoyned to enroll new souldiers, and to send them over into *Macedony*. Also *Appius Claudius* had a warrant to take up 2000 foot, and two hundred horse, over and above that legion which *Q. Fabius* had. The like number of fresh horse and foot was appointed for *P. Manlius* to be sent into the higher *Spain*: and the same legion was granted unto him, which was commanded by *Minutius* the Prætor. Moreover, *P. Porcius Lecca* was to have the leading of two hundred footmen, and fifty horse, drawn out of the Gauls army, for to lie in *Hetruria* about *Pise*. Last of all, in *Sardinia P. Sempronius Longus* continued still in place of command. Thus the Provinces being distributed, the Consuls before they departed out of the City, by advice and counsell of the Bishops performed the solemnity of the sacred Spring which was vowed before by the Prætor *C. Cornelius Mammula*, according to the mind of the Senat and the good liking of the people, in the year when *Cn. Servilius* and *Cn. Flaminius* were Consuls: and so it was celebrated one and twenty years after it was first vowed. Much about this time was *C. Claudius Pulcher*, the son of *Appius*, elected Augur, and invested in that Sacerdotall dignity, in the place of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who died the year before.

* *Pisa.*

When as men began now to marvell that there was so little account made of the war begun already in *Spain*, there were letters brought from *Q. Minutius* with news, That he had fought a fortunate field before the town of *Turba*, with *Budares* and *Besasides*, two Spanish Generals and great commanders: that he had slain twelve thousand enemies, taken *Budares* the Generall himself prisoner and that the rest were discomfited and put to flight. Upon the reading of these letters, less fear there was of *Spain*, from whence they looked for great wars.

After the return of the ten Delegats or Commissioners aboveiaid, all the care was, and no talk else but about *Antiochus* and his affairs. These men, after they had declared first how their proceeding went with King *Philip*, and upon what conditions they had granted peace, informed and gave them to understand, "That there was as great a war behind from *Antiochus*: "that he had passed over the seas into *Europe* with a mighty Armado, and as puissant an army "for land service; and had not been averted another way by a vain hope to invade and seize "upon *Ægypt*, which he conceived of a vainer bruit and rumor of *Ptolomy* his death; all *Greece* "would have been anon on a light fire, and up in arms. For the very Ætolians themselves, a nation naturally of an unquiet spirit, and incensed besides against the Romans, would not have "sit still and been in rest. Moreover, there was another malady and mischief as dangerous, seated "as it were within the ribs & in the very heart of *Greece*: to wit, *Nabis*, the tyrant at this present "of the Lacedæmonians only, but shortly, if he may be let alone, of all *Greece*; who for avarice "and cruelty is equall to all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be suffered to "possess himself of *Argos*, and to hold it as a fortress to command all *Peloponnesus*, when the "Roman armies shall be once transported home again into *Italy*, in faith, *Greece* may make "small boast of being delivered from *Philip*: for this they shall be sure of at least, if of nothing "else, to have a near-neighbour tyrant, instead of a King far off, for to be their Lord and imperiously to command them. The ancient Senators, hearing these intelligences from grave persons of good quality, and who made report of all things not by hearsay, but upon their own knowledge, were of advice and resolved to have a good eye and regard with all speed unto *Antiochus*, considering the King was passed already into *Syria*, whatsoever the occasion was. But as touching the Tyrant, after they had disputed and debated the matter long time, Whether they had sufficient cause already to determine upon some finall conclusion, or should refer unto the wisdome and judgement of *T. Quintius* the managing of those affairs, therein to proceed and do according as he should deem it good and expedient for the Common-wealth; in fine, they permitted him to use his own discretion concerning the Lacedæmonian Tyrant: supposing that the matter was not of such weight and consequence as to concern the maintenance of the weal-publike so matterially, whether it were hastened or protracted; but rather it behoved them to be advised and consider well, what *Annibal* and the Carthaginians would do; if haply the war with *Antiochus* were begun and once afoot. They [at *Carthage*] that sided with the adverse faction of *Annibal*, had sent divers and sundry letters unto the principall LL. at *Rome*, every one privately to his friends to this effect. That there passed messengers and letters from *Annibal* to *Antiochus*, and that there were Embassadors again that secretly came from the King to him. And like as there be some beasts so wild and savage as never can be tamed; so the courage and spirit of that man was such, as might not possibly be dulced or appeased. For he daily complained that the City languished and grew feeble with idleness, and by sitting still and doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with moss, and unpossible it was to raise and stir it up but with sound of armour and weapons. These advertisements carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late war, so fresh in memory, which he alone began first, and managed to the last. Over and besides, he had provoked by a late act of his many great and mighty personages, who set their hearts against him. The order and degree of Judges at that time bare chief sway and soveraign authority in *Carthage*: in this respect principally, for that the same Judges were perpetuall. The goods, the honour and reputation, yea, and the life of every man lay in their hands. He that displeased one of that bench, was sure to have all the rest his enemies and to be upon him: and there never wanted one promoter or other to carry tales and give information to these judges against a man, if they saw them ill affected once and bent against one. During the time of this imperious and tyrannicall rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding all measure, so they bare themselves therein as outragiously beyond the limits of civility) it was *Annibal* his hap to be Prætor; and by vertue of his place he sent for one of the treasurers, to come before him: but he made no reckoning of his authority, and refused to obey: for the said treasurer was one of the contrary side: and because from the degree who o treasurers they mounted presently into the highest order of the Judges, therefore he carried with him an hauty mind already, in regard of the high room that he was shortly to step into. A *we ha* you may be sure took this as a great disgrace and indignity to his person, and therefore he sent a pursevant or serjeant to attach the body of the Treasurer aforesaid: and presently calling the people to a generall assembly, he commanded him there to be presented: where he accused and blamed the party himself, no more than the whole order and degree of the Judges: through whose insolent pride and excessive power, both laws and Magistrats were nothing regarded but trodden under foot. And perceiving that these words of his tickled the itching ears of the people, considering also that their proud demeanor prejudiced the liberty of the meaneſt persons: immediatly he published a law, and got it enacted, That those Judged should be chosen every year, and that thenceforth one and the same man might not be a Judge two years together. But look how much thank he had at the Commons hands for this act, so much he offended many of the great men and principals of the City. Another thing besides he did, whereby he purchased to himself the ill will of some private persons, in tendring the common good of the weal-publike. The finances and revenues of the State, partly, through negligence went to decay, and partly, were shared out in dividends between some certain of the head Citizens and Magistrats: and more than that, the money which by way of tribute was to be paid yearly unto the Romans, was too short and not to be found: and it appeared, that a sore levy would be imposed upon private persons shortly to make those payments out of their own purses. *Annibal*, after he had cast up the books, and made an estimate and just abstract how much the rents and revenues of the City amounted unto as well from customs by sea as land, and to what uses they were employed; and perceiving thereby what was defrayed in the ordinary charges of the State, and what went a wrong way, and was averred by these theeves to their own selves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole assembly, That the arrerages should be gathered up and brought into the common Cheſt: and so privat persons might be discharged and eased of their impositions of tribute, and the Common-wealth would be rich enough and able to perform and furnish out the monies due to the people of *Rome*. And as he thus said, so he was as good as his word, and executed it accordingly. Then these caterpillers, who for certain years lived by robbery of the common treasure, and fed upon the fruits of the City, fared spightfully against *Annibal*, as if he had done them

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wreak H
out of their hands their Roin substance: and in great malice and bitterness ceased not to provoke
against *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrel to him,
so seek occasion of hatred, and to find ann hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave
the deafear unto them, and misliked the course: for he supposed it was not for the honour and
majesty of the people of *Rome* to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to en-
tertain the spight and hatred of men, and to interest and insert publike authority within the pri-
vat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquished *Annibal* in war,
unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libell & bill of
inditement, and ware thereto *billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that
Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categori-
cally, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage war against them. And these three
were addressed to this Embassie, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*;
who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their
coming, (and all by instruction from the adversaries of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compose
and end the debates between *Masanissa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was
commonly divulged and beleeved for truth. But *Annibal* found them straight and smelt this jug-
ling and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans shot at, and howsoever
peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inexpiable war with
him alone still. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time and yield unto
fortune. And being furnished aforehand with all things requisit to take his flight, when he had of K
purpose all the day long shewed himself in the publike place of assembly very formally, to turn by
all suspition of his intended resolution, so soon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown
as he went a l day, and attended in the Hall, he gate him forth straight to the City gate, accompa-
nied only with two persons, and those not privy at all to his purpose and designment. And having
found his hortes ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night until he
was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Vocæ*: and by the next morning, he passed be-
tween *Acylla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a tower or fort of his own; where he was imbarked
in a ship ready rigged and appointed with sail and oar to take sea and away. Thus departed *An-
nibal* out of *Affrick*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his
own friends and kinsfolk. And the same day he fell with the Island *Cercina*: where the Cartha- L
ginians found in the rode certain hulks charged with merchandise: and when at his coming a-
shore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thi-
ther, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer,
That he went upon an Embassage to *Tyrus*: but fearing left any of their barks should disanchor
that night and make report at *Thapsus* or *Acylla* that he was seen in *Cercina*: he caused a beast to
be killed for a rifice, and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper; and
therewith commanded all the sails and cross sail-yards to be had out of the vessels, to make there-
of a large pavillion that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was
then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he set out a
feast and banket; he spared for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then M
Annibal, so soon as he could espy his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed
anchor. The rest were fast asleep; and when the next day they awoke and rouzed themselves, with
their drunken and drouzy nols (and far forth day it was, and late ere they arose) they were fain
to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in
good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of *Annibal*,
repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not
to be found all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the
principall and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: o-
ther said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falshood and villany of the N
Romans; and this they jicked not to avouch. There might a man have seen sundry and divers
countenances (as it fareth commonly in Cities where there is siding and parts-taking) as each one
is affected to his own party and faction. At last, news came that he was seen at *Cercina*. The Ro-
man Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the LL. of
their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforetime, King *Philip* was by *Annibal* especially so-
licited and set on to make war with the people of *Rome*; and also now there hath been letters and
messengers with credence sent from him to King *Antiochus*; and that he would never rest untill
he had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to
content and satisfie the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished:
then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by publike councill O
or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsoever the Ro-
mans thought to be reason.

Annibal this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where
he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another coun-
try of his own: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour, beseeming a man
so famous and renowned. After he had sojourned there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioch*:
where

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his
son, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies neer
Daphne, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea
again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his
mind, and unresolved what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was
no small poise to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The
Æolians likewise at this same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman
league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Phæarium* and *Leucas* again, with o-
ther Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and refer-
red to *Quintius*.

B

The four and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C THE law Oppia proponed and enacted by C. Oppius *a Tribun of the Common, in the time of the Punick war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparel, was after much varience and debate repealed, notwithstanding that* Porcius Cato *laboured to the contrary, that it might not be abolished. This* Cato *made a voyage into* Spain, *and by force of arms (beginning first to war at* Emporiæ*) brought the hither province of* Spain *on this side* Iberus *to quietness.* T. Quintius Flamininus *levied war against the Lacedemonians and* Nabis *their tyrant, in which he sped fortunately, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered* Argos, *and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about* Sex. Ælius Pætus *and* L. Cornelius Cethegus *the Censors, set in foot and intermedled themselves,*
D *to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens.* M. Porcius Cato *triumphed over* Spain. *The wars also which fortunately were atchieved against the* Boii *and the French Insubres are here recorded.* T. Quintius Flamininus, *who had vanquished* Philip *King of the Macedonians and* Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, yea, and freed all* Greece *from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that* Annibal *who was fled unto* Antiochus, *banded with him and combined to make war.* Annibal *had besides assisted by means of one* Aristo *a Tyrian sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to* Carthage) *for to move and sollicite the Carthaginians*
to rebellion.

E

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

BEtween the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there hapned an occurrence, which in it self being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard: considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. *M. Fundanius* and *L. Valerius* Tribuns of the Commons preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For C. *Oppius* aforetime, even when the Punick war was at the hotteſt, and whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls had promulged a Statute, by vertue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear
F any habiliments wrought of sundry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town nor neerer than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now *M. Junius Brutus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, both Tribuns likewise of the Commons stood in defence and maintenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be anulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spake for the Law, and others gainsaid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the expresse and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within dores; but do what they could, they bespread all the streets of the City, beset and kept all the waies into the common
G place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent, That seeing the good estate of the Common-weal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man encreased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more than other: for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrats, requesting and be-

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wreak out of their hands their stolen substance: and in great malice and bitterness ceased not to provoke against *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrell to him, so seek occasion of hatred, and to find annoble in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deaf ear unto them, and misliked the course: for he supposed it was not for the honour and majesty of the people of *Rome* to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to entertain the spight and hatred of men, and to interess and insert publike authority within the privat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquished *Annibal* in war, unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libell & bill of inditement, and sware thereto *billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categorically, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage war against them. And these three were addressed to this Embassie, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*, who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their coming, (and all by instruction from the adversaries of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compose and end the debates between *Masanissa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was commonly divulged and beleeved for truth. But *Annibal* found them straight and smelt this jugling and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans shot at, and howsoever peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inexpiable war with him alone still. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time and yield unto fortune. And being furnished aforehand with all things requisit to take his flight, when he had of purpose all the day long shewed himself in the publike place of assembly very formally, to turn by all suspition of his intended resolution, so soon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown as he went a l day, and attended in the Hall, he gate him forth straight to the City gate, accompanied only with two persons, and those not privy at all to his purpose and designment. And having found his horses ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night untill he was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Vocæ*: and by the next morning, he passed between *Acylla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a tower or fort of his own: where he was imbarked in a ship ready rigged and appointed with sail and oar to take sea and away. Thus departed *Annibal* out of *Affrick*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his own friends and kinsfolk. And the same day he fell with the Iland *Cercina*: where the Carthaginians found in the rode certain hulks charged with merchandise: and when at his coming ashore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thither, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer, That he went upon an Embassage to *Tyrus*: but fearing lest any of their barks should disanchor that night and make report at *Thapsus* or *Acylla* that he was seen in *Cercina*: he caused a beast to be killed for a rifice, and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper: and therewith commanded all the sails and crosse sail-yards to be had out of the vessels, to make thereof a large pavilion that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he set out a feast and banket: he spared for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then *Annibal*, so soon as he could espy his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed anchor. The rest were fast asleep: and when the next day they awoke and rouzed themselves, with their drunken and drouzy nols (and far forth day it was, and late ere they arose) they were fain to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of *Annibal*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not to be found all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the principall and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: other said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falshood and villany of the Romans; and this they jicked not to avouch. There might a man have seen sundry and divers countenances (as it is areth commonly in Cities where there is siding and parts-taking) as each one is affected to his own party and faction. At last, news came that he was seen at *Cercina*. The Roman Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the LL. of their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforetime, King *Philip* was by *Annibal* especially solicited and set on to make war with the people of *Rome*: and also now there hath been letters and messengers with credence sent from him to King *Antiochus*: and that he would never rest untill he had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to content and satisfie the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished: then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by publike councill or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsoever the Romans thought to be reason.

Annibal this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another country of his own: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour, beseeming a man so famous and renowned. After he had sojourned there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioch*: where

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his son, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies neer *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and unresolved what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was no small poise to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The Ætolians likewise at this same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Pharsalum* and *Leucas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

B

The four and thirtieth Book *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C THE law Oppia *proponded and enacted by* C. Oppius *a Tribun of the Common, in the time of the Punick war, for the abridging and restraint of the excesse in womens apparel, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that* Porcius Cato *laboured to the contrary, that it might not be abolished. This* Cato *made a voyage into* Spain, *and by force of arms (beginning first to war at* Emporiz) *brought the hither province of* Spain *on this side* Iberus *to quietnesse.* T. Quintius Flamininus *levied war against the Lacedemonians and* Nabis *their tyrant, in which he sped fortunatly, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered* Argos, *and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about* Sex. Ælius Pætus *and* L. Cornelius Cethegus *the Censors, set in foot and intermedled themselves, to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman* D *citizens.* M. Porcius Cato *triumphed over* Spain. *The wars also which fortunatly were atchieved against the* Boii *and the French Insubres are here recorded.* T. Quintius Flamininus, *who had vanquished* Philip *King of the Macedonians and* Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, yea, and freed all* Greece *from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that* Annibal *who was fled unto* Antiochus, *banded with him and combined to make war.* Annibal *had besides assured by meant of one* Aristo *a Tyrian (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to* Carthage) *for to move and sollicite the Carthaginians to rebellion.*

E

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

BEtween the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there hapned an occurren e, which in it self being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard: considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. *M. Fundanius* and *L. Valerius* Tribuns of the Commons, preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For *C. Oppius* aforetime, even when the Punick war was at the hottest, and whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls had promulged a Statute, by vertue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear F any habiliments wrought of sundry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town nor neerer than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now *M. Junius Brutus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, both Tribuns likewise of the Commons stood in defence and maintenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be anulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spake for the Law, and others gain-said it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the expresse and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within dores; but do what G they could, they bespread all the streets of the City, besee and kept all the waies into the common place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent, That seeing the good estate of the Common-weal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man encreased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more than other: for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrats, requesting and be-

beſeeching their favour, to ſtand with them, and forward the cauſe. But as for one of the Conſuls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their praiers entreat him to enclin unto their ſuit: who in the maintenance of the ſaid law, and that it might not be revoked, ſpake in

The Oration of *M. Portius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*.

the frequent aſſembly of the people to this effect. "My Maſters and citizens of *Rome*, if every "one of us had fully reſolved and purpoſed with himſelf to hold his own, and keep the rightful "authority and preheminence that he hath over his own wife, leſs ado and trouble we ſhould "have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home ſo "much, that the curſtneſs and ſhrewdneſs of women hath conquered our liberty and freehold "there; behold, here alſo in publick place it is troden down and trampled underfoot: and be- "cauſe we were not able every man to rule his own in ſeveral, now we ſtand in fear and dread "them all in general. Certainly, I my ſelf thought ever until now, that it was but a feined fable, A "and deviſed tale that went of a certain * Iſland, wherein by a conſpiracy of women, all the men "were murdered every one, and that ſex utterly made away and rooted out. But well I ſee now, "be they creatures never ſo weak, ſo ſilly and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their con- "ventricles and ſecret conferences, they will work miſchief in the higheſt degree, and be as dan- "gerous as any other. And ſurely for mine own part, I cannot reſolve in mine own conſcience "and determine, whether of the twain be worſe; the thing I mean in it ſelf, or the precedent ex- "ample and conſequence thereof, conſidering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the "one toucheth us that are Conſuls and the reſt of the magiſtrats, the other concerneth you rather "my maſters and citizens of *Rome*. As for the matter in queſtion, and propoſed unto you, whe- "ther it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that reſteth in you to determine and B "judge, who are to give your voices and ſuffrages. But this ſeditious inſurrection here, of wo- "men, be it of themſelves, or procured by your motion and inſtigation, *M. Fundanius & L. Valeri-* "*us*, no doubt it argueth and implieth a great default in the Magiſtrats, and I wot not whether it "will be a fouler blot and diſhonour to you that are Tribuns, than to us Conſuls. Yours will the "blame be, if ye have brought women now to raiſe and ſtir up tribunitious ſeditions; and ours "the ſhame, if we needs muſt admit and accept of laws, whether we will or no, for fear of a com- "motion and ſeparation of our women, as ſometimes we were forced to do by the departure and "inſurrection of our Commons. I aſſure you for mine own ſelf, when I paſſed erewhile into this "common-place through the preſs and throng of theſe women, I was abaſhed & could not chuſe "but bluſh. And had I not been more reſpective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of C "ſome in particular than of them all together, becauſe it ſhould not be thought & ſaid, that they "had been checked and taken up by the Conſuls: I would have ſaid unto them, What new faſhion "is this good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open ſtreets, to beſet the paſſages, and to af- "front, yea, and hang upon other womens husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at "home have deal with your own good-men in the cauſe, and craved their help? or can ye ſpeak "fair and flatter better, can ye be more pleaſant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your "houſes? or make love to other men, rather then to your own husbands? And yet to ſpeak up- "rightly, if wives were of that modeſty and womanly carriage, as to keep themſelves within the "compaſs and bounds of their own liberty, and paſs no farther: it were not beſitting you I wot, ſo D "much as at home to trouble your ſelves about our laws here, nor to buſy your brains, to know "either what new Statuts paſſed, or what old were caſſed. Our anceſtors in old time would not, M "that women in any wiſe ſhould diſpoſe ſo much as of their own privat matters without the ad- "vice and direction of a Governor and Overſeer: and therefore in great wiſedom they ordained, "that they ſhould be ordred and ruled by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands. But "we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in ſtate-matters, to govern the weal-publick, "to converſe with us in the common place, in publick aſſemblies and courts of parliament. For "what elſe do they now in the ſtreets, in the croſs waies & at all Iavenues, but, ſome of them give "their voyces that the bills of the Tribuns may paſs, and others adviſe and be of opinion, that the E "law *Oppia* may be repealed? Let this outrageous & unreaſonable nature of theirs have the head; "let theſe unruly creatures and untamed animals have their wil and bridle them not: ſee then how N "of themſelves they will keep a mean and meaſure in their licentiouſnes, unleſs you curb them & "hold them in. Tuſh, this is the leaſt matter of all that diſpleaſeth theſe women: there are a 1000 "things beſides that they think hardly of, and are diſcontented to be held unto by old cuſtomes "and poſitive laws. Liberty in all things: nay, to ſpeak more truly, a looſe and diſſolute licentiouſ- "nes, is the very thing they long after and deſire. For, go they away cleer with this once, what is "it that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but run through and count the laws "provided in this behalf for women, whereby our fore-fathers and predeceſſors have kept down "and reſtained their diſorderly appetites, and with which they have fought to ſubject them to "their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied faſt, but O "break out they will, and have their own waies. What then? how and if ye ſuffer them to catch "this and that, and t'other thing to it: if I ſay, ye let them wreſt from you one thing after another, "until at length they be check-mates with their husbands, think ye that ever you ſhall be able to "ſupport and endure them? Begin they once to be equals they will ſoon be ſuperiours: make them "your fellows, and ſtreight-wayes they will be your maſters. But, alas, we lay too hardly to their "charge. The thing that they ſtand upon is no more but this, That no new Act and ſtatute paſs "againſt them: for no equal and reaſonable thing do they refuſe: their deſire and prayer is only

A "that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is clean contrary: That law which ye have received "and admitted, that which by your ſuffrages you firſt granted, that which by the practiſe and ex- "perience of ſo many years you have allowed and approved, they would have you to revoke and "aboliſh: which is as much to ſay, as by anulling that one, to infringe, impair, and diminiſh the "authority and vertue of the reſt. No law is there ſo weil deviſed, that is good, commodious and "agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be conſidered, that it may be profitable "to the moſt part, and ſerve in general. For if as each perſon ſhall find an act prejudicial, hurtful, "and offenſive to himſelf, he may be allowed by and by to undo and demoliſh the ſame: to what "end ſhould all the people aſſemble together to the making of thoſe ſtatutes, which they anon a- "gainſt whom they were enacted, may aboliſh & overthrow? But gladly would I know the great B "occaſion and cauſe, for which our dames in ſuch trouble and uprore run out into the ſtreets, and "have much ado to forbear the common place, and to mount up into the *Roſtra* to make an ord- "tion to this audience? Is it for this, to redeem out of the hands of *Annibal*, their fathers, their "husbands, their children and brethren, whom he keepeth priſoners? Nay, that calamity is far e- "nough off at this day, and far may it ever be I pray God from our City and Common-weal. And "yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity, you would not hearken to their pite- "ous and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be, that it is neither natural love and kind "affection, nor careful regard of their deer friends, but meer touch of conſcience and ſenſe of reli- "gion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation. And ready they are, it may be, to "receive and intertain dame *Cybele* or *Idæa*, coming from *Peſcinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honeſt C "colour and ſhew, ſo much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this muti- "nous ſedition of women? Mary this (ſay they) that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and "ſhine in purple robes to be ſeen a far off: that as well on work daies as holy-dayes, we may be "ſet up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City, as it were in triumph, for the con- "queſt and victory of a law by us repealed and diſanulled: for winning from you, and wringing out "of your hands, maugre your beards, the liberty of your voices and ſuffrages: to the end that we "might not be ſtinted and gaged in our exceſſive expenſes, in our diſſolute proviſion, in coſtly va- "nities and ſuperfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the waſtful and ſumptuous "bravery of women: and as often have you known me to inveigh againſt the laviſh ſpending of "men, not privat perſons only, but magiſtrats alſo in higher place: and how this City of ours is ſick D "as it were at one time of two contrary diſeaſes and maladies, to wit pinching avarice, and ſuper- "fluous prodigality, two plagues I ſay, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Mo- "narchies and flouriſhing empires. Theſe peſtilent miſchiefs I dread ſo much the more, as our "ſtate and common-weal encreaſeth to the better: groweth wealthy every day more than other: "and as our dominion extendeth ſtill farther and farther. And now that we are gotten over into "*Greece* and *Aſia*, provinces full of all entiſing pleaſures and alluring delights of the world, now "that we are come to finger and handle the rich treaſures of mighty Monarchs, I fear me that even "theſe things have rather captivated us, than we them. The goodly images, ſtatues and pictures "that came from *Syracuſa* are (truſt me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no leſs than ſo "many enſigns of the field diſplayed againſt it. And I hear ſay already, that there are many, and E "too too many, that praiſe and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of *Corinth* & *Athens*, "and begin to make a ſcorn and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potters earth "only, laughing much at them, where they ſee them ſtanding forth of the walls. Well, for my part "I had rather have theſe gods ſo propice and favorable to us as they be than ſuch as thoſe: and ſo "I hope they will ever be, if we can ſuffer them to abide ſtill in their uſual ſhrines and places ac- "cuſtomed. No longer ago than in our fathers daies, King *Pyrrhus* ſent his Embaſſador *Cyneas* of "purpoſe, and aſſaied by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but alſo of "our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then in force to bridle and keep down the coſtly pomp "and bravery of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands. And what think F "ye was the cauſe? even the ſame and no other, for which our anceſtors in times paſt, never ſo "much as thought upon the providing of any ſuch law. There was no pride then, nor riotous ſu- "perfluity to reſtrain. And like as the skill and knowledge of diſeaſes, muſt præcede and go afore "their cures and remedies: even ſo evil deſires and enormous luſts had need to bud forth & ſpring "before the laws, which ſhould repreſs and cut them down. What cauſed the law *Licinia* to be "made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man ſhould poſſeſs above, but the "exceeding covetouſnes of men, encroaching ſtill and laying land to land? What brought in the "law *Cincia*, as touching gifts and preſents, but this, that the Commons began already to be vaſſals "as it were and tributaries to the Senat. No marvail therefore it is, nor ſtrange may it ſeem, that "neither the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeaſurable expences of "women, was required and thought needful in thoſe daies: when gold, when purple freely tendred G "and offered unto them was refuſed. If now at this day *Cyneas* were come, and went with ſuch "gifts round about in the City, he ſhould find receivers enough of women, ſtanding in every ſtreet "ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not deviſe what the cauſe and reaſon "ſhould be of many luſtful deſires and appetites that reign in this age. For ſay that if one of you "were kept ſhort and debarred of that, which another might lawfully have: per adventure there "might riſe in your hearts (through infirmity) ſome ſhame and abaſhment in nature, or elſe diſ- "pleaſure and diſcontentment in reaſon: ſo being all as ye are brought within one compaſs of fur-

" niture and apparel, and no ods at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, leſt ſhe H
" ſhould be looked into, marked or obſerved, more than another. I muſt needs ſay, the ſhame that
" followeth & attendeth either upon nigardiſe or poverty, is worſt of all others: but the law quit-
" teth and freeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, and
" no man will reproach you therfore. Yes mary, quoth ſome rich and wealthy dame, this ſame e-
" quality and no diſtinction at al among us, of al things I can not abide: Why may not I according
" to my calling, be ſeen araied in purple, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poor eſtate
" of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretext & cloak of a law: ſo as they may be thought
" yet (were it not for the law) that ſuch and ſuch things they would have; where as indeed they
" are not able to maintain and beat it out? Would ye (in faith) my maſters and citizens of *Rome*,
" have your wives to ſtrive thus, that the richer ſort might deſerve to have that, which no other I
" can reach unto: and the poor again, becauſe by that means they would not be deſpiſed, over-
" ſtrein themſelves to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
" to ſhame at that which is not ſhame-worthy, they will not abaſh at any thing, be it never ſo
" ſhameful. Have it ſhe will out of her own, ſo long as it laſteth: and when all is gone, to her hus-
" bands purſe ſhe will go. Alas poor man and wo begun is that husband, as wel he that is intrea-
" ted by his wife, to ſtretch his purſe ſtrings, as he that is not, when he ſhal ſee another man to give
" her that, which he would not allow himſelf. And even now ye ſee how openly in the ſtreet (un-
" ſhame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea, & that which more
" is, they keep an intreating for to caſs the law & for the favour of their voices only. For of ſome
" they have got the good wills no doubt already, whiles themſelves wil not be intreated, but draw K
" miſery upon thee, upon thy ſtate, and upon thy children. Wel, let the law once ceaſe to ſet down
" a gage and proportion or thy wives expences, and never think to have remedy, and to ſtay the
" ſame of thy ſelf with all thou canſt do. Be not deceived ſirs, to think that the world will be ever
" again at the ſame paſs, as it was before this law took place. And as it is a ſafer courſe and leſſe
" dangerous to let a naughty and obſtinat perſon alone, that he be not called into queſtion at all;
" than after he is once accuſed to ſuffer him to be quit and go away unpunished: even ſo this ex-
" ceſſive ſuperfluity, would have been more tolerable, if it had not been medled & tempered with-
" al, than it wil be now upon the very binding and curbing thereof: much like a wild and ſavage
" beaſt let looſe after it hath been tyed up a time, and ſo made more fell and angry. To conclude
" therfore, of this opinion am I, that of no hand the law *Oppia* be repealed: and ſo I pray all the L
" Gods to vouchſafe for to bleſs and turn to good, whatſoever you do or go about. When he had
" thus ſaid, thoſe Tribuns alſo of the Commons, who openly promiſed and proteſted to oppoſe
" themſelves, and to croſs the repealing of the law, made ſome briefſpeeches to the ſame effect.
" Then *L. Valerius* roſe up to maintain the bill by him propoſed for the revoking of that law, and
" ſpake as followeth. " If private men had ſtepped forth and advanced forward either to approve
" and perſwade, or to reject & diſſwade that which by us is propoſed, I my ſelf alſo without open-
" ing my mouth would have attended your wil & expected the delivery of your ſuffrages, as think-
" ing it had been ſufficiently debated and diſcourſed already, whatſoever might be ſaid for both
" parties. But now ſith that the Conſul *M. Porcius Cato*, a man of great reputation & gravity, not
" only by his countenance and authority, (which alone without any word at all ſpoken had been M
" important enough & effectual) but alſo in a long premeditate Oration framed with much ſtudy
" and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed againſt our propoſed ordinance, I muſt of ne-
" ceſſity anſwer him again as briefly as I can. Who nevertheleſs hath ſpent more words in repro-
" ving and chaſtiſing the matrons & dames of the City, than he hath beſtowed reaſon to the pur-
" poſe in diſſwading our new law: & all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whe-
" ther the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives, or
" ſeduced by us and our ſuggeſtions. As for me the protection directly of the cauſe I will take in
" hand, and not buſy and trouble my head in defence of our perſons, againſt whom the Conſul
" hath rather glanced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by ſound reaſons.
" It hath pleaſed him to cal this, An aſſembly and mutinous meeting: yea, and otherwhiles he ter- N
" meth it, An inſurrection and ſeceſſion of women: becauſe the wives in open place intreated you
" to repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the flouriſhing and bleſſed ſtate of the Common-
" weal, which during thoſe troubleſome daies of war, had been enacted againſt them. I wot full
" well that both theſe words and other beſides are very ſignificant, ſought out, and picked for the
" purpoſe, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that *M. Cato* is an Orator not
" only grave and earneſt, but otherwhiles alſo feſt, ſharp and biter, how ever otherwiſe by natural
" diſpoſition he be of a mild ſpirit and courteous enough. But to the point. What new & ſtrange
" thing is this that our wives have done, in coming abroad and aſſembling themſelves in compa-
" nies, about a matter that ſo much concerneth and importeth themſelves? Where were they ne-
" ver ſeen before now, abroad in open ſtreet? I wil take the point, O *Cato* to turn over your own O
" book of Originals againſt your ſelf. Liſten and mark how often they have done the ſemblable,
" and alwaies truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And firſt and foremoſt, in the
" very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of K. *Romulus*, when the Capitol was
" taken and held by the Sabins; when in the midſt of the Common place, they were ranged in bat-
" tel array and ready to fight a bloudy field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict ſtayed by
" the dames and wives that ran in & put themſelves between the two armies? After the KK, were
driven

The Oration of *L. Valerius* againſt the law *Oppia*.

A " driven out and expelled, What hapned tho? When as the legions of the Volſcians under the con-
" duct of *C. Martius* incamped within 5 miles of *Rome*, were they not the matrons of the City that
" turned back this army, which doubtleſs would have forced our City & put it to ranſack? And
" is not this likewiſe as true, that when the Gauls were poſſeſſed of *Rome* and maſters thereof, the
" dames of the City and none but they, even by the conſent of all men, came forth into the open
" ſtreets, made a contribution, and laid down that gold which paid for the ranſom and redempti-
" on of the City? No longer ſince than in the laſt Punick war (becauſe I will not ſtand ſo much
" upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the
" widows ſtocks ſupplied the want of the common treaſure? but alſo at what time as we were
" driven to ſeek for new Gods, and to ſend for them afar off to ſuccour us in our extremities; all
B " the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea ſide for to receive the goddeſs Mother *Idea*?
" The occaſions (qd. he) are different, and the caſe is not alike. Neither is it my purpoſe or any
" part of my meaning to compare cauſes, and to prove they are all one. This only I ſtand upon, and
" take it ſufficient to excuſe and cleer the women, for bringing up no ſtrange novelty, in that they
" ſhewed themſelves in open place. To proceed therefore: ſeeing that no man made any wonder
" then, of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men
" as women: marvail we now that they do the ſemblable, in a cauſe that properly and peculiarly
" pertaineth to themſelves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too
" coy and ſqueamiſh of our hearing, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when maſters diſdain
" not to hear the praiers of their ſervants and ſlaves, we ſcorn to give ear to the requeſts of ladies
C " and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in queſtion, in regard whereof the Conſul
" his Oration conſiſted in two points. For firſt, he took it very ill, that any law at all once enacted
" ſhould be revoked: and ſecondly, he ſtood upon this, that above all others the law deviſed and
" made for repreſſing the ſuperfluous ornaments and attire of women ſhould remain in force for
" ever. So lt ſhould ſeem, that the firſt part (a common defence as it were, of all the laws) was a
" ſpeech befitting the place and perſon of a Conſul: but the other againſt the exceeding pomp of
" women, more properly became a man (as himſelf) of moſt ſevere life and preciſe carriage. And
" therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, leſt we ſhould ſeduce you into ſome errour, if we
" lay not down and ſhew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I
" confeſs, that of thoſe laws which are deviſed and eſtabliſhed not for a time and by occaſion of
D " ſome particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be
" aboliſhed; unleſs it be ſo that by uſe and experience the ſame be checked and found hurtful, or
" by ſome change of the State become needleſs and ſuperfluous: ſo I ſee evidently, that thoſe ſta-
" tuts and ordinances which are brought in to fit and ſerve ſome ſeaſons, are mortal (if I may ſo
" ſay) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes we ſee, that war diſclaimeth thoſe laws which
" peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth down that which war ſet up: like as in the government
" and rule of a ſhip, one thing is requiſit in fair weather and calm Sea, another in foul and trouble-
" ſome tempeſts. Theſe things thus being in nature divers and diſtinct, let us conſider I pray you,
" of whether ſort is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. What? is it one of the ancient
" and royal laws made by the Kings, and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that
E " which is the next in time and authority) was it ſet down and written in the twelve Tables by
" the Decemvirs, created of purpoſe to deviſe and make laws? Is it of that nature without the
" which as our anceſtors were of opinion, that the honeſty and honour of matrons could not
" be preſerved: ſo we are to fear likewiſe, leſt by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the mode-
" ſty, chaſtity, and integrity of maried women? Why? who knoweth not that this is a new law
" of 20 years ſtanding and continuance and no more, made whiles Q. *Fabius* and T. *Sempronius*
" were Conſuls? And ſeeing that without it, wives lived ſo many years before in good name and
" fame, and in paſſing good order: tell me what danger can enſue, and why we need to fear leſt if
" it be anulled, they ſhould break out to al looſenes and diſorder. Mary, if this law had been made
" at firſt, to gage the wantonneſs of women, believe me then it were greatly to be doubted, that
F " the putting down thereof would ſtir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end
" it was deviſed, the time it ſelf is able to ſhew and teſtifie. *Annibal* being in *Italy*, had won a vi-
" ctory at *Canne*: he was now maſter of *Tarentum*, Lord of *Arpi*, and poſſeſſed of *Capua*: every
" hour men looked when he would march forward and advance his enſigns againſt *Rome*: our al-
" lies were revolted and gone: ſouldiers we had no more of our own to ſupply and make up the
" decaied bands: no mariners and Sea ſervitors could we find for the maintenance of our Arma-
" do: all our treaſure in the City Chamber was ſpent and conſumed. Driven we were to this
" exigent, as to take up bondſlaves for to ſerve in wars, and to buy them of their maſters for day,
" yea, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money alſo the
" Publicans and Farmors of our demain and publick profits, undertook to ſerve the army with
G " corn, and to furniſh us with all things needful for war at a certain price, and gave us the like day
" and time of payment. The Gally ſlaves that ſerved at the oar we found and maintained with
" our own proper and private charges; and a rate and proportion was ſet down according to
" our revennes and worth in the ſubſidy book, what number every one ſhould be charged with.
" All the gold and ſilver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators
" themſelves led the way firſt, and gave good enſample. The widdows and orphan Children
" brought in their ſtocks of money to the City Chamber. Streight order was given, that

"we should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above H
"so much, nor of silver and brass in coin and current money beyond a certain proportion limit-
"ted. At such a time, our dames (belike) were set all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and
"tricking themselves, in such sort, as the law *Oppia* must needs be devised, there was no other
"remedy to keep down their excessive pride and superfluous expence in their attire and orna-
"ments: even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemn feast and sacrifice of *Ceres* was dis-
"continued, by reason of the general mourning and heavy chear of all the wives of the City, the
"Senat was fain to take order, that they should finish and end their sorrowful mourning within
"thirty dayes. Who is so blind that seeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extream
"calamity of the City, and because all the monies of private persons should be converted into a
"common stock, and for a publick use, this law was first framed, drawn, and set down, so long I
"only to stand in strength and vertue, as the cause of penning and writing it should endure and
"continue? For otherwise, if those acts and decrees of the Senat, if those orders and ordinances
"of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should be in force, and observed for ever;
"Why make we paiment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we set and to ferm let
"our commodities, our customes and revenues of the City, unto farmers for ready rent? Why put
"we forth our publick works for present money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we
"not slaves to serve in our wars? Lastly, why are we not put to find mariners and oarmen, at our
"own proper charges, as then we did? All other estates and degrees, all men else, of what calling
"soever, feel a great change in the state of the City, from wo to weal, from adversity to prosperi-
"ty; and shall our wives only miss the good thereof, and not once tast nor enjoy the fruits of K
"peace, and publick repose and tranquillity? Shall we that are men, be in purple and scarlet? shall
"we wear our embrodered gowns and robes when we are Magistrats? shall we put on our rich
"amyces and copes, when we exercise the function and ministery of the high Priests? shall our
"children go in their side garments, purfled afore with purple? shall we permit and priviledge the
"head Officers and Magistrats in our Colonies and Burrough Towns? nay, shall we suffer here at
"*Rome* the Masters and Constables of every parish, the meanest and basest officers of all other to
"wear embrodered gowns, & studded with purple? and not only so, for to grace and credit them-
"selves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but al-
"so after their death, the same to be burned and buried with them? And shall we debar and for-
"bid our women only to use purple and scarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may L
"have purple and scarlet, carpets, counter-points, and foot-cloths, what reason is there to deny
"your wife, the mistress of the house, a gown or mantle of the same? And shall your horse be trap-
"ped and barbed more richly, and better set out with his caparison, than your wife arraied in her
"apparel? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which are the worse for the wearing, and waxeth
"bare, me thinks I see some reason, such as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraint:
"mary to go old wherein little or nothing is lost but the fashion and workmanship, what niggar-
"dise, what misery is this, to make spare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare avow and abide by
"it there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in
"publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* said
"moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that, if neither M
"one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but instead there-
"of they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, disdaining to
"see the wives of our allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear those ornaments
"which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously set out with spangles and
"jewels of gold, clad in their purple and scarlet cloths, riding in their coaches all over their cities,
"whiles they at *Rome* take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were
"seated in their Towns, and not in this their own City of *Rome*. This indignity were enough to
"wound the hearts of men, and make them bleed; what hurt doth it then, think you, to silly wo-
"men, whom small matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? Alas poor souls: no magistracy and
"place of government in State, no sacerdotal dignities in the Church, no triumphs no *ornaments* N
"and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoils and prizes gotten in wars, can fall to
"their shares. Neatness and fineness, gay garments, trim attire, and gorgeous habiliments, are the
"honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they set their hearts, of it they
"make their joy. And therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of
"women [*Mundus Muliebris*.] What lay they off in time of sorrow and mourning, but their gold
"and purple? what put they on and resume again, when their mourning is past, but their gold and
"purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemn processions but their
"better apparel, their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once
"repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you should for-
"bid them to wear any thing that now the law restraineth them of. And perhaps some shall have O
"more ado with their daughters, their wives, and sisters, and find them less tractable and pliable
"unto their minds than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot shake off their obedience,
"so long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other
"things they abhor and cannot brook to be at their own liberty, when it cometh by the death ei-
"ther of husbands or parents: Widows state and Orphans life, they may not abide. Be sure there-
fore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your selves than of

A "of the law. And therefore, to speak a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend
"them in kindness, and not oppress them with hardness and bondage: delight ye must to be called
"their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Masters. It pleased the Consul erewhile
"to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and
"a very insurrection and departure of theirs: and danger there is, no doubt, lest being up once, they
"will seize upon the mount *Sacer*, as sometimes the Commons did in their furious anger, or else
"possess themselves of the Aventine, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and
"feeble sex, born to bear, must suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain and set down against
"them. But take this withal at the loose for a final conclusion, that the greater power and autho-
"rity ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that soveraignty
B "of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and disfavor of the law, the day fol-
lowing the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves
together, as it were, in one troop, they beset the dores and houses of the *Brutis*, who by interposing
themselves, had hindred and crossed the bill preferred by their fellow Tribuns: and never gave they The law *Oppia*
over to keep this stir, until those Tribuns slaked in their opposition, for to inhibit the same. Which repealed.
done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish
that law. Thus twenty year after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled.

M. Porcius Cato after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, presently departed with a fleet of five
and twenty Gallies, whereof five were set out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of * *Luna*, to * *Porto Venere.*
which place he commanded his forces to assemble: and after by vertue of an edict sent out along
C the Sea coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he loosed from *Luna*: and proclaimed
that they should all follow after him to the Port of *Pyrenæus*, from whence he purposed to set
forth against the enemy, with an Armado of many sail, and well appointed. Who having passed
beyond the mountains of *Liguria* and the gulf of Gaul, arrived and met all together, at the day
and place appointed. From thence they came against * *Rhoda*, where they expelled the Spanish * *Rosea.*
garrison that held the fortrets. From *Rhoda* with a good gale of wind, they sailed to *Emporiæ*.
Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were set a land. At the same time *Emporiæ*
were two Towns, separate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by
Greeks, who came from *Phocæa*, from whence the Massilians also are descended: the other was
possessed by Spaniards. But the Greeks Town lieth out into the Sea, so as the whole compass of
D the wall is not half a mile about: but the Spanish Town seated farther into the Land, and divided
from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third sort of Roman inhabitants
were joyned unto them by * *Cæsar* the Emperor of famous memory, after he had vanquished * *Iulius.*
Pompeys children. And at this day, they are confused and mingled one with another, and become
one entire body, by reason that first the Spaniards, and afterward the Greeks, were made free de-
nizens of the City of *Rome*. A man might well marvail, seeing how open they lie of the one side to
the main Sea, how exposed they are on the other side to the danger of the Spaniards, a Nation so
E fierce and warlike, what thing it was that garded and protected them? Discipline it was and good
government, and nothing else, which maintained and preserved them in that weakenes of theirs;
discipline I say, which is ever best intertained of them, who live in fear of the mightier that are
round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is passing strong and exceeding
well fortified, having but one gate in all that side; which ordinarily is alwayes warded by one of
the Magistrats. In the night, one third part usually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls. And
this watch they maintained not for custome and fashion, nor by vertue of any law: but they per-
formed it with as great care, yea, and went the round and saw to the sentinels with as much dili-
gence, as if the enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the City; neither went
they forth themselves, unless it were upon just occasion. But on the Sea side the issue was open for
any man at his pleasure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spanish Town, they never used to
go forth but in great number, even a third part welneer of the Townsmen, and those who the night
before had watched upon the walls. And this cause induced them to go abroad, for that the Spa-
F niards being no men at Sea, gladly would traffick and trade with them: willingly buying of them
their strange merchandise from forein parts brought in by ships: and venting unto them again
their Land commodities and fruits arising of the main. The desire of this mutual commerce and
necessary intercourse was the cause, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in grea-
ter safety and security they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the wing of the
Roman amity, which they intertained with as great loyalty as the Massilians, although they were
nothing so mighty and puissant. And even at this time they received the Consul and his army
with great courtesie and liberality. *Cato* so journed there some few dayes, whiles he was advertised
by his espials where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and because he would not be
idle whiles he stayed there, he bestowed all that time in training and exercising his souldiers. It
G hapned to be that season of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges rea-
dy for the thrashing floor, whereupon he forbad the cornpurveiors to provide grain, and sent
them home to *Rome*. War, saith he, shall feed and maintain it self. Being departed from * *Emporiæ*, * *Emporium*
he wasted and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he *Stephano.*
came, and put them in exceeding fright. *Ampuria,*
Clusio.

At the same time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther Province of *Spain* with 6000
garrison souldiers delivered unto him by the Pretor, he was encountred by a great army of the
Celti-

Celtiberians, before the Town *Illiturgum*. *Valerius* writeth, that they were 20000 strong: that H
12000 of them were slain, the Town *Illiturgum* won again, and all above 14 years of age put to
the sword. From thence *Helvius* marched to the camp of *Cato*: and became the countrey was
cleer from enemies, he sent back the garrison into the nether *Spain*, and took his journey to *Rome*,
where he entred the City *Ovant* in pety triumph, for the happy succes atchieved in his affairs.
He brought into the treasury, of silver in bullion or Ingots, 14732 pound weight: of silver coin
17023 bigate peeces: and of Oscane silver 120338 pound weight. The cause why the Senat de-
nied him full triumph, was this, for that he warred under the conduct and name of another, and
not in his own province. But it was two years before he returned, by reason that the year between
he was stayed there, lying sick of a long and grievous disease, and put over his government to *Q.*
Minutius his successor. Whereupon *Helvius* likewise entred the City of *Rome* in that manner of I
triumph, two months only before his successor *Q. Minutius* triumphed. He likewise brought into
the Chamber of the City 34800 pound weight of silver in mass: of bigats in coin 78000: of Os-
cane silver 278000 pound.

All this while the Consul lay encamped in *Spain* not far from *Emporiæ*. Thither repaired unto
him from *Bilistages* a Prince of the Ilergets, three Embassadors, whereof his son was one: com-
plaining that their forts were assailed by force of arms, and they had no other hope to make re-
sistance, unless they might have a guard of Roman souldiers to defend them, 5000 say they will
be sufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if such a power came against them. The
Consul answered them and said, that he had a feeling and compassion of the peril or fear (whether
it was) wherein they stood: howbeit, he was not at that time furnished with such forces, that he K
might safely spare so many out of his main army, thereby to dismember the same and to empair his
strength, considering a mighty host of his enemies was not far off, with whom he looked every
day, and he knew not how soon, to joyn battail in open field with banner displaied. The Embassa-
dors hearing this, fell down prostrate at the Consuls feet, and shed tears, humbly beseeching him
not to forsake them in this piteous plight. "For whither (say they) shall we go, if we be repul-
"sed from the Romans? No allies we have besides, nor other hope in all the world. This danger
"we might have avoided wel enough, if we would have been false and disloyal: if we would have
"banded and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no menaces, no terrors presented unto us, could
"drive us to renounce our fealty, hoping alwayes that we should have help and succour enough
"from the Romans: but now if no help, if no relief come from thence; if we be denied at the L
"Consuls hand; heaven and earth we call to witnes, that we must be forced, full against our wills
"and upon mere necessity, to revolt from the Romans, for fear we drink of the same cup that the
"Saguntins have done afore us; and choose we will to die with the rest of the Spaniards for com-
"pany, rather than perish alone by our selves. So for that day they were dismissed without other
answer. But all the night following, the Consul was much distracted in mind, and careful in both
respects. Unwilling he was to cast off his allies and see them destitute; and as unwilling again to
break his army considering that in so doing, he might either delay the opportunity of giving
b trail, or endanger himself in the very instant of conflict. But at length he resolved in no wise to
diminish his own forces: doubting left in the mean while he should receive some dishonor at the
enemies hand. As for his associats, he thought it best to intertain them with good hopes, for M
want of better helps; considering that oftentimes and especially in war, outward semblances and
vain shews, are held and taken for truth and substance, and serve the turn well enough: and when
a man is throughly perswaded that he hath aid and succour, the very trust and confidence thereof
hath ministred heart to give the venture of some exploit and preserved him as well as the thing it
self. The next morrow he delivered this answer unto the Embassadors, That albeit he feared to
abate his own strength, in serving other mens turn with any part of his forces, yet he had at this
present more regard of their occasions and dangerous estate than of his own. Whereupon he gave
commandment, that a third parr of all his bands and companies should have warning to bake
and dresse viands with all speed, for to bestow and lay in the ships: and streightly he charged, that
they should be rigged and ready appointed against the third day: and willed withal, two of the N
Embassadors to report so much to *Bilistages* and the Ilergets. As for the young Prince his son,
he detained still with him, used him graciously, and bestowed favours and rich gifts upon him
bounteously. The Embassadors took not their leave nor departed, before they saw the souldiers
embarked: and thus by making relation hereof as a thing atmired and past all perad venture, they
filled the heads not of their own friends only, but also of the enemies, with the bruit of Roman
aids coming neer at hand. The Consul now, when he had set this countenance of the matter, and
made sufficient semblance to serve his purpose, gave order that the souldiers should be disbarked
again & set a land: and himself seeing now that the time of the year approached commodious for
action and execution of martial affairs, dislodged and removed his standing winter camp within a
mile of *Emporiæ*. From whence (as any occasions and opportunities were presented) he led forth O
his souldiers a forraging and plundering into the enemies land, sometime one way and sometime
another, leaving alwayes a competent guard to defend the camp. Ordinarily their manner was to
steal out by night, to the intent that both they might go on still farther from their leaguer, & also sur-
prise the enemies at unawares and unprovided: by which means not only his new & raw souldiers
were exercised, but also many of his enemies were caught up and came short home: whereupon
they durst no more peep out of their forts & holds of defence. Now after he had made sufficient
proof

A proof of the hearts as well of his own men as of his enemies, he commanded all the Marshals,
Colonels, Horsemen, and Centurions, to assemble before him: and unto them he made this speech.
"The time (quoth he) is now come, that you so often have wished for; in which you may shew
"at full your vertue and valour. Your service hitherto hath been more like the manner of for-
"ragers than warriors: but now shall ye come to a main battail, and as enemies, fight hand to
"hand with professed enemies. From henceforth you may if you will, not wait their fields only
"and spoil their territory, but ranlack the pillage of rich and wealthy cities. Our fathers before
"us and ancestours in times past, when as in *Spain* there were both Generals and armies of Car-
"thaginians, having themselves no leaders and commanders, no souldiers and forces there, yet
"would they needs have this article among others capitulated in the accord and composition
B "with the Spaniards, That the River of *Iberus* should limit their Seignory and dominion. Now
"at this day, when two Pretors and a Consul, when three entire Roman armies have the go-
"vernment and charge of *Spain*; now, I say, after ten years space almost, wherein no Carthagi-
"nians have set foot and been seen in all these quarters of both provinces, we have lost our seig-
"nory on this side *Iberus*. This must ye recover and win again by force of arms, by manhood and
"valour: ye must I say, compel this nation, more rash and inconsiderate in rebelling, than con-
"stant and resolute in maintaining war, for to receive once more the yoke of subjection, which
"they have shaken from off their necks. Having exhorted and encouraged them in this manner,
he gave them to understand, that he would set forward in the night and lead against the enemies
camp. And so he let them depart to refresh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly
C taken with him the signs and approbations of the birds for his better speed, he put himself in
his journey: and became he might be seized of some place to his liking before the enemies should
descry him, he set a compass in his march, and led his souldiers clean beyond their camp. And
having by day light set his companies in battel array, he sent out three cohorts, even close to the
rampier and trench of the enemy. The barbarous people wondering to see the Romans shew
themselves behind at their back, ran to and fro to take arms. Mean while, the Consul held his
men with these and such like speeches: "My souldiers (quoth he) there is no other hope now
"left, but in mere strength and valour, and I of very purpose have wrought it so. Between us
"and our camp the enemies are encamped all: behind at our back we have our enemies Land.
"The bravest courses are ever safest, namely, to build and ground our hope surely upon vertue.
D And herewithal he gave order, that the cohorts aforesaid should retire of purpose to train forth
the barbarous people, by making semblance of retreat and flight. And so fell it out in very deed
as he thought and suppoied: for they imagining that the Romans for very fear were retired, issued
forth by heaps out of the gate, and bespred with armed men all the ground, that lay between
their own camp and the enemies battel. And whiles they made great hast to embattel themselves,
the Consul who was already arranged in battel array, and in all respects well appointed, charged
upon them before they were marshalled and set in order. First he put forth the cornets and wings
of horsemen from both points and flanks of the battail: but they of the right side were straight-
wayes repulsed, and by their hasty and fearful retreating, cauled the footmen also to be mightily
affraid. Which the Consul perceiving, he commanded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheel
E about the right flank of the enemies, and to shew themselves at their backs before the other
companies of foot encountred and charged one another. This suddain terror affrighted the ene-
mies, but set all upright again and recovered the battail of the Romans. which through the fear
of the Cavalry began to shrink and go down. Howbeit the horsemen and footmen both of the
right point, were so troubled and so far out of order, that the Consul was forced to pluck some
of them back with his own hand, and turn them with their faces affront the enemy. Thus all the
while that the shot lasted, the skirmish was doubtful: so as now the Romans in the skirmish, had
much ado to make head and stand to it in the right side, whereas the fright and flight first began.
But on the left and all affront, the barbarous had the worst, and with great horror they looked
behind and saw their enemies how they played upon their backs and rested not. After they had
F done with flinging their iron darts and lancing their fiery javelins, they drew their swords; and
herewith began the conflict afresh. They were not wounded now from a far off by blind chance
and hap-hazard they knew not from whence; but foot to foot they stood, and hand to hand
they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to trust in pure strength
and main force. The Consul seeing his men wearied, encouraged and refreshed them by sending
for to relieve and maintain the fight, certain cohorts out of the rereward. This new battaillon
well in heart, and with fresh weapons, charged the enemies toiled and tired: and being ranged
in pointed wise like a quoin or wedge at the first hot onset brake their arraies: and being once dis-
ordered, they put them to flight, and in scattering wise they ran as fast as their legs would carry
them, to their camp. *Cato* seeing them flie on all hands, mounted on horseback and rode him-
G self to the second legion which was in the rereward for supply, and commanded to advance the
standards and ensigns before him, to march apace, and to approach the camp of the enemies for
to give an assault. If he espied any one to step out of his rank, he would ride before and rap him
with his light javelin that he had in his hand; commanding the Marshals and Captains to cha-
stice him for it. Now was the enemies camp at the point to be assaulted, and the Romans were
with stones, pikes, perches, and all kind of weapons set back and driven from the trench. But when
this fresh legion approached neer, then both the assailants were more encouraged, and also
the

The Oration of *Cato* to his Captains and Gallants.

the enemies fought more lustily in defence of their rampier. The Consul cast his eye all about him, to spie how to break in at some place or other where least resistance might be made: and seeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Hastati of the second legion: but the *corps de guard* which warded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The rest on the other side, seeing the enemies within the rampier, abandoned the camp, and flung away their ensigns and weapons. The souldiers of the second legion followed the chase and killed them as they ran away; whiles the other ransacked and rifled their tents. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the sword. *Cato* himself (that never loved to make the least of his own praise-worthy acts) saith, there were many slain; but setteth not down what number. He is thought to have performed that day three peeces of service worthy of great praise and commendation: first, in that he set a compass with his army far from his ships, far from his camp, and gave battail in the midst of the enemies, where his men could repose no hope at all but in their own vertue and valour: secondly, for sending those cohorts behind the enemies to charge upon their backs: and thirdly, for that he caused the second legion to march a great pace under their colours displaid, ranged as they were and ordered in battail array, for to approach and assail the gates of the enemies camp, whiles all the rest were disbanded and spread all abroad to pursue the enemy in chase.

After this victory atchieved, he sat not still in rest and repose, but having sounded the retreat and brought his own souldiers loden with pillage into the camp, he allowed them some few hours for their night sleep, and led them forth into the territory of the enemy to forrage and spoil: which was as effectual to enforce the Spanish Emporitans, and all their neighbour borderers to yeeld subjection, as the unhappy battel fought the day before. Many also of other Cities, which were retired to *Emporia* for refuge, rendered themselves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheer, bestowing wine and cates plentifully upon them, he sent them home to their own houses. Then immediately he dislodged and removed his camp. And all the way as he marched with his army there resorted Embassadors from divers States that yeelded themselves unto him. By that time that he was come as far as *Taracon*, all *Spain* on this side *Iberus*, was wholly subdued: and the barbarous people brought in as presents unto the Consul, all the captives and prisoners, as well Romans as Allies, and namely, Latins, who by many and sundry chances had been taken in *Spain*. The bruit went commonly abroad, that the Consul would lead his power into *Turdetania*. There was a false alarm likewise given, and spoken it was, That he would visit the mountainers that lay out of the way. Upon this vain and headless rumour, there were seven forts belonging to the State of the Bergistans that revolted from him: but the Consul led his army against them, and without any memorable battel reduced them under obedience. And the Consul his back was no sooner turned, and he gone to *Taracon*, but they rebelled again, even before he was departed from thence in any other expedition. Subdued they were the second time, but they found not the like favour as before, to have pardon: for they were all sold like slaves in open market, under the garland, because they should not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this mean time *P. Manlius* the Pretor, after he had received the old army at the hands of *Q. Mutius* whom he succeeded, and joined thereto the other army of old souldiers belonging to *Appius Claudius*, and which were come out of the farther *Spain*, he made an expedition into *Turdetania*. Now these Turdetans of all other Spaniards are counted to be the worst souldiers, howbeit, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes they came forward and encountred the Roman forces. But the men of arms had no sooner charged them, but presently, they were disarraied. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved souldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were experienced in feats of arms, made a quick dispatch of this skirmish, and soon put all past peradventure, Howbeit, the war was not so ended, nor determined in one battel. The Turdetans levied and waged 1000 Celtiberians, and so maintained war afresh with forrain mercenary forces.

The Consul being stung already with the Rebellion of the Turdetans, and supposing that other Cities would do the like, upon any good occasion and opportunity, disfurnished all the Spaniards on this side *Iberus* of their armor and munition. Which they took for such an indignity, that many of them for very melancholly killed themselves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world, as turned out of their arms: and reckoned no life, without their weapons. The Consul having intelligence hereof, commanded the Senators of all those Cities to repair unto him: and when they were assembled together, he used this speech unto them. "It "concerneth you (qd. he) no less than us, to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet "to this day have ye entred into the action, but with more loss and damage of Spaniards, than "toil and travel of the Roman army. To prevent this mischief that it should not happen, I sup-"pose one good way it is, to contrive and work so, that ye might not possibly be able to rebel. "Effect this I would fain, by the easiest mean and course of all other. Assist me I pray you herein "with your good counsel: I assure you I will not be directed by any advise more willingly, than by "that which you your selves shall give me. When they held their tongues, and would not speak a word, he said unto them again, that he was content they should pause upon the matter, and consult therof a few daies. When they were called again & kept silence in this second meeting and conference as wel as in the former: he made no more ado, but in one day raised the wals of al their Cities: which

which done, he went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, not yeelded obedience: and into what quarters soever he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection: save only *Segestica*, a wealthy City and of importance, the which he forced with mantelets and rolling pavoises, and such like fabricks. More difficulty in subduing these enemies he found, than others afore him who first came into *Spain*; in this regard, for that in times past the Spaniards at the beginning revolted unto them, as being weary of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyranny of the Carthaginians. But *Cato* had more ado with them now, in that out of liberty and freedom, which they had usurped and been used to, he was to ingage them (as it were) bond, and to bring them again to servitude. Besides, he found all out of frame and order, whiles some of them were up in arms, others were forced by siege to revolt, as not able to have held out long, unless they had been rescued and succoured in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Consul, that he would himself in person be present and manage all affairs, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not only devise and give direction what was best to be done, but would himself set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst them all, that he commanded with more severity and rigour, than his own self. In living meerly in spare feeding, in much watching, in painful travel, he strived to surpass and outgo the meanest common souldiers. And no priviledge challenged he, no advantage sought he to himself, in his whole army above others, but only honour and soveraign command.

The Pretor *P. Manlius* had the more trouble in his war-service, by reason of the Celtiberians, whom (as it hath been said before) the enemies had levied and hired with their money. And therefore the Consul being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions also thither. Being there arrived, (now the Celtiberians and Turditans were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romans fell presently to maintain light skirmishes with the Turditans, and ever and anon charged their *corps de guards*: and how rashly and inconsiderately soever they began the game, yet they ever went away winners. As for the Celtiberians, the Consul sent certain Tribuns or Knight Marshals unto them to emparle, giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to arrange themselves to serve under the Romans, and to receive at their hands double wages to that they bargained for with the Turditans. Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe conduct and publick security, besides that their siding with the Roman enemies should not be laid to their charge. nor bring them within the compass of any danger. Thirdly, if they had more mind to war, than, that they should set down some time and place, when and where they might come to an issue, and trie it out in a set battail. The Celtiberians required to take a day for to consider better upon these points. So they assembled together in counsel, with great trouble and confusion, by reason that some Turdetans were thrust in among them; upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertain it was, whether there would be any war or peace with the Celtiberians, yet the Romans gathered their provision out of the territory and borroughs of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea, and more than that, they entred oftentimes within their fortifications and defences, as if there had been some common traffick and commerce agreed between them, by way of private truce. The Consul seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battail, first led certain companies lightly appointed with banners displaied, to raise booties in one quarter of the country, which as yet was free, and not tasted of the wars: but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cariage of the Celtiberians was left at *Saguntia*, he set forward thither to give an assault to the Town. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paied not only his own souldiers their wages, but also the Pretors army their due, and leaving the main host in the Pretor his camp, himself returned to the River *Ebre*, accompanied only with seven cohorts. With these forces, as small as they were, he won certain Towns, and there revolted unto him the Sedetans, Auestans, and Suessetans. The Lacetans (a Nation living out of the way after a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept still in arms, not only upon a natural and inbred wildness, but also upon a guilty conscience, in that whiles the Consul and his army was employed in the Turdulois war, they had made suddain rodes and incursions into the Lands of their Allies, and pitifully wasted the same. And therefore the Consul advanced forward to assault their Town, and led against it not only his own cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies, who had good cause to be angry, and to oppose themselves unto them. The Town which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was nothing so wide and large in breadth: and within one half mile or less, he pitched down his ensigns, and planted himself. There he left behind a guard of choise companies, and streightly charged them not to stir out of that place, before he came unto them himself. The rest of his forces he led about unto the farther side beyond the Town. Of all the aid souldiers that he had about him, the greatest number were the youth of the Suessetans, and those he commanded to approach the wall for to give assault. The Lacetans, when they took knowledge of their armor and colours, calling to mind how often they had overrun them at their pleasure, and wasted their lands without check or empeachment, how many and sundry times they had in ranged battel discomfited & put them to flight, all at once set open the gate, and sallied out upon them. The Suessetans were so little able to sustain the forcible charge of their onset, that they hardly could abide their very shout & first cry. The Co, seeing now, that come to pass indeed which he suspected would

* *Gigonca in Andaluſia, Mo-tali.*

be

be so, rode a gallop upon the spur to those said cohorts of his own that were left on the other side under the Town, and taking them with him in great hast, whiles all the Townsmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Snessetans, he led them into the Town at a place where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seen; and made himself master of all, before the Lacetans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon their submission: who, poor men, had nothing to yeeld and lose but their bare armor and weapons. Immediatly he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces against the hold or strong Town of *Vergium*. This was a receptacle and place of sure receit for certain Rovers and Theeves, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province. The principal and chief person of *Vergium* quit the place, and betook himself unto the Consul, and began to excuse as well himself as the Townsmen; saying, that the government of the Town and the state thereof lay not in their hands. For why? these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consul willed him to go home again, and to devise and forge some likely and probable cause why he had been absent and out of the way; with this charge and direction, that when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers aforesaid wholly amused and occupied in defence thereof, then he should remember to join with the rest of his part and faction, and be possessed of the fortress and hold of the Town. This put he in practise and execution accordingly. So whiles the Romans of one side scaled the walls, and they on the other side had taken the fortress, these barbarians were suddainly at once surprised with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Consul when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave order, that all those who were gotten into the Castle and held it, should remain free, themselves and all their kinred, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the Vergetans he commanded the Treasurer to sell and make mony of them. As for the Rovers, they suffred according to their deserts. After he had set the Province in quiet, he laid great tributes and impost upon the mines of iron and silver: which being once ordained and established, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits atchieved in *Spain*, the LL. of the Senat decreed, that there should be a solemn procession at *Rome*, to endure for three dayes.

The same winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Consul, fought in *France* a set field with the power of the Boians, neer the foreset of *Litania*, and won the victory. And by report, there were eight thousand Gauls there slain: the rest abandoned the war, and slipt every one into their own Hamlets and Villages. The rest of the winter the Cos. kept his army at *Placentia* and *Cremona* about the *Po*, and repaired in these Cities whatsoever had been decaied and demolished during the wars.

The affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* standing in these terms: when *T. Quintius* had so passed the winter in *Greece*, the setting aside the Ætolians (who neither had been recompenced according to the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repose) all *Greece* throughout in general enjoying the blessing of peace and liberty, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman General after victory, than his valour and prowess in war: there was an Act of the Senat of *Rome* brought and presented unto him, importing thus much, That war was determined against *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. Which when *Quintius* had read, he published and proclaimed a general Diet or Councel at *Corinth* against a certain day, when and where all the States associats should assemble by their delegats and Embassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of Princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very Ætolians also were not absent, *Quintius* used unto them this or the like speech. "The Romans & Greek have warred against King *Philip* as ye well know; and as with one mind and common counsel they have so done, so either of them had several quarrels unto him, and privat causes and occasions by themselves to take arms. For *Philip* had broken the league and amity with us Romans, one while by sending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies: otherwhiles by assailing our allies in these parts: and to you wards he hath so demeaned himself, that albeit we could forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that ye have received at his hands, minister sufficient cause unto us to war against him for your sake. As for this dayes consultation, it resteth wholly in your selves. For, this I propound unto you, Whether your will is to suffer *Argos* (which as ye know your selves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to remain still under him in obedience: or whether you think it meet and reason, that a most noble and ancient City as it is, seated in the very heart of *Greece*, should be reduced unto liberty, to enjoy the same condition and state wherein other Cities of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece* do stand. This consultation I say, as you well see, entirely toucheth you and your good, and concerneth us Romans no farther than thus, that by the servitude of that one only City, we can not have the full and entire glory of setting *Greece* wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the state of that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion of this mischief spred farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will not set you down and teach you what to do. Only I require your advice in this point; minding to resolve upon that, which the Major part of you shall carry by voices. After the Roman General had ended his speech, all the rest began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputed delegate or agent for the Athenians had magnified and extolled as highly as possibly he could, the good

A good demeries of the Romans towards *Greece*, yielding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted them aid against *Philip*; and without any petition at all, offered their help and succour against *Nabis* the tyrant; and seemed therewith to be offended and displeased at some, who nevertheless in their talk and speeches found fault and carped at these so great favours and deserts; yea, and spake badly of future events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and confess how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns past: it well appeared that he pointed out directly the Ætolians, and girded at them. "Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chief man of their nation, inveighed first against the Athenians, who having been in times past the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betraied now the common cause for love of their own privat flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the Achæans, who first served *Philip* in his wars, and at the last (when they saw him down the wind and B fortune to frown upon him) fell away like disloyal traitors & possessed themselves of *Corinth* to their own behoof, practising also to compass and gain unto them the City of *Argos*. As for the Ætolians, the first and principall enemies of *Philip*, and alwaies allies and friends to the Romans, howsoever they had expresly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns and territories, after *Phil.* was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides *Echinum* and *Pharsalus*. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, who pretending an outward shew a vain title and colour of liberty, held the Cities of *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* with strong garrisons: and yet when *Philip* made some stay and halting to withdraw and void from thence his armed C guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that *Greece* would never be in freedom, so long as *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth* were in his hand: and finally he alledged against them, that under pretence of *Argos* and *Nabis*, they sought occasion to remain still in *Greece* and keep their armies there. Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into *Italy*, the Ætolians would then undertake and promise, that *Nabis* should remove his garrison out of *Argos*, upon composition and with good will, or else they would compell him by force and arms, to be over-ruled by the puissance of all *Greece* united together in one generall consent. By this vain babble of his, he touled *Aristænus* first, the Prætor of the Achæans, who spake in this wise. Never will *Jupiter Opt. Max.* quoth he, and Queen *Juno* the Patroness of *Argos*, suffer that City to be the recompence or prize between the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and these pilling and thieving Ætolians: to be brought to this hard point and these terms of extremity, as to sustain more misery and calamiD ty when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. O *Quintius*, it is not the sea lying between us and them that can defend us from these robbers. What will then become of us, in case they should make themselves a fort and Castle of strength in the midst of *Peloponnesus*? Nought have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their shape and visage. For look into their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruell than any barbarians, nay, they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We beseech you therefore O Romans, both to recover *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*, and also to establish the State of *Greece* in such sort, that ye leave these parts also safe and secure enough from the robberies and theeving hostility of these Ætolians. The Roman General *Quintius*, seeing them of all sides to blame and rebuke the Ætolians, said, that he would have answered E them himself, but that he perceived them all so hatefully bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeased, than farther provoked. And therefore holding himself satisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and Ætolians, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the war against *Nabis*, unless he rendred *Argos* to the Achæans? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to send aids proportionably to the power and strength of each State and City. To the Ætolians he sent an Embassador, more to discover and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly) than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the Provost Marshals of the camp, he gave commandment to send for the army from *Elatia*.

About this time, when the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about F alliance and a league, he answered, That he could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegats above said; and therefore they were to repair unto the Senat of *Rome*. Then, himself in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against *Argos*, with those forces which were brought from *Elatia*. And when he was about [illegible] *Aristænus* the Prætor, with 10000 foot of Achæans, and 1000 horse met him in the way: and not far from thence they joyned both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down into the Plain of *Argos* and chose a place to fortifie and lye in leaguer about four miles from *Argos*. Now was *Pythagoras* the Captain of the Lacedæmonian garrison, who had both married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This *Pythagoras* against the coming of the Romans, had fortified with strong guards both the Castles (for two there are within *Argos*) G and other places, which either had easie accels or were suspected. But as he was employed in these provisions and preparations, he could not dissemble and hide the fear which this arrivall and approach of the Romans strake into him: and beside this forrain terrour from without, there happned also an intestine mutiny within. There was one *Damocles* an Argive, (a young Gentleman of more spirit and courage than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by interposing a mutuall and reciprocall oath, had consorted with certain persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the garrison: but whiles he studied to strengthen the conspiracy and his own side, he was not well

assured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he talked upon a time with his complices, the Captain of the garrison sent for him by one of his guard: whereupon he perceived that his complot was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud, That as many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer of their liberty: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part; for no hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account of a sure guard of defence. And as he spake those words, the Lacedæmonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended; the most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following slid down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. These assured the Romans, that if their army had been near the gates, the commotion and conspiracy afore-said would have taken effect: and in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horsemen; who skirmished with the Lacedæmonians about *Cylarabis* (a publike school and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were sallied out at the gate, and without any great difficulty chased them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was, the Roman Generall encamped. One day he spent in escouting an espiall, whether any new trouble and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived once that they were all amort for fear, he assembled a Councill to take advice, Whether he were best to give the assault upon *Argos*, or no? All the heads of *Greece*, (except *Aristænus*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would like of that course, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto *Aristænus*, as he discoursed and reasoned against the generall opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himself, That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing less beseeming and more without sence, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of *Argos*. For his part he would fight at the head, even against the Lacedæmonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Councill, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, and reaped down immediatly and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled, that the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So he dislodged and removed from thence, and having passed over the mountain *Parthenius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territory of *Caryæ* near to *Tegea*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade the territory of the enemies. From *Philip* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of Thessalians forty horse. The Roman Generall staid not now for succours of men (whereof he had sufficient and plenty) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commanded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides, there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with forty sail from *Leucas*: also eighteen covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Eumenes* the King, about the Islands *Cyclades*, with ten close hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels among, of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedæmonians that were exiled and banished persons, there were very many; who chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great many had been expulsed in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrant first usurped rule, and were possessed of *Lacedæmon*. The chief of these exiled persons was one *Agesipolis*, a manto whom by right of descent and linage the inheritance of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* appertained. He whiles he was but an Infant hapned to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Cleomenes*, who was the first tyrant at *Lacedæmon*.

The tyrant beset thus round about with wars threatning both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies: yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Creta* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenary souldiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects and Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and mure. And that there might arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp and rigorous punishments. And forasmuch as he could not hope nor imagine that they desired and wished his good and safety, for that he held some Citizens in suspition and jealousie: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plain, which they call * *Dromos*, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience; and when they were assembled he environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suspition) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprized in the midst of their practises and complots, and

* *i.e.* A running race.

and so be punished accordingly: even for this cause (quoth he) I will have certain persons in safe custody and durance, untill such time as the tempest be overblown which now is coming. And when the enemies be once repulsed, (from whom less danger there will be, in case domesticall treasons may be prevented) then incontinently will I enlarge them and set them at liberty. This said, he commanded the names to be called of fourscore or thereabout of the principall of the youth; and as every one of them answered to his name, he clapt him up fast in prison: and the next night following, murdered them every one. After this, certain Ilots (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of peasants and country kerns) were accused to have intended to flie unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewise were whipped & scourged throughout all the streets, and then put to death. By the fearfull example of this cruelty, the courages of the common sort were well cooled and abated, yea, and so astonied, that they durst not once quetch nor give attempt of any new desingments tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought he himselfe strong enough to enter the field and fight a set battell, nor durst abandon the City, seeing the minds of men so wavering, and their affections so unconstant.

Quintius having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second day came to *Sellacia* upon the river *Oenus*: in which very place *Antigonus* sometime King of the Macedonians struck a battell (men say) with *Cleomenes* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount up an hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compass through the mountains, having sent before certain men to levell the ground and make the way even, and so got into a large and broad portgate, untill he came to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the City of *Sparta*: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as *Quintius* himself with the horsemen and light van-courriers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them: who looking for nothing less, because no man had encountred them all the way as they marched, but passed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This fear of theirs continued a good time, while the horsemen called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horsemen; and both the one sort and the other trusted in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensigns came forward; and were within sight, and so soon as the companies of the vanguard advanced forth to fight, they who erewhile terrified others, were driven in fearfull haste themselves into the City. The Romans being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without dart-shot, stood a while ranged in battell array. But after that they saw none of the enemies come abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintius* took his way and marched with his army in order of battell along the town side, near unto the river, hard at the foot of the hill *Mænalus*. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemen followed in the rereward, and flanked the rest. *Nabis* kept within the walls his mercenary souldiers (in whom he reposed greatest confidence) arranged under their ensigns, and in readiness to fight, purposing to charge the back of his enemies. And the rereguard of the Romans was not so soon passed by, but they tallied out of the town at sundry places at once, with as tumultuous a noise as they made the day before. *Appius Claudius* had the leading of the rereward, who having prepared beforehand the hearts of his souldiers, and advertized them to be prest and ready for what occurrent soever might happen, presently turned the ensigns, and set a compass with the whole army to make head against the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hot fight which endured a good time, as if two armies had directly encountred one another. In the end, the souldiers of *Nabis* began to give ground and flie: in which flight of theirs they had made less haft, and better saved themselves, but that the Achæans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coasts of the country, hotly followed the chase: these made a foul slaughter and butchery among them; and the most part, such as were dispersed here and there in their flight they disarmed. Then *Quintius* encamped near unto *Amycla*, and having harried and wasted all the territory round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleasant:) when he saw no enemies issue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river *Eurotas*. From whence he made excursions, wasted all the vale lying under the hill *Taigetus*, and the lands butting and adjoyning close to the sea.

Much about the same time *L. Quintius* made himself Master of the towns, situat on the sea side: some yielded willingly, others for fear or perforce. And being afterwards advertised, that the town *Gythæum* served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedæmonians in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the sea side; he resolved to assail it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very strong, well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants, and sufficiently furnished with all warlike provision and munition. And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintius* was entred into this difficult enterprise, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and sea-servitors, gathered out of three Armadoes, within few daies made and furnished all engins and fabricks, which were to assault a City so wel fortified both by sea and land. Now was the town-wall broken down with the undermining of the tortures, now was the wall shaken by the push of the ram, and with all these was one tower that by continuall battery was overthrown, and with the fall thereof all that wall that stood of each side came tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans endeavoured

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and easie) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and also at the breach made in the wall: and they missed but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was crossed again, and turned to nothing, staid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town then in equall authority. *Dexagoridas* had dispatched a courrier to the Roman lieutenant, to signifie that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this designment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof, the City was the better defended with more carefull heed by him alone: yea, and the assault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintius* came to succour and help with four thousand choſen souldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battell array from the brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town; whiles *L. Quintius* withall from another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himself to despair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those souldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gytheum* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrates* of *Pellene*, came with a thousand waged souldiers, and two thouland Argives unto *Nabis* at *Lacedæmon*. And *Nabis* like as at the first arrivall of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the towns standing by the sea side, was much affrighted, so he had recovered again some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so long as *Gytheum* held out still, & his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to yield unto fortune. And first he sent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would permit & suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that they might part with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Councill was assembled: and generally opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference; insomuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hils standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of souldiers attending on either side upon them: they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain choſen guard for his body; and *Quintius* accompanied with his brother, *Eumenes* the King, *Sobidas* the Rhodian, and *Aristhenus* the Prætor of the Achæans, with some few Knight Marshals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to his choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in his wife.

The Oration of *Nabis*.

"If I could have bethought my self (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here present) & imagined "what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me, I would have "attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Mastery and com- "mand of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause "of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be "(with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alli- "ance) I would not then marvell at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what mea- "sure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans, "whose manner is to entertain most duly and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Re- "ligion, and the faithfull keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my "self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the rest of the "Lacedæmonians ye are linked by vertue of a most ancient league: and in particular regard of my "self, a privat amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradven- "ture some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I hold the Ci- "ty of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the "substance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self presenteth unto me "a two fold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who "offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon it by force: I "received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was comprised within your "league. As for the time, it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I "was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associat with you in good accord: and in our covenants, "we articled and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the gar- "rison from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage, as "well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your ene- "mies received it I say, not surprised by force, but offred and delivered willingly) as also by your "own confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left *Argos* "free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me: and some of mine actions con- "demn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for "the name, thus much I am able to answer: that, such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very "same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintius*, entred alliance with me: "then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I see I am termed a Tyrant. And therefore

"therefore if I my self had changed the title and stile of my dignity and government, I must have "yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye "ought to answer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, so augmented by the enfran- "chising of slaves; as touching the land also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy; "I can maintain and justifie my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and priviledge of "the very time. For all these things, be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a "league and covenant with me, and received aids at my hand in the war against *Philip*. But in case "I had done so at this very present, I stand not now upon this, whether I either had offended you "or broken your amity, but thus much I aver, that done I had according to the custom and fashi- "on of our ancestors. And ye must not think to square and try the practise of *Lacedæmon* accor- "ding to the rule and square of your laws and ordinances. For, to let pass many other things (and "needless it is to compare particulars:) ye chuse your gentlemen or men of arms according to their "revenue: according to revenue ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should "excell in wealth and power, & the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver "thought not good that the common-wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call a Senat; nor "that one or two States should excel & have preeminence in the City; but he thought that in the "equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country. I have "made a longer discourse I confess, than the ordinary and natural brevity of our speech in these "parts will bear. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after I was entred into amity with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence & been "displeased. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner. No friendship "nor association at all have we made with you, but with *Pelops* the true & lawfull K. of the Lace- "dæmonians: whereof I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the seignory & "soveraignty of *Lacedæmon*, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that "we were otherwise employed, and wholly busied, one while in the Punick wars, another whiles "in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last Macedonian "war. For what was less unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged war against *Philip* for "the liberty of *Greece*, to conclude amity with a tyrant? and such a tyrant, as of all others that ever "have been is most cruel, most violent and outragious with his own subjects? And considering "that we were entred into the course and train of setting all *Greece* at liberty, albeit you had not "possessed your self of *Argos* by covin, nor held the same by force, yet it behoved us to restore *Lacedæmon* also to her ancient liberty, and to settle her in her own laws, whereof erewhile you "would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of *Lycurgus*. Shall we make care "and take the pains to void the garrisons of *Philip* out of *Iassus* & *Bargilia*: and when we have so "done, leave to be trodden under your feet *Argos* & *Lacedæmon*, two most noble Cities, the two "lights as it were in times past of all *Greece*: which remaining still in servitude and slavery, might "deface the rest of our glory, & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of *Greece*? "But you say, that the Argives friended *Philip* and took his part. We are content well enough, "that you should not trouble your self and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that "this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as "well, that it was not agreed in any publike councill, that you and your garrison were sent for "and received into the Castle. As for the Thessalians, the Phoceans, & Locrians, they sided with "*Philip*, we wot right well by a general consent of all and yet when we enfranchised all *Greece* be- "sides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the Argives, "who are innocent for any publike counsel intended against us? You said that you were blamed "& charged sore for setting bondslaves free. No small objections these are. I assure you, not of lit- "tle importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts committed by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Grant but liberty of an "Assembly general either at *Argos* or *Lacedæmon* wherein the people may speak their minds free- "ly, and what they know by you without empeachment: if you would learn the truth indeed, "and hear the particular of a most proud and unsupportable dominion and tyranny. And to let all "old matters go by. What a bloudy massacre committed this son in law of yours *Pythagoras*, even "almost within my very sight in *Argos*? nay, what a slaughter and butchery made you your self, "even when I was wel-near within the marches of *Lacedæmon*? But come on: those persons whom "in a generall assembly you caused to be attached, and promised in the presence of all the Citi- "zens to keep them safe and sure in ward: come on, I say, command them to be brought forth "now bound as they be; that their poor fathers & mothers may understand they are alive, whom "they have mourned for so much, without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say, set case "all this be true what is that to you Romans? Dare you indeed speak out and say so much to those "that deliver *Greece* and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedom thereof have passed the "seas, have warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (say you) I have not directly & truly wronged you nor properly infringed & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not? "How often would you have me to convince you of the contrary? But I will not use many words "& much circumstance, but come to the very catch and point of the matter. What be the things "I pray you, wherewith friendship is commonly broken? I take it they are these two especially, "namely, if you take my friends for your foes; and joyn your self to my enemies. You have done "both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and arms *Messena*, a City received

* Hereupon it is, that they who use few words, and pithy, are said to speak *Laconice*: and that manner of speech is called *Laconismus*. The answer of *Quintius*.

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and eH
sie) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and also at
the breach made in the wall: and they missed but very little of entrance there where they inten-
ded, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was crossed again, and turned to
nothing, staid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town
then in equall authority. *Dexagoridas* had dispatched a courrier to the Roman lieutenant, to sig-
nifie that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this design-
ment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof,
the City was the better defended with more carefull heed by him alone; yea, and the assault ther-
of had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintius* came to succour and help with four thousand
chosen souldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battell array from the I
brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town; whiles *L. Quintius* withall from
another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas*
then began himself to despair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which
in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away
with him those souldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gytheum* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and
defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrates* of *Pellene*, came with a thousand waged soul-
diers, and two thousand Argives unto *Nabis* at *Lacedæmon*. And *Nabis* like as at the first arrivall
of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the towns standing by the sea side, was much af-
frighted, so he had recovered again some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so long as *Gy-* K
theum held out still, & his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that
it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly
possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to
yield unto fortune. And first he sent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would
permit and suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* re-
paired unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that they
might part with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Councill was assembled: and generally
opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference; insomuch, as both time and
place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hils standing in the
midst of that quarter, with some small companies of souldiers attending on either side upon them; L
they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both
parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain chosen guard for his body; and *Quintius* ac-
companied with his brother, *Eumenes* the King, *Sobidas* the Rhodian, and *Aristhenus* the Prætor
of the Achæans, with some few Knight Marshals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to
his choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

The Oration of *Nabis*.

"If I could have bethought my self (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here present) & imagined
"what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me, I would have
"attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Mastery and com-
"mand of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause
"of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be M
"(with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alli-
"ance) I would not then marvell at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what mea-
"sure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans,
"whose manner is to entertain most duly and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Re-
"ligion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my
"self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the rest of the
"Lacedæmonians ye are linked by vertue of a most ancient league: and in particular regard of my
"self, a privat amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradven-
"ture some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I held the Ci-
"ty of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the N
"substance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self presenteth unto me
"a twofold plea for my defence, For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who
"offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon it by force: I
"received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was comprised within your
"league. As for the time, it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I
"was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associat with you in good accord: and in our covenants,
"we articled and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the gar-
"rison from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage, as
"well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your ene-
"mies, received it I say, not surprised by force, but offred and delivered willingly) as also by your O
"own confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left *Argos*
"free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me: and some of mine actions con-
"demn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for
"the name, thus much I am able to answer: that, such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very
"same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintius*, entred alliance with me:
"then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I see I am termed a Tyrant. And
therefore

A "therefore if I my self had changed the title and stile of my dignity and government, I must have
"yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye
"ought to answer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, so augmented by the enfran-
"chising of slaves; as touching the land also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy;
"I can maintain and justifie my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and priviledge of
"the very time. For all these things, be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a
"league and covenant with me, and received aids at my hand in the war against *Philip*. But in case
"I had done so at this very present, I stand not now upon this, whether I either had offended you
"or broken your amity, but thus much I aver, that done I had according to the custom and fashi-
"on of our ancestors. And ye must not think to square and try the practise of *Lacedæmon* accor-
B "ding to the rule and square of your laws and ordinances. For, to let pass many other things (and
"needless it is to compare particulars) ye chuse your gentlemen or men of arms according to their
"revenue: according to revenue ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should
"excell in wealth and power, & the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver
"thought not good that the common-wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call a Senat; nor
"that one or two States should excel & have preeminence in the City: but he thought that in the
"equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country. I have
"made a longer discourse I confess, than the ordinary and natural * brevity of our speech in these
"parts will bear. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing af-
"ter I was entred into amity with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence & been
C "displeased. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner. No friendship
"nor association at all have we made with you, but with *Pelops* the true & lawful K. of the Lace-
"dæmonians: whereof I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the seignory &
"soveraignty of *Lacedæmon*, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that
"we were otherwise employed, and wholly busied, one while in the Punick wars, another whiles
"in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last Macedonian
"war. For what was less unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged war against *Philip* for
"the liberty of *Greece*, to conclude amity with a tyrant: and such a tyrant, as of all others that ever
"have been is most cruel, most violent and outragious with his own subjects? And considering
"that we were entred into the course and train of setting all *Greece* at liberty, albeit you had not
D "possessed your self of *Argos* by covin, nor held the same by force, yet it behoved us to restore *La-*
"*cedæmon* also to her ancient liberty, and to settle her in her own laws, whereof erewhile you
"would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of *Lycurgus*. Shall we make care
"and take the pains to void the garrisons of *Philip* out of *Iassus* & *Bargilla*: and when we have so
"done, leave to be trodden under your feet *Argos* & *Lacedæmon*, two most noble Cities, the two
"lights as it were in times past of all *Greece*; which remaining still in servitude and slavery, might
"deface the rest of our glory, & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of *Greece*?
"But you say, that the Argives friended *Philip* and took his part. We are content well enough,
"that you should not trouble your self and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that
"this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as
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"*Philip*, we wot right well, by a general consent of all: and yet when we enfranchised all *Greece* be-
"sides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the Argives,
"who are innocent for any publike counsel intended against us? You said that you were blamed
"& charged sore for setting bondslaves free. No small objections these are, I assure you, not of lit-
"tle importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts, commit-
"ted by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Grant but liberty of an
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"ly, and what they know by you without empeachment: if you would learn the truth indeed,
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"old matters go by. What a bloudy massacre committed this son in law of yours *Pythagoras*, even
"almost within my very sight in *Argos*? nay, what a slaughter and butchery made you your self,
"even when I was wel-near within the marches of *Lacedæmon*? But come on those persons whom
"in a generall assembly you caused to be attached, and promised in the presence of all the Citi-
"zens to keep them safe and sure in ward: come on, I say, command them to be brought forth
"now bound as they be; that their poor fathers & mothers may understand they are alive, whom
"they have mourned for so much, without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say, set case
"all this be true, what is that to you Romans? Dare you indeed speak out and say so much to those
"that deliver *Greece* and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedom thereof have passed the
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"ly wronged you nor properly infringed & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not?
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"into our society and alliance by the very same conditions and covenants that *Lacedæmon* was; H
"you I say our allie, have forced a City allied unto us. Again, with *Philip* our enemy, you have not
"only concluded amity, but (God save all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of *Philocles*
"a Colonell and Commander of his: and making war against us, you have kept the seas all about
"*Malea* with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may safely say, you have taken prisoners,
"and killed more Roman Citizens than *Philip* himself. And the whole sea-coast of *Macedony* hath
"lesse infested our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and been more safe for passage
"than the promontory & cape of *Malea*. Do you forbear therefore to make such vaunt of fideli-
"lity: spare you, of all other, to speak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the mask of popular
"language and civill speech, talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, *Aristænus* dealt with
Nabis, one while admonishing and advertising him, another while requesting and entreating him, I
now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himself and his whole estate: he began to
discourse unto him of the Tyrants of all the States confining thereabout one after another by
name, who when they had resigned up and laid down their absolute soveraignty of command,
and restored liberty to their subjects, passed their old age among their Citizens, not only in re-
pose and security, but also in great honour and reputation. These words uttered & heard between
them to and fro, the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow after, *Nabis* pro-
mised, seeing the Romans would have it so, to quit the City *Argos*, to withdraw his garrison from
thence, and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and
if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he
might consult thereof with his friends. So, both the Tyrant had respit and time granted to take ad- K
vice, and also *Quintius* sate in Councill with the principall heads of his allies what to do. The
most part were of opinion to maintain the war still, and to kill the tyrant out of the way; for
never would the liberty of *Greece* be otherwise firm and sure: and better far had it been, never to
have entred into arms with him, than being once begun, to give it over. And he will, say they, be
greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannicall government were approved, and no doubt
he would vouch the people of *Rome* for author of his unjust rule and dominion, and will induce
and incite by his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to o-
verthrow the liberty of Citizens, and to bring them into thraldom and bondage. The Generall,
of himself was more affected and inclined to peace: for he saw, "that if the enemy were once di-
"ven within the walls, there was no way but to lie in siege against the City, and that would re- L
"quire long tract of time: forasmuch as it was not *Gythæum* (and yet that was betraied and ren-
"dred, and not forced by assault) but *Lacedæmon*, a most strong town both for men and munition,
"that they were to lay siege unto and assault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they
"approached with the army, there might some dissention and sedition have risen among them-
"selves within: now when as they saw the ensigns in manner advanced hard to the City gates,
"there was not one that mutined or stirred at all. He added moreover and said, That *Villius* the
"Embassador newly returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not sound there, nor the
"peace like to continue: and that he had passed over into *Europe* with far greater forces both for
"land and at sea, than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth he) the army should be wholly em-
"ployed in the siege of *Lacedæmon*, what other power have we to maintain war withall against N
"so puissant and mighty a Prince as is *Antiochus*? These were the remonstrances that openly he
gave out; but secretly he was troubled in mind for fear left a new Consul should come in his place,
and have the government of the Province of *Greece*: and so he should leave unto his successour,
the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardnes. But when he
perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, notwithstanding all his contradicti-
on and bending to the contrary, by making semblant that he now drew with them and was of
their mind, he won them all to approve his designment and intention. "Well, God speed our
"hand (quoth he:) let us besiege *Lacedæmon* since ye will needs have it so: but considering that
"the laying siege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and of-
"tentimes maketh the assailants sooner weary than the defendants: you ought even now to cast N
"this account presently with your selves, that we must lie all winter long about the walls of
"*Lacedæmon*. And were there nothing but travell and perill, that during so long time we were
"to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the same, with stout bodies
"and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabricks,
"engins, and instruments of artillery, requisit to the assault of so great a City: we must I say be
"provided of victuals good store against winter, as well to serve us as you. Be well advised
"therefore (to the end that you should not suddenly in haste huddle up these matters, or after ye
"are once entred into the action, give over and abandon it with shame) that ye dispatch
"your letters aforehand every one to the State wherein he liveth, and sound them to the depth,
"how their hearts serve them and what strength and forces they have. Of aids & succours I have O
"enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance shall we need. At
"this time the territory of our enemies hath nothing but bare foile and naked ground: and
"withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which season, carriage (especially far off) is cum-
"brous and hard. This Oration at the first caused them every one to regard and look homeward
to domesticall difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idlenes, the envy and backbiting
of those which tarry at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty
(which

A (which causeth men of one society and commonalty hardly to accord and sort together) the pub-
like want of treasure, and the niggardice of private persons, when they are to part with any thing
out of their own purses. And therefore suddenly changing their minds, they put to the discretion
of the Roman Generall, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the
people of *Rome* and their allies. Whereupon *Quintius* taking the advice only of his own Lieute-
nants and Provost-Marshals, engrossed these Articles and conditions following, according to
which peace should be concluded with the Tyrant. *Imprimis*, That there be a truce made for the
term of six months between *Nabis* and the Romans, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Item*, That
both *T. Quintius* and *Nabis* should immediatly send Embassadors to *Rome*, that the peace might
be ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Senat. *Item*, That from that day forward, where-
B in the conditions put down in writing should be presented unto *Nabis*, the truce aforesaid
should begin. *Item*, That within ten daies next after ensuing, all the garrisons quit *Argos* and the
rest of the towns within the territory of the Argives: and then those peeces to be delivered void
and free unto the Romans. *Item*, That no slave taken captive in wars, belonging either to the
King, or to any publike state, or private person, be had away from those towns: and if any before
time had been carried forth, they should be restored again duly to their right Masters. *Item*,
That *Nabis* should deliver again those ships that he had gotten from the maritime Cities, and
that himself have no vessell at all but only two gallions, and those to have no more than six and
twenty oars apiece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the runagate Traitors and
captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of *Rome*, as also make restitution to
C the Messenians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the owners know certain-
ly to be theirs. *Item*, That he restore to all the banished Lacedæmonians their wives and children;
but of the wives, so many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of
them should be compelled against their wills to go with any exiled person. *Item*, That to as many
mercenary souldiers of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their own Cities or to the Ro-
mans, all their own goods should be justly and truly delivered again. *Item*, That in the Iland of
Crete he should not be possessed of any one City: and look what Cities he then held, he yield
them to the Romans. *Item*, That he enter into alliance with no Candiot, nor with any other
whatsoever, nor yet make war with them. *Item*, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the
Cities that himself had delivered up, and which had surrendred themselves and all they had, under
D the protection and obedience of the people of *Rome*, and not molest them neither by himself
nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no town nor Castle, either in his own land or in any other.
Item, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants, he give five hostages, such as it
should please the Roman Generall to choose; and namely, his own son for one of them. Last of
all, That he make present paiment of one hundred talents of silver, and fifty more yearly untill
the term of eight years be run out. These Articles engrossed, were sent to *Lacedæmon*, after
the Camp was removed nearer to the City. But nothing well pleased was the tyrant with any
of them. Only he was well apaid; that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no menti-
on at all therein of reducing the exiled persons home into the City. But that which offended
and displeased him most was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime
E port towns: for great commodity he gat by the sea, in scouring the coast from the cape of *Malea*
with his pyrats and men of war: and besides, the youth and able men of those Cities, served his
turn very well to furnish and man his ships with the very best souldiers and men of service that
were. And albeit he scanned and considered upon these articles in great secrecy with his friends,
yet were they all of them divulged abroad and current in every mans mouth: so vain are these
courtiers commonly and hardly to be trusted, as in all things else, so especially in keeping of secret
counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, not so much by all men in ge-
nerall, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions against those points that touched and
F concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were possessed of
any part of their substance, chased, and stormed thereat, as if they were to lose and forgo their
own, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the
tyrants, were now not only to lose the benefit of that freedom, but also to endure harder ser-
vitude and bondage than aforetime; setting before their eyes how they should return again
into the houses and hands of their old Masters, angry and incensed now against them. The hi-
red souldiers were malecontent, for that they saw they should lose their pay after peace conclu-
ded: and saw full well, that there was no being for them in those States and Cities, who hated
the tyrants themselves no more than their followers and attendants. At first they muttered
and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and con-
venticles: afterwards they mutined, and on a sudden ran and took arms. The Tyrant see-
ing the multitude disquiered enough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people to-
G gether. Where after he had declared the conditions imposed upon him by the Romans,
and in every article had untruly put to somewhat of his own devising, to aggravate all mat-
ters and make them seem more grievous and intollerable, at the rehearsing of every particular
the whole assembly one while cried out, and another while the sundry parts thereof, set up a
note of utter dislike. Then he asked their opinion what answer they would have him to return
to those Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accorded and said, that
[illegible] answering of the matter, but that he should plainly go to war, and make no more
ado.

ado. And that every man for his own part (as the usuall manner is of a multitude, when they are H
together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying, that Fortune favoureth Fortitude.
The tyrant incited with these their words, seconded them himself, & assured them that *Antiochus*
and the Ætolians would take their parts and assist them: and if they did not, yet were they strong
enough of themselves, and had sufficient means to endure the siege. No more talking now nor
thinking of peace, but every man was ready to run in hast to his severall quarter, and stand upon
their own guard without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romans so soon as they saw
some few of them to sally out of the City, and to discharge their darts among them, were soon put
out of all doubt, that no other remedy there was, but they must to war again. After this, there pas-
sed certain light skirmishes four daies together, at first without any assured issue of good speed, ei-
ther of the one part or the other: but the fift day after one conflict fought in manner almost of a I
set battell, certain Roman souldiers following the chase upon their enemies, and killing them in
their flight, entred the City at certain void places, where the wall was not united: for in that or-
der were the walls built of that town in those daies. *Quintius* then verily, having well bridled and
tamed by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and supposing that there remai-
ned no more but lustily to go to an assault, sent out certain of purpose for to call the mariners &
sea-servitors from *Gytheum*, whiles himself in person, accompanied with the Provost Marshals,
rode about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Sparta* in times past stood without
murage. And the tyrants of late daies had built walls against the open flats and plain fields. The
higher ground and of harder access, they fortified with strong *corps de guards* of armed souldiers,
instead of bulwarks of defence. When *Quintius* had sufficiently considered every corner, he sup- K
posed there was no other way but to invest it round about, and thereupon with all his forces
united (which being all together Roman Citizens and Latine allies foot and horse, land-souldi-
ers and sea-servitors one with another, amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and
environed the City, some brought scaling ladders, some fire, every man one thing or other, not on-
ly to give an assault, but also to terrifie and amaze them: with direction and expresse command-
ment with a loud cry and shout at once in all places to approach the walls, & give the venture up-
on them; to the end that the Lacedæmonians affrighted at one instant on every side, might not
know which way to turn them, and be to seek, where first to make head against the enemies, and
in what place to come with succours. Having therefore divided the whole power of his army into
three parts, he gave the one of them in charge to assail that quarter which was called *Phœbeum*: L
a second likewise to set upon that which is named *Dictynneum*, and the third to force the canton
Heptagonia; places all lying open and without a wall. The City being thus seized on all sides with
so great fear, the tyrant moved and troubled to hear those sudden outcries & fearful news brought
unto him by hasty messengers: according as any place stood most in danger, at the first either pre-
sented himself in proper person or else sent some to help: but afterwards, seeing the fear so general,
and no one place void of danger, he was so astonied, that unable he was either himself to give
good direction to others or to hear theirs. So void was he and disfurnished of advice and coun-
sel, yea, and bereft of his right wits and senses. The Lacedæmonians at first hand sustained the furi-
ous violence of the Roman in the narrow streights and passages & at one time in divers places,
three armies fought on either side: but afterwards, as the heat of the fight encreased, the service was M
nothing equall of both parties; for the Lacedæmonians discharged shot from which the Roman
souldiers easily saved themselves, by means of their large targets, and withall much thereof either
fell short and besides, or else so feebly flung from them that little or no harm they could do. For
by reason of the streightnes of the place, and the multitude so thronged and thrust together, they
had not only no space to take their run when they should lance their darts (the best means of all
other to enforce them) but not so much as sure footing, and at ease to drive and levell them with
all their strength. Insomuch, as of all the darts and quarrels which were directly shot afront them,
none at all pierced to their bodies & very few so much as stuck in their bucklers. Many some hap-
ned to be wounded from the higher places by those that stood near unto them, and about their
sides. And anon as they advanced forward they ceased to be hurt, not only with arrows & darts N
from off the houses, but also with tiles and slates: for they were aware. But afterwards, they cove-
red their heads with their targets, which they set so close united together one under the other,
featherwise, that not only there was no place nor entrance for the darts thrown and cast at ran-
dom after, no, nor so much as any room for a man to get between, levelled though it were,
and aimed near at hand; so as under this forge-like they approached nearer and nearer in safe-
ty. At the first the narrow and straight passages filled with the throng both of themselves and
also of the enemies so thrust and crouded together, did them for a while; but afterwards, when
they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into
a larger and more spacious street of the City, that their forced violence could not possibly be
endured any longer. Now when the Lacedæmonians turned their backs, and fled apace to gain O
the higher places for their vantage, *Nabis* verily for his part trembling and quaking as if the Ci-
ty had been quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himself might escape and save
his life. But *Pythagoras* as in all things else he performed the devoir and part of a courageous
Captain, so he was the only cause that the town was not lost: for he commanded to set fire on
the houses standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an hour burned out on a light flame,
as being set forward by the help of those, who otherwise were wont to quench the like scarefires:

whereupon

A whereupon the houses came ratling and tumbling down upon the Romans heads, and not only
the tile-shards, but also the timber pieces half burnt fell upon the armed souldiers, the flame spread
still far and near, and the smothering smoak put them in fear of more danger than was. And there-
fore, as well those Romans who were without the City in the hotteſt of their assault, retreated
from the walls, as also those that were entred already, for fear left by the fire behind them they
should be separated from their fellows, retired themselves. *Quintius* also seeing how the case stood,
caused to sound the retreat; and so being recalled, they returned out of the City which they had as
good as won, into the camp. And *Quintius* conceiving more hope by the fear of the enemies, than
of the thing it self and the service done, never gave over for three daies to terrifie them partly by
skirmishing, and partly by intrenching and stopping up certain quarters, that they might have no
B passage at all to fly and shift for themselves. The tyrant constrained at length with these dangers
menaced, sent *Pythagoras* again as an Orator unto *Quintius*. But he at first rejected him, and com-
manded him to avant out of the camp: yet in the end, after he had made most humble supplicati-
on, and cast himself prostrate at his feet, he gave him audience. The beginning of his speech was
this, that he yielded all to the discretion and former award of the Romans. But seeing that he gai-
ned nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, That
upon the same capitulations which few daies before were exhibited up in writing, a truce should
be made, and hereupon was both the money and also the hostages received.

Whiles the tyrant was besieged and assailed, there came post upon post to *Argos*, that *Lacede-*
mon was at the point of being lost: whereupon the Argives took such heart and courage unto
C them (by reason that *Pythagoras* with the best part of the garrison souldiers was departed before
out of their town) that contemning the small number which remained in their fortress, under
the leading of one *Archippus*, they expelled the rest of the garrison. As for *Timocrates* of *Pellene*
their Captain, because he had behaved himself in his charge and government gently and mildly,
they sent him away alive with safe conduct. At the very instant of this joyfull occurrent, *T. Quin-*
tius arrived, after he had granted peace to the tyrant, and sent away from *Lacedæmon*, *Eumenes* and
the Rhodians, together with *L. Quintius* his brother to the fleet. The City of *Argos* in great joy
proclaimed the celebration of their most solemn feast, and those so famous and renowned games
and pastimes called *Nemea*, against the coming of the Roman army and their Generall, which
they had forelet upon the ordinary time and day, by occasion of the troubles of war. And for the
D honour of *Quintius*, they ordained him to be the overseer of these solemnities. Many things
there were to redouble and increase this their joy and solace to the full. The Citizens were re-
duced from *Lacedæmon* whom *Pythagoras* of late and *Nabis* aforetime had carried away. They
also were returned home again who had fled and escaped, after the conspiracy of *Pythagoras* was
detected, and the massacre begun. Now they saw their liberty again, whereof they had lost the
fight a long time: now they beheld the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their sakes
were induced to take arms and enterprise the war with the tyrant. Also, upon the very day of the
Nemean games, the liberty of the Argives was published and proclaimed by the voice of the
publike beadle and crier of the City. But look how much joy and hearts content the Achæans
conceived in their common and generall Councill of all *Achaia*, for the restoring of *Argos* into
E their ancient freedom, so much troubled they were again, in regard that *Lacedæmon* was left still
in servitude, and the tyrant so near unto them ready ever to prick their sides, whereby their joy
was not so found and entire. But the Ætolians in all their Diets inveighed mightily against this,
saying, That the Romans never gave over the war with *Philip* before he had abandoned all the
Cities of *Greece*: as for *Lacedæmon*, it was left still under a tyrant and in the mean while the law-
full and naturall King who had been in the Roman camp, and all the rest of the nobleſt Citizens
should live in exile. For now the people of *Rome* was become a pensioner to guard the body of
tyrannizing *Nabis*. Then *Quintius* brought back his army from *Argos* to *Elatia*, from whence he
departed to the Spartan war. Some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romans, came
not immediatly out of the City; but that he was lodged without by himself full opposite to the
F Roman camp: and that after he had made good a long time, expecting the aid of the Ætolians,
he was driven in the end to a battell, by occasion that the Romans charged upon the forragers
and purveyors of his camp: in which battell he was vanquished and beaten out of the field, and
craved peace, after that fifteen thousand of his men were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners,
and above.

At one and the same time in a manner were letters brought both from *T. Quintius* touching
the affairs atchieved at *Lacedæmon*, and also from *M. Porcius* the Consul out of *Spain*. And by
order from the State, there was granted in the name of either of them a solemn procession to
continue three daies. *L. Valerius* the Consul, after he had governed his Province in quietnes up-
on the defeat of the Boians about the forreſt of *Litana*, returned to *Rome* against the generall
G assembly for election of Magistrates, and created Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the se-
cond time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*: whose fathers had been Consuls in the first year of the
second Punick war. Then the Assembly was holden for the election of Prætors, wherein were
chosen *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and the two *Cneii Cornelii*, the one *Merenda*, and the other *Blasio*: *Cn.*
Domitius Ænobarbus, *Sextus Digitius*, and *T. Juventius Talva*. When these elections were fini-
shed, the Consul returned again into his Province. That year the Ferentinats assayed to obtain
a new privilege: to wit, That as many Latines as were enrolled in any Roman Colony, should

be

be Citizens of *Rome*. But they of *Puteoli*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*, who were Coloners and had their names entred there, and by that means carrying themselves as Roman Citizens, were adjudged by the Senat to be no Citizens of *Rome*.

In the beginning of this year, wherein *P. Scipio Africanus* was Consul the second time, with *T. Sempronius Longus*, two Embassadors of *Nabis* the tyrant, arrived at *Rome*. For to give them audience, the Senat assembled together without the City in the Temple of *Apollo*. Their petition was, That the peace agreed upon with *Quintius* might be ratified: and their suit was granted. When it was moved, as touching the government of the Provinces; the Senat (assembled in great frequency) were all of this opinion, That forasmuch as in *Spain* and *Macedony* the war was ended, both Consuls should have the government of *Italy*. *Scipio* was of advice, That one Consul was sufficient for *Italy*, and that the other should be employed in *Macedony*. And why? there was cruell war menaced from King *Antiochus*: himself already was passed over into *Europe*: And what think ye, quoth he, will he then do, when the Ætolians (who doubtless are enemies) of one side shall sollicit and call upon him for to war, and *Annibal*, a warriour and commander so renowned for the defeats and overthrows of the Romans, shall prick him forward of the other? Whiles they debated thus about the Provinces of the Consuls, the Prætors cast lots for their severall governments. The City jurisdiction fell to *Cn. Domitius*, the forrain to *T. Juventius*, To *P. Cornelius* the father *Spain* was allotted, and the hither to *Sex. Digitius*. *Cn. Cornelius Blasio* had *Sicily* assigned unto him, and *Merenda* was charged with *Sardinia*. It was not thought good that a new army should be transported over into *Macedony*. But concluded it was, that the army there should be brought back by *Quintius* into *Italy*. & dismissed, *Item*, That that the army likewise should be cassed, which had served under *M. Portius Cato* in *Spain*. *Item*, That both Consuls should govern *Italy*, and levy two legions of Citizens to go thither, that when those forces were dismissed and licensed to go home, which it pleased the Senat to set at liberty, there should be eight Roman legions in all, and no more in pay.

In the former year, when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Consuls, there had been held a solemnity of a sacred Spring. But when *P. Licinius* the high Pontifees made report first to the College of the Priests, and by the advice and authority of that College, unto the LL. of the Councill, That there was some errour committed, and that it was not performed accordingly: the Senators ordained, that it should be done again anew, according to the discretion and direction of the Pontifees aforesaid. Also that the great Roman Plaies, which together with that Spring were L vowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed cost and expences: And that all young cattell that fell between the Calends of *March*, and the last day of *April*, in that year wherein *P. Cornel. Scipio* and *T. Sempronius Longus* were Consuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above-named. After this, there was an assembly held for the chooſing of Censors, wherein were created *Sex. Ælius Paetus*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*: who elected *P. Scipio* the Consul, President of the Senat, like as the Censors before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senat, they left out and discarded three only, and none of them who had born office of State, and sat in the Ivory chair. Great love these Censors won amongst them of that calling and equality, in giving commandment to the Ædiles curule, that at the Roman games and plaies they should set out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senators to behold the said M disports. For aforetime they beheld the sports and pastimes all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the Gentlemen or Knights of *Rome* had their horses of service taken from them: and rigorously deal't they with no estate and degree. The porch of Liberty, and the hamlet called *Villa publica*, were by them repaired and enlarged. The sacred Spring was celebrate; and the games vowed by *Se. Sulpitius* the Consul, were by them exhibited. And whiles all men were amused and their minds occupied thereupon, *Q. Pleminius* who had been cast in prison for divers and sundry outrages committed at *Locris*, to the great offence of God and man, had procured certain persons, who in the night season at one instant should set on fire many places of the City, to the end that whiles all the people were affrighted in this night-tumult, he might break prison and escape. This complot was discovered and reported to the Senat by some of them that N were privy and accessary thereunto. And *Pleminius* was let down into a lower dungeon and there killed.

That year were certain Colonies of Roman Citizens conducted to *Puteoli*, *Vulturnum*, and *Liternum*, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Coloners of Roman Citizens were brought to *Salernum* and *Buxentum*. The Triumvirs who had the placing of them were *T. Sempronius Longus*, Consul for the time being; *M. Servilius* and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The territory of the Campans was divided among them. Three other also deputed for the like purpose, *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, and *M. Helvius*. placed a Colony of Roman Citizens in *Sipontum* to enjoy the lands of the Arpins. Likewise other Colonies of Roman Citizens were planted in *Tempsa* and *Crotone*. The lands belonging to *Tempsa* were won from the *Bruttii* O who had expelled the Greeks: and the Greeks remained in *Crotone*. The Triumvirs for *Crotone* were *Cn. Octavius*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, and *C. Pletorius*: and for *Tempsa* *L. Cornel. Merula*, and *C. Salonius*. Also that year were seen at *Rome* divers wonders and prodigious sights: and some were reported from other parts. In the common place, in the publike Hall, Comitium, and Capitol, were seen certain drops of bloud. And oftentimes it rained earth. The head of *Vulcan* was on fire. News came that at *Interamna* there ran a stream of milk. Also that at *Ariminum* there were

A were two Infants both of free condition, born without eyes and nose, and another in the Picene country handless and footless. These strange tokens were by order given from the chief Pontifees, looked unto and expiated, and a Novendiall sacrifice continued for nine daies, because the Adrians brought word, that in their territory it rained stones.

In *Gaul* near to *Mediolanum*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the Pro-Consul, fought a set field with the French Insubrians and Boians. Which Boians under the conduct of *Dorulacus* passed over the river *Padus*, for to sollicit and raise the Insubrians. In which conflict were slain ten thousand enemies. About the same time his Collegue in government *M. Porcius Cato* triumphed over *Spain*. In this triumph he carried in pomp and shew 25000 pound weight of silver in bullion, and in coin 123000 Bigat pieces: of Oican silver 540 pound weight, and of gold 400000 pound weight. Of B the booty won from the enemies he dealt among his souldiers that were footmen 270 asses a-piece, and trebble so much to every man of arms.

T. Sempronius the Consul having put himself in his journey toward his Province, led first his legions into the Boians country. *Boiorix* at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raised the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certain commodious places: so as it appeared that if the enemy entred their confines, they were ready to give him battell. The Consul perceiving how strong and confident the enemies were, dispatched a courrier to his Collegue, to make hast if he thought so good and come unto him: for untill his coming he would fall off, seem to retire and not fight. But the same cause that moved the Consul to stay, gave occasion to the Gauls to make more haste: for besides that the delaying & lingring of the Consul, encouraged the C enemies, they were desirous to have the triall of a battell before the forces of both Consuls were joyned together. Howbeit, for two daies space they did nothing but stand ready ranged for fight, if any should come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rumpier of the Consuls Camp, and on every side at once gave the assault. The Consul immediatly commanded the souldiers to arm. And when they were armed, he kept them in awhile, with intent to encrease the foolish confidence in the enemies, and to dispose of his own forces, and give direction, what companies should sally out at every gate. The two legions he commanded to issue forth under their colours at the two side gates called *Principales*: but in the very passage without the Gauls stood thick and made head again, so that the way was stopped up. A long time they fought in those very straights. And they bestirred themselves no more D with their hands and swords, than they pressed one upon another with their bodies and targets: whiles the Romans strived to advance their ensigns out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no less, either to enter themselves within the camp, or else to impeach the Romans for going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing between them either won or lost, no ground gained the one of the other, before that *Q. Victorius* a principall Centurion of the *Pilani* in the second legion, and *C. Atinius*, a Tribune or Marshall of the fourth, caught the banners from the ensign-bearers (a thing often practised in time of extremity) and flung them among the enemies. For whiles these laboured and strained themselves to recover each one a banner, they of the second legion first brake through and got forth of the gate: so as now, they maintained skirmish without the trench, and the fourth legion stuck still in the gap. By which time there E arose another tumult and noise in the contrary side of the camp: for the Gauls were broken in at the Quæstors gate (or the gate against the * *Quæstorium*) and slain those that valiantly made head and held them play; to wit, *Lucius Posthumius* a treasurer surnamed *Tympanus*, *Marcus Atinius* and *Publius Sempronius* two Colonels of the allies, and well near two hundred souldiers besides. Thus the camp on that part was won, untill such time as one extraordinary cohort was sent from the Consul to defend the Quæstors gate aforesaid: which either slew those that were within the rampier, or else drave them forth, and so withstood those that would have rushed in. And much about that very time the fourth legion also with two extraordinary squadrons brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three severall battels in sundry places about the camp: and the dissonant cries and noises (according to the divers occasions of each party ministred by their fellows) turned and withdrew the minds and spirits of those that were in fight, from the present skirmish before them. In this manner maintained they the fight till noon: equally matched in strength and number, and little or no odds between them for hope of victory: but, tedious travell and extremity of heat compelled the Gauls (whose bodies are soft and open, and soon running to sweat, and who of all other things can least away with thirst) to abandon the battell: and those few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, ruffled their colours, and chased them into their own hold. Then the Consul sounded the retreat: at which signall given the most part retired themselves; but a sort of them, upon a hot desire of fight, and good hope to be Masters of their camp, persisted still, close to their trench. The Gauls disdaining their small number issued all forth out of their Camp: and then the Romans being discomfited, were glad now of themselves for fear and fright to trudge unto the strength of their own hold, which they would not retire unto at the commandment of the Consul. Thus on both sides there was one while victory, and another while fearfull flight: howbeit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gauls had the worst of the game: for of them were slain eleven thousand, whereas of Romans there died but five thousand. Then the Gauls retired themselves into the most inward parts of their country, and the Consul marched with his legions to *Placentia*. Some write, that *Scipio* and his Collegue with

their

* The quarter and lodging of the Treasurer.

this joynt forces, invaded and spoiled the countries of the Boians and Ligurians, so far forth H as they could pass for woods and bogs: others again record, that he, having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to *Rome* about the assembly for election of Consuls.

The same year *T. Quintius* spent the whole winter season at *Elatia* (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing mens causes and ministring justice to every one; also in reforming and redressing all such disorders as had passed in the States and Cities, through the licentious government and jurisdiction either of *Philip* himself or his Captains, whiles he advanced those favourits of his own faction, and put down the right and liberty of others. In the beginning of the spring he came to *Corinth*, where he had given summons, that there should be holden a general Diet of the States. There in the assembly of all the Embassadors and agents from the Cities, gathered about him as it were to hear an Oration, he made a speech unto them; beginning I first with the amity contracted between the Romans and *Greece*: and proceeding to the acts atchieved in *Spain* by the Generals afore him, and those also of his own. All that he spake was heard and received with great applause, untill he touched the point concerning *Nabis*: for it was generally thought unfitting, that he undertaking to set all *Greece* at liberty, had left a tyrant (not only a grievous oppressour of his own subjects, but also dangerous to all the Cities about him) to remain still as a fearfull malady setled in the very bowels and heart of a most noble and renowned State. *Quintius*, not ignorant of their affections and dispositions, confessed, that he should not indeed have any ear at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in case that *Lacedæmon* could have stood in safety without so doing: but now since that *Nabis* might not possibly be confounded and overthrown, without the present ruin and fearfull downfall of the City, he g "thought it a better course in policy to leave the tyrant enfeebled and disfurnished of all means "to offend and hurt any man, than to suffer so goodly a City to die in the cure, and under the "hand as it were of the Physician, amidst those quick and sharp remedies which it were never a- "ble to endure: and so in seeking to recover liberty, to perish and die for ever. And after he had "discoursed of things past, he inferred, that his purpose and intent was, to go into *Italy*, and to "have away with him his whole army: also that within ten daies they should hear news how all "the garrisons had quit *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the "Achæans in their very sight, the fortress of *Corinth*: that all the world may know, whether it be "the Romans guise, or the fashion of the Ætolians, to over-reach and lie: who in their common "talk have not let to discourse, to sow surmises, and to buzze into mens heads that it was dan- L "gerous for *Greece* to put their liberty into the Romans hands: & that they had but made an ex- "change of their lordly rulers, admitting the Romans in lieu of the Macedonians. But as for them "(quoth he) their tongue is no slander, being such persons as never took heed and made regard "what either they did or said. But the other Cities he advertised to weigh their friends by deeds "and not by words: to be wise and well advised whom they are to trust, and whom they are to "beware of: to use their liberty in measure and moderation; which if it be well tempered and "qualified, is good and wholsome to particular persons and generall States: but excessive if it be, "it would not only be grievous and unsupportable to others, but also unruly, dangerous, and per- "nicious to themselves that have it. He gave them counsell, that the Princes and States in each "City should maintain concord not only among themselves, but also with all other in one com- M "munity: for so long as they accord and agree together, no King nor tyrant should be strong e- "nough for them: whereas discord and sedition maketh overture and openeth ease way to ene- "mies that lie in wait for the vantage; considering that the side which in civill contention is the "weaker and goeth to the walls, will band rather with a forrainer, than give place and stoop to a "Citizen. In conclusion, he advised them, to keep and preserve by their carefull regard, this their "liberty purchased for them by forrain forces, and delivered unto them with faithfull security of "strangers and aliens; that the people of *Rome* might see, that they have given freedom to well "deserving people: and this their great benefit hath been well bestowed upon worthy persons. Whiles they hearkned to these sage admonitions as uttered out of the mouth of a very father, the tears gushed plenteously out of their eyes for kind heart and joy; insomuch as they troubled him in the delivery of the rest of his speech. For a while there was a plausible noise heard among N them as they approved his words, and advised one another to ponder these sage sayings, and to imprint them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After silence made, he requested them to seek up all those Roman Citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in servitude and slavery among them, and within two months to send them unto him into *Thessaly*: for it were a great ignominy and shame even for them, that in their countries there should remain in bondage any of those, by whose means they themselves were set free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the rest they rendred thanks unto him, in that they were admonished and warned by him, to perform their devoir and duty, so honest, so religious, and so necessary. Now a mighty number there was of captives in O the Punick war; such as *Annibal* (when their friends redeemed them not by ransome) had sold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and testifie which *Polybius* writeth; to wit, that this cost the Achæans for their part * one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and set down, that there should but 500 *Denarii* be repaid unto their Masters for the redemption of every poll: so by this account *Achæa* had 1200 of them. Add now unto them as many as all *Greece* was like to have by that proportion [and see what number may arise.]

* By this account of *Livy*, a talent in this place amounteth to 189 li. 10 sh. sterl.

The

A The assembly was not broken up and dismissed, before they might see the garrison descending from the fortress of *Corinth*, who marched directly to the gate and went their waies. The General presently followed after, and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, Their Saviour and Redeemer: he took his leave and bad them farewel: and so returned the same way he came to *Elatia*. From thence he sent his Lieutenant *Ap. Claudius* with al the forces, commanding him to conduct the army to *Oricum* by the way of *Thessalie* and *Epirus*, and there to expect and wait his coming: for he purposed there to take Sea and set over his army into *Italy*. He wrote also to *L. Quintius* his brother and Lieutenant, and Admiral likewise of the fleet, to gather all the ships of burden from along the Sea coast of *Greece* into that place. Himself went to *Chalcis*, and having withdrawn the garrisons not only from thence but also from *Oreum* and *Ere-*B *tria*, he held a general Councel there of all the cities of *Eubœa*: and after he had made remonstrance unto them in what case he found them, and in what estate he left them, he dismissed the assembly. From thence he departed to *Demetrias*, where also he removed the garrison, and being attended with a train of all the citizens, like as at *Corinth* and *Chalcis* before, he took his journey into *Thessalie*: where the cities were not only to be set free, but also to be reformed, and from a general disorder and confusion wherein they stood, to be reduced and framed into some tolerable order and form of government. For they were not only tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the government of the King; but also of an inbred troublesome spirit and humor of their own, where-by, since their first beginning and uprising, even unto our daies they never held Parliaments. Elec-C tions, Diets, Councels or any other assemblies whatsoever, without much trouble and sedition. He chose the Senate and Judges there in regard especially of their wealth, and in all Cities he made that part more mighty, unto which it was more expedient and beneficial to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having visited *Thessalie*, and taken a general review thereof, he came by the way of *Epirus* to *Oricum*, from whence he minded to cross the seas. From *Oricum* all his forces were transported to *Brundusium*, and so they passed forward throughout *Italy* to the City of *Rome*, in manner of triumph, sending before them as great a train of prizes by them taken, as they made themselves in their march. After they were come to *Rome*, the Senat assembled without the City for *Quintius*: where he had audience to declare and discourse of his worthy exploits: and willing they were to grant him triumph, according to his deserts. Three daies together he rode in D triumph. The first day he made a shew of all the armour, as wel defensive as offensive, also of brasen and marble images, of which he had taken more from King *Philip*, than he found in the saccage of the cities. The second day there was carried in pomp, the gold and silver both unwrought and wrought into plate, yea, and cast into coin. Of silver unwrought there was 18000 pound weight: of wrought, 270 pound weight. Many vessels of plate of all sorts, and most engraven, some of right curious and exquisit workmanship. Likewise brasen vessels, cunningly and artificially made: and besides, ten shields of silver, and in coin eighty four thousand Attick peeces of silver, which they call *Tetradrachma*, weighing almost four Roman deniers apeece: of gold there was three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pound weight, and one shield full and whole of beaten gold: and of *Philip* golden peeces in coin, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen. The third E day were born in view for a pageant, a hundred and fourteen coronets of gold, which were the presents of Cities given unto him. Moreover, there were led that day the beasts for sacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble prisoners and hostages, and among them, *Demetrius*, King *Philip* his son, and *Armenes* the son of *Nabis* the tyrant, a Lacedæmonian born. Then rode *Quintius* himself in a chariot into the City, and a great number of souldiers followed after, by reason that his whole army was retired with him out of his province. To every footman he gave two hundred and fifty Asses, duple as much to a centurion, and triple to an horseman. Those who were redeemed out of captivity, followed his chariot with their heads shaven, and much beautified the glory of the triumph.

In the end of this year, *Q. Ælius Tubero* a Tribun of the Commons, presented a request or bill F unto the people, and they granted and enacted it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latins should be conducted, the one into the Brutians countrey, and the other into the territory of *Thurium*. For the conduct and planting whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called Triumvirs, whose commission was in force for three years, namely, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *M. Fusius Crassipes* for the Brutians: and for *Thurium*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Ælius*, and *L. Apustius*. For the chusing of these officers, *Cn. Domitius* the Pretor in the City, called two several assemblies in the Capitol. In that year were certain Temples dedicated, one of *Iuno Sospita* in the herb-market, which had been vowed and set out to building four years before, by *C. Cornelius* the Consul, during the war with the French: and he in his Censorship dedicated it. Another Temple of *Faunus*: the Ædiles *C. Scribonius* and *Cn. Domitius*, had likewise bargained for the building thereof two years G before, and laid by the money therefore; and this *Cn. Domitius* being now Pretor of the City dedicated it. Also *Q. Minutius Rufus*, dedicated a Temple to *Fortuna Primigenia* upon the hill *Quirinalis*, having been created Duumvir himself for that purpose. *Sempronius Sophus* had vowed the same ten years before, in the time of the Punick war, and agreed for a certain price to have it built. Also *C. Servilius* the other Duumvir consecrated the Temple of *Iupiter* within the island. Vowed it was six years before in the Gauls war by *L. Furius Purpurio* Pretor, and by him afterwards (when he was Consul) order was given for the edifying thereof. And these were the affairs which passed that year.

P. Scipio returned out of his Province and government of *Gaul* for the election of new Consuls, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned: wherein were chosen *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The next morrow after were created Pretors, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *C. Scribonius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, *L. Porcius Licinius*, and *C. Flaminius*, *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *L. Scribonius Libo*, Ædiles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the Stage-plaies called *Megalesia*. And the Roman plaies or games represented and set out by these Ædiles, the Senat now first and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministred much talk: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again construed thus, and gave out, "That whatsoever was added to the Majesty of "the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind "of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudicial as wel "to common peace as publick liberty. For these five hundred and eighty years say they, these "plaies and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise dif- "ference. What new accident is suddainly befalln, why the Nobles should not be willing to let "the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain "his poor neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, "full of pride and arrogancy, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senat of any "nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* beshrewed himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and perswaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such, as practise and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* were Consuls, news came so thick of many earth-quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it self, but also of the holy-dayes and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Councel, or manage the affairs of the Common-weal, for being wholly emploied about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer and direction, a procession and supplication was for three daies solemnised. And before the Altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses, they made their praiers with garlands and coronets on their heads: yea, and commandment was given, that every houshold and family by it self should fall to their praiers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senat made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solemnity was ordained by occasion of one earth-quake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls cast lots for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto *Cornelius* befell *Gaul*, and to *Minutius* the Ligurians; *C. Sempronius* had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and *M. Valerius* of the forrain; *L. Cornelius* governed *Sicily*, *L. Porcius Sardinia*, *C. Flaminius* high *Spain*, and *L. Fulvius* the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from *M. Cincius* Lord President of *Pisa*, which gave notice, that twenty thousand Ligurians were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territory of *Luna*, and having invaded and passed through the Pisan Land, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore *Minutius* the Consul, unto whom the government of *Liguria* was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senat mounted up into the pulpit *Rostra*, and published an act, That those two legions of Roman citizens, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at *Aretium*, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrats of the Latin nation, and their Embassadors leagers, who owed knight-service, and were bound to find souldiers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and serviceable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthwith, to go directly from the Cepitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unto *Fulvius* and *Flaminius* were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen apeece, for to supply and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latin nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charged to dismiss and cass the old souldiers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiers who were enrolled in the City-legions, resorted thick unto the Tribuns of the Commons, that they shou'd take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of *Sempronius* dashed all this, and cleered every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand Ligurians were entred the territory of *Placentia*, and had made great wast and laccage therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it self, and the banks of * *Padus*. Also that the nation of the Boii made countenance and gave suspicion of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and suddain war toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiers, but that they should all meet

* Po.

A meet and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*, and were discharged from souldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to shew themselves, against that day which *L. Cornelius* the Consul should appoint, and at what place soever of *Hetruria* he should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said *L. Cornelius* the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enrol, and arme, what souldiers he thought good, out of all the burroughs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea, and have commission to dismiss whom of them he thought good, and when soever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their Provinces, then *T. Quin-*
B *tius* demanded to have a day of audience in the Senate concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegats above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by vertue of their assent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all *Greece*, a great part of *Asia*, and from the Kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senat by *C. Scribonius* the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gratious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegats, of whom some had been in *Asia*, or at *Lysimachia* with the King. And *Quintius* was commanded, that together with those said Delegats he should hear what the King his Em-
C bassadors could say, and so return unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and welfare of the people of *Rome*. The chief of this embassage from the King were *Menippus* and *Hegesianax*. Then *Menippus* began and said, "That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their "embassage, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and al-"liance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and "KK. ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are van-"quished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yeelded into "the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his dis-"cretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he "pleaseth. The second is, when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and "be content to make peace and amity, upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other:
D "in which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the "accord and agreement: and if in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their "possession, they fall to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or respective "to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet "and confer together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemn alliance and society, "who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and "those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is comprised in this last kind, I marvail
E "(qd. he) that the Romans should think or say, It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or "to prescribe and set down, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and exempt, and "which they would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expresly forbid the "King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and set foot. For in this wise ought they to "make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and asso-"ciation with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this Oration *Quintius* shaped his answer in "this sort. "For asmuch as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of divisi-"on, and severally to reherse all kinds of confederacies and accords. I also will set down as metho-"dically in order two conditions, without which, you may let the King your master to understand,
F "that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of *Rome*. The one is this, "that if he would debar us to intermeddle with the Cities of *Asia*, he likewise himself have no-"thing to do with all *Europe*. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the compass of "*Asia*, but will needs encroach upon it the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to "maintain those amities which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of
G "*Asia*. Hereat *Hegesianax* inferred and said, "That this was an indignity intolerable, and which "he could not abide to hear, namely, that *Antiochus* should be dissaized of those Cities of *Thrace* "and *Chersonesus*, which *Seleucus* his great grand-father had conquered with singular honor from "King *Lysimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and setled the same in him as "his rightful inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* himself with "as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of their hands, and partly re-"peopled with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolat, "and namely, *Lysimachia* it self, as all the world seeth: and more than that, hath re-edified to his "exceeding charge and expense, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire.
H "What likenes then is there between these two demands: namely, that *Antiochus* should quit the "possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romans "should abstain and forbear *Asia*, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, *Antiochus* "(saith he) is desirous of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as may stand with his honor, &
I "not purchase himself shame and reproach. Then *Quintius* rejoyned again in this manner: "For "asmuch as, qd. he, we balance and weigh things according to honesty (as in truth it is befitting the "chief and principal state of the world, and so great and mighty a King to prize that only or at

" leastwise principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you. Whether ye think it H
" more honest of the twain, either to will and wish that all the Cities of *Greece* whatsoever and
" wheresoever should enjoy liberty: or to make them homagers and tributary? If *Antiochus*
" thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into servitude and bondage as his own,
" those Cities which his great grand-father held by right of arms, and whereof neither his father
" nor grand-father afore him were in possession: the people of *Rome* likewise esteemeth it a mate-
" rial point that toucheth their faithfulness and constancy, not to forsake the Greeks, whose pro-
" tection and defence they have enterprised and taken in hand. And like as they have freed *Greece*
" out of the hands of *Philip*, so they intend to deliver those Cities of *Asia* which are of Grecish
" race and descent, from the subjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greek Colonies were not sent into
" *Æolis* and *Ionia*, to live in servitude under the King, but to increase and multiply, that a most I
" ancient nation might spread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Hegesianax* knew
not how to shift and turn himself, and could not deny but that the cause of liberty which the Ro-
mans pretended in the title of their quarrel, was of more honesty and credit, than that other of
slavery: Let's lay away all these circumstances of words (quoth *P. Sulpitius*, the ancientest person
of all the ten Delegats) and choose ye one of the two conditions which even now were expressly
offered unto you by *Quintius*, or else make no more talk about amity with the Romans. Then
quoth *Menippus*, As for us, we may in no case, neither will we capitulate and covenant any thing
prejudicial to the Kingdom and royal state of King *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintius* when
he had brought all the Embassies of *Greece* and *Asia* into the Senat, that they might know what
affection the people of *Rome* carried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the Cities of *Greece*, he K
declared before them all as well his own demands, as those of the Kings part: willing them to make
report unto their own Cities, and assure them, that the people of *Rome* would maintain them a-
gainst *Antiochus* (unless he departed out of *Europe*) with the same vertue, valour, and fidelity
wherewith he had defended their liberty against *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earnest with *Quin-*
tius and the LL. of the Senat, beseeching them instantly not to proceed in haste to a decree where-
by they should set all the world in trouble and uproar; but both take leisure themselves and give
respite unto the King to deliberat farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the
conditions, he would consider upon them, and either obtain somewhat at their hands, or for
peace sake yeeld his consent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: and agreed
it was, that the same Embassadors should be addressed unto the King, who had been with him at L
Lysimachia, to wit, *P. Sulpitius P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*.

Scarcely were they gone from the City and entred upon their journey, but Embassadors arri-
ved from *Carthage*, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for war,
and therein used the hand and ministery of *Annibal*: in so much, as it was feared also that a third
Punick war would break out withal. *Annibal*, as we said before, having fled his native countrey,
repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and estimation with the King, for no other
cause and policy in the world, but that the King who projected and plotted long time in his spi-
rit to levy war upon the Romans, could find no man more fit than *Annibal* to break his mind
unto, and with whom to discourse upon a matter of such consequence. *Annibal* his song and re-
solution was ever one and the same still, namely, To make war within *Italy*: and that *Italy* was M
able to furnish a forrain enemy, with men, munition, and victuals. For this he cast with himself
and considered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles set a foot, but that the people of *Rome*
might with the forces and riches of *Italy*, furnish themselves to make war without *Italy*, there
was no Monarch nor nation under the sun able to make head against the Romans. He demanded
therefore to have the command of 100 close ships with hatch and deck, 16000 foot, and 1000
horse: and with the said fleet he would first sail into *Affrick*, where he assured himself that he
should be able to sollicit and induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off and made
it goodly and strange, yet would he settle in some part of *Italy* and levy war against the Romans.
His advice and counsel furthermore was, that the King should with all his other forces pass into
Europe, and in some one part of *Greece* keep his power together, and not to take the Sea, but to be N
ready ever to cross over; which would be sufficient to make a shew and raise a bruit all abroad of
war. When he had perswaded the King to this designment and resolution, supposing that he was
likewise to sound and prepare the hearts afore-hand of his own countrymen to this purpose: he
durst not dispatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chance to be intercepted by the way,
and so discover the whole plot. He hapned at *Ephesus* upon a Tyrian one *Ariston*, a man whose
industry and dexterity he had tried in some small services wherein he had imployed him. Him he
plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promises of great rewards, which King *An-*
tiochus also himself seemed to make good and give his word for; and so sent him to *Carthage*
with credence and instructions. He acquainted him with the names of all those persons with
whom he was to talk and confer: he furnisheth him with secret tokens, whereby they might O
assuredly know, that he was no counterfeit, but came with a message from him. Now whiles this
Ariston conversed in *Carthage*, the friends of *Annibal* knew no sooner about what errand he came,
than his very enemies. At the first, much talk and discourse there was in every corner of the City
where they met, and at their feasts and merriments, of this matter. Afterwards at their councel ta-
ble some stuck not to say, that the exile of *Annibal* was to little or no purpose, if whiles he was
absent he could contrive and compass new plots, and by solliciting and tempering mens minds,
disquiet

A disquiet and trouble the state of the City. There is a stranger, say they, one *Ariston* a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from *Annibal* and King *Antiochus*: certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. " Whereupon they all cried with one voyce to convent *Ariston* pe-
" remptorily before them, and to examine him about what business he was thither arrived: and un-
" less he would bewray & declare the matter, to send him with Embassadors of purpose, to *Rome*:
" For why? we have (say they) felt the smart enough, and paid sufficiently for the folly and rash
" head of one harebrained man already. Let privat persons bear their own load hereafter, and at
" their own peril commit a trespass: provided alwayes, that the Common-weal be preserved clear
" not only from all fault, but also from all apparance and bruit of any such intent. *Ariston* being
B called before them, stood stifly upon his integrity and excused himself, and evermore used this for
his best and surest defence, That he had brought no letters at all to any person: howbeit he could
not render a ready & sound reason of his coming thither: but especially he was shrewdly troubled
and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with those
only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon arose some debate and altercation in the house; whiles
some were of opinion that he should be apprehended for a spie, and clapt up fast in ward: others
again were of mind that there was no cause to make such a stir and tumult; for it was an evil pre-
sident to be given, that strangers coming to their City, should be troubled and hardly intreated:
and the like measure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in *Tyrus* & in other Towns
of mar. handise, whereunto they use to have resort for exchange and traffique. So for that day the
C matter was put off. *Ariston* framing himself to play the crafty Carthaginian among these Cartha-
ginians, wrote a certain bill: and in the shutting in of the evening, hung it up in the most conspicu-
ous and publick place of all the City, even over the seat where the head Magistrate useth daily to
sit: and himself about the third watch gat to shipboord and escaped. The morrow after, when
the Suffetes were set on the bench to minister law, the bill aforesaid was seen, taken down, and
read: wherein to this effect was written. That *Ariston* was not come with a message to any per-
son in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general (for so they call the Senat.) After that
the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed
culpable they were not so earnest to search into privat persons. Howbeit thought good it was,
that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to give information hereof to the Consuls and the Se-
D nat, and withal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by *Masanissa*.

Masanissa understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romans, and also at jar and variance within themselves: and namely, that the great and princi-
pal men were had in jealousy by the Senat for their conferences with *Ariston*; and their Senate
likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above-named of the said *Ariston*: taking
this for a good advantage and opportunity to do them some injury, not only invaded their mari-
time parts and made spoil, but also forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay
himself tribute. That quarter of the countrey they call *Emporia*. It is the Sea coast of the lesser *Syr-*
tis, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named *Leptis*, which paid to
the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Masanissa* then had plagued sore,
E yea, and for one part thereof he made some claim, as being litigious whether it pertained to his
Kingdom, or the Seignory of the Carthaginians: and because he knew for truth, that the Cartha-
ginian Embassadors were about to go to *Rome*, as well to purge themselves of some crimes where-
with they were charged, as to complain of him; therefore himself also addressed his Embassadors
to *Rome*, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspition, and debate withal as
touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speak concerning
that Tyrian stranger but the LL. of the Senat grew into some doubt lest they should wage war with
Antiochus and the Carthaginians both together. And this presumption of all the rest made the
suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the party among them and were purposed to send
him to *Rome*, they neither made the man himself sure, nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this,
F they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embassadors, about the territory and land in con-
troversy. " The Carthaginians pleaded for themselves, and stood much upon their bounds and li-
" mits, for that the land in suit lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the Conqueror limited
" out that territory which pertained to the seignory of the Carthaginians. Also they alledged the
" confession of the King himself, who at what time as he pursued *Aphetes*, that fled out of his own
" realm, and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about *Cyrene*, made request unto them
" to give him leave to pass through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to
" the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered again to these points & said plainly to their faces,
" that they lied in their throats, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*:
" and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what
G " land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meer
" strangers, they had after much praier and entreaty, as much ground allowed them and no more,
" to build them a City in, as they could compass with thongs cut out of one bull hide. And look
" whatsoever they had encroached upon; without that nest and seat of theirs in *Byrsa* they gat and
" held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in strife, they are not able to prove, that
" they alwaies held the same in possession, no, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as
" occasion and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian

" Kings made reentry and enjoied it, and evermore he went away with the poſſeſſion thereof H
" that was the ſtronger, and had the keener ſword. In theſe conſiderations they requeſted the Ro-
" mans to leave the thing in that ſtate and condition, wherein it ſtood before that the Carthagi-
" nians were enemies, or King *Maſaniſſa* friend and allie to the Romans: and not to intermeddle
" between, nor take a part, but let the winner wear it, and him have it that can hold it. In con-
ſion, it was thought good, that to the Embaſſadors of both parties this anſwer ſhould be return-
ed, namely: That they would ſend certain Commiſſioners into *Affrick*, to decide this controverſy
about the land in queſtion, between the people of *Carthage* and the King. So there were ſent of
purpoſe, *P. Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minutius Ruſus*. Who having heard
what could be ſaid, and ſeen the thing, left all hanging ſtill in ſuſpence and undecided without ad-
judging it by their definitive ſentence to the one or the other. But whether they ſo did, on their I
own head and ſelf-accord, or by direction from the Senat, is not ſo certain as it ſeemeth agreeable
unto that preſent time in policy, to leave them as they found them, and the controverſie ſtill de-
pending. For unleſs it were ſo, *Scipio* himſelf alone, in regard of the knowledge that he had of the
thing, and of his authority with the perſons (ſo much bound they were unto him on both ſides)
might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this matter.

The five and thirtieth Book
Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the* K *City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and thirtieth Book.

Publius Scipio Africanus *being ſent Embaſſador unto* Antiochus, *talked at* Epheſus *with* Annibal *(who had fled with* Antiochus*) to this end that he might rid him of that fear which he had con-*
ceived of the people of Rome, *as touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters paſſed be-*
tween them, when he demanded of Annibal, *whom he judged to have been the nobleſt and greateſt warri-*
or that ever was, he anſwered, that it was Alexander *King of the Macedonians: for that he with a ſmall* L
power had diſcomfited and defeated an infinite number of armies, and withal, paſſed through thoſe far
diſſite and remote parts of the world unto which a man would not believe, that it were poſſible for any per-
ſon to go and ſee them. When he asked again of him whom he deemed for the ſecond: Who but Pyrrhus
(ſaid he) becauſe he taught the manner how to pitch a camp, & beſides, no man had the ſkill to gain places
and holds for advantage, nor could ſet his corps de guard or plant garriſons better than he. And when he
proceeded ſtill to know whom he took to be the third, Annibal *named his own good ſelf. At which anſwer*
Scipio *fell a laughing: And what would you have ſaid then (qd. he) if your hap had been to have van-*
quiſhed me? Marry then (ſaith he) I would have ſet my ſelf before Alexander, *before* Pyrrhus, *and be-*
fore all others. Among other prodigious ſights, whereof there were reported very many, it is ſaid, that in
the year wherein Cn. Domitius *was Conſul, an Ox ſpake and ſaid theſe words:* Rome, look to thy ſelf, M
The Romans prepare to war with Antiochus. Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians provoked by the*
Ætolians, who ſollicited him, Philip *and alſo* Antiochus *to wage war againſt the people of* Rome, *re-*
volted from the Romans, and after he had waged war againſt Philopœmen, *Pretor of the Acheans was*
by the Ætolians ſlain. The Ætolians likewiſe abandoned the friendſhip of the people of Rome, *with whom*
Antiochus *King of* Syria *handled: who warred upon* Greece, *and ſurpriſed many Cities, and namely,*
Chalcis *and* Eubœa *among the reſt. Beſides, this book containeth the martial affairs in* Liguria, *and*
the preparation of Antiochus *for the wars.*

The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

N

In the beginning of that year wherein theſe affairs thus paſſed. *Sext. Digitius* Pretor in high *Spain*, fought battels (rather ordinary, and for number many, than otherwiſe memorable and worth the ſpeaking) againſt thoſe States, whereof after the departure of *Cato* a great part had rebelled. And thoſe battels for the moſt part were ſo unfortunat that hardly he could deliver up to his ſucceſſor the one half of thoſe ſouldiers which he had received. And doubtleſs all *Spain* would have taken heart again, if the other Pretor *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Cneius*, had not ſped better in many of his conflicts beyond *Iberus*. Upon which terrour no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him. And theſe exploits performed *Scipio* as Pretor, Who alſo in quality of Propretor, encountred the Luſitans upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty raiſed out of the baſe *Spain*, which they had utterly pilled and ſpoiled: where O
* After Sunring. he fought from the third hour of the * day unto the eight, with doubtful event. For number of ſouldiers he was inferiour to his enemies, but for all things elſe he had the vantage and went beyond them. For his battailons were well appointed and cloſe compacted of armed men, and ſo he charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the ſame encumbred with a deal of cattel: beſides, his ſouldiers were freſh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel.

A vel. For the enemies ſet forth at the third watch, and beſides their night journey, they had marched three hours alſo of the day, and without any repoſe or reſt at all, they came to a conflict preſently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battel, ſo long as they were in any heart, and their ſtrength ſerved, they troubled and diſordered the Romans with the firſt charge they gave: but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight. In which hazard of doubtful iſſue the Propretor vowed to ſet forth certain ſolemn games to the honour of *Jupiter*, in caſe he might diſcomfit the enemies, and kill them in chaſe. At the length the Romans advanced forward more hotly, and the Luſitans retreated, yea, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans purſued them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies ſlain upon 12000, 500 and forty taken priſoners, all in manner horſemen; and of military
B enſigns they carried away one hundred thirty and four. Of the Roman army ſeventy and three only were loſt. This battel was fought not far from the City *Ilipa*. And thither brought *P. Cornelius* his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage. Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the reſt was given to the Treaſurer for to be ſold, and the mony raiſed thereof, was parted among the ſouldiers.

Now had not *C. Flaminius* the Pretor as yet taken his leave of *Rome*, when theſe things fell out in *Spain*, and therefore both he and his friends talked and diſcourſed much upon theſe occurrents both good and bad: and foraſmuch as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himſelf was to receive from *Sext. Digitius* but a ſmall remnant of an army, and the ſame timorous ſtill and full of fright, as not well recovered of their former flight, he had aſſailed to bring
C about, that the Senat would aſſign unto him one of the City-legions; to the end that when he had joined thereto thoſe ſouldiers which himſelf had enrolled according to an order ſet down by the Senat, he might out of all that number chuſe forth ſix thouſand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horſemen. With which legion (for in the army of *Sext. Digitius* he repoſed ſmall confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and ſaid, That acts of the Senat were not to be made upon every flying tale and report ſet abroad and blazed by ſome particular perſons in favor of Magiſtrats. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but that which either the Pretors themſelves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, related. And if there were any ſuch commotion and trouble in *Spain*, they were of advice that the Pretor ſhould levy in haſt without *Italy*, ſuch tumultuary ſouldiers, as in that caſe were uſually taken up.
D The intent and mind of the Senat was, that ſouldiers ſhould in that ſort be preſt out in *Spain*. *Valerius Antias* writeth that *C. Flaminius* both ſailed into *Sicily* to levy and muſter men, and alſo as he made ſail from *Sicily* toward *Spain*, was by wind and tempeſt put with the ſhore of *Africk*: where he found certain ſouldiers diſperſed over the countrey, remaining of the army of *P. Africanus*: of whom he took a military oath to ſerve him in his wars: and that to theſe levies raiſed in two Provinces, he joyned alſo a third in *Spain*.

The war of the Ligurians likewiſe grew as faſt: for they had already beſieged and inveſted *Piſa* with forty thouſand men: and thither reſorted and flocked dayly unto them great multitudes as well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the war. *Minutius* the Conſul came at the day appointed to *Arretium*, which was the *Rendezvous* where he had commanded all
E his ſouldiers to meet him: from whence he marched with a fourſquare Battailon toward *Piſa*. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the City on the other ſide of the River, the Conſul entred the Town, which no doubt by his coming he preſerved. The next day himſelf alſo encamped on the other ſide of the River, almoſt half a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light skirmiſhes with them and ſaved the territory of his allies from the excurſions and robberies of the enemies. He durſt not as yet try a battail in pitched field, as having but raw and new ſouldiers, and thoſe gathered out of many kinds of men, and not ſo well known among themſelves, that one might ſurely truſt another. The Ligurians bearing themſelves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battail, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commandment and to ſpare, ſent out into all parts ſundry com-
F panies to ſpoil and raiſe booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the countrey. And when they had gathered together much cattail and great ſtore of pillage, they had a ſtrong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was convoyed into their burroughs and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurians war was ſettled about *Piſa*, the other Conſul *L. Cornelius Merula* entred with his army by the utmoſt confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwiſe than with the Ligurians. For the Conſul entred the field in battail array, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In ſo much as the Romans ſeeing none to come forth and preſent themſelves, ran abroad into all parts to ſpeed their hands with pillage. And the Boians choſe rather to ſuffer their goods to be ranſacked making no reſiſtance,
G than to ſave the ſame with the hazard of a battail. The Conſul when he had wrought his pleaſure and conſumed all with fire and ſword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward * *Mutina* ſecurely without any regard of himſelf, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boii perceiving one that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a ſtill and ſilent march, ſeeking ſome convenient place for to lay an ambuſh. And having in the night ſeaſon paſſed beyond the Roman camp, they ſeiſed themſelves of a ſtreight paſſage within a narrowneſs, through which of neceſſity the Romans muſt paſs, and there they forlayed them. * *Modena.*

This

This was not so closely carried, but the Consul had an inkling thereof: and therefore where as H his manner was to set out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for fear lest the darkness of the night should increase the terror of a tumultuary skirmish, he waited for the day. And albeit the sun was up before he removed and set forward, yet he sent out a Troop of horsemen to scour and discover the quarters. And after he was advertised by these espials what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commanded that all the baggage and carriage of the whole army should be bestowed in the mids, and that the Triarii should stake and pale it all about, whiles he with the rest of his forces marched in order of battail, and approached the enemy. The like also did the French, after they once saw that their ambush and trains were detected, and that they must of necessity fight a set pitched battail, where down right blows, clean strength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victory. Thus about I the second hour of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horsemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenants that had been Consuls, to wit, *M. Marcellus*, and *T. Sempronius*, Consul the year before. The new Consul one while was in the front of the battail, another while at the tail to keep in the legions, left for eager desire of fight they should advance forward to the conflict before that the signal was given. As for the men of arms belonging to the legions, he commanded *Quintius* and *P. Minutius*, Marshals or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battail into a large plain, from whence out of the open ground they should on a suddain charge the enemies, when he gave them a signal by sound of Trumpet. Thus as he was marshalling and directing his men, there came a messenger from *T. Sempronius Longus* with a report, that the loose Extraordinary K souldiers aforesaid were not able to abide the violence of the Gauls: that very many of them were slain, and those that remained, partly for weariness of travail, and partly for meatful cowardice began to quail their heat of fight: and therefore if he thought so good, he should send one of the two legions to succour, before they had received further dishonor. Whereupon the second legion was sent, and the Extraordinaries retired themselves out of the battail. Then began the conflict anew, by reason that the souldiers came in fresh and in heart, and the legion besides was compleat and fully furnished with all her companies: the left wing of horsemen aforesaid was retired out of the battail, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the fore-front. By this time the sun with extreme scorching heat roasted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can least abide heat: howbeit, standing with their ranks thick and close together, one while they L leaned one upon another: other whiles they rested and bare themselves upon their targets, and sustained the violence of the Romans. Which when the Consul perceived, he commanded *C. Livius Salinator* who had the conduct of the light horse in the wings, to send in the quickest horse in all his company, with ful carrier to break their ranks: and gave charge that the legionary horsemen should abide behind in the reregard. This tempest and storm of Cavalry first shuffled and put in disaray the battail of the Gauls, and afterwards brake their ranks and files clean. yet not so, that they turned their backs: for why, their Captains and Leaders would not suffer them, laying about with their truncheons upon the backs of them that so trembled for fear, and forced them again into their ranks: but the light horsemen aforesaid riding among them would not permit them to stand to it, and keep their place. The Consul for his part encouraged and exhorted his M souldiers to stick to it awhile, for the victory was in their hands; and to charge still upon them. so long as they saw them disordred and affrighted: for if they suffered their ranks to close again they should abide another conflict, and the same perhaps doubtful and dangerous. The Ensign-bearers he commanded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they discomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they shewed their backs once and took them to their heels, running away on all sides, then the legionary horsemen were sent out after to follow the chase: fourteen thousand Boians that day were slain, a thousand and nine hundred taken prisoners alive: 221 horsemen, three of their Leaders, and of Ensigns were won 212, and chariots 63. The Romans likewise won not this victory so cleer, but it cost them some bloud. For of their own souldiers and allies together, there died above five thousand, N 23 Centurions, besides four Colonels of Allies, and two Marshals of the second legion, to wit, M. *Genutius*, and *M. Martius*.

At one and the self same time in manner, both the Consuls letters were brought to *Rome*, *Cornelius* his letters, touching the battail fought at *Mutina* with the Boians: but the other of *Q. Minutius* from *Pisa*, were written to this effect, That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the assembly for the election of new Magistrats, yet considering in how doubtful terms of hazard his affairs stood in *Liguria*, that he might not possibly depart from thence without the utter ruin of the allies, and hinderance of the weal publick: therefore if it might seem so good unto the LL. of the Senat, he would advise them to send unto his brother Consul, That he, who had finished his war, might return to *Rome* for to hold the foresaid general assembly for the election: but in case O he should think much thereof, because this charge properly appertaineth not to him: he promised them, that himself would do whatsoever the Senate should think good. But he requested them to consider and be well advised, Whether it were not more expedient for the commonweal to proceed rather to an interreign, than that he should leave the Province in that state of jeopardy. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to C. *Scribonius* for to send two Embassadors bodies of Senators calling, unto *L. Cornelius* the Consul, who should carry also with them unto him the

A the letters of his colleague written and sent unto the Senat: and withal, to let him understand, that unless he would come himself to *Rome* for the election of new Magistrats to succeed, the Senat would suffer an interreign rather than call away Q. *Minutius* from the war unfinished, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embassadors that were sent, brought word back, That L. *Cornelius* would repair to *Rome* himself for the chusing of new Magistrats. As touching the letters of *L. Cornelius*, wherein he gave them to understand, what happy issue & success he had in the battail with the Boians; there was some reasoning and debate in the Senat-house: for *M. Claudius* his Lieutenant had written other letters privately to most of the Senators, to this effect: That they were much beholden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, and the valour of the souldiers, in that they sped so well as they did: for by means of the Con-B sul, not only there were a good number of men lost, but also the army of the enemies was escaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunity presented unto them, of a final defeat and overthrow thereof: and that by this occasion there was a greater number of the souldiers miscarried; for that they who should have rescued and succoured those that were distressed, came too late out of the reregard: and the reason why the enemies got away and escaped was this, because the legionary horsemen had not the signal soon enough sounded unto them, and could not possibly pursue them in the chase. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing rashly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent assembly of Senators.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads; for the City was much oppressed with usuC ry: and albeit the avarice and covetousness of men had been well gaged and bridled by many laws concerning usury, yet there was a cautelous device and shift found out, to avoid all statutes in that behalf: to wit, that all obligations should pass in the names of allies, and be sealed unto them, who were not tied and bound to observe the laws aforesaid. By which means the creditors enwrapped their debtors in what bonds they list, and forced them to pay extream interest as they would themselves, without stint. For to see into this disorder and enormity, and to redress the same. it was thought good and order taken, to set down and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the usurers were last restrained. From which day all those allies should come in and declare and profess, what mony they had put forth upon usury to any citizens of *Rome*: and that the creditour should have right to recover those monies put forth from that time, according to such D conditions as the debtor would himself. Hereupon, after there were discovered great sums of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practise, *M. Sempronius* a Tribun of the Commons, by advice of the Senat propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it, That the same course of putting out money practised between citizen and citizen of *Rome*, should likewise be in force among the allies of the Latin Nation. In this sort went matters in *Italy*, both within the City of *Rome*, and also in the wars abroad.

In *Spain* the war was nothing so much as the bruit that ran thereof. C. *Flaminius* in high *Spain*, wan *Iltcia*, a Town in the Oretans countrey: after which exploit, he laid up his souldiers in their winter harbour. And in winter time there passed certain light skirmishes (not worth the naming) against the excursions of brigands and theeves, I may rather say, than enemies: and E yet the fortune was variable, and not without some loss of men. As for M. *Fulvius* he atchieved great matters: for he fought in a ranged battail with banner displaied against the Vacceans, the Vectones, and the Celtiberians, before the Town *Toletum*; where he discomfited and put to flight the army of those nations, and took prisoner alive, their King *Hilermus*.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Spain*, the day drew neer, of the solemn election of Magistrats at *Rome*: and therefore L. *Cornelius* the Consul having left M. *Claudius* Lieutenant in the army, came to *Rome*: who, after he had discoursed in the Senat-house of his own exploits, and in what estate the province stood, he complained to the LL. of the Senat, that considering so great a war was brought to an end, by one battail so fortunately and happily fought, there was no solemnity to the honour of the Gods, performed in that behalf. Over and besides, he demanded, That F they would decree a procession and triumph withal. But before the Senators were to deliver their opinions to this demand, Q. *Metellus*, who had been Consul and Dictator, rose up and said, "That there had been letters brought at one and the same time: both from the Consul *Cornelius* "to the Senat, and also from M. *Marcellus* to a great many of the Senators, and those letters impor-"ting contrarieties: whereupon the consultation of that matter had been deferred and put off, to "the end that it might be argued and debated in the presence of them both, who wrote the let-"ters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Consul (knowing especially that his Lieu-"tenant had written and informed somewhat against him, and considering that himself was to re-"pair to *Rome*) would have brought him also with him: seeing that it had been more meet and "befitting him to have delivered the army to *T. Sempronius*, one that was in the commission and G had a command, than to a Lieutenant. But it should seem now, that he was left behind far enough off of very purpose, for fear he would avow and justifie personally his hand-writing, and charge him face to face: and that if the Consul should make report of any untruth, he might be challenged therefore, and the thing sifted and canvased, until the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quoth he) that nothing be determined at this present, as touching the demands of the Consul. But when as he persisted notwithstanding, and followed the suit still, namely, that they would ordain a solemn procession, and that himself might enter the

the City, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Titinius*, both Tribuns of the Commons, protested, H that they would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Ælius Paetus* and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, created the year before. *Cornelius* took a review of the City and numbred the people; and there were accounted by his survey 143704 polls of Citizens. Great flouds arose that year, and *Tyber* overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate *Flumentana* certain houses and buildings were overthrown withal, and laid along. The gate *Calimontana* besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in mount *Aventin*, it rained stones. And reported it was from *Capua*, that a great swarm of Wasps came flying into the market place, and setled upon the Temple of *Mars*; which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of *Sibylla*; whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine dayes) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleansed and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the Chappel of *Virgin Victory*, neer to the Temple of the Goddess *Victory*, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Volso*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *P. Ælius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of requeste about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the countrey of *Thurium*: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen; a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and threescore for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of *Apustius*, one K third part of the Lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Coloners if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty apeece.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men, as well of the *Patritii* and nobles, as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Consulship, to wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*, who lately was departed out of *Spain* after he had atchieved many worthy deeds. *L. Quintius Flaminius* who had been Admiral of the navy in *Greece*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were *C. Lælius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Livius Salinator*, and *M. Acilius*. But all mens eyes were fixed upon *Quintius* and *Cornelius*: For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their fresh glory for feats of war, recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glory of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twain, so it was more subject to envy. The honour of *Quintius* was more fresh, as who that yeer had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that maketh great men not so highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them) also he had been twice Consul, and Censor since he vanquished *Annibal*. But in *Quintius* all was fresh and new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any M thing. He alledged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Cousin German; in the behalf of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by Land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintius* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* and his brother [*Asiaticus*] brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelii* seemed to countenance, even then when a *Cornelius*, Consul, was president of the election, and held the assembly; whom the Senat had given so grave a testimony of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddess, dame *Idæa*, coming from *Pessinunto* the City of *Rome*. Thus were *L. Quintius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* created Consuls, in such sort, that *Africanus* was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of N a Consul out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for *C. Lælius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centimalus*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salonius Sarra*. In this year *M. Æmylius Læpidus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves so in their office, as they made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City grasiers or farmers of the common pastures: and of that money which arose of their amercements, were certain gilded shields made, which were set up on the finial or lantern of *Jupiters* Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate *Trigemina*, with a marchants Hall or Burse adjoined thereto, neer *Tyber*: and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length O as far as to the Altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field.

For a long time nothing was done in *Liguria* worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year, twice were the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended, and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a streight pass, the army of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul seeing he could not make way through, turned his ensigns, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, insomuch as the lamentable

A lamentable remembrance of the Caudine overthrow, not only presented it self to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongst his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whose Captain promised the Consul, that he and his would break through whither way he would, let him only but tell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their Villages and houses; to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chase which they held and beset, and run to succour their own neighbours. The Consul commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horseback, and began to ride about the *corps de guard* of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had seen them, would have B thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horse, little, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without weapon, save that he carrieth about him some light darts: the horses without bridles; and as they ran shutting out their stiff necks, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more despised, would on purpose seem to take fals from their horses, and made their enemies good sport. Whereupon they (who if at first they had been assailed, would have been heedful & ready to have received the charge) now sat still (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop toward them, and presently ride back again, but so, C as by little and little they gained ground, and advanced neerer to the pass, yet making semblance, as if they had had no rule of their horses, but were carried thither against their wils. At the last, they set spurs to their horses indeed, and brake through the mids of the enemies guards: and so soon as they had recovered the open ground, they set on fire all the houses neer the high way side, and so forward they burnt the next village they came unto, and destroied all afore them with fire and sword. First, the smoak that was descried, afterwards, the outcry heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and last of all, the children and old folk that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the camp: insomuch, as every man of himself without advice, without warrant or direction, made what haste he could to run and save his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Consul delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were so spitefully and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the Ætolians. They at the D very first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remove of the forces out of *Greece*, *Antiochus* would have entred *Europe*, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabis* would be in rest and do nothing. But seeing them not to stir in any place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for fear left by delayes and lingring, all their designments would turn to nothing: and therefore they published a Diet or Councel to be holden at *Naupactum*. In which assembly *Thoas* their Pretor, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and soliciting the state of Ætolia (for that they of all other nations and Cities of *Greece*, were least honoured and set by after that victory, whereof they had been the cause) gave his advice, That there should be Embassiadors sent to all the neighbour Kings, not only to sound their minds and affections, but also to incite E and prick them every one forward to enter into arms against the Romans. So *Damocritus* was addressed to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicæarchus* the brother of the Pretor unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* had in commission to signify unto the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, "That by the loss of his "maritime Cities, the very strings and sinews of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut in sunder: "For from thence was he furnished with souldiers, from thence had he his ships and servitors at "Sea: whereas now, he might see the Achæans LL. and rulers of *Peloponnesus* whiles himself was "pinned up and enclosed within his wals, and never should he have opportunity to recover him-"self, if he let pass this that presently was offered unto him. No Roman army was now in *Greece*: "and never would the Romans think it sufficient cause, to pass over the Seas with their legions "into *Greece*, for any occasion of *Gytheum* or other Laconians inhabiting the Sea-coasts. These F reasons were laid forth to incense the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once passed over into *Greece*, he being touched in conscience, that he had broken the Roman league, by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity join and band with *Antiochus*. "Semblable remonstrances and reasons used *Nicander* for to provoke and perswade *Philip*: and "much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was deposed from much higher de-"gree of estate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained far greater losses. To this, he "alledged the ancient name and renown of the KK. of *Macedony*; and how that nation had over-"run the whole world and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he G "said, That he advised him to take a course, which was safe both to be enterprised, and also easy to "be executed. For he gave not *Philip* counsel to stir, before that *Antiochus* were passed over with "an army into *Greece*: and considering that he without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained war "so long against the Romans and Ætolians, what possible means had the Romans to withstand "him assisted with *Antiochus* & the Ætolians his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than "the Romans? Over and besides, he inferred this reason also, what a brave and doughty Captain "*Annibal* was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had slain already more "leaders and souldiers of theirs than were left behind. These were the allegations of *Nicander* to "*Philip*. As for *Dicæarchus*, he had other motives to perswade with *Antiochus*. First, and princi-

pally

pally above all others, he affirmed, "That howsoever the prize and booty of *Philip* fell to the
"Romans, the victory was gained and atchieved by the Ætolians, and none but they either
"gave the Romans entrance and passage into *Greece*, or furnished them with forces for the per-
"formance and accomplishment of the victory. Then he shewed and made promise what power
"as well of foot as horse they would present unto *Antiochus* toward his wars, what places they
"would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his strength and army at
"Sea. After all this he stuck not (to serve his own turn) for to over-reach and tell a loud lie as
"touching *Philip* and *Nabis*, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at
"the point to renue war: and would take the vantage of the very first opportunity and occasion
"that could be presented, to recover those things which by war they had lost. Thus the Ætolians
laboured to set all the world at once upon the top of the Romans. Howbeit, the KK. were either
not moved at all with their soliciting, or bestirred them more slowly than they looked for. But
as for *Nabis*, he sent immediatly about all the Towns by the Sea side, certain persons of purpose to
sow discord and kindle seditions among them: and some of their principal citizens he won by
gifts and presents to his own purpose and designments: but such as stifly continued fast and firm
in alliance and allegeance with the Romans, those he made away and murdred. Now had T.
Quintius given in charge and commission to the Achæans, for to guard all the Laconians that dwelt
upon the Sea-coasts: and therefore presently they both dispatched their Embassadors unto the
Tyrant, to put him in mind of the confederacy and association with the Romans, and to warn
him and give him advertisement, that in no wise he would trouble that peace, which he had so
earnestly craved and sought for: and also sent aid unto *Gythenm*, which now the tyrant began to
assault; yea, and addressed other Embassadors also to *Rome* to give intelligence of these occur-
rents.

Antiochus the King after he had that winter time given his daughter in marriage to *Ptolomæus*
the King of *Ægypt* at *Rhaphia* a City in *Phœnicia*, retired to *Antiochia*; and in the very end of the
same winter, passed through *Cilicia* over the mountain *Taurus*, and came to *Ephesus*. And from
thence in the beginning of the Spring, after he had sent his son *Antiochus* into * *Syria* for to defend
and keep in obedience the utmost frontiers of his Kingdom, lest in his absence there might arise
some troubles behind his back, he marched with all his Land-forces against the Pisidians, who in-
habit about * *Selga*.

* *Syria.*

* *Philadelphia.*

At the same time the Romans Embassadors *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who as we said before,
had been sent unto *Antiochus* with direction first to visit K. *Eumenes*, arrived at * *Elea*, and from
thence went up to * *Pergamus*, where *Eumenes* kept his royal court. *Eumenes* was desirous in his
heart that *Antiochus* should be warred upon: supposing verily, that if he were at peace, being a
Prince so much mightier than himself, he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour so neer
unto him: but if war were once afoot, that he would be no moreable to beard and match the Ro-
mans than *Philip* had been: and that either he should wholly be overthrown and come to utter
ruin; or if, being vanquished he had peace given unto him by the Romans; then, as he lost much
thereby and would be weaker, so himself should gain by the bargain, and grow mightier, that af-
terwards he might be able easily of himself to make his part good, and hold his own against him,
without the help and aid of the Romans: or if any misfortune should happen unto him, he were
better by far, to hazard any fortune whatsoever in the Roman society, than either alone to endure
the Lordly dominion of *Antiochus* and be subject, or in refusing to obey, be compelled thereto by
force and arms. For these causes he employed all the credit and authority he had, yea, and addressed
all counsel that he could devise for to prick on and set forward the Romans in this war. *Sulpitius*
remained behind sick at *Pergamus*. But *Villius* advertised that the King was occupied and busied
in the Pisidian war, went to *Ephesus*: and whiles he abode there some few dayes, he endeavoured
and made means to have conference oftentimes with *Annibal*, who haply at that time sojourned
there, both to sound his mind if possibly he could, and also to secure him of all fear from the Ro-
mans. In these meetings and communications, no other thing passed nor was done between them,
But see what ensued hereupon of it self, as if it had been a thing wrought and compassed of meer
pollicy. *Annibal* by this means was less set by and in smaller credit with the King, yea, and in all
matters began to be more and more suspected and had in jelousie. *Claudius* (the Historian) who
followeth the Greek books of *Acilius*, writeth that *P. Africanus* was joyned in that embassage,
and that he talked and devised with *Annibal* at *Ephesus*: and namely, maketh report of one con-
ference and speech between them twain: and that is this. *Africanus* demanded of *Annibal*, whom
in his judgment, he took to have been the greatest commander for feats of arms, that ever was:
to which he made answer, that he judged *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians was simply the
most excellent warrior: in this regard, that he with a small power had defeated innumerable ar-
mies: and besides had passed as far as to the utmost bounds of the whole earth, even to those lands,
that a man would think incredible for any one to reach unto. And when he asked again whom
he deemed worthy to stand in the second place: he answered, that *Pyrrhus* was the man; for that
he first taught how to pitch a camp, and above all other points of military skill no man knew bet-
ter to choose out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and
dispose garrisons: besides, he had such a sleight and dexterity to draw and win men unto him, that
the Italian nations had rather have been subject to him a forein Prince, than to live under the peo-
ple of *Rome*, notwithstanding they had of long time the Seignory and rule of those parts. And
when

A when he proceeded still to know whom he reputed for the third, he made no sticking at the mat-
ter, but named himself. Whereupon *Scipio* took up a laughter and replied again: What would you
say then, if your hap had been to have subdued me? Mary then, quoth he, I would think I were
worthy to be set before *Alexander*, before *Pyrrhus*, yea, and before all other martial men and com-
manders in the whole world. At this answer, *Scipio* took delight and pleasure, to see how subtilly
and cautelously he had like a curning Carthaginian, couched his words in a certain kind of flatte-
ry, as if he had sequestred him from out of the range and rank of all other Captains as being by ma-
ny degrees incomparable, and far above all others. Then *Villius* went forward from *Ephesus* to
Apamea: and thither *Antiochus* also repaired for to meet him, hearing of the coming of Roman
legats. In this communication and conference at *Apamea*, the matter was debated much after the
B same sort, as it had been at *Rome* between *Quintius* and the Kings Embassadors. But the news of
Antiochus the Kings son his death (whom I said a little before to have been sent into *Syria*) brake
off the peace. Great mourning and sorrow there was in the Kings Court, and much was that young
Prince missed and moaned, for, that good proof he had given of himself, that if he had lived any
long time, he would have proved by all likelyhood of his towardness, a great, a mighty, and a
righteous King. The deerer and better beloved he was of all men, the more suspicious was his
death: and namely, that his father doubting that he would press forward and be inttant to succeed
him in his old age, took order by the minittery of certain Eunuchs or guelded men (persons great-
ly accepted with Kings for such services) to have him poisoned. And they say, that another cause
also set him forward to commit this secret act, because having given the City *Lysimachia* to his
C son *Seleucus*, he had no such place to bestow upon *Antiochus* his son, for to keep his residence in,
whereunto he might have removed him farther off from his own person, under colour of doing
him honor. Howbeit, great semblance and shew there was of much mourning and lamentation all
over the court for certain dayes: insomuch as the Roman Embassador retired himself to *Perga-
mus*, because he was loth to converse there uncivilly, at so unseasonable a time. The King returned
to *Ephesus*, and gave over the war that he had enterprized. Where, the court gates being shut by
occasion of the mourning time, he devised and continited in great secret with one *Minio*, an inward
friend unto him, and whom of all other he loved best, and trusted most. This *Minio*, a meer stran-
ger and altogether ignorant in forein affairs and forces, measuring and esteeming the power and
greatnes of the King by his exploits done in *Syria* or in *Asia*, deemed verily, that *Antiochus* had
D not only the better cause, in that the Romans demanded unreasonable conditions: but also should
have the upper hand in the tryal thereof by war. When as now the King refused to have any con-
ference and dispute with the Embassadors, either for that he knew by good experience that it
would be bootless for him so to do, or because he was troubled in spirit upon this late and fresh
object of grief and sorrow: *Minio* undertook the business, and professed that he would speak to
the point of the matter and to good purpose: and so perswaded the King to send for the Embassa-
dors from *Pergamus*. By this time *Sulpitius* was recovered of his sickne, and therefore both of
them repaired to *Ephesus*; where *Minio* excused the King, and in his absence they began to treat
about their affairs. Then *Minio* with a premeditate oration began in his wise. "I see well (qd. he)
"that you Romans pretend unto the world a goodly title of setting free the Cities of *Greece*, but
E "your deeds are not answerable to your words: and ye have set down unto *Antiochus* one man-
"ner of law to be tied unto, and practise your selves another. For how cometh it about that the
"Smyrneans and Lampsacens should be Greeks, more than the Neapolitans, the Rhegins, and
"Tarentins, of whom you exact tribute and require ships by vertue of the accord and covenants
"between you? Why send you yearly to *Syracuse* and other Greek Cities of *Sicily*, a Pretor in
"soveraign authority, with his rods and axes? Certainly, ye have nothing else to say, but that ye
"have subdued them in war, and by right of conquest have imposed these conditions upon them.
"The like, yea, and the same cause know ye that *Antiochus* alledgeth as concerning *Smyrna*, *Lamp-
"sacus*, and other Cities and states of *Ionia* and *Æolis*. For having been conquered in war by his
"ancestors and progenitors, having I say been made tributary and liable to impositions, he chal-
F "lengeth of them the ancient rights and duties due from them, and to him belonging. And there-
"fore if ye will debate and treat the question according to equity and reason and not rather pick
"quarrels and seek occasions of war. I would gladly know what ye will answer to him in this point?
"To this *Sulpitius* made answer in this wise. "*Antiochus* (qd. he) hath done very well, and with
"good regard of modesty, in that having no other matters to plead unto for his defence and the
"maintenance of his cause, he hath made choice of any other rather than himself to be the speak-
"er. For what one thing is there alike in those cities which you have named and put in compa-
"rison? Of the Rhegins, Neapolitans and Tarentins, we demand that which is our due according
"to the deeds of covenants indented, and hath ever been since time that first they were in subje-
"ction under us; that I say which we have challenged and enjoyed by vertue of one continued
G "course and tenor of right, by us ever practised without any intermission or interruption. And
"are you able to avouch, that as those nations neither by themselves nor by any other, have alte-
"red and changed the accord between us and them: so the Cities of *Asia*, when they once became
"subject to the ancestors of *Antiochus*, remained alwayes in the perpetual possession of your
"Kingdom? And not rather, that some of them have been under the obeisance of *Philip* & others
"obedient to *Ptolomæe*? Yea, and divers of them for many years have been free & used their own
"liberties without contradiction, and no words or doubt made thereof? For admit this once,

The Oration of *Minio*.

"that (because these Cities sometime were in bondage through the iniquity of those times where- H
"in they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the same be effectual to reduce
"them again after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well say, that we
"have done just nothing, in delivering *Greece* out of the hands of *Philip*? and that his successors
"and posterity, may claim again and lay title to *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the whole Thessa-
"lian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cause of the Cities of *Greece*, whom it were more
"meet and reasonable, that both we and the King himself would give audience unto, and let them
"plead what they can for their own selves? With that he commanded the embassages of the Ci-
ties to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by *Eumenes*, who made this
reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from *Antiochus*, should accrue and come unto him and
his Kingdom. Many were admitted to speak: and whiles every one set forward his own cause, I
some by way of complaint, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himself without
regard of right or wrong, so he served his own turn, they fell at length from reasoning to warbling
and wrangling: in so much, as the Embassadors returned to *Rome* as uncertain and doubtful in all
matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were dismissed and gone, the King held a Councel as touching the Roman war, In
which assembly, some delivered their opinion more freely and stoutly than others: but generally
the more bitter speech that any one used against the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in-
to especial grace and favour with the King. One above the rest, inveighed much and spake against
those proud and insolent demands of the Romans, who imposed hard laws and conditions upon
Antiochus, the mightiest King of all *Asia* as if he had been no better than *Nabis*, whom they had K
conquered and subdued. And yet (saith he) they left unto *Nabis* some seignory and dominion in
his own countrey and City of *Lacedæmon*: whereas if *Lampsacum* and *Smyrna* should be at the
command of *Antiochus*, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opined
and said, "that those two Cities were but small causes, and not worth the naming, for so puissant
"a Prince to stand upon and to war for. But always (say they) men begin with just and reasona-
"ble demands, to make an overture and way to compass and obtain that which is unjust. Unless
"one would believe, that when the Persians requested of the Lacedæmonians, water and earth,
"they stood in need of a clot & turf of ground, or a draught of water. In like sort for all the world
"the Romans do but sound and try the King, in their demands touching these two Cities. For o-
"ther Cities likewise, so soon as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of L
"obedience, will soon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and at whose hands
"they hope for liberty. And lay, that freedom were not to them more dear and precious than
"bondage yet it is the nature of every man to feed and please himself with a bare hope of a change
"and new world, much more than with the assured hold of any present state whatsoever. There
was in place at this councel, *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, one who sometime had friended *Philip*: but
of late dayes was faln from him and followed the court of *Antiochus*: a more wealthy and magni-
ficent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a special insight into the state of *Greece*, &
was not ignorant of the affairs of *Rome*, had wound himself into high favour and inward friend-
ship with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy councel, and acquainted with all
his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had been, not, Whether war should be levied or M
no; but, Where, and by What means, and How it should be managed, spake aloud & said, "That
"he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victory, in case the King
"would pass the Seas over into *Europe*, to plant & settle himself in some part of *Greece*, and there
"wage war: for at his very first coming he should see in arms already the Ætolians, that inhabit
"the very heart and centre of *Greece*, who would be the only Captains and port-ensigns to march
"before them, ready to venture and enter upon the most difficult and dangerous enterprises of
"war. Again, in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he should find *Nabis* of the one
"side from *Peloponnesus*, at hand to rise and raise those quarters, with intent to regain the City of
"the Argives, to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have disseized & dispossessed
"him of, and have mued and shut him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*. On the other side from N
"*Macedony*, *Philip* would no doubt take arms, so soon as he shall hear the first alarm and sound of
"trumpet. Full well (qd. he) know I his courage, and of what spirit and stomach he is: right well I
"wot that he hath fostered in that breast of his for a long time, anger and despite: like to these wild
"and savage beasts, which either are kept within iron gates, or fast tyed and bound: and as well I
"remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods,
"to vouchsafe for to give him *Antiochus* for his helper and assistant: and if now he might enjoy
"his wish, and have the thing so long desired and praied for he would without any delay enter in-
"to arms and war incontinently. Only (qd. *Alexander*) we must not linger and stay nor drive off,
"for as much as herein consisteth the very point of victory, even betimes to seize upon commo-
"dious places of advantage, before the enemies be possessed of them. Also with all speed, *Annibal* O
"is to be sent into *Affrick*, whereby the Romans may be distracted, and compelled to turn them-
"selves sundry wayes. *Annibal* only was not called to this councel; for by reason of the foresaid
conferences with *Villius*, the King had him in some jealousy, and therefore he was out of favour,
and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this disgrace and made no words,
but afterwards he thought it a better course, both to demand the cause of so suddain strangeness
and alienation of his, and also to take some good time to excuse and purge himself. And therefore
upon

A upon a day having simply asked of the King, and heard the cause of his anger toward him. "My
"father *Amilcar* (qd. he) O *Antiochus*, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the Gods, caused me
"(a very little one,) to be brought and presented before the Altar, where he forced me to touch the
"same with my hand, and to take an oath, Never to be friend unto the people of *Rome*. To accom-
"plish and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the space of six and thirty years: by vertue of
"this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country; and being fled from thence,
"this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you
"should disappoint me of my hope, yet whatsoever I know there are forces, whersoever I hear
"there is any stirring and rustling of arms, I shall seek all the world over, until I find some Roman
"enemies. And therefore if there be any of your Courtiers that have a mind and desire to advance
B "themselves in your good grace, and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let
"them find some other subject and matter to do this by me: for I hate the Romans, and am like-
"wise hated of them. That this is truth which I say, my father *Amilcar* and the Gods in heaven,
"can testify. Wherefore, whensoever you shall think to make war with the Romans, see you enter-
"rain *Annibal* for one of your greatest and most assured friends: but if any occurrent shall force
"you to peace, seek some other councellor and not me, to consult with al about that point. This
speech was so effectual, that not only it prevailed with the King, but also reconciled *Annibal* unto
his grace. And so they departed out of the councel with a full resolution to make war.

At *Rome* it was commonly talked and discoursed, that *Antiochus* was an enemy, but no provi-
sion and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their stomacks. For both
C Consuls had no other Province but *Italy* assigned unto them to govern. And they were either to
agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, whether of the twain should hold the general assem-
bly and be president of the election for that year. And he whose hap was not to be charged with
that business, was to be in readiness to lead forth the legions into any place out of *Italy*, as need
should require. And to this Consul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of Citizens, and
besides of allies and Latins 20000 foot, and 800 horse. To the other Consul were appointed
those two legions, which *L. Cornelius* the Consul of the former year had under his governance: al-
so of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the same army, and 500 horse. As for *Q. Minutius*,
his commission was continued still for the conduct of that army which he had in *Liguria*. And for
to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen,
D and 150 horse, and likewise to levy of the allies 5000 foot, and 250 horse for that service. To
Cn. Domitius it fell by lot, that he should go with a power out of *Italy*, whither soever the Senate
gave order; and unto *Quintius* to govern *Gaul*. Then the Pretors election followed, who like-
wise cast lots for their Provinces. *M. Fulvius Centimalus* had the civil jurisdiction, and *L. Scri-
bonius Libo* the forrain, *L. Valerius Tappus* governed *Sicily*, *Q. Salonius Sarra*, *Sardinia*: *M. Bœ-
bius Tamphilus* high *Spain*, and *A. Attilius Serranus* the base. But these two changed their Pro-
vinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to
Attilius Macedony was assigned and the navy, and to *Bœbius* the countrey of the Brutii. *Flami-
nius* and *Fulvius* continued in the government and command of *Spain*, and to *Bœbius Tamphilus*
for the rule of the Brutii, were those two legions appointed which the year before lay in the City,
E with commission to take up and levy of allies fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go
thither. *Aulus Attilius* had in charge to cause thirty galleaces to be made with five banks of oars
on a side, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old vessels as were fit for service, and
to enrol mariners and rowers. The Consuls also were enjoyned to deliver unto him two thou-
sand allies of the Latin nation, and a thousand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyced, that
these two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared against *Nabis*, who
openly now assailed the confederats of the people of *Rome*. But still the Embassadors were loo-
ked for, who had been sent unto King *Antiochus*, and the Senat commanded the Consul *Domitius*
not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whose
charge it was to minister law and execute justice in *Rome*, had commission to provide a hundred
F galeaces, besides that fleet which *Attilius* was to command. But before that either Consuls or
Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a procession holden, in regard of the prodi-
gies and fearful sights that were reported. For word was brought out of *Picenum*, that a shee-
goat had yeaned six kids at once, and that it rained earth at *Amiternum*: and at *Formiæ*, that a gate
and wall of the City were smitten with lightning; and (that which most of all troubled and
frighted the Consul *Domitius*) that an Ox spake these words, *Rome, take heed to thy self.* In regard
of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication holden: but as for the Ox, the Sooth-
sayers and bowel-priers gave commandment, that he should with great care be kept and nourish-
ed. The *Tyber* also with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and over-
threw two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate *Flumentana*. Moreover, a mighty
G huge stone shaken out of the Capitol cliff, fell from thence into the street called *Ingarium*, either
by the force and violence of rain, or some earthquake (which if there were any, was so little, that it
could not be perceived) and that stone killed many a man. In the countrey also, by reason of this
deluge, much cattel was carried away with the flood, and many farm houses and granges were
born down and laid along.

Before that *L. Quintius* the Consul was arrived into his Province, *Q. Minutius* fought a bat-
tel with the Ligurians in the territory of *Pisæ*, and slue nine thousand enemies; the rest he dis-
comfited,

comfited, put to flight and chased into their camp; which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night: and then the Ligurians slipt away in the night season secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entred and seised thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Less pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties soever they gat in the countrey they sent home to their houses. *Minutius* notwithstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of *Pisæ* he came into *Liguria*, where he destroyed their borroughs and Castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Roman souldiers filled their hands with the Tuscan prizes, sent thither by the forragers and robbers. H

Much about this time the Embassadors returned to *Rome*, from the KK. who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any hast to war, but only against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achæan Embassadors also gave intelligence) the Sea coasts of *Laconia* were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the leaguе. Whereupon *Attilius* the Pretor was sent with a fleet to defend the associats. And for asmuch as there was no imminent peril from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Consuls should go into their Provinces. *Domitius* took his journey, and went the neereſt way by *Ariminum*, and *Quintius* came into the Boians countrey by the way of *Liguria*. And these two Consuls armies in divers quarters, wasted all abroad the enemies countrey. At the first some few of their Gentlemen and Horsemen, together with their Captains; afterwards, all those of Senators calling; and last of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worship, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Consul. K

Likewise in both *Spains* that year the affairs went prosperously: for not only *C. Flaminius* won by force of mantelets and engins of battery the rich and strong Town *Litabrum*, and took prisoner alive their Lord *Corribilo* a noble Prince, but also *M. Fulvius* the Pro-consul fought with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worse; and won by assault two Towns of the Spaniards *Vescelia* and *Holone*, with many other fortresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Oretans countrey, & there having gotten two towns, * *Noliba* and *Cusibi*, he set forward and marched to the river *Tagus*. In that quarter there flood * *Toletum* a small City but strongly seated: whiles he assaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Vectons to aid the Toletans, with whom he fought a set field, and won the day, and having defeated the Vectons, he forced the Toletans with engins of battery, and won the Town. I

* or Nabilia.
* Toledo.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing trombled the LL. of the Senate so much as the expectation of the war, which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and enterprised. For albeit they had ever and anon certain advertisements and intelligences of all things by their Embassadors, yet many flying tales and headless bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting less as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, so soon as he was come into *Ætolia*, would presently put over a fleet into *Sicily*. Whereupon the Senate, notwithstanding they had sent *Attilius* the Pretor with a fleet into *Greece* yet forasmuch as there was need not of forces only but also of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they sent over *T. Quintius*, *Cn. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius*, as Embassadors into *Greece*, and gave order that *M. Fabius* should advance his legions out of the countrey of the Brutians, toward *Tarentum* and *Brundusium*, that from thence if need required, he might sail over into *Macedonia*. Moreover, That *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should put out a fleet of thirty sail, for the defence of the coast of *Sicily* and that the Admiral thereof should have full commission there to command (now *L. Oppius Salinator*, who the former year had been one of the Ædiles of the Commons, had the conduct of those ships.) Also, that the same Pretor should address his letters unto *L. Valerius* his Colleague, and advertised him that it was to be feared, that the armado of King *Antiochus* would cross over out of *Ætolia* into *Sicily*; and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that he should take up and enrol into that army which he had already, of tumultuary souldiers 12000 footmen, and 400 horse, by whose means he might defend that coast of the Province which looketh toward *Greece*. For the levy of these forces, the Pretor took musters not only in *Sicily*, but also in the Isles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garrisons all the Towns upon the Sea side which lie toward *Greece*. Those rumours aforesaid were fed still and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that King *Antiochus* was passed over *Hellespontus* with an army: and that the Ætolians were in that forwardness, that they would be prest and ready in arms against his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his absence, as to *Attalus* there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges born for his diet and house-keeping. Moreover, there were given him as presents, two great horses of service, two pair of horsemens armors, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight; and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound. N O

And for asmuch as messengers one after another advertised and gave warning, that war was at hand: it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Consuls should be chosen in all convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senat, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Consul, to certifie him of the Senats pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenants, and return himself unto *Rome*, and in his way send out his writs aforehand for the publishing of an assembly general

A general for the election of Consuls. The Consul obeied these letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came to *Rome*. In this year also great ambition there was, and much suit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, who the former year had the repulse, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The Consulship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deserred only, and not fully denied to so worthy a personage. His adjunct companion in government was *M. Acilius Glabrio*, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *A. Cornel. Mammula*, *C. Livius*, & *L. Oppius*, both surnamed *Salinator*. This *Oppius* was he that had the conduct into *Sicily* of a fleet of thirty sail. Mean while that these new Magistrats cast lots for the
B government of their Provinces, *M. Bæbius* was commanded to pass over with all his power from *Brundusium* into *Epirus*, and to keep his forces about *Apollonia*. And M. *Fulvius* the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galeaces called Quinqueremes, of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verily the people of *Rome* was provided against all enterprises and attempts of King *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying war: but assaulted with great force the Town of *Gytheum*; and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending a garrison to aid the besieged Townsmen, he forraged and wasted their country. The Achæans durst not go in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*, and until they might know the pleasure and will of the Senat: but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published
C a Diet and general Councel at *Sicyone*, and also sent their Embassadors to *Quintius* for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintius* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans. Now when the States there assembled in councel were distracted, some persisting still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him unto whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what *Philopœmenes* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time, and in those dayes surpassed all other in wisedome and authority. Then he rose up and used this preface and said, "That it was a good "custome among the Ætolians, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all "consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion: and therefore willed them of their
D "selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, "faith he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly: yea, and indevor, so far forth as mans policy may reach unto, that they shal not repent of their "resolution, be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any perswasive Oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. *Philopœmenes*, besides that *Quintius* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend *Gytheum*: but
E fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delaies, and left not only *Gytheum* should be lost, but the garrison also miscary, which was sent to the defence of the war, he set aflote and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to empeach any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Brigantins or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans. And to make proof and tryal of these new vessels how swift and nimble they were, and withal to see how all things else were well fitted for a battail, if need were; he made every day certain shews and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and souldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing that herein principally consisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders and Captains of that time in Land service, either for experience and practise, or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander far within the main, and ignorant besides of all forein forces, but that he had born arms and served a little in *Candy*, whiles he had the leading there, of some auxiliaries. One old Gally there was a Quadrireme, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as she caried *Nicæa* the wife of *Craterus* from *Naupactum* to *Corineth*. And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed she had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleet) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and ready to fall in pieces, to be shot into the Sea from out of the Bay of *Argium*. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein *Tiso* of *Patræ*, a Captain General of a fleet was aboord; and encountred the ships of the Laconians, making sail from *Gytheum*. And at the first she chanced to affront and run against a new strong ship, and being old of her self, leaking and taking water at every joynt, she was rent asunder and fell apieces. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet having lost their captainess fled as fast as possibly their oars could make speed and away. *Philopœmenes* himself was in a light foist-frigot or pink, and fled amain, and never staied until he was arrived at *Patræ*. This mishap nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this martial warrior, who had run through many and sundry adventures: but contrary-wise wrought this effect, that he assured himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worse in service at Sea, wherein,

he had no skill, he would so much the rather quit himself so upon the Land (where he had such H
experience and was so ready) as that the Tyrant should not long joy and make boast of his winnings. *Nabis* puffed up with pride of his fortunat victory, and perswading himself assuredly that he had no cause to fear any more danger from the Sea, purposed likewise to stop up all the avenues and passages by Land; and therefore beset all the wayes betimes with strong guards, which he bestowed in convenient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the siege of *Gythium*, he encamped before *Pleræ*. This is a place that overlooketh and commandeth *Leuca* and *Acra*, by which wayes it seemed that the enemies would make their approach with their army. Whiles he kept a standing camp there, and few of his souldiers were provided of tents and pavilions, and the rest of the common sort had made them cabins of reeds, wound and interlaced one within another, and the same covered with leaves only to give them some shade; *Philopœmen* I devised, before that he were discovered and came in sight of the enemies, to assail them at unwares and not looking for his coming, after a new fashion of war that they little doubted. Certain small crayes or boats he got together into a secret blind bay, lying within the territory of *Argos*: in which he bestowed certain souldiers nimbly appointed, most of them having round bucklers, with slings, darts, and such like offensive light weapons. From thence he coasted along the River neer the shore, until he was come to the promontory or cape adjoyning close to the enemies camp: then he went aland, and by known wayes he came by night unto *Pleræ*: and whiles the watch was fast asleep, as mistrusting no such fear neer hand, he set fire upon the cabins aforesaid in every quarter of the camp. Many men were consumed with the fire before they wist that the enemy was come: and they that were ware of them, had no means to help and save their fel- K
lows: so with fire and sword all went to wrack. Some very few escaped out of this extremity of danger, and fled to the main camp before *Gythæum*. Thus *Philopœmenes* having discomfited and frighted his enemies, led his army forth with to wast *Tripolis* in the territory of *Laconia*, bounding fast upon the confines of the Megalopolitans: and having driven from thence great prizes of men and cattel, he departed before that the Tyrant could send any guards from thence for the defence of the Countrey. And when he had gathered and assembled his army at *Tegea*, and published and made known unto the Achæi and other Allies, a Diet or general councel to be holden there, whereat also were the chief States of the Epirots and Acarnanians: he determined (for as much as both the hearts of his own people were sufficiently recovered after the disgrace and shameful dishonor received at Sea; and also the courages of his enemies well cooled and they affrighted) L
to lead his forces against *Lacedæmon*: supposing that, that only means to draw the enemy away from the siege of *Gythæum*. And first he encamped before *Caria* within the enemies ground. But that very day was *Gythæum* forced by the enemies and won. *Philopœmenes* nothing ware thereof set forward, and encamped neer *Barbosthenes*, a mountain ten miles from *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* also, having gained *Gythæum*, departed from thence with his army lightly appointed; and marching apace beyond *Lacedæmon*, seized upon a place, called, The Camp of *Pyrrhus*: which he made no doubt but that the enemies intended to be possessed of. And then from thence he went to meet them. Now by reason of the narrow way, they took up in their march almost five miles of ground in length. At the tail of the army were the horsemen, and
especially where the Auxiliaries marched: because *Philopœmenes* thought, that the tyrant would M
charge his men behind with his mercenary souldiers, in whom he repосed his greatest trust. Two things fell out contrary to his expectation at once, which troubled him much: the one was, that the place was gotten by the enemies before, which he intended to have seized upon for his own advantage: the other was, for that he saw the enemy affront his vanguard in a place so rough and rugged, that without the guard of his light-armed souldiers, he could not possibly march forward and advance his Ensigns. Now *Philopœmenes* had a singular dexterity and skill, yea, and great experience in leading an army, and in making choice of his ground either to pitch or fight: and not only in time of war, but also in peace, he busied his head and employed himself principally therein. His manner was, when he rode forth any whither and was come to a streight passage hard to pass through, to look every way, and diligently to view and consider N
the situation and posture of the place on all sides: and if he were alone, to cast about and advise with himself; but if there were any in his company, to aske their advice in this wise: What if the enemy appeared and shewed himself in that place: How if he came affront or aslunk on this or that side; nay, How if he should charge upon our back, what were best to be done? It may be the enemies will encounter us directly ranged in battail array: it may be they march disorderly and loosly, minding nothing else but their way, and to travail on. Thus I say, would he either devise with himself or seek advice of other, what place he were best to seize for his own purpose and commodity: also what number of armed men he should need to employ; or what kind of armour and weapons were needful to use (for therein also lay no small importance.) Moreover, where he should bestow his carriages? where he should lay his baggage? and O
where he should place and dispose of the multitude that were not meet to bear arms? what strength and what manner of guard was needful for their defence? and whether it were more expedient to go forward still the way that he was entred into, or better to go back again as he came? likewise, what ground was meet to be chosen for to pitch his camp upon? what compass and space were necessary to be taken up for the fortification of the place? from whence he might have convenient watering? from what quarter he might be best provided of fodder and fewel?

Finally,

A Finally, against the morrow, which way were safest to remove the camp? and what form and manner of march were best? In these courses and discourses, he had from his childhood so inured and exercised his spirits, that he was never to seek what to do upon any such suddain occasion or occurrent presented unto him. And now at this present, seeing his enemies so neer, first and formost he made a stand with his vanguard; then he sent out toward the formost ensigns, his auxiliary Candiots that came to aid him, and those horsemen which they call Tarentin, whose manner is to have with them, two horses apiece; and then commanding his own men of arms to follow after, he possessed himself of a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodiously: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there he bestowed all the pages and horse-boyes, and followers of the camp, whom he environed also with armed men: and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his B
camp. But to pitch pavilions in a craggie, rugged, and uneven ground he found much ado. Now were the enemies about half a mile off: and at one and the same rivulet they watered both, with the guard of their light armed souldiers: but before that they could scuffle and skirmish together (as commonly they do when the camps stand so neer one to another) the night overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brook for water: and therefore in the night season he bestowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targeteers as possibly the place would contain and hide. When day-light was come, the light armed Candiots and those Tarentin horsemen (of both sides) entred into skirmish upon the very banks of the brook. *Letemnastius* the Candiot had the leading C
of his country-men; *Lycortas* the Megapolitan commanded the light horse. The Candiots, who likewise were auxiaries and aid-souldiers to the enemies, and the same sort also of the Tarentin horsemen, guarded those that came to water for them. Doubtful was the skirmish for a good while (as being managed and maintained of the one side and the other by men of one Nation, and those furnished with the same kind of weapons) but those that were for the Tyrant, were more in number than the other. And by reason that *Philopœmenes* had given charge and direction to the Captains, after they had held skirmish a while, to seem to retreat and flie, thereby to train the enemy into the aforesaid place of ambush, they followed hard in chase upon them as they fled along within the valley, and most of them were either slain or wounded before they saw the enemies hidden there within. Now those targeteers aforesaid, were set in that D
order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might easily receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces between their ranks and files. Then at once they arose, fresh in heart, and ordred in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, disbanded, loose, scattered, weary with travel, and faint of their wounds. Then was it out of doubt and past all peradventure where the victory went: for presently the Tyrant souldiers turned their backs, fled a good deal faster than they made pursuit before, and were beaten into their camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had been put in affright also within the camp, but that *Philopœmenes* commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, and the disadvantage and difficulties thereof, in case he had rashly ventured forward any farther, than he did the enemy. Then he, taking his conjecture by the issue of the E
fight, and guessing by the nature of *Nabis* the General, in what fear and fright he might be, sent unto him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, counterfeiting himself to be a renegate revolt, to inform him assuredly, that the Achæans determined the next day to march as far as to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth hard by the walls of *Lacedæmon*, for to stop the passage, that neither the Tyrant might retire himself into the City when he would, nor any munition or victuals be caried from thence into the camp: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and assay if they could sollicite any of the citizens to revolt from the Tyrant. This counterfeit carried himself so in this errand, that the Tyrant believed not so much his words, as took hold thereby of a good pretence and honest occasion for to quit and abandon the camp: and therefore the next morrow, he commanded *Pythagoras*, with the auxiliary souldiers and the horsemen, to keep a good guard about F
the trench and enclosure of the camp: himself in person with the strength of his army, marched as it were to a battail, and commanded to advance forward the ensigns in all haste toward the City.

* *Philopœmenes* perceiving that the army marched so fast through the narrow passage down the hill, put forth all his own horsemen and the auxiliary Candiots, against the guards of the enemies that warded before the camp. They, seeing the enemies to approach and themselves forsaken of their own fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole army of the Achæans advancing against them in order of battail, fearing that they and their tents should be at once surprised, made apace after their own host which was gone a good way before. With that, the targetiers of the Achæans assailed the camp, entred upon it, and ransacked the tents, whiles the rest went forward and pursued the enemies. The way was G
such, as that an army at liberty and free from fear of enemies, might hardly and with much ado rid any ground and march without encumbrance: but so soon as the skirmish began in the tail of the rereward, and the noise and cry of them affrighted behind was heard in the vanguard: every man made shift for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way: and ere one could turn about, all the wayes were strewd and choaked up with armour and weapons, and especially with darts or javelins, which lighting for the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a staked or empalled palaissade to hinder their passage.

* or rather *Philopœmen.*

Philo-

Philopœmenes having given commandment to his light armed aid-souldiers to presse forward still, and to follow the chase as fast as they could (knowing well that the horsemen would have much ado and trouble in their flight) conducted himself the main army and heavily charged by a more open way to the River *Eurotas*: where he encamped himself a little before the going down of the sun, and there he staied for his light appointed souldiers, whom he had sent to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the first watch, brought word, that the Tyrant with some few was entred into the City, but the unarmed multitude were dispersed, and wandred all about the forrest and the woods. Then he willed them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himself chose out of all the souldiers besides (who because they were come fast into the camp, had well heartned themselves with taking their refection and some small sleep) certain elect and special men, and took them forth immediatly with him, having about them nothing but their swords, and set them in good order to keep two port-waies, by which men go to *Pheræ* and *Earl-osthenes*, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived. For the Lacedæmonians, so long as the day light lasted, had withdrawn themselves to the middle of the forrest, through by-lanes and blind paths: but when the night was once come, and that they descried lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves aloof over-against them within close and secret lanes: and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safety and security, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forlaied them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners; insomuch as scarce one fourth part of their whole army escaped. *Philopœmenes* having shut up the tyrant close within the City, spent almost thirty daies consequently ensuing, in wasting and spoiling the territory of the Laconians: and when he had thus weakned and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the Achæans held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman General for glorious deeds of arms, nay, in the service of the Laconian war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achæans and the tyrant, the Roman Embassadors, who carefully and diligently visited the Cities of the Allies, for fear left the Ætolians had alienated any of their affections from them to King *Antiochus* travelled but little in going about to the Achæans, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped verily to be fast and faithful enough unto them in all other things. And first they came to *Athens*, from thence to *Chalcis*, and so into *Thessaly*: and after they had conferred with the Thessalians in a frequent councel of theirs, they turned their way to *Demetrias*, where there was published a solemn Diet to be holden by the Magnetes. Where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places, because certain of their great men and Potentats were estranged from the Romans, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the Ætolians. The reason was this; because when news came that *Philip* his son, who was left hostage with the Romans, should be rendred again unto him, and likewise thetribut remitted which had been imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths it was reported, That the Romans would redeliver *Demetrias* also into his hands. And rather than that should come to pass, *Eurylochus* (a principal and chief man among the Magnesians) and some others of that faction, desired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the Ætolians and *Antiochus*. To these Magnesians, they were to couch and place their words to, in ridding them of that fooliſh vain fear which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put *Philip* clean beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the Romans; considering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all respects, than were the Magnesians, put all together. Thus much only they said by way of advertisement, That as all *Greece* generally was much beholden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, so that City and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garrison of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but also the King had built him a royal palace, to seat himself there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, their Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpose was all this, in case the Ætolians brought *Antiochus* in his stead to make his resiance in the house and palace of *Philip*; and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, so long a time and so well known. The soveraign Magistrat of that City, they call *Magnetarches*; and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himself big and stout of his high place, said plainly, That he knew no cause, why either he or the Magnesians should suppress and smother the rumour that ran so rife touching the delivery of *Demetrias* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the Magnesians were to oppose themselves, yea, to do and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement heat of speech he went so far, that inconsiderately he cast out one word and said, That *Demetrias* seemed free in outward shew and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this speech there arose a dissonant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, whiles some soothed him up, others were offended, and took it in great despight, that he should presume to utter and speak so much. And *Quintius* was in such an heat of choler therewith, that stretching forth his hands to Heaven, he called the Gods to witness this ingratitude and disloialty of the Magnesians. At whose words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chief, a man at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable port that he ever caried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he always stood firm and free "to

"to the Roman side, besought *Quintius* and the rest of the Embassadors with tears, Not to impute the folly of one man to the whole City, for every man is to bear his own burden, and as he hath brued, so to drink, and abide the smart of his own scratching. As for the Magnesians (saith he) they acknowledge to owe unto *T. Quintius* and the people of *Rome*, not only their freedom, but all other things else that are most deer and precious unto men. Neither could a man pray or wish at the hands of the immortal Gods for any thing, which the Magnesians had not received by their means: and sooner would they like frantick persons pluck the very heart out of their own bellies, yea, and tear themselves in peeces, before they would violate and break the amity which they had with the Romans. This speech of his was followed and seconded with the humble prayers of the multitude. *Eurylochus* departed out of the assembly, and through by-wayes and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled streight into *Ætolia*. For now by this time, and every day more than other, the Ætolians discovered and shewed themselves how they were affected to revolt. And happily at the same time, *Thoas*, a principal personage of that Nation, whom they had sent as Embassador to King *Antiochus*, was newly returned, and brought with him *Menippus* the Kings Embassador, Who, before they had audience given them in a councel assembled for them, had filled every mans ears and blabbed forth, what forces were prepared both for Land and Sea, what a mighty power was coming both of foot and horse, how Elephants were sent for out of *India* and above all (wherewith they thought the minds of the people would be most moved) That there was such a mass of gold brought, as would buy all the Romans out and out. It was easy to see what trouble and broil such language might make in the general diet and assembly. For the Roman Embassadors had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to do any good, yet *Quintius* thought it not amiss, that some Embassadors from the allies and associate Cities should be present at that Councel, such as might admonish and put the Ætolians in mind of the Roman alliance and society, and not stick to speak their minds franckly, yea, and thwart the King his Embassador. The Athenians of all other were thought the meetest men for that purpose, both in regard of the authority and reputation of their City, and also for the ancient league between them and the Ætolians. So *Quintius* requested them to send their Embassadors to the Parliament. When the assembly was met, and the Councel set, *Thoas* first declared his embassage: and after him was *Menippus* called in, who being entred in place, spake in this manner: "It had been (qd. he) the best course for all them that inhabit both *Greece* and *Asia*, that *Antiochus* had intermedled in these affairs, during the upright fortune and entire estate of *Philip*: then, every man had enjoyed his own, and all had not been reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under subjection of the Romans. And even yet (quoth he) in case ye persist still in the same mind, and purpose resolutely to accomplish and finish these your designs and commenced enterprises, possible it is by the favor and help of the Gods, and by the means of the Ætolian association that *Antiochus* may recover the State of *Greece*, crased as it is, and much broken, and bring it again to her first fresh hue, to her lively and lightsome lustre, which consisteth in true liberty, even that which is able to stand alone and maintain it self, and dependeth not upon the will and pleasure of others. The Athenians, who first (after the Kings embassage was delivered) had audience given them and liberty to speak their mind, without making any mention at all of the King, "Admonished the Ætolians of the Roman society, and put them in mind of the favors and good turns done "by *Quintius* to all *Greece* in general: adviſing them to take heed, that without discretion they "overthrew not the welfare thereof, by running rashly and too soon into a new world of strange "courses and fine devices: for hot, hasty, and heady counsels are at the first sight and entertainment, pleasant and amiable; in the handling and managing, hard and difficult; in the end and "issue, heavy and dangerous. Consider how the Roman Embassadors, and namely, *Quintius* among them, are not far off: and whiles things stand in good terms of integrity, it were better to "treat and debate of matters in question and doubt, by words and reasons, than to set all *Asia* and "*Europe* together to take arms and to make lamentable and deadly war one upon another. The multitude desirous of a change enclined altogether, and were wholly devote to *Antiochus*, being of opinion, that the Roman Embassadors were not to be admitted into the Councel: but the more grave and ancient persons of the nobility and states-men, obtained thus much by vertue of their authority. That they should have audience granted unto them. And when the Athenians had made relation of this decree and conclusion passed, *Quintius* was of mind to go into *Ætolia*: for this accompt he made, either to obtain somewhat that he came for, or else to have all Gods and men to bear him witness, that the Romans would enter into the action of war justly and in manner upon constraint and necessity. "*Quintius* being thither come, began at first to discourse be"fore the whole assembly, as touching the society of the Ætolians with the Romans, and how "often they had broken for their parts the faithful accord between them: and when he had so "said, he used a brief speech concerning the right of those Cities that were in question. And if they "thought that they had any law and reason of their side, how much better (quoth he) were it to "send Embassadors to *Rome*, either to argue and expostulate the matter with them, or to demand "their advice (whether they would themselves) than to cause the people of *Rome* to make war "with *Antiochus* & the Ætolians together, not without great trouble of the whole world & certain ruin of all *Greece*? For none should feel the smart & calamity of this war sooner than they "that are the very causes therof & began first. Thus spake the Roman Embass., by way of prophesy, but

but in vain and to no effect. After him *Thoas* and the reſt of that faction, were heard with the general applauſe of all: and they effected ſo much, that without any farther proroguing of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yea, and without ſtaying ſo long until the Romans were out of the place and abſent, they concluded to make a decree, by vertue whereof *Antiochus*, ſhould be ſent for to affranchiſe *Greece*, and to decide the quarrel between the Romans and the Ætolians. This decree was not ſo proud and inſolent, but *Damocritus* their Pretor accompanied it with as arrogant and reproachful a frump of his own. For when *Quintius* required of him to ſee the ſaid decree, he without any reſpect of the honorable perſonage of the man, made anſwer, That for the preſent time he had ſomwhat elſe to do of greater importance; but he would give him the decree and an anſwer withal ſhortly, and that within *Italy*, encamped upon the bank of *Tyberis*. So great a ſpirit of ſenſeleſs folly in thoſe dayes had poſſeſſed the nation of the Ætolians, and their chief Magiſtrats! Then *Quintius* and the delegats returned to *Corimh*.

After the Romans were diſmiſſed, the Ætolians held no more general councel of the whole Nation, becauſe they would make ſemblance and ſeem to do nothing of themſelves as touching the cauſe and queſtion of *Antiochus*, but ſit ſtill and expect the coming of the King. Mary, they treated and debated the matter by their *Apocleti* (for ſo they call their ſpecial and privy Councel which conſiſteth of certain elect choſen perſons) by what means there might be an alteration and change in the affairs of *Greece*. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and State, the chief and the beſt men generally were for the aſſociation of the Romans, and contented themſelves with the preſent condition wherein they ſtood: but the multitude and thoſe who had not all things to fall out to their own good liking, were deſirous of a change. And one day above the reſt, the Ætolians entred into a deſignment and plot, which was not only out of all meaſure audacious, but alſo moſt ſhameleſs, namely, to ſurpriſe and poſſeſs themſelves of *Demetrias*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedemon*. And to each of theſe Cities there was ſent one of their principal perſonages, namely, *Thoas* to *Chalcis*; *Alexamenus* to *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to *Demetrias*. This *Diocles* had the help and aſſiſtance of *Eurylochus* a baniſhed man (of whoſe flying away, and the occaſion thereof we have ſpoken before) who otherwiſe had no hope at all to return again into his native countrey. The kinſfolk and friends of *Eurylochus* and the reſt of that faction, upon inſtructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to preſent themſelves in the frequent aſſembly of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poor array, and vailed after the manner of humble ſuppliants, there to beſeech them all and ſome, not to ſuffer him a guiltleſs perſon, neither convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and ſimple men ſeemed to be touched with pity and commiſeration. The wicked and ſeditious perſons conceived ſome hope to make a confuſion in the State by theſe Ætolian troubles: inſo much as every one was of opinion and gave his voice, that he ſhould be reſtored and ſent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horſemen (for then was he the Captain of the Cavalry) took his journey, under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this baniſhed perſon his hoſt and good friend; and in one day and night travelled a mighty great journey, and came within ſix miles of the City. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the reſt of the horſemen to follow after. When he approached the gate, he cauſed them all to alight on foot and to lead their horſes in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, reſembling travailers and waifaring men, ſo as they ſeemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain *Diocles*, than to the men of arms and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for feat leſt the horſemen behind might be ſhut out, he led *Eurylochus* by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the City and the market place home to his houſe: and all the way he was met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. Anon the whole City was full of horſemen, and all places of opportunity and advantage were ſeized and poſſeſſed by them. Which done, divers were ſent to maſſacre the chief of the adverſe part in their houſes. Thus the Ætolians became maſters of *Demetrias*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they deviſed in no hand to force the City, but by ſome wile to entrap and ſurpriſe the tyrant. For ſeeing the Romans had deſpoiled him of all his Sea coaſt Towns: and the Achæans driven him within the walls of *Lacedemon*, there was no doubt, but who ſo ever could firſt take his life from him, ſhould cary away all the thanks, and curry eſpecial favor with the Lacedæmonians. Good occaſion and pretence they had to ſend unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for ſome aids, conſidering that by their advice and perſwaſion he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexamenus* a thouſand footmen, and thirty elect horſemen, drawn out of all the flour of the City. *Damocritus* the Pretor delivered unto them from the privy councel of that nation (of which we have before ſpoken) "That they "ſhould not believe that they were to be employed in war againſt the Achæans, or in any other "ſervice, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged "them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatſoever ſuddain deſignment *Alexamenus* upon the preſent occaſion ſhould happen to attempt, were it never ſo unlooked for, ſtrange, "inconſiderate, and audacious: and to reſt upon this, That they were ſent with him to accompliſh that, and for no other purpoſe. Thus *Alexamenus* with the conduct of theſe men thus prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no ſooner was he arrived, but he poſſeſſed him preſently with a world of hopes: giving to underſtand, "That *Antiochus* was already paſſed over "into *Europe*: that ſhortly he would be in *Greece*, and over-ſpred all ſeas and lands with his armies and armados; that the Romans ſhould full well know and find, that they have not now to deal with ſuch an one as *Philip*; that the numbers of his foot and horſes by land can not be counted, nor his ſhips at Sea numbred; that the battail of his Elephants at the very fight will decide the matter and finiſh the war. Moreover, that the Ætolians with all their forces, were ready and preſt to come to Lacedæmon; (as need required) at any time: but indeed, deſirous they were to ſhew and muſter before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed ſouldiers. *Nabis* therefore himſelf ſhould do very well, not to ſuffer thoſe forces which he had, to decay with long repoſe and idleneſs, but bring them forth and train them abroad, make them to ruin in their armour thereby both to whet and ſharpen their courages, and alſo to exerciſe and inure their bodies: for by uſe and cuſtome, the labour will be lighter; and by the courteſy and graciouſnes of their General, not without delight and pleaſure. Hereupon, they began to iſſue out of the City, and oftentimes went into the plain lying hand by the River *Eurotas*. They or the tyrants guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward: and himſelf with three horſemen at the utmoſt (with whom *Alexamenus* for the moſt part was) uſed ordinarily to ride before the enſigns, taking ſurvey and viewing the utmoſt points and wings of the army. The Ætolians were placed in the right wing, as well thoſe that came before to aid the tyrant, as thoſe thouſand that were newly arrived with *Alexamenus*. Now had *Alexamenus* taken a cuſtome, one while to tourney as it were amongſt the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to inſtruct him in ſome matters ſounding to his commodity: otherwiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and ſoon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of ſomewhat neceſſary to be done. But upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he had ridden forth with the tyrant to the uſual place, and kept him company a while; he took occaſion (as his manner was) to make a ſtep aſide to his own ſouldiers; and then he went in hand with thoſe horſemen which were ſent with him from out of *Ætolia*, and ſaid thus unto them: "Now ſirs, you muſt adventure and execute that luſtily and without delay which you were com-"manded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not ſlack "and idle to exploit that, which ye ſhall ſee me to undertake and enterprife. And look whoſoever "he be that either ſtandeth ſtill, or wil ſeem to argue and interpoſe his own wit and advice to croſs "mine, let him make account, he ſhall never go home again to his own countrey. With that he ſet them all a quakling, for well they remembred what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horſeback from the left wing: Then *Alexamenus* commanded his horſemen to couch their lances down, and to have their eye upon him. He alſo aſſeried himſelf to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunted at firſt with the cogitation of ſo great a deſignment that he had projected. When he was now approached and come neer the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horſe, and overthrew himſelf to the ground. He was not ſo ſoon unhorſed and laid along, but the horſemen ſtabbed him with many a thruſt; whereof the moſt part did no harm, conſidering they were driven againſt his corſlet: but in the end, they found where his body was naked and unarmed, ſo he gave his laſt gaſp before he could be reſcued by his guard in the main battail aforeſaid. Then *Alexamenus* taking with him all the Ætolians, made all the haſt he could to poſſeſs himſelf of the royal place. The Penſioners and Squires of the body, ſeeing this murder done before their eyes were at firſt mightily affrighted: but afterwards perceiving the army of the Ætolians to go their wayes and depart, they ran to the breathleſs carkaſe left among them and of men that ſhould have guarded his body and revenged his death, they became a ſort of idle gazers and lookers on. And ſurely there would not a man have once ſtirred, in caſe the multitude had immediatly been called to an aſſembly; and if after arms laid down, they had been entertained by him with ſome Oration or Remonſtrances framed according to the time. The Ætolians were kept many together, in arms ſtill, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one perſon. But all things that they did, haſtened the ſpeedy ruin and deſtruction of thoſe that had committed this fact: as it could not otherwiſe be in falſe treaſon, but they ſhould ſo be ſerved, who had plaid ſolewd and treacherous a part. The Captain and Ring-leader of all this miſchief kept him ſelf cloſe ſhut within the royal palace, ſpending both night and day in rifling and ſearching the Tyrants coffers and his treaſury. And the Ætolians for their part alſo fell to ranſacking as if they had won that City by aſſault, which they made countenance and ſemblance to ſet free. The indignity of theſe their pranks, the contempt withal and ſmall regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedemonians to gather together and conſult of the matter. Some were of opinion and ſaid, That the Ætolians were to be thruſt out by the head and ſhoulders, and to be ſent away with a miſchief, and their own liberty to be recovered, which under a colour of being reſtored, was intercepted and taken from them: others adviſed and ſaid, that for faſhion at leaſt wiſe, ſome one of royal blood ſhould be ſet up for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and ſtem one *Laconicus* a young Child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horſeback, and then they took arms with all ſpeed, and as many Ætolians as they could light upon, wandring here and there in the ſtreets, they ran upon and hewed in peeces. Then they aſſaulted the palace, where they alſo murdered *Alexamenus*, albeit with ſome few about him he made reſiſtance and defended himſelf. The reſt of the Ætolians gathered together about *Chalcioecos* (which is a Chappel of *Diana* made of braſs) and there likewiſe they were maſſacred. A few of them flang

flang away their weapons and fled, some escaped to *Tegea*, and others to * *Megalopolis*: where being apprehended by the Magistrats, they were sold in port-sale, to them that would offer most. *Philopœmenes* hearing of the Tyrants death, went to *Lacedæmon*, where he found all things out of order and in confusion by reason of fear. And having called forth the principal & chief citizens, he used unto them such a speech, as indeed *Alexamenus* should have made, and thereby knit the Lacedæmonians in league and alliance with the Achæans: which he effected the sooner, because it chanced even then, that *Attilius* was come before * *Gythæum* with four and twenty gallies of five banks of oars on a side.

* Leontario, or Londario.

* Cabo de Papa, or Palcopoli.

About the same time, *Thoas* had not so good speed before *Chalcis*; by means of *Euthymidas*, a great and chief man of the City (one, who by the might and stronger hand of those that sided with the Romans, had been expelled the City after the coming of *T. Quintius* and the Embassadors or Delegats) and also of *Herodotus* of *Canus*, a Merchant and a man that in regard of his wealth and riches bare a great side in *Chalcis*: *Thoas*, I say, sped not so well by their means, notwithstanding that the suppositis and part-takers of *Euthymidas* were well disposed to betray the Town; as *Eurylochus* did in the surprising and seizing of *Demetrias*. This *Euthymidas* from *Athens* (for there he had made choice to dwell) first came to *Thebes*, and so from thence went forward to *Salganea*. *Herodotus* abode at *Thronium*, and not far from thence within the gulf of *Malea*, he had 2000 footmen, and *Thoas* two hundred horsemen, and about thirty light Caravels. Which *Herodotus* was commanded to set over into the Island *Atalanta* with six hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the Land-forces to approach *Aulis* and *Euripus*, he might cut over to *Chalcis*. As for themselves, they conducted the rest of the forces in all the hast they could, and most by night journies marched unto *Chalcis*. *Micio* and *Xenoclides* (who had the manaiging of the affairs in *Chalcis*, and might do all in all there, now that *Euthymidas* was banished) remained in *Chalcis*, and whether they mistrusted somewhat themselves, or had some inkling and intelligence of the matter, I wot not, but affraid they were at first, and had no other hope at all but by flight to save themselves: howbeit afterwards when their fear was well allaied and settled, seeing evidently, that not only their own countrey was betraied, but also the Roman society abandoned, they plotted in this wise, and entred into a course as followeth.

It fortuned at the very same time, that a solemn anniversary sacrifice was celebrated at *Eretria* to the honour of *Diana Amarynthis*: to which solemnity there resorted not only the inhabitants of those places neer at hand, but also a number of Carystians. Thither they sent certain Orators, to request and entreat the Eretrians and Carystians, both to take some pity of their estate, considering they were born in the same Island, and also to have some regard to the alliance of the Romans, and not suffer *Chalcis* to fall into the hands of the Ætolians: who no doubt, if they might get *Chalcis*, would not be long ere they had *Eubœa* too. Sirly Lords (say they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the Ætolians would be much more unsupportable. These Cities were principally respective to the Romans, whose vertue and proweſs in war, whose justice and bounty in victory they had lately experience of, and therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth and sent them. The Townsmen of *Chalcis* having committed the guard of their walls to these, went forth themselves with all their forces passed over *Euripus*, and encamped neer *Salganea*. From which place they sent first an herald, and after him Embassadors to the Ætolians, to demand of them, Wherein they had so offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends should come to molest and assail them so by way of hostility? To whom *Thoas* the General of the Ætolians made this answer, That they were not come to annoy and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their servitude under the Romans. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed, but far heavier, than at what time as they had the garrison of the Macedonians within their Castle. The Chalcidians replied again and inferred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garrison of any. And thus the Embassadors departed from the parly, and returned to their own people. *Thoas* and the Ætolians, whose whole and only hope was to come upon them on a suddain and surprise them at unawares returned home again as they came, being not able to maintain open war, nor to assail a City so well fortified both by sea and land. *Euthymidas* being advertised that his country-men lay in camp at *Salganea* and that the Ætolians were dislodged and gone, retired himself also from *Thebes* to *Athens*.

* Talandi.

And *Herodotus* likewise, after he had wistly and with great longing, expected from * *Atalanta* certain daies together, to see some signal (but in vain) sent out a pinnace or brigantine, to know what the cause might be of such stay: and understanding that the enterprise was given over by his complices and fellows in the complot, he returned to *Thronium* from whence he came.

Quintius likewise having intelligence of these occurrents, as he sailed with his fleet from *Corinth*, encountred *Eumenes* in *Euripus* neer *Chalcis*. And thought good it was betweem them that *Eumenes* the King should leave at *Chalcis* five hundred souldiers in garrison, and himself go directly to *Athens*: and *Quintius* kept on his way to * *Demetrias* whither he intended, supposing, that the deliverance of *Chalcis* would make somewhat to induce the Magnesians to embrace again the society of the Romans. And to the end that those persons in *Demetrias* who sided with him might have some forces for their defence, he wrote unto *Eunemus* the Pretor of the Thessalians, to put the youth in arms: and he sent *Villius* before unto *Demetrias* to sound their affections, not minding otherwise to give the attempt, unless some part of them enclined to respect the ancient society. *Villius* entred the mouth of the haven with a five banked Galleace. Thither ran the

* Divitiacus.

A the whole multitude flocking unto him. And *Villius* demanded of them whither they had rather that he came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom *Emylochus* the *Magnetarches*, answered, that he was come unto his friends: but he willed to him forbear the haven, and suffer the Magnesians to be at peace and liberty, and to beware that under a pretence of parle, he did not sollicit and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no farther talk and speech between them but plain debate and altercation whiles *Villius* the Roman blamed and challenged the Magnesians, as unthankfull persons, and forewarned them of the miseries and calamities that hung over their heads; and again the multitude cried out aloud, and accused as well the Senat as *Quintius*. Thus *Villius* without doing any good, returned to *Quintius*. But *Quintius* having dispatched a messen-

B ger to the Pretor, that he should reduce home his forces, retired himself again by sea to *Corinth*.

The affairs of *Greece* thus interlaced and blended with the Roman, have carried me away as it were out of my lists: not for that they were so necessary and important to be written, but only because they were materiall to the cause of the war against *Antiochus*. After the Consuls were elect (for there I began my digression) *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Consuls went into their several provincer, *Quintius* in *Liguria*, and *Domitius* against the Boii. As for the Boii, they held themselves quiet, yea, and the whole body of their Senat with their children, their captains also with their Cavalry, to the number in all of fifteen hundred, yeelded themselves to the Consul. But the territory of the Ligurians was overrun and walted, and some fortresses won: whereby not only there were prizes got of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also diverse captives, as well citizens as allies were recovered out of the enemies hand. This very year a Colony was planted at *Vibo*,

C by an act of Senat and Commons: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The Triumvirs, who had the placing of them, were *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. Every footman was endued with fifteen acres of land, and the horsemen with twice as much. It was a territory held last in the tenure of the Brutians, and they had conquered it first from the *Greeks*.

About the same time, there hapned at *Rome* two most fearfull accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endured eight and thirty daies. All which time, the lawfteed or vacation from all courts of law and civill causes, continued in great fear and pensiveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden

D for three daies. As for the other, it was not a vain fear, but a very loss indeed that touched many men: for there began a scarfire in the beast Market, and continued a day and a night, burning many houses standing on the *Tyber* side; and all the shops and ware-houses, with merchandise of great price, were consumed. Now was the year well drawing to an end, and daily more and more the bruit and rumor of the war with *Antiochus* encreased: and like wise the care that the LL. of the Senat had therof. And therefore they began to treat as concerning the Provinces of the Magistrats elect, to the end, that all of them might be more circumspect and intentive to their charges. So a decree passed, that the Consuls should have the governance of *Italy*, by name, and also to go whithersoever the Senat should please to dispose of them: and all men knew wel enough, that the war against *Antiochus* was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that he whose lot it was to manage

E that war, should have the conduct of four thousand footmen of Roman Citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides six thousand allies of the Latine nation, and four hundred horsemen. *L. Quintius* the Consul was appointed to take musters for those souldiers, that there should be no stay, but that the new Consul might immediatly put himself in his journey, to what expedition soever the Senat thought good. *Item*, It was decreed as concerning the Provinces of the Pretors, in this manner: namely, That the first lot should assign the double jurisdiction, civill and forreign, as well among Citizens as strangers: the second should concern the Brutians: the third, the navy, and the same to sail whithersoever the Senat would appoint: the fourth for *Sicily*: the

F fift for *Sardinia*: the sixt for the nether *Spain*. Over and besides *L. Quintius* the Consul was commanded to enroll two new legions of Roman Citizens, besides twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen of allies of the Latine nation: and this army they set out for the Pretor, who was to govern the Brutii. Two chappels that year were dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*: the one of them *L. Furius*, *Purpureo* vowed in the Gauls war, as Pretor; the other when he was Consul: and *Q. Martius Ralla* the Daumvir, dedicated them. This year there passed many sharp and grievous sentences and judgements upon usurers: against whom (being privat men) *M. Tuccius* and *P. Junius Brutus* the two Ædiles of the chair, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a chariot with four wheels, guilded; and set up it was in the Capitoll in the cabinet of *Jupiter* above the top of his shrine: likewise twelve buckleis guilded. The same Ædiles also, caused the porch or gallery to be made without the gate *Tergemina*, among the carpenters.

G As the Romans were wholly amused upon preparation for this new war, so *Antiochus* for his part sat not still: three Cities there were which kept him back and checked his progresse, to wit. *Smyrna*, *Alexandria* in *Troas*, and *Lampsacus*; the which they never could to that day force by assault, or draw in to amity with any condition whatsoever; and to leave them behind in those terms, when she should in proper person passe over into *Europe*, he was not willing. Somewhat [illegible] was impeached by a consultation as touching *Annibal*. For as first he was staid and hindered [illegible] of the open ships which he intended to send with him into *Affrick*. And afterward [illegible] was into his head by *Thoas* the Ætolian especially, and question moved, whether

ther it was good simply to send him thither at all, or no? This *Thoas*, when *Greece* was all in an H
hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that *Demetrius* would be in their power and at their
devotion. And like as with his leasings touching the King, in multiplying and magnifying his for-
ces; he had brought many of the *Greeks* into a fools paradise, even so also after the same manner he
ceased not to feed the King with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him beleeve as all men
wished for him with all their hearts, and would run by heaps to the sea strand, to meet him so soon
as they could ken his fleet under sail. This self-same man was so bold also as to alter the Kings mind
"as touching *Annibal*, which seemed before resolved and setled. For he perswaded him that the
"Kings navy was not to be dismembred, and part therefore to be sent away; and if he were to
"make out any of the ships from the rest, yet *Annibal* of all other was not to have the conduct
"thereof, a banished person and a Carthaginian; who was like enough to be of many minds, & I
"to change a thousand times in a day, such was his present condition and fortune. & such was his
"nature and disposition. And as for that glorious name for martiall proweesse (which is the cause
"that *Annibal* is so much set by, and which recommendeth him as a speciall and singular gift to
"the world) it is too much, and far unfitting for any one captain under a King: and more meet it
"were that the King himself should be regarded and seen above all other, that the King, I say, and
"none but the King should be the leader, conducter and commander of all. Again, if *Annibal*
"chanced to miscary with a fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the losse would be accounted no
"more then if any other meaner captain had done it: but if the affairs should prosper and speed
"well, *Annibal* should go away with the honour, and not *Antiochus*. Moreover, say that fortune
"were so kind as to give *Antiochus* the upper hand of the Romans, and the entire victory over K
"them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that *Annibal* would be content to live under the
"King and subject to him alone, who hardly could brook and endure the command and soveraign-
"ty of the whole state wherein he was born? He hath not carried himself so, ever since his first
"youth, bearing amind to compasse the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age
"he can not abide to have a lord and a superior over him. To conclude: the King (quoth he)
"hath no such need of *Annibal* in this war, as to make him a commander: wel may he use him for
"a counseller, and so forth have him in his train and company; for some mean fruit and use of such
"a nature, cannot be cumbersome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reach-
"ed at, soon they may bear down and overcharge both the giver, and also the receiver. And no
"spirits are so ready to envy and malice others, as they whose birth and parentage, whose degree L
"and estate is not answerable to their hauty minds: and such commonly, as they hate the vertue,
"so they depresse the good of another. Hereupon their course of sending *Annibal* into *Africk*,
"was forthwith laid aside and clean cast behind, which was so well devised in the beginning of
"the war.

Antiochus bearing himself aloft now, principally for that *Demetrius* was revolted from the Ro-
mans unto the Ætolians, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voiage
into *Greece*. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to *Ilium* from the sea side
for to sacrifice to *Minerva*; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made sail with 40 close co-
vered and hatched ships, and 60 uncovered and undecked, and after those followed 200 vessels
of burden, charged and fraught with victuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all sorts. And first M
he fell with the Iland * *Imbros*: and from thence he cut over to *Seyathos*, where after he had tal-
lied his ships which had been scattered one from another in the wide and deep sea, he arrived at
Pteleum, the first town of the main and continent. Where *Eurylochus* the *Magnetarches*, [i.the
soveraign of *Magnesia*] and the principall citizens of the State, who were come from *Demetrius*,
met him and joyned with him; who rejoycing exceedingly to see so goodly a company of them
in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of *Demetrias*: and not far from thence
landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and
six Elephants: a small power (God wot) and unfficient to seize upon *Greece*, all naked and alone,
far shorter then to hold and maintain war with the Romans. After it was reported that *Anti-
ochus* was come to *Demetrias*, the Ætolians proclaimed a councell, wherein they made a decree N
to send for *Antiochus*. For now the King knowing that they would passe such an Act. was de-
parted from *Demetrias*, and had withdrawn himself to *Phalera* within the gulph of *Malea*: And
after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to *Lamia*, where he
was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, shouts, ac-
clamations, and others signs, whereby the multitude used to shew & testifie their great joy. When
they were assembled together and set in Councell, *Phaneas* the Pretor and other chief citizens
brought him solemnly in: where *Opea* made, thus the King began his speech, first excusing him-
self, in that he was come with a far smaller power then all men hoped or looked for. "And e-
"ven this (quoth he) may serve in stead of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding
"love and affection toward you, in that being so unprovided and unfurnished of all things, and O
"at a time so unseasonable for to sail, as too early to take the sea, I have not thought much but
"am willingly come at the call of their Embassadors: being thus assuredly perswaded, that the Æ-
"tolians seeing me once, will suppose that in me alone consisted all their hope and defence
"whatsoever. And yet I would accomplish I assure you, and satisfie to the full even your content-
ment also, whose expectation for the present may seem to have been disappointed: for soon as the
time

A "time of the year will serve, and the spring is once come, that the seas are navigable, I will o-
"verspread all *Greece* with men, horse, and munition; I will take up all the sea coasts with fleets,
"I will spare for no cost, no pain, no perill, until I have taken from their necks the heavy yoke of
"the Roman empire, set *Greece* free indeed, and the made the Ætolians the chief commanders
"therein. Nay, with mine armies besides shall come all kind of provision and furniture out of A-
sia. But for the present (saith he) the Ætolians must see & take order, that my people may be served
with corn and other victuals at a reasonable rate. To this effect when the King had spoken with
the great assent of all men, he departed. After the *Kings* departure, there rose some contention be-
tween two great men of the Ætolians, to wit, *Phaneas* and *Thoas*. *Phaneas* was of opinion, that
it was better policy to use *Antiochus* for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or
B arbitrator to decide the controversies between them & the Romans, rather then to be the General
of the war. For his very coming and majesty would be more effectuall then all his forces, to strike
some reverence in the Romans, and cause them to be respective unto him. For men oftentimes
yeeld and remit many things of themselves willingly, to avoid war, which they cannot be forced
unto by war and by arms, when they are once entred into action. *Thoas* inferred again and said,
that *Phaneas* spake not this for any desire & love to peace, but his meaning was to scatter and dis-
patch this furniture and preparation of war, for this intent, That by this tedious lingring, the Kings
courage might abate, and the Romans gain time to make themselves ready. For, that there was
no reason possibly to be gotten at the Romans hand, they had tried sufficiently by good experience,
in sending so many embassages to *Rome*, and in debating the matter so often with *Quintius*: nei-
C ther would they ever have fought unto *Antiochus* and craved his aid, if all their hope otherwise
had not been cut off and clean failed. And now since his helping hand is presented unto them
sooner then all men thought or looked for, they were not now to begin to faint and give over, but
rather to requeest and intreat the King, that since he was come himself in person (which was the
greatest matter of all) to set free and maintain *Greece*, he would send for forces both at sea and
land. For the King in arms, might peradventure obtein something: but disarmed if he were,
little or no reckning would the Romans make of him in the quarrell and question of the Ætoli-
ans, no, nor in his own affairs whensoever he should reason and debate thereof. And here went
the hare away. They all opened streightwaies to stile the King with the name of *Imperator*
D [*Emperour*] and they chose thirty of the chief personages to assist him in councell for all things
requisit. Thus the Diet was dissolved, and every man slipt away and retired to his own City.
The next day the King sat in a consultation with their Apocletes, in what place they should be-
gin the war. And it was thought best, first to assail the City of *Chalcis*, which lately the Ætolians
had assaied in vain. And for to effect this service, there was more expedition and speed required
then any other great forces and preparations. Hereupon the King set forward with 1000 foot-
men which followed him from *Demetrias*, and made by the way of *Phocis*: The Captains of the
also of the Ætolians, having levied some few companies of their youth took another way, and met
with him at *Charonea*, and followed with ten covered ships. The King encamped neer *Salganea*,
and himself in person with the chief of the Ætolians crossed the *Euripus*: and when he was land-
ed and not far gone from the haven, the Magistrats and chief men of *Chalcis* came forth without
E their gates, and some few of both sides met together for to parle. The Ætolians were earnest to
perswade with them, "That so far forth as they might without impeaching the Roman amity
"they would assume the King to be their allie and friend, for asmuch as he was passed into *Europe*
"not to make war, but to deliver *Greece*, and set it free in very deed, and not in word only and
"false semblance, as the Romans had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit
"of the Cities in *Greece*, then to entertain the society and fellowship of them both. For under the
"the defence and safegard of the one, they might be sure to guard themselves from the violence
"and outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the King, they were best to take heed
"and see what danger they presently incurred: considering the succours of the Romans to relieve
"them were so far off, and the forces of *Antiochus* their enemy to annoy them, so neer even at
F "their gates, whom of themselves with their own power they were not able to withstand. To
this, *Micio* one of their chief men made this answer: I marvell much (q. he) who they be, that
"*Antiochus* for to deliver and set free, hath taken the pains to leave his own Kingdome, and to
"passover into *Europe*. For mine own part, I know no City in *Greece*, that either hath Roman
"garrison, or payeth any tribute unto them, or is bound to unjust and unreasonable covenant, or
"endureth any hards laws and conditions against their wils: and therefore the Chalcidians have
"need of no person to restore them to freedome, since they be free already; nor yet of a gar-
"rison for their defence, considering that by the grace and favour of the same people of *Rome*, they
"enjoy peace and liberty already. As for the King, we refuse not his amity, nor yet reject
"we the friendship of the Ætolians. And we will take it for a speciall point of friendship that
G "they shall do us, if they gently will depart out of our Iland and be gone: For, as for us, we are re-
"solute in this, not to receive them within our wals, no, nor to contract with them any society,
"without the advice and consent of the Romans. When these matters were related to the King,
who stayed behind with the ships, he determined presently to return to *Demetrias*. for that he
was not come with such a power as to attempt any thing by force: where, seeing his first enterprise
came to nothing, he conferred with the Ætolians what was to be done next: & concluded it was, to
found the Achæans, & *Aminander* the King of the Athamans. They supposed that the nation of the

Bœotians was clean estranged and badly affected to the Romans ever since the death of *Barcillæ* and those troubles that ensued thereupon. They were perswaded also that *Philopœmenes* a great potentat, and principal leader of the Achæans, was both malicious and odious unto *Quintius* for emulation and jelousie of honour in the Laconian war. *Aminander* had espoused and taken to wife *Apamea* the daughter of one *Alexander* a Megapolitan, who vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two sons *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter *Apamea*; whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into *Athamania*. This *Philip* a vain-headed young man, the Ætolians and *Antiochus* had induced into a foolish hope (considering that for certain he was of the royall blood) toobtain the Kingdome of *Macedony*, if haply he could bring about to joyn *Aminander* and the Athamanians to *Antiochus*. And these vain conceits of great beheft wrought mightily not with *Philip* only, but also with *Aminander*.

Now in *Achæa* there was a councell holden at *Ægium*, and audience given there to the Embassadors of *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, before *T. Quintius*. Where the King his Embassador spake first, and being, (as all those commonly are, that have interteinment and maintenance of Kings) full of foolish babble, & making sea and land resound again with his vain prating and senseless words; set tale an end, and told them, what an infinit number on horsemen were passing over by *Hellespont* into *Europe*: whereof some of them were in compleat harnesse, armed at all peeces, whom they call *Cataphractis*: others were archers, and shot of horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing sure enough, who when their backs are turned, and their horses run away, shoot so much the more surely, and even point-plank. And albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of *Europe* if they were put together, yet he addedbesides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with namely a sort of strange nations, that scarcely had been heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the Ælymæans and Cadusians. But for his forces at sea, there was no bayes, "harbors, nor havens in all *Greece* able to receive them. The Sydonians and Tyrians (say they) "hold the right side, the Aradians, and the Sidets out of *Pamphylia* keep the left; nations for skill and valour at sea incomparable. As for money and other provision and furniture for the wars, "it were needlesse to discourse of, since they themselves knew well enough. that the realms of "*Asia* have alwaies flowed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were not "to deal with *Philip* nor with *Annibal*, the one a chief person among many others of a City; "and the other limited within the confines only of the kingdom of *Macedony*, but with thegreat "Monarch of all *Asia*, yea, and of some part of *Europe*. And yet he, as mighty a potentat as he is "(notwithstanding he is come to the utmost coasts and bounds of the Levant sea, to deliver and "and enfranchise *Greece*) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudicial to their fealty and allegeance to the Romans their first allies and associats: for he required not them to take arms with "him against them, but only not to intermeddle and take part: his seeking is, that (as behoveth "good friends and mediators betweenboth parties) they would all well and peace among them, "and not interpose themselves in a quarrel of war. *Archidamus* likewise the Embassador for the "Ætolians, requested in maner the same, that they would hold themselves quiet and in repose (a "thing most easy and safe for them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the issue "of others mens fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet hestaied not so, but proceeded so far and overshot himself so much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, one "while railing against the Romans in general, another while against *Quintius* in particular; calling them ungratefull and unthankfull persons, reproaching, upbraiding, and hitting them in the "teeth, how not only they had got the victory of *Philip*, but also saved themselves by the vertue "and velour of the Ætolians: and as for *Quintius*, he was to thank them and their means, as much "as his own life came to & the preservation of his army. For wherin at any time (qd. he) performed he the duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell "and in the camp, take the slight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like some "holy parish-priest or divining Prophet, whiles I my self was fain in his defence to expose and present my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To these challenges *Quintius* made answer "in this wise, (saying that *Archidamus* had more regard in whose presence he spake, then to whom "he directed all his speech: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valour of the Ætolians, "standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diets and "assemblies rather then seen in the field and battell; and therefore no marvell if he made so smal "reckning to speak unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were "with the maners and fashions of the Ætolians. But he hath besides vaunted and made great brags "before the King Embassadors, and in their person, before the King himself in absence. And if a "man had not known before, what it was, and had so knit and united *Antiochus* and the Ætolians together, he might perceive it evidently by the speeches of the Embassadors: for by exchanging "lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and "puffed up one another with vain hopes, whiles they tell and would make them beleeve, That "*Philip* by them was vanquished, That the Romans by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which erewhile ye heard: building castles in the air, to the end, that you & other states "and nations would side with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Embassadours) overspreadeth all with clouds of horsmen and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets and

"and armados. Now in faith this is mine host of *Chalcis* up and down, a friendly man I assure "you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertain his guests and bid "them welcome. And verily I can liken this maner of dealing to nothing better then to a supper "of his: We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not mid-"summer (when the daies are longest and the sun at the hottest) where he made us passing good "cheer, And as we wondred how as such a season of the year he met with that plenty of venison "and such variety withall; the man (nothing so vainglorious as these fellows here) smiled pleasantly upon us and said, we were welcome to a feast of a tame swine and no better: but well "fare a good cook my masters (qd. he) who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and "what with serving it up with divers sauces, hath made all this fair shew of wild flesh, and the "same of sundry sorts. This may fitly be applyed to the King his armes and forces: of which even "now so great boast was made. For these divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations never heard of before, to wit, the Dakes or Daheans (I wot not what to call them) the Medes, the "Cadusians, the Elimæans, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their base minds by nature, are much better to make a sort of slaves then a company of good souldiers. And would to "God (you my masters of *Achæa*) I could represent unto your eies the port and train of this great "King, when he ran from *Demetrias*, one while to *Lamia* to the councell of the Ætolians, & another while to *Chalcis*: you should see in the Kings camp hardly two prety legionets, & those but "lame ones neither and not well accomplished: you should see the King sometime as good as begging grain of the Ætolians, to measure out among his hungry souldiers: otherwhiles making "shift to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of *Chalcis*, "and anon shot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he had done nothing else but teen "*Aulis* and *Euripus*, returning fair into *Ætolia*. *Antiochus* (you see) hath yeelded but small belief "to the Ætolians, and the Ætolians have as litle trusted & relyed upon the vanity of the King. And "therefore the lesse should you be deceived by them, but rather repose your selves assuredly in, "the fidelity of the Romans so often tried, so often known and approved. For whereas they say "It is your best course not to be embarked and interessed in this war, I assure you, there is nothing "more vain then this, nay, nothing so hurtfull unto your estate. For you shall be a prize and prey to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintius* was thought by the Achæans to have spoken not impertinently, but to have answered them both, fully: and an easie matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough enclined to have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no question nor doubt at all, but that every man would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achæan nation, whom the Romans held for theirs: yea, and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce war both against *Antiochus* & the Ætolians. Moreover, according as *Quintius* thought good, they sent presently an aid of 500 souldiers to *Chalcis*, and of as many to *Pyræum*. For at *Athens* there had like to have been a sedition and mutiny, whiles some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for mony) to take part with *Antiochus* upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, untill such time as *Quintius* was sent for by them that took part with the Romans: in so much as *Apollodorus* (who gave counsell and perswaded to revolt) was accused by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verily the embassage returned from the Achæans to the King with present answer. The Bœotians delivered no certainty: this only was their answer, That when *Antiochus* himself was come in *Bœotia*, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do.

Antiochus being advertised, that both the Achæans and King *Eumenes* also had sent men for the defence of *Chalcis*, thought good to make hast, that his forces might not only prevent them, but also if it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, he sent *Menippus* with three thousand souldiers or thereabout, and *Polyxenidas* with his whole fleet. Himself a few daies after marched with six thousand of his own souldiers; and of that levy, which on a suddain might be gathered at *Lamia*, no great number of Ætolians. Those five hundred Achæans aforesaid, and the small aid that King *Eumenes* sent under the conduct of *Xenoclides* the Chalcidian, having safely passed *Euripus* before that the waies and passages were beset, arrived at *Chalcis*. The Romans also who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Menippus* encamped before *Salganea*, came to *Hermæum*, where is the passage out of *Bœotia* into the Iland of *Eubœa*. In their company was *Mikion* sent as Embassador from *Chalcis* to *Quintius*, for to crave some succour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the streights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of *Aulis*, turned to *Delium*, minding from thence to cut over into *Eubœa*. This *Delium* is a temple of *Apollo* situat upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from *Tanagra*, from whence there is a short cut (little more then a league) over an arm of the sea unto the next parts of *Eubœa*. In this Temple and sacred grove about it, so religious, so privileged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greeks call *Asyla*) and at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at least wise not so far proceeded, as that in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been sword drawn, or blood shed in any place. In this place, and at this time, I say, whiles the souldiers wandred at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple abovesaid and the grove, others walking upon the strand unarmed, and a great sort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forrage, and fewell) all on a suddain *Menippus* finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them and slew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few escaped, among whom

was *Mictio*, who got into a small vessel of merchandise. This occurent, as it troubled and disquieted *Quintius* and the Romans, for the losse of their souldiers, so it seemed much to cecease the right of their just quarell to make war upon *Antiochus*, *Antiochus* having advanced his army, and approached *Aulis*, after he had once again addressed Orators, partly of his own subjects, and partly Ætolians to *Chalcis*, for to follow those causes which of late he had commenced, but in more minatory terms, now prevailed easily, notwithstanding *Mictio* and *Xenoclides* laboured to the contrary, that the gates should be set open unto him. All those that were for the Romans, abandoned the City a little before the Kings coming. The souldiers of *Achæa* and King *Eumenes*, kept *Salganea*. The Rom. souldiers also (who were but few) fortified and made a sconce upon the water of *Euripus*, to be a defence for the passage. *Menippus* began to assail *Salganea*, and the King himself to set upon the fort of *Euripus* aforesaid. The Achæans and souldiers of *Eumenes* first grew to composition, and having capitulated to depart without any harm, quit the ir place of garrison. The Romans held out longer, and stoutly defended the hold of *Euripus*: but even they also being so streightly invested both by land & water, and seeing now the ordnance and engins of battery, brought and ready to be planted against them, would no longer endure the siege. When as now the King had possessed himself of the City of *Eubœa*, all the other Cities of that Island, refused not to submit and come under his subjection. And he thought he had made a good beginning and entrance in this war, in that so great an Island, and so many Cities commodiously seated, and of such importance, were reduced un der his obeisance.

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The six and thirtieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the six and thirtieth Book.

L MArcus Acilius Glabrio *the Consul, with the aid of King* Philip, *vanquished King* Antiochus, *neer to* Thermopylæ, *and drave him out of* Greece. *He also subdued the Ætolians*. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, *the Consul (reputed and judged by the Senat, the best man in the City) dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himself had brought into the* Palatium. *He also when he had overcome the Boians, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Over and besides, here are set down the prosperous battels fought at sea, against the admirals and captains of King* Antiochus.

The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

M SO soon as *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cnæus*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the two Consuls were entred into their magistracy the LL. of the Senat enjoined them (before any speech & question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custom was for the more part of the year to celebrat the solemnity of Lectisterns, and to make their praiers in this maner, That whereas the Senat intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to blesse and happily conduct the same to the good and publick weal of the Senat and people of *Rome*. All those sacrifices proved good and as they ought to be: even the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortunat successe, and shewed apparent signs that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the soothsayers and bowel-priers, out of their learning, answered, It was evident, that by this war the bounds and limits of the Roman empire N should be extended, and that both victory and triumph was foresignified. These answers being reported, and mens minds setled, and their consciences resolved of all scruples as concerning the gods, then the LL. of the Senat granted out an order, that a bill should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this form: P*leaseth it you, and is it your will, that war should be enterprized against* Antiochus, *and all that take his part? And if this bill passe and be granted, are ye pleased, that the Consuls, if they think so good, refer the whole matter unto the Senat to take order for the managing thereof accordingly?* P. *Cornelius* propounded this bill, and the people accepted therof. Whereupon the Senat set down a decree that the Consuls should cast lots for the government of *Italy* and *Greece*: and that he whose hap it was to govern *Greece*, (should (over and above that number of souldiers, which *L. Quintius* by authority and commission from the Senat had for that province O either enrolled or levied) receive that army also which *M. Bæbius* the Pretor caused to passe over the year before into *Macedony*, by vertue of an order from the Senat, in that behalf enacted. And license he had, if need so required, to take up aid-souldiers from among the allies without *Italy*, so as he exceeded not the number af five thousand. Also agreed it was, that *L. Quintius* the Consul of the year before, should be deputed lord-General for that war. As for the other Consul, unto whom had been allotted the charge of *Italy*, he was commanded to levy war against the

Boians

A Boians and to their choice, whether army he had rather have of those two which the former Consuls conducted: and when he had received one, to send the other to *Rome*, that those legions of Citizens should be in readiness for to be sent whither it pleased the Senat. This order being taken in the Senat, as touching the appointment and assignation of those provinces, then it was thought good that the new Consuls shall cast lots for their governments. To *Acilius* befel *Greece*, and *Italy* to *Cornelius*. After this by a speciall lot there passed an act of the Senat, That whereas the people of *Rome* had ordeined to wage war at that time against King *Antiochus*, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be solemnized. Also that the Consul *M. Acilius* should conceive and make a vow to *Jupiter*, for to celebrat the great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every altar. This vow was by him pronounced in this form of words, according as *P. Licinius* the Arch-Priest endited and prompted unto him. *If that* B *war which the people hath determined to be enterprised and made against King* Antiochus, *shall be performed according to the mind and contentment of the Senat and people of* Rome, *then shall the people of* Rome *celebrate unto thy honour, O* Jupiter, *the great Games for the space of ten daies together, and oblations shall be brought to every Altar, of that price and amounting to that sum which the Senat shall ordain and set down. And what Magistrats soever shall exhibit those Games, or in what place, yea, and at what time soever they shall be represented, the same Games shall be held for good, and reputed as well done, yea, and the offrings accepted as rightly presented.* After this, there was published and proclaimed by both Coss. a supplication for the space of 2 daies. When the Coss. had cast lots for the parting of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the same for their provinces. To *M. Junius Brutus* fell both the jurisdictions, as well of C Citizens as aliens. *A. Cornel. Mammula* had the charge of the Brutii, *M. Æmylius Lepidus* of *Sicily*, and *L. Oppius Salinator* of *Sardinia*. *C. Levius Salinator* was L. Admiral of the navy, and *L. Æmylius Paulus* governor of the nether *Spain*. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Unto *A. Cornelius* were assigned the new souldiers which the former year *L. Quintius* the Consul, by vertue of an Act of the Senat, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keep in order all that tract and coast about *Tarentum* and *Brundusium*. As for *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who was to take a voiage into the farther *Spain*, he was allowed (besides the army which he was to receive of *M. Fulvius* the Pro-Pretor) to have the conduct of three thousand new souldiers footmen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of Roman Citizens. The supply was D sent unto *C. Flaminius* into the higher *Spain*, whose commission was renewed for to have the command there still. *M. Æmylius Lepidus* had commandment to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the army, at the hands of *L. Valerius*, whom he was to succeed; and if he thought so good, to keep with him in the Province *L. Valerius*, in quality and and place of a Vice-Pretor: and so to divide the province, that the one part should reach from *Agrigentum* to *Pachinus*: the other half from *Pachinus* to *Tyndarium*: also that *L. Valerius* should defend the sea-coasts and the river with a fleet of twenty Gallies. The same Pretor aforesaid was to levy and gather a double tenth of corn, and to take order for the convoy thereof to the sea, and so to be embarked and transported into *Greece*. The like commission had *L. Opimius*, to exact E and take another tenth in *Sardinia*: but that grain was to be brought to *Rome*, and not to be carried over into *Greece*. *C. Livius* the Pretor and Admiral of the navy, was appointed with 300 sail ready rigged and trimmed, to sail into *Greece* with all speed, and to receive the ships that *Acilius* had: likewise to repair, rigge and furnish the old vessels that rid in the habors, or lay at one side up in docks. *M. Junius* the Pretor his charge was, to levy marriners and rowers from among the libertins, for to serve that Armado. And there were sent Embassadors into *Africk* to *Carthage*, and into *Numidia*, three into either part, for to seek and purvey corn to be sent into *Greece*, for which the people of *Rome* would make present payment. And so wholly imployed was the City to prepare and take order for this war, that *P. Cornelius* the Consul published an Edict, that no Senators, or any that had authority to give their opinion in the Senat, neither any inferior Magi- F strats, should take any journey out of the City, farther then they might have return again the same day: *Item*, that there should not be five Senators absent at once from *Rome*.

C. Livius the Pretor, whiles he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his fleet, was empeached and hindred a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose between him and the Coloners of the sea-side. For when they should be gathered and sent to sea, they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the Senat: and the Senat with one voice and accord pronounced and determined, that these Coloners were not exempted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretor about their immunity were these, *Hostia*, *Fregena*, *Castrum novum*, *Pyrgi*, *Antium*, *Tarracina*, *Minturnæ* and *Sinuessa*.

G This done, the Consul *Acilius* by order from the Senat, consulted with the colledg of the Fecials or Heralds at arms, and demanded their advice, Whether the war should be proclaimed and defiance given to *Antiochus* himself in person; or it were sufficient, to intimat and denounce the same to some one of his garrisons? Also whether they would advise to proclaim war against the Ætolians apart by themselves: or whether it were not meet and convenient first to disclaim and renounce their society and friendship, and then to proclaim and denounce hostility? The Feetals answered, that heretofore they had determined and cleered this point, at what time as

their

their opinon was touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter, H whether the defiance were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garrisons of his. And as for the Ætolians, this was their mind, that they had quit already their amity, and abandoned all society, in that when our Embassadors so oftentimes had redemanded amends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make restitution or satisfaction. Moreover, the Ætolians had themselves sent defiance first and proclaimed war against the Romans, when as by forcethey seized *Demetrias* a City of our allies, and advanced before *Chalcis*, to assail it both by land and sea; and lastly, in that they had sollicited King *Antiochus* and brought him into *Europe*, for to levy war against the Romans. All things now being sufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Consul published an edict and proclaimed, That all those souldiers whom *L. Quintius* had enrolled, likewise all those whom he had levied of the allies of the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his I province, likewise all the Colonels and Marshals of the second and third legion, should render themselves, and be ready altogether at *Brundusium* upon the * Ides of *May* following. Himself upon the * fifth day before the Nones of the same month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the same time the Pretors also took their journies into their severall provinces.

* 15 *May*.
* 3 *May*.

Much about that time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from two Kings, to wit, *Philip* of *Macedony*, and *Ptolomæe* King of *Ægypt*; promising their aid of men, money, and corn for that war. And besides from *Ptolomæus* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound of silver: howbeit nothing was received, but much thanks rendred to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offred to come with all their power into *Ætolia*, and to be there in person, *Ptolomæe* was discharged of that offer of his, but the Embassadors of K *Philip* received this answer, That he should highly please and content the people of *Rome*, in case he would not fail the Consul *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embassadors from the Carthaginians and *Masanissa*. The Carthaginians made promise of * a thousand Modii of Wheat, and of Barley five hundred thousand for the army, and likewise to bring half so much to *Rome*; praying the Romans to accept the same at their hands as a free gift and gratuity: adding moreover, that they would man out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready also to make one entire payment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by sundry terms of many years. The Embassadors of *Masanissa*, promised in the behalf of their King, to send five hundred thousand Modii of wheat, 300000 of barley into *Greece* to the army, besides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto *M. Acilius* the Cos. As touching the corn, this answer was returned L unto them, that they were content to accept thereof, so that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the fleet aforesaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them clean, save as many ships as they were to find and provide according to the tenor of the accord and composition between them. Last of all, concerning the tribut mony, none would they receive before the day.

*36000 pound sterling, after angel touch. *60000 pound sterl.

* I suppose that here wanteth the multiplicant number, viz. 100 For it is not answerable to the proportion of the rest that followeth, nor to the magnificence of so great estate, to send some thirty quarters of wheat, who heretofore allowed a hundred times as much, and yet, the same proportion of barley which now at this present is set down.

Whiles the affairs passed thus at *Rome*, *Antiochus* being at *Chalcis*, because he would not sit still and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himself sollicited (by sending Embassadors) the minds of the States, and partly also there came unto him Embassadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the Epirots presented themselves by the common consent of their whole nation, and the Eleans also came out of *Peloponnesus*. They of *Elis* craved aid against the M Achæans, who (they verily thought) would take arms against their City, because war was denounced against *Antiochus* nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were sent 1000 footmen under the leading of *Euphanes* the Cretensian. The embassage of the Epirots, plaid with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and simply with no side, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but so, as they stood "in good terms still with the Romans, whom they were loth to offend. For their request to him "was, that he would not draw them without great and important cause into the quarrell, consi- "dering that they for the defence of all *Greece* lay open and exposed to *Italy*, and were sure before "others to feel the Romans fingers, and receive their first assaults. But in case he were able of "himself with his forces by land and sea to defend *Epirus*, and furnish it with garrisons sufficient, N "they would with heart and good will accept of him and his into their Cities & port-towns: but "if so be he could not effect that, they besought him not to offer them, naked and unarmed men, "to the violence of the Roman wars. Their drift was in that embassie (as it appeared) that if the King and his forces came not into *Epirus* (as they rather thought nay then yea) they might reserve themselves and all they had, safe, entire, and at their own liberty for the Roman armies, and win withall the Kings good grace in that they seemed to make an offer to deceive him: or if any came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find favours, and have pardon at the Romans hands, in that they had not expected their succours being so far off, but rather yeelded to the forces of *Antiochus* being present there in person. In such sort they carried themselves in their embassage so perplexed and intricat, that the King knew not well how to answer them readily: but said, that O he would send his own Embassadors unto them for to parle and treat of all affairs perteining in common as well to them as to him. Then went he himself into *Bœotia*, which countrey in colour and shew pretended these causes of anger and spight against the Romans, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of *Barcillas*, and the armies by *Quintius* levied against *Coronea*, occasioned by a massacre commited upon Roman souldiers: but in very truth this was the reason. The singular discipline and order of that nation in old time, was going downward and endlong many

A many years and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and ruin, which cannot possibly continue long without some change and alteration of State. Well, to *Thebes* he came, where all the principal and chief Stats of *Bœotia* came flocking from all parts to meet him: Where in the General Diet and Councell of that Nation (not withstanding he had founded the battell, and began the fray already by giving the first blow, in that he had forced the Roman garrison neer *Delium* and *Chalcis*, which were no small signs nor doubtfull overtures of war, yet he began with the same kind of speech he first used in the parle and conference at *Chalcis*, and which his Embassadors had followed in the general assembly of the Achæans, namely, demanding that they would enter into amity with him, without professing themselves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hottility against them. But there was no man there but soon found him and saw him wel enough: howbeit there passed an act and decree in favour of the King against the B Romans, under a vain and slight pretext and colourable shew of words. Having gained this nation also, he returned to *Chalcis*, from thence he sent out his letters before unto the States of the Ætolians, that they should meet him in *Demetrias*, where he would confer and consult with them of all their affairs to be managed; and thither came he by sea at the day appointed. *Aminander* also was sent for out of *Athamania* to this consultation, yea, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian (whose counsel was not required a long time) was present at this frequent Diet and Assembly. Much parle and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Thessalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they should be sounded how they stood affected: but about the maner and some circumstance thereof, they were of divers minds, while some advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter season (considering now they were in the mids thereof) unto the prime and beginning of spring: others again said, that Embassadors C only should be sent: and some hot-spurs there were, that gave counsell to go against them with all their forces, yea, and to fright and terrifie them if they made slow hall. Now when all the knot and difficulty of this deliberation consisteth in one point, *Annibal* was requested by name to deliver his mind and speak to the cause in question: who turned the King and all that were present from other wandring cogitations, and induced them to the entire consideration of the total war; and to this effect framed his speech in this wise. "If since the time that we passed over The speech of "into *Greece*, my hap had been to be called to any councell, when as some question was touching *Annibal*. "*Eubœa*, the Achæans and the Bœotians, I had delivered that advice then, which now I pur- "pole to utter this day in the question concerning the Thessalians. Above all things my counsell is, D "that *Philip* and the Macedonians may by all means possible be wrought to this our association "in the war. For as touching *Eubœa*, the Bœotians and the Thessalians, who doubteth, but that "they (as nations that stand upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themselves) will alwaies flatter them that are present in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the same fear "that they ever shew when they are to take counsell and resolve? who doubteth (I say) but so "soon as they shal see the Roman army in *Greece*, they will to turn to their accustomed obedience, "and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were so far off, they "were not willing to try the force of you (a puissant Prince in person among them) or of your armies? How much rather ought we then, nay, how much better and more important would it "be, to joyn *Philip* unto us then these? For if he once enter into the cause and be seen in action, he "can not possibly start from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth E "that power with him, which is not to be held for a simple succour & addition to mend our forces, "but such as lately of it self without the help of others, was able to make head against the Roman "puissance. Let me have this prince on my side, and (be it spoken without offence of any man here) "what need I doubt of the sequel & issue? especially when those, by whose means & assistance the "Romans prevailed against *Philip*, I see now ready to enter the field against them? The Ætolians "(I say) who as all the world knoweth vanquished *Philip*, shall now together with *Philip*, enter "into arms and fight against them. Over and besides, *Aminander* and the whole nation of the Athamans (whose service in the war, next to the Ætolians, stood the Romans in best stead) shall "be on our side, *Philip* at that time (O King *Antiochus*) susteined the fight and burden of the whole "war, when you sat still and stirred not: now both of you together, two most mighty monarchs, F "with the puissance of all *Asia* and *Europe*, shall wage war against one City and people, which (to "speak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers daies was not able to "make their part good with one only King of the Epirots: how hardy soever they will be when "they shal be matched with you both together. But what moved me to think, yea, and assured me, "that *Philip* may be won unto us to joyn in this action? One thing is this, a common good and be- "nefit even the greatest bond that is of society: and yet there is anothers besides it, namely, an "inducement proceeding from you that be here of *Ætolia*: for *Thoas* your Embassador (who "(is present in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledg for to animat & and move "*Antiochus* to come into *Greece*, evermore assured him of this principally, and vowed that *Philip* "grumbled, bit the lip and freted, that under the colour and shew of peace, there were imposed G upon him hard conditions of servitude and slavery. And he verily, I mean *Thoas*, set out the fell anger of the King, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beast bound with "chains, or being enclosed in some cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if "he be disposed thus, and of that courage, let us burst his bonds asunder, let us (I say) force open "his iron cage, that his rage pent up so long may now break out upon the common enemies. And

suppose

"suppose that our embassage effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that H
"if we cannot work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band
"with our enemies. Your son *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, who shal not so soon with those forces
"which he hath about him, begin to invade and wast (by the way of *Thracia*) the confines of Ma-
"cedony, but he shal withdraw and turn *Philip* clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to
"the defence especially of his own. Thus have you heard mine advice as touching *Philip*: now for
"the whole course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was, you have not been ignorant
"of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waies, and my counsell had been
"taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*,
"nor of the forcing and winning of a little pile upon *Euripus*; but they had heard by this, that all
* *Lombardy.* "the coast of the Ligurians and of the * Cisalpine Gauls was up in arms and on a light fire of war; I
"and (which would have feared and frighted them most) that *Annibal* was in *Italy*. And (now
"things standing as they do) my advice is, that you send for all your forces both by land and sea.
"Let your carriks and hulks with victuals and provision follow after your armado & ships of war.
"For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martiall exploits, so we are too many,
"considering our smal store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together,
"divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of *Corcyra*, to impeach the Ro-
"mans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to sail unto that
"coast of *Italy* which looketh toward *Sardinia* and *Africk*. Your self in proper person, with all
"your land army shall march onward into the territory of the Bylliones: thence shall ye have good
"means for the defence of *Greece*, as making the Romans beleeve, that your are upon the point K
"to pass the seas, yea, and being ready indeed to crosse over if need should require. This gene-
"rally is my counsell; mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war,
"so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby,
"as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever design-
"ment I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithfull and forward in
"the execution thereof: and the gods approve and blesse that course, which your self shall think
"the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of *Annibal* directed; which all that were
in place and heard it, rather praised for the present, then put in practise and effected afterwards.
For no one thing was done of all that he had said, save only *Antiochus* sent *Polyxenidas* for a navy
and army out of *Asia*; yes, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diets of the L
Thessalians. And a day was appointed for the Ætolians and *Aminander* to meet the army at *Phe-*
ræ, whither King *Antiochus* came streight after with his power. And whiles he staied there, ex-
pecting *Aminander* and the Ætolians, he sent out one *Philip* a Megapolitan, with two thousand men
to gather out the bones and reliques of the Macedonians about *Cynoscephalæ*, where the war with
Philip was determined, and the quarrel decided by a famous battell: were it that therein he fol-
lowed his own head and took a conceit, thereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the
Macedonian Nation, and to bring the King into obloquie and disgrace, because he left his souldiers
unburied: or that, as it is the vein (or vanity rather) engrafted in Kings by kind, he set his mind
and busied his spirits in matters, for apparence gay and goodly, but in effect fond & foolish. There
he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay scat- M
tering and strewed here and there: a thing no doubt) that the Macedonians conned him no thank
for, and which *Philip* (you may be sure) took in foul scorn and malicious disdain. And therfore
Philip, who at that time minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as she en-
clined now, sent to *Marcus Bœbius* the Vice-Pretor, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded
Thessalie, and if it pleased him to stir out of his winter habour, he would meet him, that they might
confer both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Phera*, where *Aminander* and the Ætolians had
joyned with him, there came Embassadors from *Larissa*, expostulating, Wherein the Thessalians
had so offended either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war? and N
withall beseeching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought a-
gainst them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well ap-
pointed, under the governance of *Hippolochus*, to lie there in garison, who because they could not
pass thither, by reason that all the avenues were seized and kept by the Kings forces, returned to
Scotussa. As for the Embassadors of the Larissæans, the King made them a gracious answer, and said,
That he was entred into *Thessaly*, not by way of hostility to distresse them, but in friendly man-
ner to maintain and establish the freedome of the Thessalians. Likewise he sent an Embassador to
Phera, to signifie so much to them and in the same terms. But the Pheræans giving him no an-
swer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one *Pasiphanes*, a principal man
of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to those, that had been O
in the like case alledged and laid forth in the behalf and name of the Chalcidians, in that Coun-
cell holden neer the streights of *Euripus*, and besides, uttered something else with more bold-
nesse and courage; the King dismissed him, after he had willed them to consider more of the
matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsell which anon they would repent,
whiles they sought to be too wary, provident, and forcasting the future time. When this em-
bassage was related at *Phera*, the Citizens took no long time to deliberat, but soon resolved in
the maintenance of their faith and loialty to the Romans for to undergo whatsoever hazard
the

A the fortune of war should present unto them. Whereupon both they addressed themselves to
defend the City with all their might, and also the King began to assault and batter the wals on all
parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the issue of the
siege of that City which he first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, ei-
ther to make him despised ever after, or feared and dread of the Thessalians, therefore he terrified
the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all means possible that he could devise. The
first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully; but afterwards seeing many of the defendants were
either overturned and slain, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quail: yet re-
claimed by the rebukes and chastisements of their captains and leaders, and animated by their ef-
fectuall exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution, they quit the utmost compass
B of their wall (seeing a what default they were for want of men) and retired themselves more in-
ward into the City, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a mure and less cir-
cuit and compass then the other. At the length, overcome with travell and calamities, and fear-
ing that if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercy nor pardon with
the conqueror, they yeelded themselves. The King following the train of victory, delaied no
time, but whiles the fright was fresh, sent four thousand armed men presently to *Scotussa*, where
the townsmen made no stay, but rendred the town and themselves incontinently, having before
their eies the fresh bleeding example of the Pheræans, who tamed by mere force and wofull mi-
series, were compelled to do that at last which they obstinately refused at the first. Together with
the City it self was surrendred also *Hippolochus* and the Larisæan garrison under his hand. All of
C them the King sent away without any hurt or violence offred unto their persons: for he thought
thereby to win the hearts and love of the Larisæans. Having accomplished these exploits within
ten daies after his first coming to *Phera*, he marched towards *Crano* with all his army, and at his
first coming won it. Then he regained and seized *Cyprera* and *Metropolis*, and the borroughs &
forts about them: so as now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except
Atrax and *Gyrto*. Then he determined to assail *Larissa*, supposing, that either upon the fearfull
tercour of other Cities forced, or in regard of his demerit in dismissing the garrison so courteous-
ly, or by the present example of so many Cities yeelded unto him, they would not long persist in
their obstinacy. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in
D fort as the hearts of many of the Larisæans waved in doubtfull suspence, between forced fear of
present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the Athamans, became ma-
ster of *Pelinæum*. *Menippas* also with three thousand Ætolian footmen and two hundred horse
went to *Perrhæbia*, won *Mallæa* and *Cyretia* by assault, and wasted the territory of *Tripolis*. Ha-
ving performed these exploits with great expedition, and celerity, they returned to *Larissa* unto
the King, and arrived even then when as the King was in consultation what to do with *Larissa*:
for the councell was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly,
and not to defer and assail the Cities wals with fabricks and engins of battery on all sides at once:
alledging that the town being situated in a plain towards the champain field side, might be ap-
E proached unto with ease and invested every way. Others again inferred one while, that there was
no comparison between the strength of this City and of *Phera*: other while, that it was now winter
time, and a season of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all other for the siege and
assault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equall ballance of hope and despair, the Embas-
sadors of *Pharsalus* arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to surrender up their town, revived
his spirits and mightily comforted his heart.

M. Bœbius in this mean while having parlied and conferred with *Philip* in the Dassaretians
country, sent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the succour and defence
of *Larissa*; who passed through *Macedony*, and by long journies came to the top of those hills
that command *Gonni*. Now this *Gonni* is a town twenty miles distant from *Larissa*, seated just
F in the very streights of that forrest and pasle called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit
of ground to encamp in, then was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in shew then
need was for that company, gave semblance unto the enemie (which was the thing he aimed at)
that all the Roman forces were there, together with King *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore
preteuding unto his army, that the unseasonable winter that approached, after he had stayed one
only day before *Larissa*, dislodged, and thence departed, and so returned to *Demetrias*. The Æ-
tolians likewise and Athamanians repaired to their own countries.

Appius, albeit he saw that the siege was levied (which was the only cause of his coming) yet
down he went to *Larissa* to encourage and confirm the hearts of the allies against the time to
come. And a two-fold joy there was, both because the enemies were gone and had quit their coun-
G try, and also for that they saw the Roman garrison within their wals. King *Antiochus* departed
from *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in fancy and love with a damsell of that City, daughter
of *Cleoptolemus* a Chalcidian. Now after he made means to the maidens father first by intercel-
sion of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own person with earnest
requests by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himself, in match-
ing her so high above his own calling) at length so overcame the man, that he obteined his desire:
and as if it had been a time of settled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to consummate and cele-

brat

brat the marriage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affairs so important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of *Greece*, he passed away the rest of the winter in feasts and bankets, and in those delights and pleasures, which ordinarily (you wot well) follow upon the liberall drinking of wine; yea, and when he had thereby rather wearied his body then fulfilled his appetite, he gave himself to sleep without compasse. The like riot and loose life took hold of the rest of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in *Baotia* especially, such as commanded the garrisons. Nay, the very souldiers were let loose and given over to take voluptuous waies, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch, attend the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a souldier. And therefore at the beginning of the spring, when he was come by *Phocis* and *Cheronea* to the *Rendez-vous*, where he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he soon perceived that the souldiers had spent the winter as licentiously as their leaders, and kept no better order and streighter discipline. Then he commanded *Alexander* the Acarnanian, and *Menippus* the Macedonian, to lead the army to *Stratus*, a town in *Ætolia*. Himself having done sacrifice at *Delphi* to the honour of *Apollo* went forward to *Naupactum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Ætolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lysimachia*, he encountred his own forces aforesaid, that came by the gulf of *Malea*. Where *Menesilochus*, a Principal Acarnanian, but wrought and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himself won that nation to take part, & to side with the King, but also had drawn to his own mind and affection *Clitus* their Pretor, who at that time had the soveraign rule there, and might do all in all. He seeing that the Leucadians (who are the chief of all the Acarnanians) could not be easily induced nor brought to revolt, for the awe wherein they stood of the Roman fleet, which either was with *Atilius*, or about *Cephalenia*, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall Councell, that the inland parts of *Acarnania* were to be well guarded and defended; and that as many as were able to bear arms should go forth to *Medio* and *Tyrrheum*, for fear those places should be seized by *Antiochus* and the Ætolians: there were again some who made answer and said, how there was no such need that all should be raised and levied so tumultuously in hall; for a garrison of five hundred men was sufficient. And when he had obteined that number of young & able men, he placed three hundred of them in garrison at *Medio*, and two hundred at *Tyrrheum*: his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands for hostages. And even at that time arrived the Kings Embassadors at *Medio*, whose embassage being heard, they laid their heads together and consulted in the publick assembly what answer to return unto the King. Some were of opinion to continue still in the Roman society: others were of advice again, that the Kings offer of amity was not to be rejected. The counsell of *Clytus* was mean and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted, to wit, that they should addresse the Embassadors to the King, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of such consequence in a full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this Embassage *Menesilochus*, and those of his faction were employed of set purpose: who having dispatched messengers covertly to King, to advertise him to approach the town with his forces, trifled out the time themselves, and made no haste to set forward in their embassie. Whereupon these Embassadors were scarcely gone forth of the City, when *Antiochus* was entred the borders, and anon shewed himself hard at the gates. And whiles they that wist nothing of this treason were affrighted, and in great tronble and turmoil, called the youth hastily to arm, he was by *Clytus* and *Menesilochus* let into the City. Some willingly of themselves came running about the King: those also that were of the adverse part, for very fear joyned with him. Whom he seeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and so gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency so much divulged and spoken of abroad, certain States of *Acarnania* revolted and turned unto him. Then from *Medio* he went to *Tyrrheum*, unto which place he had sent *Menesilochus* and his Embassadors aforehand. But the treachery and deceit at *Medio* being discovered, made the Tyrrheans more wary and carefull then otherwise fearfull, who made him this plain direct answer without any double ambiguity, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advice and authority of the Roman Generals: so they shut their gates, and disposed armed men upon their wals. Now it fell out very fitly and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *Cn. Octavius* sent by *Quintius*, having received a garrison and some few ships of *A. Posthumius*, who by *Atilius* the Lieutenant had been appointed Governour of *Cephalenia*, was come to *Leucas*, and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who also gave them to understand, that *M. Acilius* the Consul had already passed the seas with his legions, and the Romans were encampedin *Thessaly*. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reason that the season of the year served now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garrison at *Medio* and in other towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Tyrrheum*, and passing through the Cities of *Ætolia* and *Phocis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about the time *M. Bæbius* and King *Philip*, who had communed and devised together before (during the winter) in the Dassaretians country, having sent *Appius Claudius* into *Thessaly*, for to raise the siege before *Larissa*: and because the season then was unmeet and too soon for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintring harbours, now in the beginning of the Spring joyned all their forces together and came down into *Thessaly*. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in *Acarnania*.) And at their first coming, *Philip* began to lay siege unto *Malea*,

Malea, and *Bœbius* to *Phacium*: which when he had forced in manner at the first assault, he won *Phestius* also with like expedition. From whence having retired himself to *Atrax*, he took *Chretias*, and so consequently surprited *Ertium*, and after he had planted garrisons in these towns that he had thus recovered, he joyned with *Philip* again lying in siege before *Malea*. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townsmen had yielded themselves either for fear of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched joyntly together with one army to recover those towns whereof the Athamans were seized: to wit, *Ægynium*, *Erocinium*, *Gomphi*, *Silana*, *Tricca*, *Melibœa*, and *Pheloria*: After this, they invested *Pelinæum*, where *Philip* the Megapolitan lay in garrison with five hundred foot, and forty horse: but before they gave the assault, they sent a trumpet to *Philip* to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the utmost hazard. But he returned this answer again right stoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himself to the Romans or the Thessalians, he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of King *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it seemed that *Limnæa* also at the same time might be assaulted, it was thought expedient that the King should go to *Limnæa*, and *Bœbius* staid still to batter and force the town of *Pellineum*.

It fortuned at the same time that *M. Acilius* the Cos. having passed the seas with a power of 10000 foot, and 2000 horse, and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the Infantry to *Larissa*, whiles himself with the Cavalry came to King *Philip* before *Limnæa*. At the coming of the Consul the town was yielded incontinently: the Kings garrison was delivered, and the Athamanians withall. Then the Consul went from *Limnæa* to *Pellinæum*, where the Athamans yielded first: and afterwards *Philip* also the Megapolitan rendred himself. And as he came down from the fort, *Philip* the King chanced to meet with him, and in scorn and derision commanded his men to salute him with the stile of King, and himself also by way of mockage came close unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother *Philip*, scoffing and jesting in broad terms, far unfitting, I wot, his royall Majesty. Then was he brought before the Cos. and put in ward, and not long after sent bound to *Rome*. All the multitude besides of the Athamanians, as also of King *Antiochus* his souldiers, which were within the garrisons of those towns that were surrendred about that time were delivered unto *Philip*, who amounted to the number of 3000. The Consul departed to *Larissa* to consult and take advice for the generall course of the whole war. And in his way there met him Embassadors from *Pieria* and *Metropolis*, for to render their Cities. *Philip* having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the Athamanians, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived some hope to conquer *Athamania*, led his army thither, and sent his captives aforehand into their severall Cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their countrimen, and withall made report of the King his clemency toward them, and how liberally and bountifully besides he used them: And *Aminander* verily, whose presence and majesty had kept some of them in allegeance, fearing lest he should be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had been his mortall enemy;) and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children, and retired himself to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became subject to King *Philip*, and at his pleasure.

The Consul sojourned certain daies at *Larissa*, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had been sea-sick, and afterwards were tired with long travel; and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little rest and repose, he marched to *Crato*. At his coming thither, these towns, to wit, *Pharsalus*, *Scotussa*, and *Pheræ*, together with King *Antiochus* his garrisons that lay there, were yielded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be gone or tarry still with him: as many of them as he saw willing (and those were about a thousand) he delivered unto King *Philip*: the rest he sent back disarmed to *Demetrias*. Then he regained *Pronna* and the fortresses and piles there about it. Then began he to conduct forward his army toward the gulph of *Malea*: and when he approached the straights upon which the town *Thaumacia* is situate, all the flower of the youth in their armour quit the City, and put themselves in ambush about the woods and passages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in their march. The Consul at the first sent certain unto them, to parl near at hand with them, and to see if they could scare them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they persisted still as they began, he commanded a Colonel with two ensigns of souldiers to fetch a compass about, in such sort, that he got between those armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance: whereby he possessed himself of the City, being void of defendants. They they that lay in the forrest in ambush, hearing an outcry behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, and fell upon the sword. The Consul then departed from *Thaumaci*, and the second day came as far as the river *Sperchius*, and so forward unto the territory of the *Hypataans*, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrents, *Antiochus* lay at *Chalcis*, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in *Greece*, but the pleasure of one wintring, spent so deliciously in *Chalcis*, and a dishonourable marriage; began to blame the Ætolians for their vain promises, and especially *Thoas*; but *Annibal* he had in great admiration, reputing him not only for a sage and prudent man, but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to pass: howbeit for

fear that his cold slackness might not overthrow that quite, which his rash folly had begun and enterprised, he sent out his courriers into *Ætolia*, to give them warning to levy all their youth and assemble them together; and himself for his own part had brought thither almost 10000 footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of *Asia*, and 500 horsemen besides. To this place perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and some few of their vassals, who protested, that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with absolute command were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refused warfare: and seeing himself thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his own subjects who dragged behind in *Asia*, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, I he withdrew himself within the straights of *Thermopyla*.

This mountain divideth *Greece* in the very middle, like as *Italy* is parted in twain by the ridge of the *Appennine*. On the fore-part of this straight and forrest of *Thermopyla* toward the North lyeth *Epirus* and *Perrhæbia*, *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, also the Phthiotæ of *Achæa*, and the gulph *Malea*: but more southward is discovered the greatest part of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, and *Bœotia*, together with the Island *Eubœa* joyning close thereto: behind it is situate the country of *Attica* running into the sea like a promontory, and besides it *Peloponnesus*. This mountain taking his beginning at *Leucas* and the Ponant or Western sea, reacheth through *Ætolia* to the Levant or Easterly Ocean, and is so full of rocks and rough crags betwen, that no whole armies, no, nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much ado the waies and paths to pass through: the utmost brows and the hils of this mountain bending toward the east they call *Oeta*; and the highest pitch and knop thereof, is called *Callidromos*; at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulph of *Malea*, wherein the plain is not above three score paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an army may march, if it be not otherwise empeached. And herenpon it is, that the passage is called * *Pylæ*: and of some (because there are found therein certain natural hot waters or bains) *Thermopylæ*: even that very place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the Lacedæmonians, more than for any worthy battell against the Persians. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this present (carrying nothing that mind nor resolution as those Lacedæmonians did) within the gates as it were of the straights, where he enclosed and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences: And when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea, and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of stone lying every where) and had made all sure: presuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through those barricadoes that way: he sent of those 4000 Ætolians (for so many were met together) some to keep a garrison in *Heraclea*, situate even before the very gullet and streight; and others to *Hypata*: for that he made no doubt but the Consul would assail *Heraclea*, and many posts brought word, that all about *Hypata* was already wasted.

* i.e. *Gates.*

Now the Consul having spoiled the territory of *Hypata* first, and then of *Heraclea*, (where the Ætolians aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over-against the King, even in the very mouth of the gullet, near the fountains of the hot waters aforesaid: both those regiments above-named of the Ætolians were got within the town *Heraclea*, and there kept themselves sure. *Antiochus*, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was fast enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to fear lest the Roman souldiers would find out some privy paths and waies, thereby they might pass and get over those high hils that commanded his camp: for a rumour ran, that the Lacedæmonians in times past were so enclosed by the Persians, and of late daies also King *Philip* was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the Ætolians in *Heraclea*, willing them to do him thus much service yet in these his wars, as to seize the tops of those hils and to keep them that the Romans might have no passage that way. Upon this message received, there arose some dissention among the Ætolians. Some were of mind to obey the King his will and commandment and to go accordingly; but others thought better to tarry still at *Heraclea*, to attend upon fortune and see what would happen: to the end, that if the King should chance to be vanquished by the Consul, they might have in readiness their forces fresh and in heart, to succour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Consul then they might follow the Romans in chase, when they were disbanded and scattered asunder. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not only persisted still in their severall designments, but also put the same in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at *Heraclea*; the other two thousand parted themselves three waies, namely, to *Callidromos*, to *Rhodumia*, and *Tichius*, (these are the names of three principall high hills;) and each company took and held one. The Consul when he saw that the Ætolians were possessed of these higher places, sent *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Consuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the Ætolians, to wit, *Flaccus* against *Rhodumia* and *Tichius*, and *Cato* against *Callidromos*: himself before that he advanced his battell against his enemies, made a brief speech unto his souldiers in this manner: "My souldiers, I see that the most part "of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province sometime served "under the conduct, charge, and government of *T. Quintius* in the Macedonian war. The straights of

"of that passage then, near the river *Aous*, were far more difficult to gain and get over than this "is; for here are very gates, yea, and one naturall way (as it were) to pass through, as if all elsse "were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defences and sconces against them "at that time, and those planted in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the e-"nemies then, was both for number greater & for men & souldiers much better; for therein were "the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians, all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are "Syrians and Asiatick Greeks, or half Asians, the vainest kind of people of all others, and born to "serve. The King there, namely *Philip* a most noble warrior exercised and inured ever from his "youth in the neighbour-wars of the Thracians and Illyrians, & all the nations bordering upon "him: but this *Antiochus* (to say nothing of all his life besides) is he, who being come out of *Asia* "into *Europe*, for to make war upon the people of *Rome*, hath done all the long wintertime no-"thing more memorable than this, That for to please his wanton lust he hath taken to wife the "daughter of a privat person; a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens: "& this new married man, fed fat and franked (as I may so say) with dainty suppers & delicat bride-"bankets, is come forth (forsooth) to fight a battell. His whole strength and all his hope hath been "in the Ætolians, a people of all others most vain, unconstant, and unthankfull, as ye have tried "heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great num-"ber, nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which more is, they mutine a-"mong themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, they "have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the moun-"tains; others have shut themselves within *Heraclea*. The King himself hath confessed plainly, "that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and affront the enemy, no, nor so much as to "pitch his camp in open ground; in that abandoning all that country before him, which he vaun-"ted and bragged that he had taken from us and *Philip*, he hath hidden himself among the rocks. "He hath not encamped before the entrance of the gullet and straights (as the same goeth of the "Lacedæmonians in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly "fear, What difference is there between so doing, and hooting himself within the walls of some "City for to be besieged? But neither shall those narrow straights save him no more than those "steep hills defend the Ætolians, which they have seized. This one thing hath been forecast and "provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies. "Now must ye resolve upon this point, That ye fight not only for the liberty of *Greece* (and "ye even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said for to deliver the same now out "of the hands of *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, which before you freed from King *Philip*) nor "that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains, but that which we shall find "now in the Kings camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected "from *Ephesus*, shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Ro-"man Empire into *Asia*, *Syria*, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the "Levant sun. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gades* to the red sea we bound and limit "our State and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round "globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall he-"nour and worship the Roman name next unto the immortall gods? Prepare your hearts there-"fore and courages answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we "may to morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the souldiers being dismissed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the morning, by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signall of battell, and set his army in array, with a narrow and pointed front, according to the nature and straightness of the place. The King seeing the ensigns of his enemies, led forth his forces likewise. Part of his light armours he planted before the rampier and trench in the forefront, then he placed the flower and strength of the Macedonians, whom they call *Sariſſophori, i.e.* Pikemen, for the surety and safeguard of his defences and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the slingers of darts, and slingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hil, that from the higher ground they might assail and pelt the naked sides of the enemies. On the right flank of these Macedonians, at the very edge and point of the mures and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes, quagmires, and quicksands, he set the Elephants with their ordinary and usuall guard. After them his horsemen and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his forces in the second ward or middle battaillon. The Macedonians who were bestowed before the camp and the trench, at the first sustained the Romans easily enough (who assayed on every side to make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out of their slings, as thick as an hail storm, who lanched darts also, and shot arrows besides. But when as afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifications, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it were) another pallisado with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of their camp-mure was so reasonable, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their own men to fight upon it, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy under them. Insomuch as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,

were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or else more of them had died for it, but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Callidromus* the Ætolians, and slain a great part of them (for he surprised them suddenly at unawares, and most of them fast asleep) appeared upon the hill that commandeth the camp. *Flaccus* sped not so well at *Tichius* and *Rhodiuntia*, who laboured to get up those cliffs and holds, but to no purpose. The Macedonians and the rest that were in the Kings host and camp, at first, when they descried afar off nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the Ætolians, who having discovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them. But so soon as they beheld and discerned near at hand the ensignes and armour of the Romans, they took themselves in their own errour, and were upon a sudden strucken with such fear, that they all flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, & also the narrownesse of the vale through which they were to be pursued, hindred the Romans in following the chase. And the Elephants above all which were in the rereward took up the ground so, as that the footmen could hardly pass by them, and the horsemen by no means possible; so affrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they did during the battell. Besides the Romans staid sometime behind, whiles they rifled and ransacked the camp. Howbeit, they had the enemy in chase that day as far as *Lylæum*, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horses and men, but also slaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done, they returned to their own camp, which that day had been assailed by the Ætolians, who were of the garrison of *Heraclea*; but that enterprise, as it was exceeding bold and audacious, so it took no effect at all. The Consul having at the relieve of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavalry to pursue the enemy, advanced likewise the ensigns of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won some ground, and got a good way before; for he never gave over galloping with bridle in horse neck, untill he had recovered *Elatea*. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus dispersed in flight, and so having rallied a small and poor troop of souldiers, and the same armed by the halfs, he retired to *Chalcis*. The Roman Cavalry was not able to overtake the King himself at *Elatia*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for weariness rested themselves dragging behind, or else were scattered one from the other, as missing their way in those unknown quarters, going as they did without their guids: and setting aside five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that escaped of the whole army. Which was but a small number in proportion of 10000. (if they were no more) for so many (according to *Polybius*) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into *Greece*. What were they then to that great power, which (if we beleeve *Valerius Antias*) came with the King for he writeth that he had in his host threescore thousand, and that forty thousand were slain of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the loss of military ensigns two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there *died* in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Consul marched with his army through *Phocis* and *Bœotia*, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt, and partly culpable, stood without their gates with their insules and veils in token of peace, and craved mercy, fearing they should have been pilled and ransacked as enemies. But his host journeyed every day as in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt or wrong to any earthly creature, untill they were come into the territory of *Corona*: where the Statue or Image of *Antiochus* erected in the Temple of *Minerva Ilonea* kindled their choler, and the souldiers were permitted to spoil the country lying about that Temple. But bethinking themselves that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publike consent of all *Bœotia*) it was an indignity to deal so hardly with that territory only of *Corona*, the souldiers were immediatly called in and reclaimed, and so they ceased the wasting and spoiling thereof. The Bœotians only had a check and rebuke by words, for carrying so unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the battell aforesaid, there rode at anchor ten ships of the Kings, in the gulph of *Malea* near to *Thronium* under the charge and conduct of *Isidorus*. To which place *Alexander* the Acarnanian, being fled from the conflict, fresh bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunat fight. Whereupon the ships in great fear for this late terrour, made haste and away to *Ceneum* in *Eubœa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three other ships which were come out of *Asia*, and lay in the same rode, upon the news of the defeat of the army returned to *Ephesus*. And *Isidorus* crossed the seas from *Ceneum* to *Demetrias*, if peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Atilius* the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and surprised great store of the Kings provisions, which had passed already the straights near the Island *Andros*. Some ships he sunk, others he boorded and took: as for those that came hindmost in the rereward, they turned sail, and shaped their course into *Asia*. *Atilius* being returned to *Pyræum* (from whence he came) with a fleet of ships taken from the enemies, divided great store of corn both among the Athenians, and other allies also of that country.

Antiochus somewhat before the Consul his coming, loosed from *Chalcis*, and first fell with the Island *Tenos*, and afterwards sailed to *Ephesus*. Against the Consul his arrival at *Chalcis* the gates were set open for him, and *Aristotle* the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachment of the Consul. In like manner other Cities in *Eubœa* yielded without resistance. And so within few daies (when all troubles were appeased and set in quiet order without the hurt and damage

A damage of any one City) the army was brought back to *Thermopylæ*, and won much more honour and commendation for the modesty used after victory, than for the victory it self.

From thence the Consul dispatched *M. Cato* to *Rome*, by whose certain and sure relation the Senat and people might have full knowledge of all the affairs that had passed. Who taking sea at *Creusa* (a port town of Merchandise standing within the inmost gulph of *Corinth*) arrived at *Patræ*, a City in *Achæa*. From *Patræ*, he coasted along the rivers of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, as far as *Corphus*, and so cut over to * *Hydruntum* in *Italy*, from whence he travelled by land, and in exceeding great haste within five daies came to *Rome*. Early in the morning before day light he entred the City, and from the gate rode directly to *M. Junius* the Prætor, who assembled the Senat betimes by the break of day: and thither, *L. Cornelius Scipio* (who some daies before had been dismissed B and sent away from the camp by the Consul) hearing at his first coming that *Cato* was got before him, and in the Senat, repaired, even as he was relating the news. Then these two Lieutenants by the commandment of the Senat were presented in the generall assembly of the people, where they declared the same which they had done before in the Senat house, as touching the deeds atchieved in *Ætolia*. And ordained it was, that a solemn procession for three daies should be holden, and that the Prætor should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, in the honour of what gods he would himself.

* Otranto

And at the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two yers before went as Prætor into the farther *Spain*, entred the City in pomp of an Ovation, or petty triumph. He caused to be born before him of silver bigats 130000. And besides that, silver in coin and ready money, 12000 pound C weight. Also in gold the weight of 127 pound. *Acilius* the Consul sent certain messengers from *Thermopylæ* to the Ætolians at *Heraclea*, to advertise them that before he came they would now at last be wiser, and bethink themselves (after such experience of the King his vanity and insufficiency) for to deliver up *Heraclea*, and crave pardon of the Senat, either for their wilfull folly, or their blind errour. Who used these and such like motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other Cities likewise of *Greece* (during this war) abandoned the Romans and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefits: yet because that after the King was fled (upon whose assurance they had disloyally broken their allegeance) they stood not out still, nor persisted obstinatly in their fault and folly, were received to mercy and protection. The Ætolians likewise albeit they followed not the King, but sent for him, and were rather conducters and D leaders, than companions and associats in this war, yet if they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answer returned they tending to peace: nay, it appeared, that the matter would come to a triall by arms, and for all the King was vanquished, yet the Ætolian war was behind as wholly and entire as before time. Whereupon the Consul dislodged from *Thermopylæ*, and marched directly against *Heraclea*: yea, and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Heraclea* is seated at the foot of the mountain *Oeta*: & though the town it self standeth in a plain, yet a fortress it hath built upon an high ground, which as it overlooketh the City, so it is so steep on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and known, he determined to assault the town in four places at once. Unto *L. Valerius* he gave in charge to E plant his platforms and to batter that side where the river *Asopus* runneth, and where the publike place of exercise is built. *T. Sempronius Longus* had commission to assail the Castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited and more peopled (as a man would say) then the town it self. On that side which standeth toward the gulph of *Malea*, which part yielded the hardest access, he appointed *M. Bœbius*. And from another prety river which they call * *Melas*, he set *Appius Claudius* opposite against the Temple of *Diana*. Through the great industry and earnest labour of these four gallants, striving who could perform the best service, the work went so well forward, that within few daies the frames and platforms, the Rams and all other engins of battery meet for the assault of Cities were finished. For besides that the territory about *Heraclea*, being a moory ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plenty enough of timber to frame and per- F form all sorts of fabricks: the houses also in the entry of the City without in the Suburbs standing void, by reason that the Ætolians had put themselves within the walls, yielded unto them not only posts, beams, joysts, planks, and boords, but brick, and tile, plaster, morter, and stone of all sizes for divers and sundry uses. So, the Romans assaulted the town rather with fabricks, ordnance, and artillery, than by force of arms: but the Ætolians contrariwise defended themselves by main strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the Rams, they caught not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their force; but armed in great number, they carried fire with they to fling upon the terraces and the fabricks. They had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls at which they could readily and fitly sally out: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or made G new for the ruinat, they would remember to make more of those vaults still, that in many places at once they might break forth upon their enemies. Thus for the first daies, whiles they were fresh in heart, they issued forth oftentimes and many together, and quit themselves right lustily: but afterwards in fewer numbers, and more slackly every day than other. For being evermore employed about many things at once, nothing so much tamed and wearied them, as watching. For whereas the Romans had a great number of souldiers, and one guarded after another successively by turns; the Ætolians being so few, were constrained without any change, to continue in unces-

* Black water.

sant labour night and day. Thus for the space of twenty four daies they had no rest nor respit, but a day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight still, and labouring without intermission against the enemies that assailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Consul knew once that the Ætolians were wearied and overtoiled (partly by counting the time, and partly by that which he had learned of certain fugitives) he used this policy and stratagem. About midnight he sounded the retreat, and having drawn all his souldiers at once from the assault, field them quiet in the camp untill the third hour of the day. After that, he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and so gave over again untill the same hour before noon. The Ætolians supposing verily that the cause why they surceased the assault, was for very weariness (like as themselves were tired out) so soon as the Romans had the retreat sounded unto them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signall were called away, I and shewed not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the next day. The
* Three of the clock in the morning.
* Consul having at one time given over the battery aforesaid at midnight, began at the * fourth watch a fresh assault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one tide, he gave commandment to *T. Sempronius* to keep his men together, and intentively to observe and wait for the signall: assuring himself that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to those places from whence they heard the noise. The Ætolians, many of them being found asleep, had much to do to rouse themselves, and were loath to rise up from their sweet sleep, their bodies being so weary with toiling, moiling, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake ran in the dark to the place where the assailants made a noise. Their enemies laboured to get into the town, some by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken wall, others by scaling and climbing with K ladders. And against them the Ætolians ran from all parts, ready to succour and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the City, was neither defended nor assailed: but as there were some ready and waited for the signal to give the assault, so there was not one of the other part for to resist and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Consul put forth the signal, and the souldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withstand them: some entred at the wals half broken down, others scaled them with ladders where they stood whole and sound. And the cry was not so soon heard that the City was taken, but the Ætolians left their guards on all sides, and fled into the Castle. The souldiers that had won the town were permitted by the Cos. to rifle and ransack it: which was not done so much upon anger and despite, as in this regard, that the souldiers who had been kept short & fasting thus long (notwithstanding so many towns L recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place taste the fruit of victory. The Cos. having called from thence about noon, the souldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commanded the one to cast about the foot of the hils unto a rock or cliff, which being in height equal to the Castle aforesaid, was notwithstanding divided from it by a valley between, seeming as if it had been sometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now these two points of the hils shot up so near together in the head, that from the top of the one, a man might lance a dart into the Castle or fortress. The Cos. with the other half of the souldiers staid beneath, expecting a sign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready thereupon to mount up from the town side into the fort. The Ætolians that were within the Castle could neither abide at the first the shout of those that had seized the cliff, nor afterwards the assault of the M Romans from the City, both for that their hearts failed them and were danted already, and also because they were unprovided of all necessaries for to endure any long siege and assault: considering that women and children and all the other impotent multitude unmeet to bear arms, were got thither in so great numbers, that the place was hardly able to receive and contain, much less to keep and maintain them: and therefore at the first assault, they cast down their weapons and yielded. Among other principal personages of the Ætolians, *Damocritus* also was delivered; he, who in the beginning of the war when *T. Quintius* desired to see a copy of the Decree of the Ætolians for the sending for *Antiochus*, answered, That he would shew it him in *Italy*, when the Ætolians lay there encamped. For this proud speech of his, the Romans now conquerors, were the gladder that they had got him into their hands. N

During the time that the Romans assailed *Heraclea*, *Philip* also besieged and battered *Lamia*, according as it was before agreed between them: for near unto *Thermopyla*, at what time as the Cos. returned out of *Bœotia*, he met with him, of purpose to signifie his joy in the behalf of him and the people of *Rome*, for their archieved victory; and also to excuse himself by occasion of sickness, that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted asunder, and took divers waies, for to assault these two Cities (as I said) both at once: and distant they were one from the other near seven miles. And forasmuch as *Lamia* was seated upon an hill therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about, but especially on that side toward *Heraclea*, where, by reason that it seemeth a less compass, it representeth a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians labouring and striving who could do O better, were day and night employed either about their fabricks and pioners work, or else in skirmish and fight: the Macedonians found more difficulty than they, in this respect, that the Romans were busied in platforms, mantlets, and works all above ground; but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in such stony and craggy ground) they met with hard flints and rags not minable, and such as no iron or steel-tool was able to touch and pierce. The King seeing little good done by this means, and his enterprise going but slowly forward,

A ward, began to sound the townsmen, and to tempt them to render the City, using the mediation therein of their chief Citizens whom he parled withall: for this reckoning he made, that if *Heraclea* were forced before it, they within the City would sooner yield unto the Romans than to him, and so the Consul should win all the thank to himself for levying the siege. And nothing was he short of his count; for immediatly upon the winning of *Heraclea*, a messenger came unto him from the Consul, willing him to surcease the assault and the siege; alledging, it was more reason, that the Roman souldiers who had fought in ranged battell with the Ætolians, should have the reward and recompence of the victory. By this means *Lamia* was abandoned, and by the ruin of *Heraclea* her neighbour City, avoided and escaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few daies before that *Heraclea* was won, the Ætolians having assembled a *Diet* at *Hypa-*
B *ta*, addressed Embassadors unto *Antiochus*, and *Thoas* among the rest, even he, who aforetime had been sent unto him. His commission and charge was, first, To request the King that once again he would rally his forces as well by land as at sea, and in person pass over into *Greece*: secondly, If any other important affairs hindred him, yet that he would send unto them both men and money. For as it touched his Highness, in honour, reputation, and credit, not to see his allies abandoned; so it made for the safegard and security of his own Realm and royall estate, not to suffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the Ætolians) to sail over into *Asia* at their ease and pleasure, with all their forces. These were no fained devices, but true remonstrances indeed; and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money presently to the Embassadors, sufficient to defray the charges of the war, and promised certainly to send men to
C serve both by land and sea. *Thoas* alone of all the Embassadors he kept still with him, who was not himself unwilling to stay behind, because he might be ever at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and behest. But the winning of *Heraclea* killed the hearts clean of the Ætolians in the end: and within few daies after that they had dispatched their Embassadors into *Asia*, about the renewing of the war and sending for the King, they laid apart all designments of arms, and addressed their Orators unto the Romans to crave peace. Who, as they began to make some speech, the Consul cut them off, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to dispatch; and commanded them to content themselves with a truce for ten daies, and to return to *Hypata*; and with them he sent *L. Valerius Flaccus*, unto whom they should declare those things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatsoever else they
D had to say. When they were arrived at *Hypata*, the chief and principall Ætolians assembled themselves in the lodging of *Flaccus*, consulting with him what course they were to take in their treaty with the Consul. And when they went in hand to alledge the ancient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good demerits, and what they had done for the Romans: "*Flaccus* bad "them lay a straw there, and speak no more of the priviledge of those covenants and accords "which they themselves had broken; shewing unto them, that they should speed better and "gain more by a simple confession of their trespass, and in recourse only to prayer and humble "supplication; forasmuch as all the hope they might have of safety, rested not in their own de-"sert and goodness of their cause, but in the meer clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*; "promising for his part to assist them and second their petitions as well to the Consul as the Se-
E "nat of *Rome*, since that thither also they must of necessity send an Embassage. This way seemed to them all, the best simply for their safety, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and devotion of the Romans: for they supposed by this means to drive the Romans for very shame to have regard of them & not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, coming in the habit of poor suppliants: and yet withall, if any opportunity of better fortune should in the mean time offer it self unto them, to be their own Masters nevertheless and at their choice. When they were come before the Cos. *Phaneas* the chief of that embassie, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words sundry waies right artificially, to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conqueror, which he knit up and concluded with this speech, saying, That the Ætolians committed themselves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Cos.
F heard those words: See you do so then indeed (qd. he) O ye Ætolians, and take heed I advise you that your deal herein *bona fide*. Then *Phaneas* brought forth and shewed a fair instrument of a Decree, wherein the same was engrossed in plain terms, Since that (qd. he again) you mean good earnest, and are at our disposition. I demand that ye deliver unto me out of hand *Dicæarchus* a statesman of yours, and *Menetus* of *Epirus*, (who being entred into *Naupactum* with a garrison, had compelled the City to revolt) also *Aminander* and all the Nobles of the Athamans, by whose counsell and suggestions ye fell from us and rebelled. *Phaneas* interrupted the Cos. before he had well made an end of his speech, We yield not our selves (qd. he) to be your villains and slaves, but as allies to be protected by you: and I am verily perswaded you know not what you do, to impose those things upon us against all the manner and custome of the Greeks. The Cos. replied again;
G In good faith, I pass not (qd. he) greatly what the Ætolians deem well or ill done according to the fashions of the Greeks; all the whiles that I, after the custome of the Romans, have that power and command over them, who erewhile by vertue of their own decree yielded unto us. And heretofore by force of our arms have been vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, unless that be executed which I command, yea, and with speed, my will is, that presently here you be bound hand and foot: and with that he commanded chains and gyves to be brought forth, and the Lictors to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of

Phaneas

Phaneas and the reſt of the Ætolians, was well cooled & abated; and ſo at length they ſaw in what H poor plight they were. And *Phaneas* made anſwer, That both himſelf and the Ætolians there preſent in place, knew well, that thoſe things were to be performed which were impoſed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Councill of the Ætolians for to enact a decree thereof, and therefore he requeſted the Conſul to allow a ſurceaſe of arms only for ten daies. Then *Flaccus* began to ſpeak for the Ætolians, and at his requeſt the ſaid abſtinence was granted, and ſo they returned to *Hypata*. When *Phaneas* had related in the privy Councill of thoſe elect peers of that nation called *Apoclati*, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have fain upon them'ſelves in perſon, the peers ſighed deeply and groaned again, to ſee their miſerable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor muſt of neceſſity be obeyed: and a generall Parliament aſſembled of the Ætolian Burgeſſes out of all their towns and Cities. When I all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the ſame related again, their hearts ſo fretted within them at the cruelty and indignity of thoſe Lordly commands, that if they had been well ſetled in peace, yet ſuch a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms. And to ſtir the ſume and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well: for how poſſibly could they compaſs to deliver *Aminander*, being as he was an abſolute King? But even then there was preſented unto them by chance a new hope, For *Nicander* at that very time, coming from King *Antiochus*, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous proviſion for war, as well by ſea as land. This *Nicander* having accompliſhed his Embaſſage, and made return again into *Ætolia*, within the compaſs of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at *Phalera* in the gulph of *Malea*: from whence K having brought the monies which he had, down to *Lamia*, whiles himſelf with certain nimble men and light appointed, travelled toward *Hypata* in the evening, between the Roman and Ætolian camp, through paths that he well knew; he chanced to ſtumble, ere he was aware, upon the *corps de guard* of the Macedonians, and was brought to the King before ſupper was done, the table taken up, and the King riſen. When *Philip* was advertiſed thereof, he ſhewed no other countenance, than if a friend or gueſt, and not an enemy was come; he bad him ſit down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him ſtill in the room, and voided all the reſt, willing him in no caſe to be afraid. "He blamed greatly the bad courſes and deſign- "ments of the Ætolians (which evermore lighted upon their own pates) who firſt had brought "the Romans, and then *Antiochus* into *Greece*. But for my part (quoth he) ſince things done and L "paſt, may ſooner be blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot, "and will never be the man that will ſeem to inſult over them in their diſtreſs and adverſity. "And ſo ſhould the Ætolians likewiſe take up in time, and lay aſide all their rancor and malice "to me: and *Nicander* eſpecially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was pre- "ſerved. With that he ſent him away with a good convoy, untill he was paſt all danger; and this *Nicander*, as is beforeſaid, came to *Hypata*, even as the Ætolians were in deep conſultation about peace with the Romans.

M. Acilius having either ſold outright, or given away to the ſouldiers the booty of the country about *Heraclea*, and hearing that the Councill at *Hypata* nothing tended to peace, and that the Ætolians were run together to *Naupactum*, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war; M ſent *App. Claudius* afore with 4000 ſouldiers to ſeize the tops of the mountains, where as the paſſages were difficult; and himſelf aſcended up to the hill *Oeta*, and ſacrificed to *Hercules* in that very place which they call *Pyra*, by occaſion that the mortall body of that god was there conſumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army & performed the reſt of his journey well and marched with eaſe. Being come to *Corax* (an exceeding high mountain between *Callipolis* and *Naupactum*) he loſt there many of his labouring beaſts and ſumpter horſes, which together with their loads and fardels, as they went, tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men alſo were much troubled and encumbred. Whereby it was ſoon ſeen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not beſet and kept with a guard that difficult paſſage, to empeach and ſhut up the thorow-fare from the enemies. Howbeit, as much toiled and troubled N as his army was, he deſcended to *Naupactum*. And having erected one Fort againſt the Caſtle, he inveſted all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the ſituation of the walls. This ſiege he found as toilſome and painful, as that at *Heraclea*.

At the ſame time began the Achæans to lay ſiege to *Meſſene* alſo in *Peloponneſus*, for that it reſuſed to be of their Councill and aſſociation. For theſe two Cities, *Meſſene* and *Elis*, were exempt from the Achæan Diet, and accorded with the Ætolians. Howbeit, the Elians, after that *Antiochus* was chaſed out of *Greece*, gave the Embaſſadors of *Achæa* a more mild anſwer, to wit, That when they had diſcharged and ſent away the Kings garriſon, they would conſider of the matter what to do. But the Meſſenians having without any anſwer at all ſent the Embaſſadors away, had levied war; and fearing much their own eſtate, ſeeing their territory overſpread with an army, O and every where burned, yea, and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addreſſed unto *Chalcis* their embaſſadors to *T. Quintius* (the very man who before had ſet them at liberty) to ſignifie unto him, That the Meſſenians were ready both to open their gates & alſo to ſurrender their City unto the Romans, & not to the Achæans. *Quintius* ſo ſoon as he had heard their embaſſage, ſent a meſſenger incontinently to *Megalopolis*, unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor there of the Achæans, to command him preſently to retire his hoſt from *Meſſene*, and to repair unto him. *Diophanes*

obeyed

A obeyed his commandment, and having raiſed his ſiege, marched himſelf lightly appointed for ſpeed before the reſt of his army, and about *Andania*, a ſmall town between *Megalopolis* and *Meſſene*, encountred *Quintius*. Unto whom after he had ſhewed the cauſes of the ſiege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterpriſed a matter of ſo great conſequence without his authority; with an expreſs commandment alſo to caſs and diſcharge his army, and not to diſturb and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The Meſſenians likewiſe he charged to call home their baniſhed perſons into their City, and to joyn with the Achæans in their generall Diet and Aſſembly. And if they either had any matters to refuſe, or would willingly provide for themſelves againſt the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at *Corinth*, and enjoyned *Diophanes* immediatly to ſummon the Diet of the Achæans for him, where B perſonally himſelf would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Iſland *Zacynthus*, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it ſhould be reſtored to the Romans. Now this Iſle had ſometime appertained to *Philip* the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in conſideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of *Ætolia*, through *Athamania*: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the Ætolians hearts were ſo abated and quailed, that they were conſtrained to ſeek peace. *Aminander* made firſt *Philip* the Megapolitan governour of this Iſland; but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* againſt the Romans, he called him away from thence to imploy him in martiall affairs, and ſent *Hierocles* the Agrigentin to ſucceed him in his place. This *Hierocles*, after the deſeat and flight of *Antiochus* from *Thermopylæ*, and the expulſion of *Aminander* out of C *Athamania* by King *Philip*, diſpatched of his own motion certain meſſengers unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor of the Achæans, and for a ſum of money agreed upon between them, betraied the Iſland to the Achæans. The Romans thought it great reaſon that this Iſland ſhould be theirs, in recompence for the wars which they had maintained; foraſmuch as *M. Acilius* the Conſul, and the Roman legions fought not at *Thermopylæ* for *Diophanes* nor yet for the Achæans, *Diophanes* to theſe challenges and demands ſometime excuſed himſelf and the whole nation, otherwhiles ſtood to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cauſe by a plea of right. Some there were of the Achæans there, that both proteſted, how from the beginning they utterly miſliked the courſe, and alſo at this preſent much blamed the Prætor for his wilfull obſtinacy. And by their advice and authority an act was ſet down, that the whole matter ſhould be referred and put to *Quintius*, to D determin what he pleaſed. Now had *Quintius* this nature, if a man croſſed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell; if one yielded and gave place he was gentle again, and pliable. And therefore, without ſhewing any ſign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he ſpake. "If I "thought (qd. he) and were perſwaded in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the "Achæans to hold and poſſeſs this Iſland in queſtion, I would adviſe the Senat & people of *Rome* "to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoiſe, ſo long as ſhe keepeth her ſelf cloſe within her ſhell (I "ſee) is ſure and ſafe enough, againſt all blows and offence whatſoever: but when ſhe once put- "teth forth any parts, look whatſoever is diſcovered and naked, the ſame is weak and ſubject to "injury: even ſo you Achæans, being encloſed round about with the ſea, are able eaſily to adjoyn E "unto your ſelves whatſoever lyeth within the præcinct of *Peloponneſus*, and to keep the ſame alſo "when you have laid it to you: but ſo ſoon as for a greedy deſire of having more and encroaching "further, you go beyond thoſe bonds, you lie open without, and are expoſed to all hurt and da- "mage. Thus *Zacynthus* was delivered to the Romans with the aſſent of all the Councill there aſſembled, and *Diophanes* durſt not ſay a word more to the contrary.

At the ſame time, King *Philip* asked the Conſul as he marched to *Naupactum*, Whether it was his pleaſure, that he in the mean while ſhould recover and regain thoſe Cities which were revolted from the aſſociation of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces againſt *Demetrias*, knowing well enough in what terms of troubles that City then ſtood. For being forlorn and in utter deſpair, ſeeing *Antiochus* had forſaken them and no hope at all remaining in the Ætolians: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their F heavy friend; or elſe even the Romans themſelves a worſe enemy, like as they had a more juſt cauſe of anger and indignation againſt them. A confuſed and diſordered ſort there were of King *Antiochus* his ſouldiers, who being but a few at firſt left there to lie in garriſon, grew after to be more, and moſt of them unarmed; ſuch as after the field was loſt [at *Thermopylæ*] thither chanced to flie, and neither had ſtrength nor heart enough to abide a ſiege. And therefore when *Philip* ſent certain meſſengers before unto them, to ſignifie, that there was ſome hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this anſwer, That the gates were open for the King, and that he might enter at his pleaſure. At his firſt entrance, certain chief men of mark quit the City and departed, and *Eurilochus* killed himſelf. The garriſon ſouldiers of *Antiochus* (for ſo they had capitulated) were conducted to *Lyſimachia* through *Macedony* and *Thrace*, accompanied with a con- G voy of Macedonians, for fear that any man ſhould do them harm. There were ſome few ſhips alſo in the rode of *Demetrias*, under the command of *Iſidorus*, which together with their leader and Captain were diſmiſſed. After this, he regained *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and certain Cities of *Perrhæbia*.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in theſe affairs, *T. Quintius* having recovered the Iſland *Zacynthus*, departed from the Diet of the Achæans, and croſſed the ſeas to *Naupactum*, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and loſt: which

if

if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Ætolians there would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory, at what time as he set *Greece* free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just so indeed) would have dissuaded and feared them from foolish and furious designs; yet, supposing that it was a speciall part of his charge and work, that no nation of *Greece* (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under the walls, to the end that he might be seen and soon known of the Ætolians. And anon the very formost guards took notice of him, & noised it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintius* was there. And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voice called by name unto *Quintius*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their pitious cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused and denied them: asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consul, "Know you not (quoth he) O *M. Acilius* whereabout we are, and "what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteem you not that it mainly con- "cerneth the common-weal? He set the Consul by these words a longing, and caused him to give more attentive ear what he would say, and withall, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Consul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintius*: "See you not that after you "have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and assault of two "Cities, when as now the year of your government is well near come about? And *Philip* in the "mean time without seeing a battell or the ensigns of his enemies displaied, hath gained and joy- "ned to himself not Cities only, but so many nations already, namely, *Athamanie*, *Perrhebie*, *A- "peranția* and *Dolopia*? But it is nothing so good and expedient for us, nor standeth it us so much "upon, to take down the Ætolians and pare their nails, as to look unto *Philip*, that he wax not "too great: and (seeing you and your souldiers have not got yet two Cities in reward and re- "compence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of *Greece*. The Consul accorded hereunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintius*. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Ætolians called and cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pitty of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediatly, *Phæneas* himself with other principall persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him; unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: "Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard "estate wherein you are, caused me both to temper my choler and also to stay my tongue. Those "things you now see are faln out, which I foretold would come to pass. And not so much as this "is left unto you, That the calamities faln upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon "them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were "by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to nurse up *Greece*, I will not cease even to do "you good, as thankless and ungratefull persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul, "to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, untill you may address your Embassadors to "*Rome*, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not fail "to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senat. And, as *Quintius* counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embassie, but granted them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Embassage to *Rome*: so he dislodged, the siege was raised, and the army sent into *Phocis*. The Consul together with *Quintius* passed over the sea to *Ægium*, unto the generall Councill of *Achæa*. There was much treaty and parly about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians exiles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from their speciall grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæans Parliament of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epirots came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves sound and upright in the entertaining of the Roman amity: howbeit, they had not levied a souldier for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with money; and deny themselves they could not but they had sent their Embassadors unto the King. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and thereof the Senat should be judge; and therefore he referred their whole entire cause to *Rome*. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of fourscore and ten daies. The Epirots thus sent to *Rome*, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon these terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than inclearing themselves of those matters that were laid against them; they received such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The Embassadors also of King *Philip* about that time had audience given them in the Senat, who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and wishing theirs

theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.*, the Senat gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing * one hundred pound. These Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, who had lien as an hostage at *Rome*, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unto his father. Thus was the war atchieved and brought to an end, which *M. Acilius* the Consul waged against King *Antiochus* in *Greece*.

* 3600 pound ster.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose lot was to govern the Province of *Gaul*, before that he took his journey to that war which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him, for to perform those plaies and games which he had promised by vow, as Vice-Prætor in *Spain*, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battell. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat ordained, That what plaies the Consul had vowed on his own head without asking the advice and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoils got from the enemies, (if haply he had reserved any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else defray the charges out of his own purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddess dame *Cybele* (or *Idæa*) was dedicated. This goddess being brought out of *Asia*, in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (surnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount *Palatine*. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to a act of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it. and for the honour of this dedication were the first stage-plaies exhibited. (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon *Megalesia*. In like manner, *C. Licinius Lucullus* (one of the two Duumvirs) dedicated the Temple of the goddess *Juventas* in the great Race called *Circus Maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consul vowed sixteen years before, even that very day in which he defeated *Asdrubal* and his army. The same *Livius* in his Censorship, went through and bargained for the building thereof, whiles *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plaies were set forth: and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King *Antiochus*. In the beginning of this year in which these things passed, whiles *P. Cornelius* the Consul staid still behind at *Rome*, (for *M. Acilius* was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, that two tame oxen climbed up a ladder in the street *Carina*, to the tile-roof of a certain house there. And the soothsayers gave express order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into *Tyber*. Also it was reported, that at *Tarracina* and *Amiternum*, it rained stones sundry times. *Item*, That in *Minturne* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the market-place, were blasted and smitten with lightning; and in the very mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearfull prodigies, the Decemvirs by order from the Senat went to the books of *Sibylla* and perused them: and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemn fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, and the same to be observed and holden every fift year: also that a novendiall sacrifice for nine daies together could continue; and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreaths of flowers upon their heads: lastly, That the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beasts, the Decemvirs would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified, as well by the accomplishment of the vows accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signs, the Consul took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded *Cneus Domitius* the Pro-Prætor (after he had cassed his army) to depart to *Rome*: and himself entred with his legions into the territory of the Boians.

Within a little of that time, the Ligurians (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp unawares to *Quintus Minutius* the Pro-Consul. *Minutius* kept his souldiers in order of battell untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day-break he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the Ligurians repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge; for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and still fresh souldiers succeeded in the room of the wearied, for to maintain fight, the Ligurians in the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleep also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slain above four thousand; of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after or somewhat less, *P. Cornelius* the Consul gave battell to the Boians and won the day; slew 28000 enemies. (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 3400 prisoners, gained 124 military ensigns, 1230 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how little credit soever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writer. (for in that point there is none over-reacheth more than he) yet apparant it is, that a right great victory it was; both for that the camp was won, and the Boians after that battell presently yielded themselves; as for that in regard of this victory a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater beasts slain for sacrifice.

Not

Not much under or over this present time, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* returned out of the farther province of *Spain* in pomp of an Ovation, and carried in shew 10000 pound weight of silver in bullion; of Bigats in silver coin 130000, and in gold 126 li. weight. *P. Cornelius* the Consul, having first taken hostages of the Boian nation, and dissieized them of the one half of their country, to the inhabiting whereof the people of *Rome* might if they would send their Colonies: at his departure from thence toward *Rome* to an undoubted and assured triumph, licensed his army, with commandment to meet him there and give their attendance upon his triumph-day. The morrow after that he was come, the Senat had summons to assemble in the Temple of *Bellona*; where after he had discoursed of his acts and deeds atchieved, he required that he might be permitted to enter the City riding in triumph. *P. Sempronius Blæsus* a Tribune of the Commons for the time being, stepped forth and said, "That his advice was that *Scipio* should not flatly be denied the honour of "a triumph, but to put it off to a farther day. And why? The wars (qd. he) of the Ligurians have "alwaies been joyned and linked with those of *Gaul*: which nations being so near together, use "ever mutually one to succour another. If *P. Scipio* (after the Boians defeated in battel) had followed the train of victory, and either himself in proper person with his brave conquering army "passed into the territory of the Ligurians, or but sent part of his forces to *Q. Minutius*, who now "for three years (or fast upon) both been detained within those quarters in a war of doubtful issue; we might have seen an end ere this of the Ligurian war also. But now (forsooth) his souldiers are dismissed, and brought home to accompany him & to solemnize his triumph: who might well have been employed still and done good service to the Common-weal: yea, & may do yet "(if the Senat be so disposed) by deferring the time of triumph, for to make amends and regain "that, which by over-hastiness of triumph hath been over-slipped. And therefore, in my opinion "(qd. he) they should do well to command the Consul to go his waies back again, and take his "army with him into his Province, & to do his best and utmost endeavour to subdue the Liguri-"ans also. For unless they be brought under and made subject unto the people of *Rome*, the Boians be ye sure will not long be quiet: either we must have peace or war at once in both places. "And so *P. Cornelius* in quality of Pro-Consul (as many others before him, who in their full Magistracy triumphed not) may after some few months have his triumph. To this the Consul answered "again and said, That neither the Province of the Ligurians was any part of his charge by lot, neither warred he at all with the Ligurians, nor yet demanded to triumph over them. As for *Q. Minutius* (qd. he) I hope that shortly after he hath subdued them, he both will require his due triumph, and shall likewise obtain the same. For mine own part, I seek no more but to triumph "over the Boians in *Gaul*, whom I have vanquished in plain battel, beaten out of the field and "camp; whose whole nation within two daies after the fight and their general discomfiture, yielded and rendred themselves into my hands; and from whom I have carried away hostages for "assured pledge of future peace: nay, that which is much more than all this, I have had the killing "of so many Gauls in open battel, and fought with so many thousands of Boians, as no General ever did before me: the better half of 50000 men are slain upon the edge of the sword, and many "a thousand taken prisoners; so as the Boians have none left but old folk and young children. "Can any man make a wonder then, why a victorious army, leaving no enemy behind in the Province, is come to *Rome* to honour the triumph of their Consul? Whose employment, if these "may be disposed to use in any other service or Province, Whether of these two waies think they, "will make them more willing and ready to put themselves into new dangers, and enter into other fresh labour and travell; either to pay them without delay & content them with the due & "deserved hire of their former peril and pain, or to send them away with bare hope only instead "of the substance, for to expect still without effect: since they have been once already put by and "disappointed of their first hope and expectation? Now for mine own part, I obtained honour "enough that day on which the Senat sent me (deemed & declared the best man in all the City) "to receive that great goddess & dame of *Ida*. This title alone, without any other addition of triumph, shall be sufficient to recommend to all posterity for honesty & honour both, the Image of "*P. Scipio Nasica*. This said, not only the whole Senat themselves condescended generally to grant him triumph, but also with their countenance & authority compelled the Tribunes of the Commons to give over their hold, and surcease their interposition of a negative voice. So *P. Cornelius* the Consul triumphed over the Boians. In which triumph he caused to be carried for shew in French chariots, armor, ensigns, and spoils of all sorts: also French vessels of brass and copper. He commanded likewise to be led in pomp a number of horses taken, together with Noblemen and Gentlemen captives. Of chains of gold he made a shew of 1470. Besides, there was born in pomp, of gold 245 pound weight: of silver unwrought and wrought into plate, not unworkmanly after their manner (and namely in sundry French vessels) 2340 pound weight: lawly, of bigats in coin 234. To his souldiers that followed his triumphant chariot he gave 225 Asses apiece, double as much to a Centurion, and trebble to an horseman. The next day after he called the people to a generall assembly, whereafter he had discoursed again of his exploits, and complained of the wrongs that the Tribune had offred unto him in that he would have tied him to the war of another, with intent to defraud himself of the fruit of his own victory, he cassed his souldiers and discharged them quite.

Whiles these affairs thus went in *Italy*, *Antiochus* remaining at *Ephesus*, rested very secure and careless of the Roman war, as if the Romans had no purpose nor intention to pass over into *Asia*. This security of his was occasioned by many of his friends, who partly upon ignorance, and partly upon flattery perswaded him so. Only *Annibal*, who at that time was of greatest credit, and might do most with the King, said unto him, "That he rather marvelled much why the "Romans were not already in *Asia*, than doubted of their coming. For a neerer cut (quoth "he) it is by Sea out of *Greece* into *Asia*, than out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and a greater motive to "war is *Antiochus* than the Ætolians. And as for their valour and power, as hardy they are and "mighty at Sea, as on Land; and their fleet hath hovered a good while already about *Malea*. "Moreover, I heard say of late, that new ships be arrived, and a new General come out of *Italy*, "to follow and perform this war. And therefore, let *Antiochus* seed no longer upon a vain hope, "and promise himself a permanent peace: for shortly he must make account to fight with the "Romans in *Asia*. yea, and for *Asia*, both by Sea and Land; and no mean there is, but that either "himself must lose his Kingdom, or take from them their soveraign seignory, who affect and pre-"tend to be LL. of the whole world. He was the only man thought to forecast, and truly to foresee what would ensue. Whereupon the King himself in person, with those ships which he had ready rigged and furnished, sailed to *Chersonesus*, with intent to strengthen those places with good garrisons, if haply the Romans should come by Land. The rest of the navy he commanded *Polyxenidas* to prepare and put to Sea. And al about the Island he sent about his pinnaces and brigantins as espials to discover the coasts. *C. Livius* the Admiral of the Roman navy was arrived at *Naples* from *Rome* with fifty covered ships. At which place he gave commandment, That the open vessels, which by covenant were due to be sent from the allies of all that tract, should meet. From whence he sailed to *Sicily*, and passed the streights by *Messana*. And when he had received six Carthaginian ships sent to aid him, and called upon the Rhegins and Locrins, and other associats comprised in the same league and holding by the same tenure, for that shipping which of duty they were to find: when he had also taken a survey of all his armado at *Lacinium*, he weighed anchor, and put to the main Sea. Being arrived at *Corcyra*, which was the first City of all *Greece*, that he came unto, he enquired in what terms the war-affairs stood? (for as yet all was not throughly quiet in *Greece*) and where the Roman fleet was? After he heard that the Roman Consul and King *Philip*, were about the pass of *Thermopylæ*, and there lay in guard; that the fleet rid at anchor in the port and harbor of *Pyræum*; he thought it good to use expedition, and to make speed for all occasions whatsoever, and incontinently determined to sail forward to *Peloponnesus*. And having at one instant wasted *Samos* and *Zacynthus* as he went, because they chose rather to band with the Ætolians, he set sail for *Malea*, and having a good wind, within few daies he arrived at *Pyræum*, where the old fleet anchored. At *Scyllæum* King *Eumenes* met him with three ships: who had been a long time at *Ægina*, unresolved in himself, whether he should return to defend his own Kingdom (for he heard that *Antiochus* made preparation at *Ephesus* for war, as well by Sea as Land) or not to depart a foot from the Romans, upon whose fortune depended his whole state. *Aulus Atilius*, so soon as he had delivered to his successor five and twenty close ships of war, loosed from *Pyræum*, and came to *Rome*. So *Livius* with a fleet of eighty one ships armed at their beakheads with brasen pikes, besides many other smaller vessels, (which open as they were, had brasen heads, as is aforesaid; or if they were without such pikes, served for espials) sailed to *Delos*. Much about that time the Consul *Aicilius* assailed *Naupactum*. At *Delos*, *Livius* for certain dayes was staied by contrary winds (for that quarter among the Cyclades is exceeding windy, by reason that these Islands are divided asunder, some with broader gulfs, some with narrower.) *Polexenidas* being certified by the post-ships (set in diverse places to discover) that the Roman armado rid at anchor neer *Delos*, dispatched messengers to the King, who leaving all matters which he enterprised in *Hellespontus*, returned to *Ephesus* as fast as ever he could make sail with his ships of war, piked at the head: and presently called a council, where it was debated, whether he were best to hazard a battel at Sea or no? *Polyxenidas* was of opinion, "That he should not slack the time, "but in any wise give battel and trie a fight, before that the fleet of *Eumenes* and the Rhodian "ships were joined with the Romans: for so in number they should not be much overmatched, "and for all other things have the better, as well for nimbleness and agility of ships, as for variety "of aid-souldiers. For the Roman ships, as being unworkmanly built, they are heavy of steerage "and unweldy, so den they are and fraught besides with provision of victuals, as they are commonly that come into the enemies countrey. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about "them peaceable and quiet) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Besides, the skill of these seas and lands, and of the winds in these quarters, will be a great help unto "you; whereas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all. The device of this counsel had credit given unto him on all parts and the rather, for that he was the man himself to put in execution the same counsel. Two daies they made stay to set all things in order and readiness, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred sail, whereof 70 were covered the rest open, and all of the smaller making sand for *Phocæa* they shaped their course. The King hearing that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was not to be present in person at the conflict upon the sea) and went to *Magnesia* neer *Sipylus* for to levy land-forces. But his navy made sail to *Cyssus*, a port of the Erythræans, to attend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) sailed from *Delos* to *Phane*, a haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the Ægean sea. From thence they cast about with their ships to the City, and there having victualled themselves, they crossed over to *Phocæa*. *Eumenes*

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"monly that come into the enemies countrey. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about
"them peaceable and quiet) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Be-
"sides, the skill of these seas and lands, and of the winds in these quarters, will be a great help unto
"you; whereas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all.
The dehortor of this counsel had credit given unto him on all parts and the rather, for that he was
the man himself to put in execution the same counsel. Two daies they made stay to set all things
in order and readiness, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred sail, whereof 70
were covered the rest open, and all of the smaller making land for *Phocæa* they shaped their course.
G The King hearing that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was
not to be present in person at the conflict upon the sea) and went to *Magnesia* neer *Sipylus*, for to
levy land-forces. But his navy made sail to *Cyssus*, a port of the Erythræans, to attend the coming
of the enemy there: as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds
were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) sailed from *Delos* to *Pha-*
næ, a haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the Ægean sea. From thence they cast about with
their ships to the City, and there having victualled themselves, they crossed over to *Phocæa*. *Eu-*
menes

menes who was gone to *Elæa* toward his fleet, within few daies after, with four and twenty co- H
vered ships, and more uncovered, returned to the Romans; whom he found preparing and mar-
shalling themselves (a little short of *Phocæa*) for a battel at sea. Then set they all forward with a
hundred and fifty close covered ships, and more open and without hatches: and being with side
Northern winds, at the first driven to the sea shore, they were forced to sail single in rank one after
another. But afterwards, as the violence of the wind began to be allaied, they assaied to cross over
to the haven *Corycus*, which is above *Cyssus*. *Polyxenidas*, as soon as he heard that the enemies
were at hand, rejoyced that he had occasion presented unto him of a naval battel: and himself
stretched forth the left point of his fleet embattelled far into the sea, willing the Captains of the
ships to display the right wing broad, toward the land: and so with an even front, he advanced
forward to the fight. Which the Roman Admiral seeing, struck sail, took down the masts, and I
laying together all the tackling of the ships in one place, attended their coming that followed after.
By which time there were thirty in a rank afront, with which, because he would make them equal
to the left wing of the enemy, he set up the trinkets or small sails, meaning to make way into the
deep, commanding them that followed still, to make head, and direct their prows against the right
wing neer the land. *Eumenes* was the rere-Admiral, and kept the rereward close together: but
so soon as they began to be troubled with taking down their tackling, he set forward with all
speed and hast that he could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Car-
thaginian ships led before the Roman navy, which were encountred with three of the Kings
ships. And considering the ods of the number, two of the Kings came about one. And first they
wiped away the oars on both sides, then they shewed themselves aloft with their weapons, and K
boorded her, and after they had either overturned or killed the defendants, they were masters of
that ship. The other that was in single fight, and assailed but by one, seeing the other ship taken
by the enemies, fled back into the main fleet, before she was environed by the three enemies, *Li-
vius* chasing hereat, and angry at the heart, advanced forward with the Admiral ship afront the
enemy: against her, those other two which had enclosed the Carthaginian ship aforesaid, hoping
to do the like by this, came onward; which *Livius* perceiving, commanded the rowers to let their
oars hang in the water on both sides, for the more stay and steadiness of the ship, and likewise to
cast their iron hooks fashioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ships, as they approached
and came neer unto them; and when they were come to close fight in manner of land-service, then
to remember the valour of the Romans, and not to hold the Kings slaves for men of any worth. L
And with much more facility and ease, than the two ships before conquered one, this one for that
gained two. By this time the main fleet on both sides encountred on all sides, and fought pell-
mell. *Eumenes* who being in the rereward, came last in place, after the conflict was begun, per-
ceiving that *Livius* had disordered the left wing of the enemies, made head against the right,
where he saw them fighting on even hand, not long after the left wing began to flie. For *Polyxe-
nidas*, so soon as he saw himself without all question overmatched in valour of the souldiers, caused
the trinkets and all the cloth he had to be set up, and purposed to flie amain. Those likewise that
were toward the land, and fought with *Eumenes*, within a while did no less. The Romans and
Eumenes, so long as the mariners were able to plie their oars, and so long as they were in hope to
annoy the tail of the enemies, followed the chase lustily enough: but after that they perceived M
their own ships (charged and heavily loaden with victuals) follow after to no purpose, and to
lag behind, nor like to overtake them which were the swifter, because they were the lighter: staied
at length their pursuit, after they had taken 13 ships both with their souldiers and mariners, and
sunk ten. Of the Roman Armado there perished but one Carthaginian, which at the first encounter
was beset with two ships. *Polyxenidas* never gave over flight, but made way still, until he had re-
covered the haven of *Ephesus*. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the Kings
armado came, purposing on the morrow to make fresh sail after the enemy. And in the mids of
their course they met with those 35 Rhodian ships covered, conducted by *Pisistratus* their Admi-
ral; and taking those also with them, they followed the enemy even as far as *Ephesus*, where in the
mouth of the haven, they rid in order of battel: by which bravado, having wrung as it were from N
the enemies a plain confession that they were vanquished, the Rhodians and *Eumenes* were sent
home. The Romans setting their course for *Chius*, first sailed by *Phœnicus*, an haven Town of *Ery-
thræa*, and having cast anchor that night, the next day they weighed, and arrived within the Iland,
close to the City it self, where having sojourned some few daies, especially to refresh their rowers,
they passed forward to *Phocæa*. Where leaving four quinquereme Galeaces, the fleet arrived at
Canæ. and because the Winter approached, the ships were laid up in their docks on drie Land, and
for their safety were trenched and paled about. In the years end the General assembly for election
of Magistrats was holden at *Rome*, wherein were created Consuls, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lelius*.
For now all men had an eye to the finishing of the war against *Antiochus*. The next morrow were
the Pretors also chosen, namely, *M. Tuccius*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *Cneus Fulvius*, *L. Æmylius*, *P. Ju-* O
nius, and *C. Atinius Labeo*.

The

A

The seven and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the sevenand thirtieth Book.

B LUcius Cornelius Scipio *the Consul, having for his Lieutenant* P. Scipio Africanus (*according as he had promised, that he would be Lieutenant to his brother, if* Greece *and* Asia *were ordained to be his Province, whereas it was thought, that* C. Lælius, *for the great credit that he was in with the Senat, should have had that Province given him*) *took his voyage for to war against* Antiochus, *and was the first Roman that ever sailed over into* Asia, *as Captain and Commander of an army.* Æmylius Regillus *fought fortunately with the aid of the Rhodians before* Myonnesus, *against the royal navy of* Antiochus. *The son of* Africanus *taken prisoner by* Antiochus, *was sent home to his father.* M. Acilius Glabrio *tri-
umphed over* Antiochus, *whom he had driven out of* Greece, *as also over the Rhodians. Afterwards, when* Antiochus *was vanquished by* L. Cornelius Scipio (*with the assistance of King* Eumenes, *the son of* Attalus *King of* Pergamus) *he had peace granted unto him, upon condition, that he should quit and*
C *forgo all the Provinces on this side the mount* Taurus. *And* Eumenes, *by whose help* Antiochus *was overcome, had his Kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians also, for their helping hand, certain Cities were given and granted. One Colony was planted, called* Bononia. Æmylius Regillus, *who vanquished the Cap-
tains of* Antiochus *in a naval battel, obtained also a naval triumph.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *who finished the war with* Antiochus, *had the like surname given him as his brother, and was called after* Asiaticus.

The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

D WHen *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius* were Consuls, after order taken for the ser-
vice of the Gods, there was no matter treated of in the Senate, before the suit of
the Ætolians. And as their Embassadors were instant and earnest, because the
term of their truce was but short, so *T. Quintius*, who then was returned out of
Greece to *Rome*, seconded them. The Ætolians, relying more upon the mercy of the Senate, than
the justice of their cause, and ballancing their old good turns done to the Romans, to the late
harms and trespasses committed, used humble supplication. But so long as they were in presence
before the Senators, they were wearied with their interrogatories of all hands, who sought rather
to fetch and wring from them confession of a fault, then any other answer; and when they were
bidden to void out of the Senat-house, they caused much debate within. For in the handling of
their matter it was seen that anger bare more sway than pity, because they were not so much
E offended with them for being enemies, as they blamed them for an unruly, untamed, and unsocia-
ble nation. And after much hard hold for certain daies together, they resolved at length, neither
to grant nor deny them peace. Two conditions were tendered and presented unto them, either to
refer themselves wholy to the pleasure and disposition of the Senate, or else to deliver a 1000 ta-
lents: and withal to hold those for friends or foes, whomsoever the Romans reputed theirs. And
when they were desirous to draw from the Senators thus much, as to know in what points, and
how far forth, they should submit themselves to the discretion of the Senat; they could have no
certain answer to build upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were dismissed, with ex-
press commandment to void the City that very day, and to be gone out of *Italy* within 15 dayes
following. Then they fell to consultation in the Senat about the government of the Consular pro-
vinces. Both Consuls desired to have the charge of *Greece*. And *Lælius* was a great man with the
F Senat. Now when the house was minded that the Consuls should either cast lots or agree between
themselves for their Provinces, he rose up and said, That it was more decent and befitting to put
the matter to the judgment of that honorable court, than to the blind hazard of lots. To this *Scipio*
for the present made answer, that he would consider better of it: and after he had conferred se-
cretly with his brother apart (who advised him to be bold and put it to the Senat) he gave *Lælius*
to understand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this strange course and
manner of proceeding (either new and unheard of before, or else after so long disease of the practise
thereof, forgotten and taken up again) caused the Senat to arm themselves against a great strife and
contention, then *P. Scipio Africanus* said, That if they would ordain his brother *L. Scipio* to have
C the Province of *Greece*, he would accompany him in that voiage, in quality of his Lieutenant. This
one word of his (accepted of them all with a general consent) staied all debate: for a great mind
they had to make a trial, whether *Annibal* being vanquished could aid King *Antiochus* more, than
Africanus the Conqueror assist the Consul and the Roman legions. And all in a manner assigned
Greece to *Scipio*, and *Italy* to *Lælius*. But the Pretors had their Provinces, set out to them by lot;
L. Aurunculeius obtained the civil jurisdiction of citizens, and *L. Fulvius* of forainers: *L. Æmylius
Regillus* was L. Admiral of the armado, *P. Iunius* governed *Tuscany*, *M. Tuccius Apulia* and the

Brutii, and *L. Atinius Sicily*. Moreover that Consul, who was to be employed in *Greece*, had a commission granted, besides that army which he should receive of *M. Acilius* (and those were two legions) to furnish himself with a supply of 3000 footmen, and 100 horsemen of Roman citizens; also of 5000 foot, and 200 horse of allies that were Latins: and besides, granted it was in the same commission, that when he was arrived into his Provinces he should pass over with his army into *Asia*, if he thought it so expedient for the Common-weal.

Unto the other Consul was allowed an entire whole army of new souldiers, consisting of two Roman legions, and fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin allies. *Q. Minutius* had direction (by reason that he wrote how he had performed in his Province all that there was to be done, and that the whole Nation of the Ligurians had yeelded subjection) to translate his forces out of *Liguria* into the Boians countrey, and to deliver the same to *P. Cornelius* the Pro-consul. Out of that territory which he had taken away from them after they were vanquished, those City legions were withdrawn, which had been levied and enrolled the year before; and committed they were to the charge of *M. Tuccius* the Pretor, besides 15000 foot, and 6000 horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for to defend and keep in obedience, *Apulia* and the Brutians countrey. As for *A. Cornelius* the Pretor of the former year, (who with an army had the government of the Brutii) he was commanded to deliver unto *M. Acilius* (if the Consul thought so good) the legions transported over into *Ætolia*, if he would remain there still: but if *Acilius* would rather return to *Rome*, then *A. Cornelius* with that army, was to remain in *Ætolia*. Thought good it was, that *C. Atinius Labeo* should receive of *M. Æmylius*, the government of *Sicily* and his army: and if it pleased him, to take up and enrol out of that very Province 2000 foot and 100 horse, for to supply and fulfill the broken companies. *P. Junius Brutus* had commandment to levy a new army for the government of *Tuscany* to wit, one Roman legion, and 10000 foot of Latine allies, and 400 horse. Also *L. Æmilius* the Admiral, was to receive of *M. Junius* the Pretor of the former year, twenty Gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging; and besides, to levy himself 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and souldiers to sail into *Asia*, and to receive the fleet of *C. Livius*. As for them that were already in the government of both the Provinces of *Spain* and of *Sardinia*, they were to continue there still for one year longer, and to have the same armies at command. This year were two tenths of corn levied of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and order was given for all the Sicilian corn to be sent into *Ætolia* to the army: but out of *Sardinia*, that one part should be brought to *Rome*, and the other transported over into *Ætolia*, even to the same place that the other of *Sicily* aforesaid.

Before the Consuls set forward into their Provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifies should give order for the expiation of certain prodigies: for at *Rome* the Temple of *Juno Lucina* was smitten with lightning; so as both the lantern, yea, and the leaved dores thereof, were soully disfigured. Likewise at *Puteoli*, the Town walls in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were strucken dead therewith. At *Nursia* it was for certain known, that the day being fair and cleer, there arose a stormy tempest, wherein also two free men lost their lives. The Tusculans reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of *Reate* brought word, that within their territory a female mule foled. These prodigies (I say) were expiated: and the Latine festival holy-daies were celebrated anew, for that the dole of flesh was not given unto the Laurentins, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemn supplication was ordained, in regard of all errours and faults escaped in divine service and religious observances. Also out of the books of *Sybilla*, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what Gods, sacrifice should be made: and ten young springals free born, and ten Virgins likewise, whose Fathers and Mothers yet lived, were employed about the ministery of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed young sucklings. And *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, before he took his journey, erected an arch in the Capitol (over-against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two cesterns or lavers of marble. About this time, 43 principal persons of *Ætolia*, (among whom were *Democritus* and his brother) were conveighed to *Rome*, by two Squadrons or cohorts sent of purpose from *M. Acilius*: and there were laid up fast in the prison called * The stone quarries: which done, the cohorts aforesaid were commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Consul, to make return to the army. From *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* (King and Queen of *Ægypt*) there came Embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalf of the Romans, in these terms, That *M. Acilius* the Consul had chased King *Antiochus* out of *Greece*: exhorting also the Romans to transport an army into *Asia*: for that not in *Asia* only, but likewise in *Syria*, all men were smitten with fear and amazed. As for the KK. of *Ægypt*, they would be ready to do for their parts, whatsoever the Senat should set down. Thanks were returned to the K. and Q. aforesaid, and order was taken, that to the Embassadors for a reward should be given 4000 brasen Asses apeece.

L. Cornelius the Consul, having accomplished all things to be done at *Rome*, published an Edict in a general assembly, That as well those souldiers whom himself had enrolled for supply, as they who were with A. *Cornelius* in the Brutians country, should all meet at *Brundusium* upon the Ides of * *Quintilis*. Moreover he nominated three Lieutenants, *Sex. Digitius*, *L. Apustius*, and *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, for to gather ships together out of all the Sea-coasts into *Brundusium*. And when he had prepared and set all things in good order, he departed from the City, clad in his rich

* *Lautumiæ, or Latomiæ.*

* 5 of July.

rich coat of arms. There presented unto the Consul as he went forth, to the number of 5000 voluntaries, Romans and allies together, who had served their full years in the wars under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and now were exempt from souldiery, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled as prest souldiers. Much at the time that the Consul took his journey (during the festival Apollinare games in the honour of *Apollo*, upon the fift day before the Ides of *July*) it chanced, that in the day time when the air was cleer and fair, there arose a suddain darkness during the Eclipse of the sun, by reason that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and rundle of the sun. *L. Æmylius Regillus* also Admiral of the war, at the same time went to Sea. *L. Aurunculeius* was charged by order from the Senat, to build 30 Galeaces with five banks of oars, and 20 Gallies with three banks, because a bruit was blown and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus* upon the late battail at Sea, was about to prepare a much greater armado.

The Ætolians, after their Embassadors were returned from *Rome* and had made relation, that there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coasts (especially toward *Peloponnesus*) were spoiled and wasted by the Achæans, yet minding more their peril like to ensue, than remembring their loss received, seized the mountain *Corax*, intending to impeach and stop the passage of the Romans. For they made no question nor doubt, but that the next spring they would return to besiege and assault *Naupactum*. *Acilius*, who wist well what they expected, thought it better to go in hand with an enterprise unlooked for, and namely, to assail *Lamia*: for thus he thought, That seeing they had been already brought to a great strait and extremity by King *Philip*; now they might be taken suddainly and surprised at unawares, because they stood in fear of nothing less. Whereupon, removing from *Elatia*, he encamped first in the country of his enemies neer to the River *Sperchius*: from whence by night he dislodged, and advanced forth with his ensigns, and by the day break had invested their walls round about. Great fear and hurly there was, as in an accident unlooked for: yet all that day they defended the City more resolutly, than a man would have believed and thought they could have done in so suddain a danger: whiles men stood at defence upon the walls, women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts of all sorts, yea, and stones up to the walls unto them. *Acilius*, after he had sounded the retreat, brought back his men into the camp about noon: and after they had there refreshed their bodies with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the *Pretorium*) that ere day-light the next morning they should be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with them into the camp, before they were masters of the Town. At the same time as the day before, he gave assault in many places: and for as much as the Townsmens strength decaied, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts fainted, within few hours he won the City. After he had made a riddance of the pillage, sold some part, and given away the rest, he fell to take counsel what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against *Naupactum*, considering that the Ætolians held and kept the pass of *Corax*. Howbeit *Acilius*, to the end that he would not keep the field in summer without doing some exploit, and that the Ætolians might not enjoy that peace by the slacknes of the Roman souldiers, which obtain they could not at the Senats hand, he purposed to besiege *Amphissa*: and so the army was conducted thither from *Heraclea*, by the mountain *Oeta*. When he had encamped himself under the Town walls, he began not to invest it round with men as he did *Lamia*, but with ordnance and engins to batter in. In many places at once he ran with the ram against the walls: and albeit they were shaken, the Townsmen were not about either to make ready, or to devise and invent any means of defence against that instrument or engin. All their hope was in trusty armour and hardy valour. And so often they sallied forth, that they disordred and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but also those that attended about the fabricks and artillery. Howbeit, in many places the wall was battred and breaches made: and even at that very instant news came unto him, that his successor had landed his army at *Apollonia*, and was coming by the way of *Epirus* and *Thessaly*. Now came the Consul with a power of 13000 foot, and five hundred horse. And by this time was he passed as far as to the vale and level of *Malea*: and having sent certain afore to summon the City *Hypata*, and received answer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the Ætolians; because the siege of *Hypata* should not stay him, and *Amphissa* not yet won, he led his forces against it, and sent his brother *Africanus* before. Ere they came, the Oppidans had quit the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed and unarmed into a Castle which they had, impregnable. The Consul pitched his tents six miles from the Town.

Thither arrived the Athenian Embassadors, and first they repaired to *P. Scipio*, who, as we have said, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Consul, intreating for the Ætolians. Of the twain they received a gentler answer at the hands of *Africanus*, who seeking some honest occasion to leave the Ætolian war, set his heart and eye wholly upon *Asia* and King *Antiochus*: and to this purpose he willed the Athenians to perswade not only with the Romans but also with the Ætolians, to prefer peace before war. And speedily, through the motion and perswasion of the Athenians there was a solemn embassage of the Ætolians dispatched from *Hypata*. Induced "they were the rather to hope for peace by the speech of *Africanus* (for to him they came first) "who discoursed unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in *Spain* first, afterwards in "*Africk*, had put themselves under his protection, and in them all he had left greater testimonies "of his clemency and bounty, than of his warlike valour and martial proweſs. Thus they had

brought the matter (as they thought) to a good pass, and made it sure: but when they came be- H
fore the Consul, they had the same answer of him, with which they were sent away from the Se-
nate, and commanded to avoid. The Ætolians wounded therewith anew, seeing they could win
nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenian embassage, nor the gracious answer of *Afri-
canus*, said, they would make report thereof unto their States and country-men. So, they re-
turned from thence to *Hypata*, where they were to seek what to do, and could not resolve: for
neither had they whereof to raise a thousand talents: and again, if they should absolutely put
themselves into their hands, they feared to feel the smart thereof in their bodies. Therefore they
commanded the same Embassadors to go again to the Consul and to *Africanus*, and to exhibit a
petition, that if they were minded indeed and verity to grant them peace, and not by vain shew
and semblance only to frustrate and delude the hope of poor suppliants: they would either rebate I
them a quantity of that grand sum of money, or else accept so of their absolute surrender, that no
free citizen might be touched thereby in his person. But nothing could be gotten at the Consuls
hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this embassage also sent away as it came, and no-
thing done. The Athenians came after them in place, the principal man of whose embassage, *Eche-
demus*, seeing the Ætolians wearied with so many repulses, and lamentably to no purpose bewail-
ing the miserable estate of their country; put them still in some new hope, and gave them counsel
to crave truce for six moneths, that they might address their Embassadors to *Rome*, and receive an
answer from thence: shewing unto them, that this delay could not augment their present calami-
ty, which could not worse be; but contrary-wise, time and space coming between might afford
many accidents whereby their present misery might be mitigated and allayed. So by the advice K
of *Echedemus*, the same men were sent once again who had communed before with *P. Scipio*, and
by his means obtained of the Consul a truce for that term; which was the thing they craved.
The siege being raised before *Amphissa*, *M. Acilius*, after he had delivered up his army into the
hands of the Consul, resigned his government, and departed out of the Province: and the Con-
sul likewise from *Amphissa* returned into *Thessaly*, intending through *Macedony* and *Thrace* to
conduct his army into *Asia*.

Then *Africanus* entred into speech with his brother, and said: "The journey which you en-
"terprise *L. Scipio*, I for my part approve and think well of, but all resteth in the will and plea-
"sure of *Philip*: who if he be fast and faithful to the state and Empire of *Rome*, he will grant us
"passage, he will afford us victuals, he will furnish us with all things which in so long a voyage L
"are necessary to the help and sustenance of our army: but if he fail and forsake us once, you
"must make accompt of no safety and security throughout all *Thracia*: therefore I am of advice
"that the Kings affection be first sounded. And that will best be done if the messenger who shall
"be dispatched unto him, may come upon him on a suddain, and take him unprovided and ha-
"ving no time to put any prepensed plot in practise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a most nimble and
active young Gentleman, was at that time chosen for the fittest person to perform this action:
who taking fresh post Horses all the way as he rode, with incredible celerity made such speed,
that from *Amphissa* (for thence he had his dispatch) in three dayes space, he arrived at *Pella*.
The King was at a feast or banket when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And find-
ing him thus disposed to solace and recreat his spirits, he had no reason to suspect that he was M
minded and inclined to any change or alteration: and so for that time this guest was bidden wel-
come, and had good cheer made him. The morrow after he saw the provision of victuals in
great store ready for the armies, he beheld the Bridges made over the Rivers, and the high ways
mended and prepared, where passage was difficult. With these intelligences he returned to the
Consul, with as great speed as he went, and met him at *Thaumaci*. From whence, the army in
much joy and with greater and more assured hope, entred into *Macedony*; where all was provi-
ded to their hands. The King at their coming received them right stately, and at their departure
conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, ready and courteous he shewed himself:
which *Africanus* much liked and highly commended, being a man as in all other things singular,
so in allowing of elegancy and humanity, if it were without superfluity and excess, nothing nice N
and streight-laced. Thus they held on their journey unto *Hellespontus*, passing through *Mace-
dony* and *Thrace*, and *Philip* still accompanied them, and provided all things for their use afore-
stand.

After the battail fought at Sea neer *Corycum*, *Antiochus* having had all the winter time free
without any empeachment to furnish himself with forces both for Land and Sea, above all things
studied and devised how to repair his fleet, for fear he should be quite disseized and dispossessed
of the Sea. And evermore this ran in his mind, that he had an overthrow, and yet the Rhodians
fleet was away. For thus he cast with himself, that if they also should be present at the next con-
flict (and surely the Rhodians, thought he, will not for any thing be behind again) he then should
have need of a mighty number of ships, to match the enemies Armado as well in greatness as good-
ness. And therefore he had both sent *Annibal* into *Syria* for to take up the ships of the Phœni-
cians, and also commanded *Polyxenidas* to repair those vessels which he had already, and to make
and rig others with so much more diligence as his fight afore was less fortunate. Himself passed
the winter in *Phrygia*, and seeking for aid out of all places, he sent out as far as into *Gallogracia*.
The people there at that time were great warriors: keeping still the courages of Gauls, for that
the race of that nation was not yet extinct and worn out. His son *Seleucus* he had left in *Æolis* with
an

army to keep the maritime Cities in obedience, which *Eumenes* from *Pergamus* of one side,
A and the Romans from *Phocæa* and *Erythræ* on the other side, sollicited to rebellion. The Roman
fleet, as I said before, wintered at *Canæ*. Thither in the mids almost of winter came *Eumenes*
with two thousand foot, and a hundred horse. Who having given out unto *Livius*, that great
prizes might be raised out of the enemies territory about *Thyatira*, had so perswaded and wrought
with him, that he sent with him five thousand souldiers: who being set forth to this rode and ex-
pedition, in few dayes drove away a mighty booty. Amid these matters, there hapned a mutiny
in *Phocæa*, by occasion of some that would have withdrawn and turned away the hearts of the
multitude unto King *Antiochus*. The wintering of the fleet was chargeable to that City. The
imposition of a tribute was heavy, in regard that they were put to the finding of five hundred
side cassocks, and as many coats for liveries: the scarcity of corn also was grievous unto them; for
B which default the ships and the Roman garrison abandoned the place and departed: whereupon
that faction which in all their speeches and assemblies drew the common people to side with *An-
tiochus*, was rid of all fear. The Senat and the principal citizens of *Phocæa* were of opinion to con-
tinue to the last, in the association of the Romans: but the perswaders and counsellers of a re-
volt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not so slow the summer past, but they were as forward now in the spring:
for before mid-*March*, they sent out the same *Pausistratus* Admiral of a fleet of six and thirty sail.
And by this time *Livius* loosed from *Canæ*, and sailed toward *Hellespontus*, with thirty ships, and
seven Gallies of four banks of oars, which King *Eumenes* had brought with him, to the end that
he might prepare things necessary for the passage of the army, which he supposed would come by
C Land. And first he fell with the bay or port which they call, The rode of the * Achæans, from * Where they lay sometimes against Troy.
whence he went up to *Ilium*, where, after he had sacrificed to *Minerva*, he gave gracious audience
to the embassages of the neighbors bordering, which came from *Eleus*, *Dardanus*, and *Rhœtium*,
who committed their Cities unto his protection. From thence he directed his course to the
streights of *Hellespontus*, and leaving ten ships in the rode over-against *Abydus*, with the rest of the
fleet, he passed over into *Europe*, to assault *Sestos*. As the armed souldiers approached their walls,
the frantick Priests of *Cybele* called *Galli*, bereft of their wits, presented themselves first unto them
before their gates, in their solemn habit and vestments, saying, That they being the servants and
ministers of Dame *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, were come by the instinct and commandment
of that goddess to beseech the Roman General to spare the walls and the City. And not one of
D them had any harm done unto them. Anon, the whole body of the Senat with the Magistrats came
forth to yeeld the Town. From thence they crossed over to *Abydus*, where (after many parlies, in
which they had sounded their minds, and could have no answer tending to peace) they addressed
themselves to lay siege to the City, and to assault it.

Whiles these things stood thus about *Hellespont*, *Polyxenidas* a Rhodian born, but banished
his countrey, and a Captain for King *Antiochus*, hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to Sea, and
that *Pausistratus* their Admiral, had in open audience given out certain proud and disdainful
speeches against him, entred into a privat quarrel with him, tossing and devising in his mind night
and day nothing else, but how he might by some effectual and worthy deeds, check and confute
E those brave and glorious words of his. He dispatched therefore unto him as a messenger, a man M
well known unto him, with credence and instructions to give him to understand, that himself
would (if he might) stand both *Pausistratus* and his country in good stead: and that *Pausistratus*
(if it pleased him) had means to restore him again into his native country. When *Pausistratus*
marvailed hereat, and was very inquisitive to know how this might be effected: and gave him
his faithful promise (at his request) either to joyn with him in the action, or else to conceal all
and keep counsel: then the messenger declared, that *Polyxenidas* would make over unto him the
Kings navy either entire, or the greater part thereof: and in consideration and recompence of
this so great demerit, he desired no more but that he might return into his country. The impor-
tance of this matter was so great, that he neither believed his words, nor yet neglected and de-
spised the same. So he went to *Panormus*, a place in the Land of *Samos*, and there he abode to view
F and see the thing that was offred unto him. Courriers there ran between, and never would *Pau-
sistratus* give credit to the party, until *Polyxenidas* wrote a letter with his own hand in the pre-
sence of his said messenger, that he would perform whatsoever he had promised, yea, and sent the
same letters sealed with his own sign Manual. By this sure pledge or gage, *Pausistratus* made full
account that he had the traitor surely bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that
Polyxenidas living as a subject under the King, would never hazard the danger of such pregnant
matter to appear against himself, testified under his own hand-writing: so from that time forward
the means of this pretended and counterfeit treason was devised and agreed upon. *Polyxenidas*
gave him to understand, that he would of purpose lay aside and neglect preparation of all furni-
G ture, that he would neither have rowers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: more-
over, under a colour of calking and calfretting he would lay up some ships on dry Land: others
he would send away into the havens neer at hand, and keep some few riding at anchor before *E-
phesus* in the haven, and those (if he were forced to battail) he would set out to fight. The same
negligence that *Pausistratus* heard say *Polyxenidas* would use in his fleet, the same himself presen-
tly shewed in his own. For some of his ships he sent to *Halicarnassus* for victuals, and other to *Sa-
mos* the City, to the end that he might be in readiness when the traitor gave the signal of assault.

Poly-

Polyxenidas still by false semblance encreased the errors and vain imaginations of *Pausistratus*: for M
some ships indeed he drew aland and laid up dry: and as if he meant to hale up more, he repaired
and amended the docks. Oremen and mariners he sent not forth out of their winter harbors to
go to *Ephesus*, but secretly assembled them to *Magnesia*. Now it fortuned that a certain souldier
serving under King *Antiochus*, who was come to *Samos* about some private affairs of his own, was
apprehended there for a spy, and brought to *Panormus* before the Admiral *Pausistratus*. Who, be-
ing demanded what they did at *Ephesus*: I know not whether for fear, or upon small loyalty that
he bare to his Prince and countrey, discovered all: namely, that the fleet rid in the haven rigged,
decked and trimmed in readiness: *Item*, that all the rowers and mariners were sent to *Stratus* in
Magnesia: *Item*, that some vessels, and those very few, were drawn up to land, and the docks and
harbors were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navy was so carefully I
looked unto, nor Sea-affairs so well managed. But the mind of *Pausistratus* was so possessed be-
fore, with foolish conceits and vain hopes, that he would not believe these informations and in-
telligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having set all things forward and in good readiness, by night sent
for the rowers and mariners from *Magnesia*: and having in great hast shot to Sea, and set afloat
those vessels which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not so much in
making provision, as trifling out the time on set purpose, because he would not have the fleet to
be seen when it set forth, weighed anchor and loosed after the sun was gone down: and with 70
sail of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entred the Bay of *Pygala* before day, where
resting all the live long day for the same purpose as before, the next night he sailed to the neereſt
coasts of *Samos*. From whence he gave commandment to one *Nicander* an Archpirat, to set sail K
for *Palinurus*, with five close covered ships, there to land; and from thence to march with his
armed souldiers over the fields the neereſt way to *Panormus*, and to come upon the back of the
enemies: himself in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to *Panormus*,
there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both sides. *Pausistratus* at first was troubled
for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old beaten souldier,
he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, supposed that he might more easily re-
pulse the enemies by Land than by Sea; and led his souldiers in two Squadrons unto the promon-
tories which bearing out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes
or heads he supposed that he might easily set back and put by the enemies with shooting darts
from both sides. But *Nicander* who was sent by Land, impeached this design of his, so that he was L
forced suddainly to change his mind and alter that course, and therefore commanded all his men
to go a shipboord and away. Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the souldiers and
also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, seeing themselves in-
vironed at once both by Land and Sea. *Pausistratus* supposing the only way to escape and save
themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover sea-room; after
he had seen all his men embarked, commanded the reſt to follow, and himself first plying and la-
bouring hard with oars, scudded amain with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when
she was once past the streight and come into the open Sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him
with three Galeaces of five banks of oars, and so beset him. The poor ship was wounded with the
iron pikes bearing out in the beak heads of the Galeaces, and so bouged and sunk withal. The M
defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the reſt, *Pausistra-*
tus himself manfully fighting lost his life. The reſt of the ships were boorded and taken, some before
the haven, others within: and some there were that by *Nicander* were seized as they laboured to
loose from the land, and to lanch forth. Five ships only of *Rhodes*, and two of *Cous*, escaped cleer
and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickeſt of their enemies, by the means of a
fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they set me two long perches or poles
bearing forward at the prow, like two sprit-sails, in every ship, carying iron pots and pans afore
them full of light fire. The Gallies of *Erythrea*, meeting the Rhodian ships not far from *Samos* as
they fled the which were coming to help them, turned their course backward into *Hellespontus*,
unto the Romans. About the same time *Seleucus* gained the City of *Phocæa* by treason, entring in N
at a gate which the warders set open of purpose for him. And for fear, *Cyme* and other Towns of
that coast revolted unto him.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Æolis*, and that *Abydus* had endured the siege for certain dayes
by the defence of the Kings garrison that manned the walls: now that all were overtoiled and
wearied, the Magistrats of the City (by the permission of *Philotas* Captain of the garrison) articled
with *Livius* upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they stood, and
which stayed the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings souldiers
should be sent away armed or disarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the
Rhodians defeat, and so the opportunity of gaining the Town slipt out of their hands. For *Livius*
fearing, lest *Polyxenidas* puffed up with the success of so great an exploit, would surprize the fleet O
that rid at *Cane*, leaving presently the siege before *Abydus*, and the garding of *Hellespont*, put to Sea
afresh those ships that lay dry at *Cane*. And *Eumenes* came to *Elea*: But *Livius* went to *Phocæa*
with all his fleet, to which he had adjoyned two trireme gallies of *Mitylene*. But when he heard
say it was kept with a strong garrison of the Kings, & that *Seleucus* was encamped not far off, after
he had pilled the sea-coast, and charged hastily his ships with a good booty, & those were prizes of
men especially, he stayed no longer there than until *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet,
but

A but directed his course streight to *Samos*. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their over-
throw, feared much, and with almighty sorrowed: for besides the loss of their Sea-souldiers and
ships, they lost also the very flour and strength of their youth: for as much as many young Gentle-
men of their nobility, accompanied *Pausistratus*, among other motives, in regard of his authority,
which was right great and for good desert among his countrey-men. But afterwards considering
how treacherously they were overwrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born a-
mong them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they
sent forth ten ships immediatly, and few dayes after other ten, under the conduct of *Endamus* the
Admiral over them all: who albeit he were not for other fears of arms and martial skill equal to
Pausistratus, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader so much the more wary and circum-
B spect, as he was the less hardy and courageous. The Romans and King *Eumenes* sitting still with the
Iland *Erythræa*, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of *Corycus*, a
promontory of the Teians. From whence when they purposed to crosse over to the neereſt parts of
Samos, not waiting for the sun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the
weather, they hoised up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned
from North-east to full North, as they were in the midst of their course, whereby they began to
be mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough and angry Sea. *Polyxenidas* supposing
that the enemies would take their course directly to *Samos*, there to joyn with the Rhodian
fleet, departed from *Ephesus*, and first anchored at *Myonesus*: from thence he sailed to an Iland
called *Marie*, to the end that as the enemies fleet sailed by, he might take advantage to set upon
C either some ships singled and severed from the body of the fleet or play upon the tail and reregard
thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he
thought first to take that occasion to sail upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and
rising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come neer to boord them, he cut over
to the Iland *Ethalia*, minding the next day to assail the ships in the main Sea as they passed to Sa-
mos. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of
Samia, which they found void and empty: the reſt of the fleet after they had been tossed and
cornented all the night long in the deep, at length light upon the same harbor. Where being ad-
vertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of *Athalia*, they fell
to consult, whether presently to bid battail and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the
D Rhodian fleet. Deferring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed)
they traversed to *Corycus*, from whence they came. *Polyxenidas* likewise, having staid at anchor in
vain returned to *Ephesus*: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus cleer of enemies,
sailed over to *Samos*. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few daies after: and that it might ap-
pear how long looked for it was, they all presently set sail for *Ephesus*, with purpose either to try
an issue by a battel at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the tryal, to express and wring from him a
plain confession of cowardise: which was a material point and of great importance to move the
minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattailed
their ships and stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make sail nor set
out against them, the one part thereof rode aflote at anchor still in the very haven mouth: the
E other discharged the souldiers and set them a land. Upon whom (as they were driving a mighty
booty which they had raised by foraging all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who lay
in garrison at *Ephesus*, sallied forth, even as they approached the walls of the City; and having
eased them of a great part of their prey aforesaid, he chased them to the Sea unto their ships. The
morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the mid-way between, marched in
order of battail against the City, to see if peradventure they could train forth the Macedonian a-
gain without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for suspicion and fear of
an await, they returned to their ships again; and when they saw their enemies would not abide
them neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet sailed again to *Samos* from whence it came.
Thence the Prætor made out two Gallies of Italian confederats, and as many Rhodians under the
F conduct of *Epicrates* the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the streights of *Cephalenia*, which
Hibristas the Lacedæmonian together with the youth of the Cephalens, infested with his roving
and robbing, in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea to and fro with victuals between *Italy*
and that coast. At *Pyræum* *Epicrates* met with *L. Æmilius Regillus* coming to succeed in the Ad-
miralty: who hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, and having himself but two Quinquereme
Galleaces, brought *Epicrates* back with him into *Asia* with four ships. There accompanied them
also the open ships of the Athenians. And he passed over by the Sea * *Ægeum*. Thither also ar- * Archipelago.
rived *Timasicrates* the Rhodian in the dead of the night with two Quadrireme gallies from *Samos*,
Who being brought unto *Æmylius*, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that Sea-coast,
which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their often excursions from *Hellespontus* and *A-*
G *bydus*, had made too hot for the Hulks and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As
Æmylius sailed from *Chios* to *Samos*, two Rhodian Quadrireme Gallies were sent by *Livius* to
meet him and King *Eumenes* also with two Quinquereme galleaces presented himself unto him. Be-
ing all arrived at *Samos*, *Æmylius* after he had received the navy of *Livius*, and sacrificed orderly as
the manner was, called a councel. At which *C. Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spake and
said, "That no man giveth more sound and faithful counsel than he, who perswadeth another man
"to that which himself would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was, to

"go

"go against *Ephesus* with the whole armado, and thither to bring with me the vessels of burden
"charged with heavy ballast of gravel and sand, and so sink them in the very haven mouth, for to
"choak it up. And to make this bar against the haven, it was a matter (said he) of less difficulty,
"for that the mouth and gulfe of the haven was in manner of a river, long, narrow, and full of
"shelfs and shallows. By which mean I should have cut off the benefit of the Sea from the enemy,
"and make him lose the use altogether of his navy. But no man there besides himself thought
well of this device. King *Eumenes* demanded, what they would do then after this shaking up
and stoppage of the haven passage, by sinking the ships? whether they would depart from thence
with their own navy at liberty, to help their allies and terrifie and affright their enemies; or ne-
ver the later still, keep the haven (as it were) in siege with the whole fleet? For if they departed,
who could make doubt but that the enemy would pluck up those dams and bars that there lay
drowned; yea, and with less ado and trouble, open the haven again, than it was stopped? and if
they meant to tary there nevertheless, to what purpose then was the haven shut up? But contra-
ry-wise, they within *Ephesus* (quoth he) being in surety for any danger from their haven and ha-
ving a most rich and wealthy City of their own, furnished with all things out of *Asia*, would pass
the summer season in rest and repose; whiles the Romans lying in the open wide Sea, exposed to
the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempests, should be driven to keep a continual
guard, disfurnished of all things, and rather tied up and debarred themselves, for being able to
effect those things that were needful to be done, than in case to empeach and shut up their ene-
mies. Then *Eudamus* the Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, opined for his part, and spake to the
question, saying, That he rather disliked of that course, than knew himself a better, or could ad-
vise what was to be done. *Epicrates* the Rhodian was of mind, to leave *Ephesus* for the present,
and to send part of his ships into *Lycia*, for to associate unto them *Patara*, the capital City of that
nation: shewing two things of great consequence, that hereby would accrue. For, both the Rho-
dians assured of peace, and secured from all danger of those quarters that lie about their Island,
might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their forces upon the regard of this only war against
Antiochus: and also the Armado which was prepared in *Lycia* might be stopped and empeached,
for ever joining with *Polyxenidas*. This opinion imported, and prevailed most. Howbeit, thought
good it was and agreed upon, that *Regillus* should present himself before *Ephesus*, with the whole
fleet, to strike a terror into the enemies. And *C. Livius* was sent with four Rhodian quadrireme
Gallies, and two Smyrnean open ships into *Lycia*, with direction to take *Rhodes* in the way, and
with them there to communicate all his counsels. The Cities which he passed by, namely, *Mi-
letus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus* and *Cous*, performed willingly whatsoever was enjoined
and imposed upon them. Being arrived at *Rhodes*, he declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his
commission, and withal required their advice. They all approved the design, and when he had
taken of them to the fleet that he had of his own, three quadrireme gallies more, he sailed to
Patara. At the first he had a merry gale of wind, that set them forward directly toward the
City, and good hope they had with their suddain terrour to do some good with the inhabitants:
but afterwards, the wind being come about, the Sea rose, and the surging waves began to make it
troublesome and dangerous; howbeit they laboured so with oars that they got to the shore side.
But neither was there about the City any safe bay to ride in, neither were they able to keep the
Sea with anchor without the haven mouth of the enemies City, the Sea was so rough, and the
night so neer. So passing along by the wall side of the City, they sailed to the port of *Phanicus*, less
than two miles distant from thence, which was a safe rode for their ships from all danger of Sea,
but high cliffs and rocks there were over their heads which commanded them, and those the
Townsmen quickly seized, with the assistance of the Kings souldiers whom they had in garrison.
Against whom *Livius* sent out the aid-souldiers of the Isseans, and the nimblest and most agile
young men of the Smyrneans, notwithstanding the landing places were very difficult and unto-
ward. These sustained the fight at firsts so long as they shot darts, and made petty excursions and
profers rather of skirmishes, than a direct battel, as being but few in number. But after that they
ran out of the City in great numbers, and that the whole multitude was issued forth, *Livius* feared
left not only those auxiliars should be environed and enclosed, but also the ships distressed and en-
dangered from the land: so he brought forth to fight, not the souldiers only, but all the rabble of
the mariners also and the rowers, armed and furnished with whatsoever weapons they could find.
And even then also there was a doubtful and dangerous conflict, wherein besides certain souldiers
L. Apustius died in the conflict of this suddain and tumultuary skirmish. Yet in the end, the Ly-
cians were discomfited, put to flight, and chased into their City. The Romans likewise retired to
their ships, carrying away with them no bloudless victory for their part. From thence they shaped
their course to the gulf or narrow streight of *Telmessus* (which of one side toucheth *Caria*, and *Ly-
cia* on the other) laying aside all hope to assail *Patara* any more: and so the Rhodians were dis-
charged and sent home. *Livius* after he had coasted along *Asia* crossed over into *Greece*, to the
end, that having communed and conferred with the *Scipios* (who then abode about *Thessaly*) he
might sail directly into *Italy*.

Æmylius when he had intelligence, that the designment intended in *Lycia* was given over,
and that *Livius* was departed into *Italy*, being himself also returned to *Samos* (for that he was by
violence of tempest repulsed from *Ephesus*, without effect of his enterprise) thought it was a shame
and dishonour, that the adventure was given upon *Patara* in vain, and therefore determined in
proper

* *Melasoi*
* *S. Pietro.*
* *Castello S. Pedro.*
* *Cabo Crio.*
* *Patera.*

A proper person to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet; and to assault the City with all the force he could possible. And having passed along *Miletus*, and all that coast of the associats, they disbarked from the gulf or creek of *Bargilla*, and came a land neer *Iassus*. The City was held by a garrison of the Kings: and the Romans wasted by way of hostility, the territory about it. Then *Æmylius* sent certain to parle with the chief citizens and the Magistrats, to sound them how they were disposed, and also to sollicite them to revolt: but being answered again that it lay not in their own power to do as they would, he marched forward to give an assault to the City. Now there were certain Iassians, banished persons, in company with the Romans, who in great number besought and importuned the Rhodians, not to suffer a City, so neer a neighbour and linked in bloud unto them, for to perish and come to ruin, especially having no way offended: alledging,
B that the only cause of their banishment was their loyalty unto the Romans, and by the same vio-
lence of the Kings garrison souldiers, were they also held in awe who remained in the City, by which themselves had been expelled. For all the Iassians in general were of one mind, most wil-
ling and desirous to avoid and shake off the servitude under the King. The Rhodians were moved in compassion with their prayers, and joining unto them King *Eumenes* also, partly by shewing the consanguinity and kindred between them, and partly by pitying and lamenting the distressed state of the City (besieged, as it were, already by the Kings garrison) they prevailed so much that they forbare to assail it. So they departed from thence, and because all other parts were peaceable, they sailed along the coast of *Asia*, until they arrived at * *Lotyma*, a port or haven town even a-
gainst *Rhodes*. There in the *Principia* began first a secret whispering among the Colonels (which * *Mixis.*
C afterwards came to the ears of *Æmylius* himself) namely, That the navy was led away far enough off from *Ephesus*, where by right and of duty he was to war; to the end, that the enemy being left at liberty behind their backs, might attempt to do what he list without controlment, against so many Cities and States of the Roman allies neer unto him. *Æmylius* was moved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them, Whether the whole armado might ride conve-
niently within the haven of *Patara*? And when they answered No, he took that occasion to pass no further, but to give over the voyage, and so brought back his ships to *Samos*.

In this same time *Seleucus* the son of *Antiochus*, after he had kept his army all winter time in
Ædis, employing it partly in succouring his associats, and partly in sacking and pilling those whom
he could not draw into association, intended to invade the confines of King *Eumenes* his realm,
D whiles he (together with the Romans) was busied far from home, in assailing the maritime parts of *Lycia*. And first he approached *Elæa* in countenance of an enemy, with banner displaied; but afterwards, leaving to besiege the City, after spoil made in hostile manner of the territory, he marched forward to besiege and assault the head City and capital strength of al his Kingdom * *Per-
gamus*. *Attalus* at the beginning seemed rather to brave and provoke him unto fight with his
strong guards that he had placed without the City, and excursions with his horsemen and light ar-
mour, than to stand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his enemy: but at length, seeing by these light skirmishes that he was in no respect able to march *Seleucus*, he retired himself within his walls, and so the City began to be besieged. And much about the same time, *Antiochus* also being departed from *Apamea*, first lay encamped at *Sardis*, and afterwards, not far
E from the camp of *Seleucus*, neer to the head or source of the river * *Caicus*, with a mighty army composed of diverse and sundry nations. The greatest shew of terror in this army was a redou-
bled Regiment of Gauls, to the number of four thousand, hired for wages, whom with some few other among them, he sent out to wast and destroy all parts of the territory about *Pergamus*. When news hereof came to *Samos*, *Eumenes* at the first, being called away by this war, (begun at home, even at his very dores) made haste with his fleet to *Elæa*: where finding in readiness certain horsemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by their sure convoy and safe conduct, he came to *Pergamus* before the enemies had knowledge thereof, or enterprised anything. Where once a-
gain they began to make light skirmishes by way of excursions, for in truth *Eumenes* lay off, and
F was not willing to hazard the main chance upon a throw. Few dayes after, both the Roman and Rhodian fleet came from *Samos* and were arrived at *Elæa* for to aid the King *Eumenes*. When *Antiochus* was advertised that they had landed their forces at *Elæa*, and that so many armadoes were met together in that one haven, and hearing withal about the same time, that the Consul was already with a power in *Macedony* making reparation of all things for his passage over *Helle-
spont*: he supposed now it was high time (before that he were pressed at once both by Land and Sea) to treat for peace, and therefore he seized a certain hill over against *Elæa*, to fortify and en-
campin. Where, leaving his whole power of Infantry, he descended into the plain, under the very walls of *Elæa*, with all his Cavalry, to the number of six thousand Horse. And sending an herald to *Æmylius*, he gave him to understand, that he was desirous to have a treaty of peace.
G *Æmylius* sent for *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated in councel what to do. The Rhodians refused not the offer. But *Eumenes* said it was neither ho-
nourable to parle of peace at that time, nor yet possible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. "For being as we are (quoth he) pinned up within our walls and besieged, how can we receive "from another, conditions of peace, saving our credit and honour? and who will hold that for a "firm and assured peace, which we shall contract without the presence of the Consul, without the "authority of the Senat, and without the grant of the people of *Rome*? For I demand of you, when "ye have made a peace, whether you will return presently into *Italy* or no? whether you will

* *Pergamo* or *Bergamo.*

* *Girmasti.*

"withdraw

"withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Consul his mind and H
"advise, the Senats pleasure and ordinance, and the general assent of the people in that behalf? It
"remaineth then after that is done, that you stay still in *Asia*, and that your forces being brought
"back again into their wintering harbors, (after they have done with warfare) fall to consume
"and eat out our allies, by charging them with provision of victuals: and afterwards, if it shall so
"please the higher powers, and those that are in authority so to ordain, we must begin that war
"anew, which now we are able (if we slack not the time, nor stop the forward course wherein we
"are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods, to finish and bring to a final
"end. This advice took place; and answer was returned unto *Antiochus*, that there could be no
treaty of peace before the Consul his coming. *Antiochus* having thus in vain sought for peace,
when he had first forraged and wasted the territory of *Elæa*, and afterwards of *Pergamus*, left his I
* *Laudrimiti.* son *Selencus* there, and went himself in person to * *Adramytteum*, pilling and spoiling all the way
as he journeyed, in all kind of hostility. Now this territory is a rich country, called, The champ-
pain plains of *Thebe*: much renowned by the Poet *Homer* in his poem; and in no one place besides
of all *Asia* got the Kings souldiers a greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived also to *A-*
dramytteum both *Æmylius* and *Eumenes* (having set a compass by sea) for the defence of the said
City. During this time, they sent for a thousand foot, and a hundred horse out of *Achæa* to come
unto *Elæa*: all which forces were commanded by Captain *Diophanes*. So soon as they were dis-
barked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men sent from *Attalus* of purpose to
meet them, who by night conducted them to *Pergamus*, they were all old souldiers and well ex-
perienced in feats of war: and their leader *Diophanes* had been brought up and trained under *Phi-* K
lopœmenes, the greatest warrior in those dayes of all the Greeks, who took but two dayes for to
rest his horse and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at
what time they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings souldiers were
approached almost to the very foot of the hill, where the City is situate. By means whereof they
might forage behind at their will, and there was not one issued out of the City so much as to lance
a dart aloof against the *corps de guard* of the enemies. After they were once so neer driven for fear,
that they were fain to keep themselves close within the walls, the Kings souldiers without, began
first to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horses so much
as sadled and bridled, and some few were left in arms and in ordinance of battail: the rest were
gone aside and spred over all parts of the champain: some went to play and took themselves to L
youthful sports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding, pampering their bellies, and making good
cheer under covert shade. and many were laid along asleep. *Diophanes* beheld all the manner
hereof aloft from an high turret of the City *Pergamus*, and presently gave commandment to his
souldiers to take arms and to be ready at the gate. Himself went to *Attalus*, and told him, that*
he purposed to assail the enemies *corps de guard*. *Attalus* (although he were very loth) gave him
leave; for he saw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horse against three hundred:
and one thousand foot against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he sat him down not far from
the enemies *corps de guard*, waiting when some good opportunity and occasion would offer it
self. Both they within *Pergamus* of one side, deemed this to be folly rather than hardiness; and
also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to M
stir, altered nothing of their usual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and
scorn of their small number. *Diophanes* kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them
forth only for a shew, to see and to be seen: but after he perceived once the enemies to be dis-
banded out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the hast they could
after, whiles himself leading the way first among his horsemen, ran with his whole troop upon
the spur as hard as ever he could, and setting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with
foot as horse, charged suddainly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man
and horse both were greatly scared: and the horses especially having broken their collers and hal-
ters wherewith they stood tied made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some
few of the horses kept their standing still unaffrighted, and even those they had much ado to sad-
dle, to bridle, and to mount upon; with so great a terrour came the Achæans, and with much
more than so small a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arran-
ged and well provided they fell upon those that were negligently dispersed abroad, ere they look-
ed for them, and in manner half asleep. Great execution and butchery was committed upon them
all the fields over, and they fled amain. *Diophanes*, having followed the chase as they ran away
in scattering wise, so far as he might well with safety of himself, returned to the guard and defence
of the City, having won great honor to the nation of the Achæans by this exploit: for not only
the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of *Pergamus*. The
next day after, the Kings *Corps de guards* were better ordered and kept closer together. yea, and re-
tired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themselves. The Achæans likewise
much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many hours together they looked
one upon another who would begin first, expecting every minute when the charge should be
given. But after the sun was neer going down, and that it was time to return into the camp,
they of the Kings part began to ruffle their ensigns and guidons together, and set forward with
their bands, ordred in manner of a march for the way, more like than marshalled for to fight a
battail. *Diophanes* sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon their rere-
ward.

A ward, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into so great affright
and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to
make head and resist, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were
beaten into their camp. This boldness of the Achæans forced *Selencus* to dislodge and remove out
of the territory of *Pergamus*.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romans and *Eumenes* were come to the defence of *Adra-*
mytteum, medled no more with the town it self, but after he had laid the fields waste, departed
from thence, and forced *Perœa*, a Colony of the Mitylenæans. As for *Cotton* and *Corylenus*, *Apho-*
disias and *Pryene*, they were won at the first assault, and so he returned to *Sardis* by * *Thyatira*. *Se-* * *Tire.*
leucus remaining still upon the sea-coasts, as he affrighted some, so he defended others. The Ro-
B man fleet together with *Eumenes* and the Rhodians sailed first to * *Mitylene*, and back again * *Mitylin.*
from thence, returned to *Elæa* from whence she came. So they held on their course to *Phocæa*,
and sell with an Island called *Bacchius*, situat above the City of the Phocæans: and after they had
pilled and rifled by way of hostility the Temples, which heretofore they had forborn, and taken
away the Images (for the Island was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith) they crost-
sed over to the City it self, which they assaulted in divers quarters, according as they had divided
their forces into three parts: but seeing that it might not be won with bare scaling and strength of
arms, without planting engins of battery and other fabricks; and besides, that three thousand ar-
med men sent from *Antiochus* for defence, were entred into the City, presently they gave over the
siege. and the fleet retired to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pilled the terri-
C tory about the City.

This done, it was thought good that *Eumenes* should have licence to depart into his own
kingdom, that he might provide for the Consul and the army all necessaries toward the passage
over *Hellespontus*: also that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should return to *Samos*, and there re-
main in guard, and have an eye unto *Polyxenidas*, left he removed from *Ephesus* and made some at-
tempt that way. So, the King returned to *Elea*, the Romans and Rhodians to *Samos*, where *Æ-*
mylius the Prætor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funerall obsequies
performed, sailed to *Rhodes* with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquerem galeace of *Cous*,
and the other of *Gnidos*, there to lie in rode, ready to make head against the fleet, which as the
bruit blazed, was afloat and coming out of *Syria*. Two daies before that *Eudamus* loosed from
D *Samo* with the Armado, thirteen ships sent from *Rhodes* under the conduct of Admirall *Pamphi-*
lida to encounter the said Syriack fleet, taking with them four other ships, which were for the
guard of *Caria*, delivered from siege *Dædala*, and other petty forts which the Kings souldiers as-
sailed. Then it was advised that *Eudamus* should incontinently set forward on his voyage. And
to that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoyned also four open ships. Being departed, he
made sail in all haste that he possibly could, and arrived at the port called *Megiste*: where he o-
vertook those that were gone before; from whence they came in one band and train joyntly to-
gether unto *Phaselis*, and then they judged it the best way, in that place to attend the coming
of the enemy. This *Phaselis* standeth upon the confines between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. It lieth
E and from thence a man may ken and discover ships under sail afar off: for which cause especially,
this was chosen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet.
But by reason the air was unwholsome, and the season of the year unhealthful (for it was midsum-
mer) and the smels and stinking savours such, as they had not been acquainted with; many conta-
gious diseases and maladies which they foresaw not, began to spred commonly abroad, and espe-
cially among the mariners: for fear of which plague and mortality, they departed from thence,
and passed beyond the gulph of *Pamphylium*: and being arrived in the river *Eurymedon*, they re-
ceived advertisement from the Aspendians, that the enemies were already before *Sida*. Those of
the Kings side had sailed but slowly in regard of the adverse season of the winds named * *Etesiæ*, * Easterly
which kept their set and certain time, like as those do which they call * *Favonii*. Now of the Rho- winds yearly
F dians there were 32 quadrireme Gallies, and 4 other triremes besides. The Kings fleet consisted of plowing about
37 and those of greater burden and bulk: among which were three mighty Galleaces of * 7 banks Midsummer
of oars on a side, and four of * 6, besides 10 ordinary trireme gallies. There were others also that for the space of
knew by a sentinel or watch-tower standing on a certain high place, how the enemies were at forty daies.
hand. The next morning by break of day both these fleets set forth of the haven, as if they would * Western
have fought that very day. And after that the Rhodians had passed the cape, which from *Sida* han- winds in the
geth over into the sea, they presently were they discovered of the enemies, and the enemies like- spring, or
wise descried by them. The left wing of the Kings fleet, flanked with the main sea, was commanded March-winds.
by *Amibal*: and *Apollonius* one of his gallants and courtiers led the right: so as now they had ran- * *Hesperes.*
ged their ships broad in a front rank. The Rhodians advanced forward ordred in length and ca-
sting their battell into files. In the vanguard the Admiral ship of *Eudamus* was formost; *Caryeli-*
us governed the reregnard; and *Pamphilidas* had the conduct of the middle ward. *Eudamus* see-
ing the enemies battell arranged and ready for conflict, put forth into the open sea, commanding
those that followed after in order to keep their array, and so directly to affront the enemy: which
at the first caused some trouble, for he was not so far advanced into the deep, that all the ships
could be set in array along the land side: and besides, himself making too much haste, with five
ships only encountred *Amibal*, for the rest followed not after him, because they were bidden

to range afront. Now the rereward had no room left them toward the land: and thus whiles H they haſtily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing againſt *Annibal*. But at one inſtant the Rhodians caſt off all fear, as well in regard of the goodneſs of their ſhips, as of their own experience and uſuall practice in ſervice at ſea. For their ſhips with great quickneſs and agility making ſail into the main ſea, made room for every one that came after along the land ſide: and withall, if any one hapned to run upon a ſhip of the enemies with her piked beak head, either it rent the prow, or wiped away the oars, or paſſing clear through, between the ranks and files turned again and charged upon the poop. But the thing which terrified the enemy moſt was this, That a great galleace of the Kings which had ſeven banks of oars on a ſide, was bouged and took a leak with one only knock, that it received by a Rhodian ſhip far leſs: whereupon the right wing of the enemy doubtleſs enclined to flie away. But *Annibal* preſſed *Eudamus* very much in the open ſea, moſt of all with multitude of ſhips: for otherwiſe in all reſpects *Eudamus* had the odds and better hand of him by far: and certainly he had compaſſed and incloſed *Eudamus* round, but that a flag was put out of the Admirall, (by which ſignall the diſperſed ſhips are wont to rally themſelves together:) whereupon all thoſe that had got the better of the enemy in the right wing, made haſte to joyn in one for to ſuccour their fellows. Then *Annibal* alſo and the ſhips about him, took their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to maintain the chaſe, by reaſon that the rowers many of them were ſick, and therefore the ſooner weary. Whereupon they caſt anchor in the main ſea, and ſtaid to eat and take ſome refection for to ſtrengthen their bodies. And in this while *Eudamus* eſpied and beheld the enemies how they haled and towed by ropes at the tail of the open ſhips (that went K only with oars) certain other which were lame, maimed, ſore bruiſed, and cracked: and might ſee 20 others not much ſounder than they, to leave the reſt and depart: whereupon cauſing an *Oyes* and ſilence to be made from an high turret in the fore-caſtle of the Admirall, Ariſe my hearts (ſaith he) and ſee a pleaſant ſight yonder and a goodly ſpectacle. So they all aroſe at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid and what poor ſhift they made in haſte to flie, and with one voice they all in a manner cried out to follow after and purſue them. Now *Eudamus* his own ſhip was ſhaken in many places and ſore bruiſed; whereupon he commanded *Pamphilidas* and *Charicles* to make way after them, ſo far forth as they thought they might without danger. And for a good time they held them in chaſe: but ſeeing *Annibal* approaching near the ſhore, and fearing leſt the wind would lock them within the enemies coaſt, they returned toward *Eudamus*, and drew along L with them the great galleace which they took, and which at the firſt encounter was pierced, and with much ado trained it to *Phaſelis*. From thence they retired themſelves to *Rhodes*, not ſo joyous for this victory, as blaming one another that they had not either ſunk or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having ſo good means as they had to do it. *Annibal* daunted with this one infortunate battell, durſt not even then paſs along the river of *Lycia*, but deſired to joyn unto the old fleet of the Kings as ſoon as poſſibly he could, To impeach him for effecting that, the Rhodians ſet out *Charicles* and twenty war ſhips with piked ſtems, toward *Patara* and the Port of *Megiſte*; and commanded *Eudamus* to return unto the Romans to *Samos* with ſeven of the taleſt ſhips in all the fleet whereof he had the command: to the end, that he might induce the Romans with his counſell and advice, yea, and with all the countenance and authority that he had, force them to lay M ſiege unto *Patara* and to aſſault it. The Romans took great joy and contentment, firſt at the newes and report of this victory, and afterwards at the return of the Rhodians. And it ſeemed, if that one City ſtood not in their way to ſtay them, and that they were once rid of that care, they would without any let and empeachment, make all the ſea coaſts ſure enough for any danger and damage from thoſe quarters. But becauſe *Antiochus* was departed from *Sardis*, the Romans held them back, and would not ſuffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Æolis* and *Ionia*, for fear leſt the Cities upon the ſea-ſide might be ſurpriſed. And ſo they ſent *Pamphilidas* with four covered ſhips, to the fleet that lay about *Patara*.

Antiochus gathered together not only the garriſons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but alſo addreſſed his Embaſſadors with letters to *Pruſias* the King of *Bithynia*, wherein he N gave out hard words of the Romans for their paſſage into *Aſia*: namely, "That their coming only "was for this, to demoliſh put down, and overthrow all kingdoms, and to ſet up the only Roman "Empire that none elſe might ſtand in the whole world. That *Philip* and *Mabis* already were ſubdued and depoſed and now himſelf was to make the third, againſt whom they were come. Neither would they make an end there but go on ſtill, like a continuall fire that burneth forward, "and take all afore them, and ever as they vanquiſhed one, proceed to another that is next. And "no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to paſs onward into *Bithynia*, now that *Eumenes* "hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of voluntary ſervitude. *Pruſias* was ſomewhat touched with theſe letters, but when there came others written from *Scipio* the Conſul, and his brother *Africanus* eſpecially, he was wholly averted from entertaining any ſuch ſuſpition. For *Africanus* beſides the continuall cuſtome that the people of *Rome* had, to advance and amplifie the Majeſty of KK, their allies and confederates with all kind of honour; alledged for his part, the domeſtical examples of their own houſe and family: inducing *Pruſias* thereby to enter into a deſire to win his love and friendſhip. For he diſcourſed & ſaid, "That thoſe Princes and petty KK in *Spain*, "whom he had received into his protection, he left behind him when he went away, mighty monarches: alſo, that he not only had placed & eſtabliſhed *Maſaniſſa* in his fathers realm & throne, but

A "but ſetled him in the kingdom alſo of *Syphax*, who before had chaſed & expelled him: ſo as now "he was not only the richeſt potentate and moſt wealthy K. of all *Affrick*, but alſo for majeſty & "puiſſant forces a patagon, equall to any other K. in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *Nabis*, e-"nemies they were and vanquiſhed by *T. Quintius*, howbeit they remained KK. afterwards within "their own Realms. And *Philip* verily the year that is paſt, had his tribute forgiven him and his "ſon an hoſtage delivered unto him: yea, and ſome Cities without the dominion of *Macedony*, "have received them as their K. and the Roman Generals have winked thereat and been contented. And ſurely *Nabis* had been likewiſe graced and honoured, but for his own peeviſh folly "firſt, & the treacherous falſhood afterwards of the Ætolians, which was his utter undoing and "overthrow. But the chief thing of all that moſt confirmed the mind of K. *Pruſias*, was the com-B ing of *Livius* unto him in embaſſage from *Rome*, he, who aforetime in quality of Prætor, had been Admiral of the navy. Who ſhewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more aſſured to the Romans than to K. *Antiochus*; and withall how the Romans would be the faſter and ſurer friend of the twain, yea, and make more conſcience of keeping amity.

Antiochus being put beſides all hope of the aſſociation with *Pruſias*, departed to *Epheſus* from *Sardis*, to viſit and ſee the fleet, which for certain months had been rigged and in readineſs: and this he did the rather, becauſe he ſaw that he could not hold out with the Roman army and the two *Scipios* the commanders thereof, than for that his ſea-ſervice in it ſelf at any time before ſped well; or could aſſure him now of great and certain ſucceſs. Yet ſome little dram he had of good C hope for the preſent, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about *Patara*, and King *Eumenes* alſo with all his own ſhips departed into *Helleſpontus*, to meet with the Conſul. Beſides this, in ſome meaſure his ſpirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armado had been defeated at *Samos* by a cautelous plot and practice contrived beforehand: Having laid theſe conceits for a ground, he ſent *Polyxenidas* away with his navy, to hazard the fortune of a battel in ſome ſort or other (it made no matter how:) whiles himſelf in perſon led his whole army to *Notium* (a town of the Colophonians, ſeated upon the ſea, and diſtant about two miles from the ancient City *Colophon*.) The City it ſelf he had a good mind to conquer and bring in ſubjection unto him: for, being ſo near unto *Epheſus* as it was, there could not any thing be done either by ſea or land, but it was within the eye of the Colophonians, and by their means notified ſtreightwayes to the Romans. Now he made full account that they would remove D their fleet from *Samos* to ſuccour that aſſociate City of theirs, and ſo *Polyxenidas* might thereby take his time and good opportunity to execute ſome notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabricks againſt *Colophon*, and having raiſed his rampiers, and caſt trenches on both ſides alike, even to the very ſea, he approached with mantlets and terraces, as well the one part as the other, cloſe unto the wals, and under the * roof-works ſplaid upon them with the puſh & force of the ram. The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with theſe dangers and diſtreſſes, ſent their Orators to *Samos* unto *L. Æmylius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and ſuccour of the Prætor and people of *Rome*. *Æmylius* was much diſcontented and offended in his heart, that he had made ſo long abode at *Samos* and performed no ſervice. Nothing leſs thought he than that *Polyxenidas*, whom twice already in vain he had challenged and bidden battell, would now offer E to fight. He reputed it alſo for a diſgrace and ſhamefull indignity unto him, that *Eumenes* his fleet aſſiſted the Conſul to waft over the legions into *Aſia*, and himſelf was affigned and enjoyned to ſuccour and aid the City of *Colophon* beſieged, the iſſue whereof would be ſo doubtfull and uncertain. *Eudamus* the Rhodian, who was the man that had detained and kept him ſtill at *Samos*, when he was deſirous to paſs over into *Helleſpont*, yea, & all the reſt were inſtant with him, ſhewing and declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his allies from ſiege, or to defeat the fleet again, which had been once vanquiſhed, and ſo to put the enemy quite beſides the poſſeſſion of the ſea, than with the abandoning of his confederats, and betraying *Aſia* both ſea and land into the hands of *Antiochus*, to depart into *Helleſpont* (where *Eumenes* with his fleet was ſufficient to hold him play) and to quit that part of the war which was committed to his charge. Well, they F looſed from *Samos* to provide victuals for that all their own proviſion was ſpent, & ſhaped themſelves to croſs over unto *Chios*. That was the garner and ſtorehouſe of the Romans, and the very place unto which all the ſhips of burden, and the hulks ſent out of *Italy*, uſed to ſet ſail and diret their courſe. So they ſet a compaſs about, toward the coaſt of the Iſland that lay fartheſt off from the City, oppoſite to the Northeaſt, in regard of *Chios* and *Erythræa*. And as they were about to paſs over thither, the Prætor was certified by letters, that great ſtore of corn was come out of *Italy* to *Chios* and that the ſhips which were charged with wine, were kept back by contrary and croſs winds. Withall, reported it was, that the Teyans had furniſhed King *Antiochus* his fleet with victuals plentifully and liberally, and had promiſed alſo unto him five thouſand veſſels of wine. Whereupon he ſhifted ſail ſuddenly in the midſt of his direct courſe, and made G head for *Telos*, intending either with their good wills to ſerve himſelf of the proviſion prepared for the enemy, or elſe to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the prows of their ſhips toward the iſland, they might deſcry, as it were, fifteen ſhips near unto *Myonneſus*. Which the Prætor ſuppoſing at the firſt to be of the Kings fleet, reſolved to make way after them: but after wards it appeared, they were brigantines or pinnaces, and certain ſmall barks of rovers and men of war. Theſe rovers having harried and ſpoiled all the maritime coaſts of the Chians, were upon their return with great ſtore of prizes and pillage: but when they diſcovered a fleet

* *Teſtudinibus.*

in the deep sea afar off, they made all the sail they could, and fled. Yare of steerage they were and H good of sail, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpose to rid way, and besides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered *Myonesus*, before the fleet could come any thing near unto them. The Prætor thinking verily to force them out of the haven, made after without direction of a skilfull pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this *Myonesus* is a promontory or cape between *Teios* and *Samos*, a very mountain made in fashion of a steeple, broad enough at the foot, but rising narrower still, and runneth up to the top sharp pointed. On the main or land side it hath one passage by a straight and narrow path. From the sea it is founded upon rocks, beaten and eaten with the continual surging waves of the sea, insomuch, as in some places the cliffs that hang over, bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under the harbor, take up of the sea. The Prætor with his ships durst not approach near unto those crags, for fear of being within the shot of the pirats, who were perched upon the top of those steep rocks, and so they spent that day and lay off. At the last, a little before night they gave over that vain enterprise without effect, and the morrow after arrived at *Teios*; and having lodged their ships within the harbor, which themselves call *Geraisticus*, (and it lieth out at the back side of the City) the Prætor set ashore, and sent out his souldiers to forrage the territory about the City. The Teians seeing how their lands were spoiled even under their very noses, addressed certain Orators to the Roman Admiral, arraied all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed to excuse their City, for having done or said any thing against the Romans tending to hostility; he both charged them directly, that they had relieved the fleet of the enemies with victuals, and also told them what quantity of wine moreover they had promised to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they K could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his souldiers from pillage, otherwise he would repute them for his enemies. The Embassadors aforesaid made relation of this heavy answer. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City assembled the people together, for to consult and conclude about this matter what they were best to do. Thither as it hapned, was *Polyxenidas* arrived with the Kings Armado; who having loosed from *Crlophon*, when he heard that the Romans were departed from *Samos*, that they had chased the Pirats as far as *Myonesus*, and were now wasting and harrying the lands of the Teians, also that their ships anchored in the rode *Geraisticus*, himself also cast anchor overagainst *Myonesus*, hard by an Island which the sailers and mariners call *Macris*, in a secret bay hard by, escouting and espying from this near harbor, what the enemies did and intended. And at the first in good hope he was to discomfit and L defeat the Roman fleet, like as he had before time the Rhodian Armado near unto *Samos*, by seizing the mouth of the haven, and empeaching their issue forth. For this bay was in all respects like unto the other, lying just between two Capes, which meet so near, and in manner enclose the mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once can go forth together. And to this purpose *Polyxenidas* intended in the night season to take possession, and make himself sure of the said straights, there to place ten gallies under either Cape, which standing there at a vantage, should from both points flank the broad sides of his enemies ships in their going forth; and withall out of his other vessels to disbark and land armed souldiers, like as he had done at *Panormus*, and so at once to assail them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which designment of his M no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the Teians had promised them to do whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provision of victuals, to pass with their ships unto the other harbor which was before the City, to the open sea. Some say that *Eudamus* the Rhodian, shewed the inconvenience and discommodity of the other harbor, by occasion that two gallies fortuned in that straight to be so intangled, that they brake one anothers oars with justling together. And among other motives the Prætor was induced to change the harbor, because from the land side there he should lye within danger, considering that *Anniochus* himself was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about close to the City side, the souldiers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) were disbarked, for to dispose & dispense the victuals and wine especially to every ship. But about noon-tide a certain peasant of the country chanced to be brought before the Prætor, who gave N intelligence, That there was a fleet of ships which two daies already rode at anchor under the Island *Macris*; and that but a while ago, certain vessels of them were seen to weigh anchor, as if they would hoise up sail and be gone. The Prætor moved at this sudden occurrent, commanded the trumpets to sound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were straggling abroad in the fields, they should retire. The Colonels he sent into the City to gather the souldiers together and the mariners, that they might repair to ship-boord. This alarm caused as great a trouble and confusion, as usually is seen in a sudden scarefire, or when a City is surprised by the enemies. Here was scudding into the City to recall their fellows; there was running out of the City to recover their ships; not knowing who commanded, by reason of the dissonant noise of men and sound of trumpet: howbeit, as hap was, at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such O hurly-burly and disorder, that they scarcely knew their own vessels; or if they did, they could hardly for the crowd and press, get thither and embark themselves. Neither had this affright passed clear without danger both by sea and land, but that *Æmylius* gave direction to every one what to do, and put out of the haven first himself with the Admiral ship into the open sea, & there received every vessell as they followed one after another in their order, & ranged them all afront: and if *Eudamus* also with the Rhodian fleet had not staid at the shore to see good order, that the souldiers

A souldiers might be set aboord without hurrying in fearfull haste, and every ship go forth as it was fitted and made ready. By this means both the formost of the vanguard were arranged in the sight of the Prætor, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the rereguard in such sort, as they put themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seen the Kings fleet under sail. But they were between the two promontories, *Myonesus* and *Coryeus*, before they descried the enemy. The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who displaied and spread themselves also affront towards the wing in such wise, that they might be able to compass and enclose the right wing of the enemy. Which *Eudamus* the rere-admirall perceiving, and seeing with- all that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haste with his own B vessels (for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet swiftest by far) and after he had fronted equally and matched wing for wing, he made head with his own ship against the very admirall of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himself was aboord. By this time the battell began between both the main fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans side there fought fourscore in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado consisted of fourscore and nine, all ships of greatest bulk and making, and had among them three galeaces of six banks of oars on a side, and two of seven. For goodness and strength of ships, as also for valour of souldiers, the Romans far surpassed the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleness of their vessels, for skilfull knowledge of Pilots, and expert cunning and readiness of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And those above all the rest that carried fire before them in their noses C troubled and scared the enemies most: and that stratagem and device which had been their only help and means of safety, when they were surprised and beset at *Panormus*, was now the thing that stood them in best stead to win the victory. For the Kings ships fearing the fire that threatned their very faces, turned aside, because they would not run affront with their prows: so as, they neither could themselves smite and hurt the enemies with their brazen pikes in the beak head, nor yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pushes and violence from them. If any one fortuned to encounter and run upon them, she was sure to be paid and sped with fire that was flung and cast into her: and more running there was to quench the same, than otherwise to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Roman souldiers (which ever in war prevaileth most) was it that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and clo- D ven the main battaillon of the enemy in the very midst, they turned about again, and presented themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ships whiles they fought affront and made head against the Rhodians: and thus at one instant the battaillon in the midst, and the ships in the left wing that served King *Antiochus*, were beset round about, and sunk to the bottom of the sea. The right wing as yet entire and sound, was more terrified at the loss and overthrow of their fellows, than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they saw the other invested, and the Admirall her self with *Polyxenidas* in her, to abandon her companions and to hoise up sails, they likewise in haste set up all their cloth and small trinquet sails (for a good forewind they had for *Ephesus*) and fled as fast away as they could. Two and forty ships they lost in this fight: of which thirteen were boorded and taken for the use of the Romans, the rest were either E consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Roman ships were shattered and broken in pieces, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chanced to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beak head stricken a Sidonian ship, with the violence of the blow she shook out her own anchor, which by one of the flouks took fast hold as if it had been a grapling hook by the prow of the other ship. The Rhodians much troubled herewith, gave over rowing streight, as willing and desirous to be loose and parted from the enemy: and whiles they were busie thereabout, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught among the oars of her own ship, and swept them clean away, and so left one side of it naked, whereby the ship being much weakned and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was smitten and tied fast unto her. Much after this manner was the battel fought at sea near *Myonesus*. Where- upon *Antiochus* was sore affrighted: for being thus dispossessed of the sea, he distrusted himself N that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commanded the garrison to retire from *Lysimachia*, for fear it should be surprised there by the Romans. But this was but a bad piece of counsell, as the sequell and issue proved afterwards. For it had been an easie matter not only to defend *Lysimachia* against the first assault of the Romans, but also to hold out the siege all winter: yea, and by drawing out the time on length, to bring the very assailants themselves lying in leaguer, to extream necessity and want of all things: during which space they might have taken some occasion and opportunity, to find a mean and make way for peace. Neither did he only quit *Lysimachia* and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battell, but O also raised his siege before *Colophon* and dislodged, yea, and retired himself to *Sardis*: from whence he sent into *Cappadocia* to *Ariarates* for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces: and now was he set upon no design else, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, *Regillus Æmylius* sailed directly to *Ephesus*, where he embattelled his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had at last wrung again from the enemies a plain and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him, he set sail for *Chius*, unto which he had intended to shape his course from *Samos* before the

late battell upon the sea. There he repaired and calked his ships which were shaken and cracked in the forsaid fight: which done, he sent *L. Æmylius Scaurus* with thirty sail toward *Hellespontus* to transport the army. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ships with part of the pillage, and honoured them with the navall spoils, he gave them the envoy, and sent them home. But the Rhodians lustily out-sailed *Scaurus*; and prevented his ships to set over the forces of the Consul: and after they had performed that service also, then they returned to *Rhodes*.

The Roman Armado sailed from *Chios* to *Phocæa*. This City is seated far within the gulph of the sea, builded so, as that it lieth out in length. The wall containeth in compass the space of two miles and an halt: and from both sides it groweth narrow still, and meeteth in the midst, resembling the form of a wedg or *coin, which the Inhabitants themselves call *Lampter*, in which place the City is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a bank of firm land running a mile on end into the sea like a tongue, which divideth the haven just in the midst, marked out (as it were) just by a certain line. Where it joyneth to the narrow straights it hath two most sure harbors of both sides, and those lying two contrary waies. That which looketh toward the South, is called according as it is indeed, *Naustathmos* [namely, a ship-rode, or harbour] for it is able to receive a great number of ships: the other haven is next unto the very *Lampter* aforesaid. When the Roman fleet was once possessed of both these most sure and safe harbours, the Prætor thought good before he set in hand either to scale the walls, or to raise any fabricks and plant engins against the City, to send certain of purpose to sound the minds and affections of the principall Citizens and the Magistrates within. But after he perceived they were obstinatly bent, and would not come on, he began to lay battery against it in two several quarters. The one part was not much peopled, and had but few dwelling houses in it; and the Temples of their gods took up a good space thereof; and there began he first to approach with the ram, and therewith to batter the walls, and shake the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thither in great numbers, and presented themselves ready to defend, the ram was pushing also at the other part: So as now the walls were laid along in both places: and upon the fall thereof whiles some of the Roman souldiers presently gave the assault at the very breach, mounting and marching upon the ruines of the stones that were faln: others also assaied to gain the top of the upright walls with scaling ladders. But the townsmen withstood them so stiffly, and with such resolution, that it was well seen they reposed more hope of defence in arms and valour, than in the strength of their wals. Whereupon the Prætor seeing in what danger his souldiers stood, and fearing to expose and sacrifice them ere they were aware to the fury of these people so enraged like desperate and mad persons, commanded to sound the retreat. And notwithstanding the assault ceased and was given over, yet be took not the townsmen themselves to rest and repose, but ran from all parts every one, to raise countermures, fill up the breaches, and repair the ruins where the wall was down. As they were wholly employed about this business, *Q. Antonius* sent from the Prætor, came toward them: who, after he had reproved and rebuked their wilfull obstinacy, and made remonstrance unto them, that the Romans had more care and regard than they themselves of the City, that by continuall assaults and batteries it should not utterly be destroyed: and how if they would be reclaimed and forgo their outragious folly, he would make them this offer, That they should yield under the same conditions and in those very terms, as afore-time they had submitted to *C. Livius* when they came under his protection: At the hearing of that, they demanded and had five daies space to consider of the matter: during which time they made means to receive some aid from *Antiochus*; but after their Embassadors whom they dispatched to the King, had made relation, That there was no succour to be expected from him; then they set open their gates, having articled and capitulated beforehand, that no outrage by way of hostility should be exercised and committed upon them. As the Romans entred into the City with banners displaied the Prætor declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleasure was they should be spared, so rasmuch as they had yielded. Whereat the souldiers on all hands set up a great cry. That it was an intollerable shame that the Phocæans (who were never true and loyall confederates, but alwaies dogged and malicious enemies) should go away so scotfree, and not suffer for their sins. At which word (as if the Prætor had given them a signall of ransacking) they ran into all parts of the City to rifle and spoil. *Æmylius* at first staid them what he could, and reclaimed them again, saying, That it was not the manner to sack Cities rendred by composition, but such as were forced and won by assault; and even those also were at the disposition of the General and not of the souldiers. But seeing that they in their angry mood of revenge, and covetous desire of goods, were of more power than the respective reverence of his person, his quality and commandment; he sent out beadles and trumpetters throughout the City, charging all persons of free condition whatsoever, to repair before him into the market place, to the end, that no villany and outrage might be done upon their bodies. And so the Prætor did his best to performe his word and promise in whatsoever lay in his power: for he restored unto them their City, their lands, and their own laws. And for that the winter approached, he made choice of the two harbours of *Phocæa* to bestow his ships there for the winter time.

Near about that time, the Consul having passed beyond the borders of the Adrians and Maronits, received news, that the Kings navy was defeated at *Myonesus*, and *Lysimachia* disfurnished of the garrison: and this latter tidings was more acceptable and pleasing unto him, than the other of the navall victory; and especially, when they came thither: where in very truth the City (plenteously

A (plenteously stored with all sorts of victuals, as if they had been provided of purpose against the coming of the army) received them curteously; whereas they made no other account, but to endure extremity of want and painfull travell in besieging thereof. There they abode some few daies as it were in camp, untill such time as their carriages and sickly persons of their train might reach unto them; such as they had left behind in all the forts and castles of *Thrace*, wearied with long journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreshed and recovered, they put themselves again in their journey, and marching through *Chersonesus*, they came to *Hellespont*: where, finding all things in readiness for their transporting (such was the industrious care and diligence of King *Eumenes*) they passed over without trouble and molestation into the peaceable coasts of their allies and friends, without empeachment of any person, notwithstanding B some ships arrived in one place, and some in another. And this was the thing that much contented the Romans and mightily encouraged them, to see they had so free passage into *Asia*, which they made full reckoning would have been a matter of great difficulty and trouble. After this, they encamped and made their abode a certain time near *Hellespont*, by occasion of those daies which happed then to be, wherein the *Salii* used to dance with their fourtchions called *Ancilia*; during which time they made scruple of conscience to take any journey [untill those *Ancilia* were bestowed again in the Temple of *Mars*.] By reason of which daies, *P. Scipio* also withdrew himself apart from the army upon a more strict regard of conscience & religion, which touched him nearer than other, because he was himself one of the *Salii*, and was the cause that the army staid behind and came not forward to overtake the camp.

C And even then there hapned to come unto the camp from *Antiochus*, one *Heraclides* a Byzantine, having in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the same with ease, by reason of the long abode and stay of the Romans in that one place: of whom he had looked for no other, but that as soon as they had set foot in *Asia*, they would have marched apace straight waies against the Kings camp. Howbeit this course he took not to go directly unto the Consul before he had spoken and conferred with *Scipio*, (and indeed such direction and charge he had from the King himself) in whom he had reposed his greatest hope: for besides his magnanimity and noble courage, as also the satiety of glory and honour, whereof already he had full, (great inducements unto the King that he would be easily wrought and made most pliable to hearken after peace) all the world knew full well how soberly he had carried himself in his D victories, first in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Affrick*; and more than all this, a son of his was captive in the said Kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken prisoner, writers agree not no more than in many things else. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, he was beset and enclosed round within the Kings ships, at what time as he sailed from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*. Others write, that after the Roman army was passed over into *Asia*: he was sent out in espiall with a troop of Frægellan horsemen to view and discover the Kings camp: and when the Kings Cavalry made out to charge upon them, he made haste to retire, and in that hurry his horse fell with him and so he and two other men of arms with him, was surprised, taken, and brought to the King. But this one thing is for certain known, that if there had been sure and firm peace between the King and the Romans, nay, if there had been familiar acquaintance and hospitality between E him and the *Scipios*, this young Gentleman could not possibly have had more friendly entertainment, nor been more kindly intreated, liberally used, yea, and honourably regarded than he was. For these causes the Embassador attended the coming of *Scipio*: and so soon as he was arrived, presented himself unto the Consul, requesting that he might deliver his message and be heard. Whereupon in a frequent assembly he had audience given him, and thus he spake: "Whereas "(quoth he) there have been divers and sundry embassages passed to and fro as touching peace, "and no good as yet done; I lay this for a ground and assure my self now to speed, because the "former embassadors hitherto have effected and obtained nothing: for in all those treaties and "disputations the question was about *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, and *Lysimachia*, "which is in *Europe*. Of which Cities, the King my Master hath already quit *Lysimachia*, to the F "end you should not say, that he hath any one City at all within *Europe*: and as for those other in "*Asia*, he is ready to surrender them also; yea & all the rest whatsoever, which the Romans would "recover out of the Kings hands and dominions, in regard they had sometime sided & taken part "with him. And for the charges which the Romans have defraied about this war, the King will "be willing to disburse and make good the one moity unto them again. And thus much spake "he concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The rest of his speech behind, was bestowed in advertizing and putting them in mind of the alternative revolution of this world and "the affairs thereof: that as they should use their own good fortune and prosperity with mea-"sure and moderation, so they ought not to press down others in their adversity: but hold them-"selves contented within the bounds and limits of *Europe*, and that was a dominion sufficient (a G "man would think) and exceeding great: considering this, that it is an easier matter to win one "thing after another by way of conquest, than to hold and keep them all together when they are "won. To conclude, if the Romans were minded to dismember any part from *Asia*, so they would "make an end once, and limit out the same within certain precincts without any further doubt "and difference, the King for the love of peace and concord, would suffer the Romans in their "unmeasurable desire and appetite, to surmount and outgo his temperance and moderation. But those matters which the Embassador supposed were of great importance and effectuall to

obtain

obtain peace, the Romans made a pish at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meet and H
reason, that the King should discharge all the expences they had been at in this war, considering
through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of
Ionia and *Æolis*: but also, like as all *Greece* hath been made free and delivered, so the Greek Cities
likewise in *Asia* ought to be enfranchised and set at liberty: which possibly might not be unless
Antiochus were dispeiced of the possession of all *Asia* on this side the mountain *Taurus*. The Em-
bassador perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, assaied privatly to
sound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as he had in charge from the King.
And first this way he went to work and said, That the King was minded to send him his son again
freely without ransom: then (ignorant as he was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of
Romans) he promised him a mighty mass of gold, yea, and to be made equall companion in the I
government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royall style only reserved) in case he
would be an instrument and means to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers *Scipio* return-
ned this answer, "That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor my self in particular un-
"to whom you were sent, I less marvell, seeing you are altogether ignorant of the state of him
"who hath sent you hither. For if ye had meant to have sought for peace at our hands, as of men
"who were in care for the doubtfull event and issue of the war, ye should have held and kept *Ly-*
"*simachia* still, for to have empeached our entrance into *Chersonesus*, or else ye should have made
"head against us in *Hellespontus*, and staid our passage into *Asia*: but now seeing ye have granted
"passage into *Asia*, and suffered your selves not only to be bridled and curbed, but also to be yo-
"ked, and like beasts to bear and draw too; since I say there is no remedy but ye must endure to K
"be under our subjection, what equall and indifferent means of treaty is there left for you? Now,
"as concerning my son, I will accept it as a great present, and beseeming the munificence and libe-
"rality of a King, in case he send him to me again. As for the other matters, I pray God I be ne-
"ver driven in regard of mine estate, to have that need: for surely, I carry a mind that will never
"find the miss and want thereof. And for these great offers that the King maketh unto me, he
"shall find me thankfull unto him, if it please him for any private benefit unto me done, to requit
"at my hands a private favour and pleasure again: but as touching the State and publike weal, he
"shall pardon me; I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all
"that I can do for him at this present, is to give him good and faithfull counsell. Go your ways
"therefore and tell him from me, That his best course is to abstain from war, and not to refuse any L
"condition of peace whatsoever. But all this nothing moved the King, who made reckoning that
any hazard and fortune of war would be good and safe for him, since that there were laws impo-
sed upon him already, as if he had been quite vanquished and overcome. Whereupon without
any more parl of peace for this time, he bent his whole mind and employed his study about pro-
vision and preparation for war.

The Consul having given order for the execution of all his plots and designs, dislodged from
thence, and marched first to *Dardanum*: and after to *Rhœteum*: the inhabitants of both which Ci-
ties came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to
Ilium, and encamped in a plain under the very walls: then he entred into the town, and ascended
up into the Castle, where he offered sacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patroness of that City. The Ilians M
entertained them with all shew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Ro-
mans were descended from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to see the place
of their first original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the sixt day after arrived at
the head or spring of the river *Caicus*. Thither also *Eumenes* the King (who at first assaied to bring
his fleet back from *Hellespontus*, to winter before *Elæa*, and afterwards, when he could not for cer-
tain daies double the point of *Lectos*, by reason of the contrary winds, went a land) because he
would not fail but be present at the beginning of these great affairs, made haste the next way with
a small power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was sent back to *Pergamus*, to give
order for purveyance and provision of victuals: and after he had delivered out corn to those whom
the Consul had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the same leaguer. The Consul his pur- N
pose and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals sufficient for many daies, and together
in one train to go against the enemy, before the winter surprised them.

Now the Kings camp lay about *Thyatira*: where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried
sick to *Elæa*, sent certain Embassadors of purpose, to present and deliver his son again unto him. At
which present of his, he took not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might do for re-
ceiving his dear son, but much easement also and comfort to his sick body. After he had satisfied
himself at length with much embracing of his son, "Ye shall (saith he) recommend me unto the
"King your Master, and tell him from me, that I thank him most heartily, and that I have no good
"thing at this time to send to him again, but only this, That I advise him to take heed that he en-
"ter not into the field to give battell, before he hath heard for certain, that I my self am returned O
"to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit he was in camp seventy thousand foot,
and twelve thousand horse and above strong (which puissant power otherwhile animated, and
fed him with the hope of good issue of battell) yet moved with the authority of so great a perso-
nage as *Scipio* was in whom he reposed his whole refuge against all doubtfull events of the fortune
in war; he retired back, and passed over the river *Phrygius*, and pitched his camp about *Magne-*
sia near unto *Sypylum*. And fearing, left (if he should be minded to make long stay and abode
there)

A there) the Romans would assay to force his defences, he cast a trench, six cubits in depth, and
twelve in in bredth; and this trench he environed with a double bank and course of strong stakes
and pales, and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he opposed a mure with main turrets, for the
more ease empeachment of the enemy, when he should pass over the trench. The Consul suppo-
sing the King to be about *Thyatira*, marched continually, and upon the fift day came down into
the plains of *Hircania*. And when he understood, that the K. was dislodged and departed thence,
he followed him by the tracts, and on this side the river *Phrygius* encamped four miles from the
enemy. Where about a thousand horsemen shewed themselves (for the most part * Gallogræ- * People of
cians, some Dacians, with certain archers on horseback of other nations intermingled among *Galatia*, now
them) who in great haste having passed over the river, charged upon the *corps de guard* of the called *Gelati*
B Romans. At the first they put the Romans to some trouble, finding them out of order and array:
but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans soon in-
creased, (by reason their camp was so near to yield them succours) they of the Kings side being
now wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire: and
certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed the
chase, and killed outright. For two daies after they stirred of no hand, for neither the one nor the
other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once passed over, and encamped
about a mile and a half from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and busied about
fortifications and defences, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the Kings
Camp, came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were in guard,
C was less a good deal; howbeit, of themselves alone, without calling to help and aid the souldiers
from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only at first recei-
ved the charge with equall valour, but also afterwards, as the fight encreased, put the enemies to
flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the
space of four daies next ensuing, both armies stood embattelled on either side before their Camp.
And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced forth into the middle of the plain. *Antiochus*
came not forward with his ensigns, insomuch, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot off
from the trench. The Consul perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a councill the
next day, to be advised and resolved what he were best to do, in case *Antiochus* would not be
fought withall. For considering that the winter approached, the souldiers were either to lie in the
D field under their tents, or else if they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garrison
towns, the war must be put off untill the next summer. Now the Romans never made so small rec-
koning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon
the Consul with one voice to lead forth to battell out of hand, and take the souldiers whiles
they were in this heart ready if the enemies would not come out into the field, to pass over ditch
and rampier, and break into the camp amongst them; making account, that they were not to
fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so ma-
ny beasts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was sent to discover the way, and to view the place where was
best entring upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of
all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach near unto their camp: and on the
E third day the ensigns were displaied forth into the midst of the plain, and they began to range the
army in battell array. *Antiochus* likewise supposed it was not expedient to lie off and stay any
longer, for fear left in refusing still to fight, he should either abate the courage of his own men, or
increase the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced so
far forward from his camp, that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army stood em-
battelled in one manner of form, as well for men, as munition and armor: for of Romans there
were two legions, and of Latine associats as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand
four hundred. The Romans put themselves in the main battell, and the Latines kept both the
points. The *Hastati* were placed with their ensigns formost in the vanguard. After them the *Prin-*
cipes in the midst, and the *Triarii* in the reregard. Without this compleat battell, thus marshalled,
the Consul set to the right point the auxiliary souldiers of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the
targetteers of the Achæans, to the number almost of three thousand, whom he ranged equally a-
front, and beyond them more outward he opposed about three thousand men of arms; whereof
eight hundred were sent from *Eumenes*, the rest were the Cavalry of the Romans. Without all
these in the outmost place, he put the Trallians and Candiots, who in all made up the number of
five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked
with the river and high steep banks, howbeit, in that side there were planted four troops of horse-
men. Thus you see all the forces that the Romans had besides two thousand Thracians and Mace-
donians mingled and blended together, who followed as voluntaries, and were left for the guard
of the Camp, and sixteen Elephants, which they bestowed in the reregard for the defence of the
G *Triarii*. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the Kings Elephants,
which were in number fifty and four, you must consider that those of *Affrick* are not able to
match them of *India*, say they were in number equall: either because in bigness the Indians
exceed the other (as in truth they are much greater by ods) or surpass them incourage and
stomack. But the Kings army was composed of divers nations, different as well in arms as in
souldiers. He had of Macedonians sixteen thousand footmen, heavily armed after their
manner, called *Phalangitæ*: these made the main battell, and in the front stood divided in ten
squadrons,

squadrons, parted and severed one from the other by two Elephants placed between. More-
ward behind the forefront, the battell was displaied in two and thirty ranks of souldiers.
This was the strength of the Kings army, and as in other respects, so espe. ially in regard of the
Elephants surmounting aloft over all the souldiers, represented to the eye a fearfull and terrible
fight. For besides that they were high and lofty of themselves, their crested headstalls with plumes
upon them, their turrets upon their backs, and in every turret four men standing in glittering ar-
mour, besides the Master and governor himself, made the apparence and shew far greater. On the
right wing he placed close unto the Phalangites, a thousand and five hundred horsemen of the
Gallogreeks: unto whom he adjoyned three thousand lances in compleat armour, mounted upon
bard horses, and those men of arms they themselves called *Cataphracti*. To these were added ano-
ther wing of a thousand horsemen, which they named *Agema*. Medes they were, elect and cho-
sen men, together with more horsemen of the same region, mingled of many nations one with
another. Close unto them in the reregard was set a troop of sixteen Elephants. On which side
also in a wing somewhat farther drawn out stood the King his own cohort, bearing the name of
Argyraspidi, by occasion of the silvered shields which they bare. After them followed 1200 Da-
*Like to Car-bines. cians, archers on horseback. Then, three thousand footmen lightly armed, and composed part-
ly of Candiots, and partly of Tralleans, in number almost equall, and 2500 Mysians attended upon
the archers. And the utmost side and tail of that wing was guarded with four thousand Cyre-
an slingers and Elymean archers sorted together. On the left wing likewise there stood fast unto
the Phalangites aforesaid 1500 horsemen Gallogræcians: and two thousand Cappadocians ar-
med after the same manner, sent from King *Ariarathes*. Then the Auxiliaries of all sorts 2700;
besides three hundred lances in compleat harness upon barbed horses armed at all pieces, and
1000 other horsemen. As for the Cornet of the Kings, it was more lightly armed, as well them-
selves as their horses: but their setting out and furniture otherwise, all one. And these were Sy-
rians for the most part, with Phrygians and Lydians together. Before this cavalry went the chi-
riots of four wheels, and drawn by as many horses, armed with sharp and trenchant hooks like
sith-blades, and the camels called by them for their swiftness Dromedaries. Upon these were
mounted the Arabian archers, who also were armed with keen swords four cubits long, that fa-
shing as they did to aloft, they might notwithstanding reach their enemy. Then after these were
set another multitude equall to that in the right wing, whereof the formost were certain horse-
men called Tarentins, and after them 2500 Gallogræcian horse. Likewise of Neoptolemus a
thousand: and of Carians and Cicilians one with another 1500 armed alike. As many Trallians
and three thousand targeteers. These were Pisidians, Pamphylians and Lycians: and last of all,
the succours in the reregard of Citteans and Elymeans, in like number as they that were pla-
ced in the right wing, with sixteen Elephants also distant a pretty way asunder. The King him-
self in person had the conduct of the right point of the battell, and ordained *Seleucus* his son
and *Antipater* his brothers son to command the left. The main battell in the midst was com-
mitted to the leading and governance of three Captains, to wit, *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip* the
Master of the Elephants. There was a certain mist arose in the morning, and as it waxed farther
day gathered aloft into thick clouds, and made the weather dark: besides, by the South-wind it
resolved into a small drisling rain, which wet and drenched all. This did little harm to the Ro-
mans: but contrariwise, was much hurtfull to the Kings side. For, albeit the air was dim and
dark, yet by reason that the Roman battaillons took up no great compass of ground, they could
for all the air was overcast, discern from one end to the other: and the moisture that fell, dulled
nothing at all (to speak of) either the swords or javelins of them that were heavily armed:
whereas the Kings army being embattelled so broad, had much ado, and hardly could see from the
middle of the main battell to the wings of each hand, and much less discern from one skirt and
flank of the battaill on to the other. Moreover, the dropping weather slugged their bows, soft-
ned their slings and loops of their darts. Their sithed chariots also, wherewith *Antiochus* made full
account to break the arraies of his enemies, turned to the disorder and fright of themselves. Now
these chariots aforesaid were in this manner armed for the most part: certain sharp pikes they
had about the spire-pole, bearing forward from the spring-tree, ten cubits in length, like unto
horns, with which pointed pikes they would pierce through what soever they encountred.
Also at each end of the said spring-tree there were two blades stood out, the one of just and even
height with it, the other lower and bearing downward to the ground: the former was devised
to cut through whatsoever came near the side thereof, the other to reach and tear them that
were slain to the earth, or came under the chariot. Likewise at both ends of the axeltree with-
out the nave of the wheel there were two such like hooks fastned and bended divers waies.
These chariots thus armed the King had placed in the front of the battell as we said before, be-
cause if they had been set either in the middle or the reregard, they should have been driven
through their own battaillons. Which *Eumenes* perceiving one that knew well enough the mat-
ner of that kind of service, and how dangerous it was in case a man rather frighted the horses than
charged them directly by ordinary warlike force: he commanded the Candiot archers and
slingers, with some other horsemen that lanced darts, to run forth not thick in troops, but
scattring as far asunder as they could, and at once from all parts to discharge their shot upon
them. This forerunning tempest (as it were) so madded the horses partly by galling, wounding
and pelting them with darts, arrows, and stones, discharged from all sides at them, and partly with

A with the strange and uncouth noise which they made, that suddenly as if they had been unbridled
and without their geers, they flang out every way, and ran at random: which violence of theirs
the light armed souldiers, the nimble slingers, and swift running Candiots avoided easily with a
trice. And the horsemen withall following the chase, redoubled the fright and hurry amongst
the horses, yea, and the dromedary camels too; which likewise were unruly and set a madding:
and this hurly burly, the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus
were the chariots chased in the middle of the plain between both armies: and when these
vain bugs were once rid out of the way, then the alarm and signall was given on both parts, and
they charged one another in battell-wise. But as foolish an occurrent as that was, it caused
anon a discomfiture and overthrow indeed. For the auxiliaries and aids behind which were
B placed next unto them, terrified with the fear and affright of the chariots, fled, and left all na-
ked and and disfurnished even to the bard horses, in such sort, that when the rereguard was in
disarray, The Roman Cavalry entred upon the foresaid horse, and charged them so hotly, that
part of them was not able to endure the first shock and encounter: some were put to flight,
others were born down with the poise and weight of their harness and weapons. And pre-
sently thereupon the whole left wing of the battell began to retreat. And after that those suc-
cours were disbanded and in disarray which were between the Cavalry and the heavy armed
footmen called Phalangitæ, the disorder and fear went as far as to the midst of the main battel:
where so soon as the ranks and files were broken and shuffled together, by reason of the enter-
course of their own fellows among them, they had no use at all of their long pikes, which the
C Macedonians call *Sarissæ*. Then the Roman legions advanced their engins, and lanced their
darts against those disordered ranks hudled together. The very Elephants that were placed be-
tween, nothing troubled and affrighted the Roman souldiers, as who had been used in the Afri-
can wars, both to avoid the furious rage of those beasts, and also either with their javelins to
flank and hurt them overthwart, or else if they could come near unto them, to hew them and cut
their hamstrings with their swords. By this time now was the front of the main battell defea-
ted and beaten down: and the rereguard behind environed and cut in peeces: when as the Ro-
mans withall, might perceive their own fellows flying from the other part, and hear the cry
of those that were affrighted, even almost as far as to their camp. For *Antiochus* keeping the
right wing, seeing in the left point of the Romans no other defence (by reason that they tru-
D fled upon the river) but only four troops of horsemen, and those also by drawing themselves
close to their fellows, to leave the bank-side void and naked, charged that point with his Auxi-
liaries and lances upon bard horses, and not only made head and pressed them afront, but
from the river also set a compass and enclosed them: and flanked that wing so long, untill
the horsemen were first discomfited, and then the footmen next unto them were put to
flight, so as they ran amain toward their camp. *M. Æmylius* a Colonell, and son to *M. Le-
pidus*, who a few years after was created the High-Priest, had the charge of the camp: he
with his whole guard came forth, and where as he saw them to flee, there he opposed himself,
and first commanded them to stand, and afterwards to return to battell, checking and re-
buking them for their beastly fear, and shamefull running away. Moreover, he procee-
E ded to minatory words, saying, That in case they would not be ruled by his direction, they
should run headlong like blind beetles upon their own mischief: and in the end, he gave a
sign to his own company, for to lay upon the formost of them that thus fled, and caused the
multitude that followed, with dint of sword and drawing bloud of them, to turn their face
again upon the enemies. Thus the greater fear overcame the less: for seeing danger before
and behind, first they staid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. *Æmylius* also with
his own regiment (which for the guard of the camp had 2000 tall and valiant men in it) with-
stood the King right stoutly as he followed hot in chase upon those that fled. Moreover, *At-
talus* (brother of King *Eumenes*) in the right point of the battell, who at the first charge had dis-
comfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and
F hearing a great stir about the camp, came to the rescue in good time with 200 horsemen. *An-
tiochus*, when he saw them turn head again whose backs erewhile were toward him, and begin
to fight afresh, and perceived withall a number coming against him, both out of the camp and
also from the battell, turned his horse head and took himself to flight. By this means the Romans
obtained the victory of both the wings, and passed directly to the rifling of the camp over
the dead bodies, which in the main battell most of all were massacred and lay by heaps: where
the strength and flower of the hardiest men ranged close together and the weight besides of their
heavy armor, would not give them leave to flie away. The horsemen of *Eumenes* were the first of
all others that pursued the enemies: after them, the rest of the Cavalry followed the chase all
over the fields, and ever as they overtook any of the hindmost, killed them outright. But that
G which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all besides, was their chariots, ele-
phants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled; forasmuch as being once disbanded
and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were bruised and
crushed under the beasts feet which came running upon them. Great execution also there was
committed in the camp, yea, and more in manner than had been in the battell: for the first
that fled, and those that fought in the vanguard, took their way most of them to the camp, and
upon assured confidence of this multitude, the garrison within fought more valiantly, and held

out

out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus staid in the gates, and kept out of the rampier which they thought verily to have forced and won at their first assault, when they were once at length broken through and got in, made the more bloody slaughter amongst them, for very anger and despight that they had kept them so th so long. It is said, that there were slain that day about fifty thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen, 1400 taken prisoners, together with fifteen Elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there died not in the field above 300 foomen, and 24 horsemen: and of the regiment of King *Eumenes* not past five and twenty. And for that day verily, the conquerours after they had ransacked only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great plenty of pillage: but the next morrow they fell to spoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their prisoners together. And upon this victory, there came Embassadors from *Thyatira* and *Magnesia*, unto *Sypilus*, for to surrender and deliver up their Cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few, having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at *Sardis* about midnight with a small power of armed men: and hearing that his son *Seleucus* and some other of his friends were gone before to *Apamea*, himself also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward *Apamea*: after he had committed the charge of guarding the City *Sardis* unto *Zeno*, and appointed *Timon* governour of *Lydia*. But the inhabitants of the said City and the garrison souldiers within the Castle, despised their governours, and by generall consent addressed Embassadors unto the Consul.

Much about the same time also, there arrived Embassadors from *Tralles*, and *Magnesia* (which standeth upon the river *Meander*) and likewise from *Ephesus*, to yield up their Cities. For *Polyxenidas* (advertised of the issue of this battell) had abandoned *Ephesus*: and having sailed with the fleet as far as *Patara* in *Lycia*, for fear of the Rhodian ships which rid in guard within the harbour of *Megiste*, disbarked and put himself a shore, and with a small company marched by land into *Syria*. The Cities of *Asia* were surrendred into the hands and protection of the Consul, and submitted to the people of *Rome*. By this time now was the Consul possessed of *Sardis*, and thither repaired unto him *Scipio* from *Elea*, so soon as ever he could endure the travell of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Consul, who by the meditation of *Scipio*, made request and obtained thus much, That the King might send his Orators and Embassadors unto him. And after few daies *Zeuxis* (who had been governour of *Lydia*) together with *Antipater* (*Antiochus* his nephew, or brothers son) arrived, Who first dealt with King *Eumenes* and communed with him, whom (by reason of old jars and quarrels) they supposed verily to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof: but him they found more reasonable and enclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Masters or themselves hoped and looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* and him together, they had access unto the Consul; who at their earnest petition granted them a day of audience in a frequent assembly, there to declare their Commission and what they had in charge. "Then (quoth *Zeuxis*) "we are not so much to speak and deliver ought of our own selves, as to ask and be advised of you "(Romans) what course to take, and by what means of satisfaction we might expiate and satisfie "the trespass of the King our Master, and withall obtain grace and pardon at your hands who are "the victors? Your manner alwaies hath been of a magnanimous and haughty spirit, to forgive "Kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and beseeming you "to do the like: yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this victory and conquest, which hath made you LL. of the whole world? For now it behoveth you "to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortall men here upon earth, and rather like the immortall gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and "forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embassadors, what answer to make unto them; and likewise thought good it was that *Africanus* should deliver the same, who spake by report in this wise: "We Romans, of all those things which are in the power of the immortall "gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which depended upon our own will and mind, we have born (and ever will) the same without change "and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperity raised and lift it up aloft, nor adversity "debased and put it down. For proof hereof, I might produce your friend *Annibal* as witness, to "say nothing of others, but that I can report me to your own selves. For after we had passed "over *Hellespont*, even before we saw the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was in "different, when the issue doubtfull and uncertain, look what conditions of peace we then offered on even hand, and whiles we were equall one unto the other, and stood upon terms of advantage the same and no other we present unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors. "Forbear to meddle within *Europe*: depart wholly out of *Asia*, so much as is on this side *Taurus*. "Moreover, in regard of the expences defraied in this war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand Talents of silver, according to the computation of *Euboea*: five hundred in hand, two thousand and "five hundred at the assurance and making of the peace, by the Senat and people of *Rome*: and a "thousand talents yearly for twelve years next ensuing. Also ye shall make paiment unto *Eumenes* of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due "unto his father. And when we have contracted and concluded these covenants, to the end that "we may rest assured that ye will perform the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawn "that

A "that ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And "for as much as we can never be perswaded that the people of *Rome* shall enjoy long peace there, "where *Annibal* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody. Also you shall deliver "into our hands *Thoas* the Ætolian, the principall author and firebrand of that war with the Ætolians, who c ited you to take armes against us, upon hurtfulnesse that he gave you of them: and "likewise armed them upon the truft they had in you. Item, together with him you shall deliver "*Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, together with *Philo* and *Eubulidas* the Chalcidians. The K. shall "now contract peace in worse estate then he was, by reason he maketh it later then he might "have done. But in case he hold off still and delay, know he well thus much, that the royal majesty "and port of Kings is with more difficulty abated & taken down from the highst pitch and degree B "unto the midst; then from that mean estate, fall down headlong to the lowest. Now these Embassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that Embassadors should be directly sent to *Rome*. The Consul divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in *Magnesia* upon the river *Meander*, others in *Tralles* and *Ephesus*. After few daies the hostages above laid, were brought to *Ephesus* from the K. and Embassadors also came who were to go to *Rome*. *Eumenes* likewise went to *Rome* at the same time that the Kings Embassadors: and there followed embassies moreover of all the States of *Asia*.

Whiles the affair of *Asia* passed thus in these terms, there were two pro-consuls returned out C of their severall provinces, both in maner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, Q. *Minutius* out of *Liguria*, and *M. Acilius* out of *Ætolia*. When the exploits were heard as well of the one as the other, *Minutius* was flatly denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it granted with great consent of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over K. *Antiochus* and the Æolians. In which triumph there were carried before him 230 ensigns, 3000 pound weight of massie silver in bullion; of coin in Attick Tetradrachms 11300, in Cistophors 248000. In plate many vessels engraved and chased, of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the KK house all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apparell. Also crowns of gold 45 presented unto him by Cities associat: besides all sorts of rich spoils; and moreover he led divers noblemen prisoners, and last of all 36 captains, as well Ætolians as those who served under the King. As for *Democritus*, a great commander of the Aetolians, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh suit after him, overtaken upon the bank of *Tybris*: but before he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only D there wanted those that should have followed after his chariot; otherwise the triumph had been magnificent and stately, both for the pompous shew and also of the honor and renoun of exploits atchieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heavy tidings out of *Spain*, of a losse and overthrow received of the Portugals, in the countrey of Valcetans, neer the town *Lico*, under the conduct of *L. Æmylius*: where 6100 of the Roman army were left dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were forced to retire in maner of flight, and by long journies recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the news out of *Spain*.

From out of *France* the Embassadors of the Placentins and Cremonians, were brought by the Prætor *L. Aurunculeius* into the Senat: where they made much moan and complaint for default E and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others consumed by misery and sickness, yea, and certain of them departed out of their colonies for weariness they had of the Gauls their neer neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. Lælius* the Consul to enroll, if he thought to good, six thousand families, for to be distributed among those Colonies aforesaid: & *L. Aurunculeius* the Prætor to create three Commissaries called Triumvirs, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were *M. Atilius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the son of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the son of *Caius*.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached neer, *C. Lælius* the F Consul returned out of *France* to *Rome*, and he not only by vertue of the act of the Senat made in his ablence, enrolled certain Coloners to supply the want in *Placentia* and *Cremona*, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the LL. of the Senat ordained, that two new Colonies should be conducted into the land that appertained to the Boians. And at the very same time were letters brought from *L. Æmylius* the Prætor, as touching the battell he fought neer to *Mycone*: which letters also give intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consul had transported his army into *Asia*. For joy of the said naval victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and in regard that the Roman army was then first on foot in *Africk*, the said procession continued another day with supplication to the gods, that this voiage might turn to the prosperity and joy of the Common-wealth. And the Consul was enjoyned at each procession and supplication, to sacrifice twenty head of greater beasts. After this ended the solemn assembly for the chusing of G Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Æmylius Lepidus* stood to be Consul, a man grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had left his government and charge in *Sicily* for this occasion and business only, without making suit unto the Senat and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitors in election, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Volso*, and *M. Valerius Messala*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone, because the rest left not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and he the morrow after nominated *Cn.*

Manlius for his colleague, and gave the repulse unto *Lepidus*; for *Massala* kept silence and held H his tongue. Which done, the Pretors were elected, namely, the two *Quintes Fabii*, the one surnamed *Labeo*, the other *Pictor*, who had been consecrated that year for the Flamin Quirinall) *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, *Lucius Plautius Hypseus*, and *L. Bæbius Dives*.

During the time that *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Volso* were Consuls, *Valerius Antias* writeth that there was a rife rumour raised at *Rome*, and held for certain, that *L. Scipio* the Consul, together with P. *Africanus*, were called forth to a parley with King *Antiochus*, as touching the enlargment and delivery of young *Scipio* the son of *Africanus*, and by that means were both of them arrested and taken prisoners: also that when these chief commanders were under arrest, the Kings army incontinently advanced against the Roman camp, the same was surprised and forced and the whole power of the Romans utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went I current also that the Ætolians began to look aloft, refused to obey, and shook off their allegeance; also that their Princes and chief States were gone into *Macedony*, *Dardany* and *Thrace*, to levy and wage auxiliary forces: moreover, that *A. Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Claudius Lepidus* were sent unto out of *Ætolia*, from *A. Cornelius* the Propretor, for to report these news at *Rome*. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith that the Ætolian Embassadors among other things being examined in the Senat about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood that the Roman Generals were taken prisoners in *Asia* by King *Antiochus*, and the whole army overthrown? answered directly, that they had advertisement thereof by their own Embassadors, who had been with the Consul. But because I find no other author besides him that maketh mention of this rumor, I dare not for any thing that I can say of my self report it for a cer- K tain truth, nor yet omit it as a meer fable or loud lie.

The Ætolian Embassadors were permitted to come into the Senat house; and being induced (in regard of their own cause and present condition) to confesse a truth, and as humble suppliants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or misprision and error, began with a bedroll of their favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*, yea and in manner to upbraid the Romans with the valour which they shewed in the war against *Philip*. But with their arrogant and insolent language they offended the ears of the Senators: and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they handled their own cause so, and brought it to this passe, that the LL. of the Senat began to call to mind much more harm and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, then kindnesses and courtesies received at their L hands: insomuch as the Ætolians having need of their mercy, incurred their heavy displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators Whether they would refer and submit themselves to the censure and judgment of the people of *Rome* and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whom the Romans so accounted; they answered not a word: and thereupon immediately were commanded out of the Court: and presently all the Senat began to cry out with one voice, that the *Ætolians* were all still for Kings *Antiochus* depending wholly and only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take down and tame the so proud and fellonious hearts of their own. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the stomacks of the LL. against them, because at the very same instant when they M seemed to require peace at the Romans hands, they warred against *Dolopia* and *Athamania*. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (and the same was moved by *M. Acilius*, who had vanquished and subdued *Antiochus* and the Ætolians) That they shall void that very day out of the City of *Rome*; and within fifteen daies next ensuing, out of all *Italy*. *Au. Terentius Varro* was sent to safe-conduct them on the way: and this warning they took with them, that if ever after there came any Embassadors from the Ætolians, without the warrant, licence, and permission of the chief General who governed the province, or not accomp nied with a Roman Legat, they should be repu- tedall of them for no better then enemies. In this maner were the Ætolians dismissed & sent away.

After this the Consuls proposed unto the Senat, as touching the government of the provinces. N And thought good it was that they themselves should cast lots for *Ætolia* & *Asia*. Unto him whose lot it should be to govern *Asia*, was appointed that army which *L. Scipio* had. And for to furnish it fully up and make up the decaied bands, he was allowed to have four thousand foot men of Romans with two hundred horsemen of allies that were Latins, eight thousand foot and four thousand men of arms, and with these forces he was to make war against *Antiochus*. The other Consul had assigned unto him that army which was *Ætolia*: and liberty he had for supply of the broken army to levy the same number of Citizens and allies that his companion in government had enrolled. To the same Consul was granted a commission likewise to set in order, furnish, and take with him those ships which the former year were prepared and rigged, and not only to make war with the Ætolians, but also to sail over into the Isle *Cephalenia*. And withall, the said Consul O had in charge to return home to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-weal. For besides the annuall Magistrats (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affairs detained him, that he might not return in person, then he was to give advertisement, and signifie so much to the Senat, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the aforesaid Election. So *Ætolia* fell by lot to M. *Fulvius*, and *Asia* to *Cn. Manlius*. Then the Pretors fell to draw lots for their provinces. *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* had the jurisdiction over Citizens

A citizens and forreiners both: *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* governed *Sicily*: and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin, *Sardinia*: *Q. Fabius Labeo* was admirall of the navy at sea: and *L. Plautius Hypseus* was allotted to the rule of high *Spain*, and *L. Babius Dives* of the lower. For *Sicily* one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Also there was order given that the new Pretor should impose two tenths of corn upon the Sicilians, and send the one into *Asia*, and the other into *Ætolia*. The like imposition was laid and exacted upon the Sardinians, and the said corn to be conveighed into the same armies that the Sicilian corn was. A supply was granted unto *L. Bæbius* for *Spain* of a thousand Rom. footmen and fifty horse besides: besides six thousand Latin foot, and two hundred horsmen. Unto *Plautius Hypseus* for the higher *Spain* were allowed a thousand Roman footmen: with two thousand Latine allies, B and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of *Spain* were allowed each of them one legion. The Magistrats and governours of the former year continued still in place of command for one other yeer, to wit, *C. Lælius* with his army, and *P. Iunius* also the Propretor in *Hetruria* with those forces which were in the province *M. Tuccius* likewise in the Brutians country and *Apulia*.

But before the Pretors went into their provinces, there hapned a variance between P. *Licinius*, the Arch-Pontifie or chief Prelat, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin, like unto that which sometime fell out between *L. Metellus* and *Posthumius Albinus*. For at what time as *Posthumius* the Consul was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in *Sicily*, together with *C. Lutatius* his colleague, *Metellus* the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back upon occasion of certain sacrifices to be celebrated: semblably, when as *Fabius* the Pretor would C have gone into *Sardania*, *P. Licinius* the high Priest detained him. Much strife and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senat house, as before the people. Inhibitions passed to and fro. Cautions and pledges were distrained: fines they imposed one upon anothers head: the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpose their authority, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites took place, and carried it clear, and the Flamin was enjoined to obey the chief priest: and by order and expresse commandment from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretor for very anger and spite that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendred and resigned up his government, the LL. of the Senat impeached and terrified him by their absolute authority, and ordeined that he should minister justice, and exercise civill jurisdiction between aliens. After that the musters D were ended within few dayes (for many souldiers were not to be levied and enrolled) both Consuls and Pretors took their journey into the provinces. After this, there arose a bruit concerning the occurrents and affairs in *Asia*, blown and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what author it proceeded: but after few daies there came certain messengers with letters from the Generals of the Roman army, sent of purpose to the City, which caused not so great joy presently ensuing upon the fresh fear aforesaid (for why, they were no more afraid of *Ætolia* by them already conquered) as dashed quite the fame and opinion that went on *Antiochus*, whom in the beginning of this war they supposed would have been a dangerous enemy unto them, as well in regard of his own puissance, as for that he had the direction and conduct of *Annibal* in the war: howbeit, E they thought good to alter nothing, either as touching the sending of the Consul into *Asia*, or diminishing his forces, for fear they should have war with the French.

Not long after *M. Aurelius Cotta*, a lieutenant of *Scipio*, came to *Rome* with the Embassadors of King *Antiochus*, and likewise King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Cotta* reported and declared first in the Senat, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order and commandment from the LL. of the Councell) what affairs had passed in *Spain*. Whereupon ordeined it was, that there should be holden a solemn procession for 3 daies together: and order was given, that 40 head of greater cattel should be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to King *Eumenes*: first above all other matters who briefly in few words having rendred "thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from siege, and F "protected his realm against the wrongs and outrages offred by *Antiochus*: also having testified "his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous and fortunat affairs atchieved both by land and "sea: namely, in that they had discomfited and put to flight K. *Antiochus*, & driven him out of his "camp, that he could not keep the field; and withall disseized and dispossessed him first of *Europe* and afterwards of all that part of *Asia* which lieth on this side the mountain *Taurus*: he concluded and knit up all with this, That as touching his own demerits and employments about their "affairs, he had rather they took knowledge by their own generals, captains and lieutenants, "than from his mouth. They all approved well of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly without bashful modesty in that case. What he thought in equity and reason the Senat and people G of *Rome* was to yeeld unto him by way of justly recompense: assuring him that the Senat would do it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his desert. The King answered thus again, that in case any other had made him that offer, and given him the "choice of his own rewards, he would gladly have used the counsell of that honorable court "of the Roman Senat (to he might have the means and liberty to aske their advice) to this end that "he would not be thought, either to exceed measure in covetous desire, or passe the bounds of modesty in craving a recompense. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward, "much more reason it is that their magnificence and bounty to him & his brethren should be re-

"ferred to their own abitrement and discretion. The LL. of the Senat were nothing moved at this H
language of his, but urged him still to speak himself in his own cause. And after a certain time that
they had strived a-vie, the LL. in courtesie and kindness, the King in modesty and shamefastness,
yeelding one unto the other reciprocally, in such amiable and mutuall manner as hardly can be
expressed, *Eumenes*, departed out of the temple. The Senat persisted nevertheless in their resolution
saying, it was very absurd and undecent that the King should be ignorant upon what hopes he was
come, and what he purposed to make suit and petition for: and himself must needs of all others
know best what was meetest and most expedient for his own Kingdom: yea, and was far better
acquainted with the estate and affairs of *Asia* then the Senat was. And therefore no remedy, but he
must be called again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, desire and mind was to
The Oration of King *Eumenes* in the Senat of *Rome*. have. Hereupon the King was brought back into the temple by the Pretor, and urged to speak. I
Then at last, my LL. (quoth he) I would have persisted still in silence, but that I knew that anon ye
"will call the embassage of the Rhodians in place, and that after audience given unto them, I must
"neither will nor choose but make some speech of necessity: and verily with so much more
"difficulty shall I speak, because their demands will be such, as if they would seem not only to
"require nothing prejudicial and hurtfull unto me, but also (which more is) matters little or
"nothing pertinent to themselves. For plead they will and maintain the cause of the Cities in
"*Greece*, saying, they ought be set free and at liberty: which being once obteined, who can make
"doubt but rather they will withdraw from our obeisance, not only the Cities which shal be freed,
"but also those which have been homagers and tributaries unto us of old time? yea, and will keep
"them as subjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whom being thus bound and obliged K
"to them by so great a benefit, they call by the name of Associats, and would make the world be-
"lieve they repute them for no other? Yet forsooth (I wot well) in affecting and aspiring to this so
"great power & puissance, they will carry it so cleanly & make semblant, as though this in no wise
"touched and concerned them: but it is befitting you alone, correspondent & answerable to other
"former deeds of yours. But be ye well advised, and let not their glosing words deceive you,
"take you heed, I say, that ye go not with an uneven hand nor bear your selves equally, whiles you
"depresse and abase too much some of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all
"measure; and above all, beware that they who have lift up their spear and born arms against you,
"be not more kindly intreated & in better condition, then your loving friends and faithfull confe-
"derats. For mine own part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man, rather to L
"keep within my compass; yea, and yeeld somewhat of my right whatsoever it is, then to strive
"too much in the maintenance and holding therof: but in the question of your friendship, my
"affection towards you, and to the honour which shall come from you, I cannot endure with
"patience that any one should out-go and surmount my self. This I account the greatest inheri-
"tance left unto me by my father the first, (of all those that inhabit in *Greece* and *Asia*) who was
"entertained in your amity and continued in the same always most fast, most constant and sure
"ever to his dying day: who not only shewed found affection and loyall heart unto you, but also
"was in person employed in all your wars which ye made in *Greece*, as well at land as at sea; assist-
"ed and aided you with all kind of provisions, in such sort, as none of all your allies besides was
"any way comparable or came neer to him. And finally, as he earnestly exhorted the Boeotians M
"to accept of your society, he sunk down, swooned in the very assembly & not long after yeelded
"up his spirit and dyed. His footsteps have I troden, and followed his good example. For affection
"verily and studious desire to honour you, I could not have more then he had (for I suppose it was
"impossible to surpasse him therein:) but in kind pleasures, effectuall services, offices, counte-
"sies, and favours, to surmount and go beyond him; the goodness of fortune, the occasion of
"times, King *Antiochus* and the war of *Asia*, have ministred ample and sufficient matter unto me,
"*Antiochus* King of *Asia* and part of *Europe*) gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her en-
"dowed me with the repossession of those Cities which had revolted from us. He fed me more-
"ver with great hopes of encreasing my dominion in time to come, if I would have sided with him N
"against you. I will glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and displease you:
"I will rather rehearse those pleasures and services which are beseeming the ancient amity and
"friendship between our house and you. In forces as well for land as sea, I have friended and
"helped your Generals in such wise, as I forbid all your allies besides to do the like: furnished them
"I have with victuals on the land, with provisions at sea. In all the battels and conflicts by ships
"(which were many and in sundry places) I was present in person. I underwent all travels and
"ventured all perils, and no where favoured my self and thought much of my pains: nay, that
"which is the greatest calamity and misery that followeth wars, I was besieged, and endured it:
"enclosed I was and shut up within *Pergamus*, to the utter hazard of my life and of my realm and
"royall dignity. And after I was delivered from that danger and the siege raised, albeit *Antiochus* O
"of one side and *Seleucus* on another, lay encamped about the principall fortresse of my Kingdom,
"I quit mine own affairs and laid all aside, to come with my whole fleet into *Hellespont*, & there
"to meet with *L. Scipio* your Consul, and to aid him in transporting and wafting his army into
"*Asia*. And when your forces were passed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there
"was not a Rom. souldier more resiant ordinarily in your camp then my self and my brethren. No
"expeditions, no rodes, no exploit of horse service was there without me. In battel have I stood on
"foot & guarded that quarter which the Cos. hath appointed me to keep. I wil not say, my LL. what
one

A "one person there is that hath done so good service for you in the last war as I my self, and who
"is any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all States and Princes what-
"soever, whom you esteem and honour so highly? *Masanissa* before he was your friend, was
"your professed enemie: he came not to you with his aids in the time of his upright fortune, and
"whiles his Kingdome florished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his
"Kingdom, and turned out of all, he fled into your camp, accompanied only with a small troop
"and cornet of horsemen: Yet nevertheless, because he stood fast to you and bare himself in all
"loyalty, and shewed his prowesse in your behalf against *Syphax*, and the Carthaginians in *Africk*,
"you not only restored him to his fathers Kingdome, and placed him again in the royall throne,
"but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realm of *Syphax*, made him the most puis-
B "sant and greatest Prince of all the Kings in *Africk*. What reward then, nay, what honour are we
"worthy to have at your hands; we (I say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My fa-
"ther, my self, my brethren, have born arms in your quarrell by land, by sea, not only in *Asia* but
"far from our own home and native soil, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Beotia*, in *Aetolia*, during the war with
"*Philip*, with *Antiochus*, with the Aetolians. What recompence demand you then? may some
"man say. Forasmuch as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speak
"my mind; good reason it is that I obey. This shall stand for all; if you have dispossessed *Antiochus*
"of all on this side *Taurus*, with this intent, to hold those lands your own selves; none better then
"you, and whom I would rather wish to be my neighbours and to confine upon me: neither can
"I bethink me, of any means in the world more important to the safety and strength of my King-
"dome. But in case your purpose be to depart and retire your forces from thence, I dare be bold
C "to say, that of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy then my self
"to have and hold that which you have won by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and mag-
"nificent, to set free and deliver Cities out of thraldome and servitude. True and I my self am of
"the same opinion, provided alwaies, that they had attempted nought by way of hostilitie against
"you. But in case they had taken part and sided with *Antiochus*; how much more stan deth it with
"wisdom, nay, with equity and reason, to be respective of your allies who have so well deserved
"at your hands, then to regard your enemies. This Oration of the King much pleased the LL. of
the Senat, and soon it was seen by their countenance that they would deal bounteously and libe-
rally with him, yea, and gratifie him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brief
D embassage of the Smyrneans, who by occasion that some of the Rhodians were absent, came be-
tween and delivered their message. Highly were these Smyrneans commended, in that they chose
rather to endure all extremities, then to yeeld themselves unto King *Antiochus*. Then the Rhodians
entred in place: and the chief man of their embassie, after he had declared the first occasion and
beginning of the amity which they had with the people of *Rome*, and shewed withall the good
deserts and services which the Rhodians had performed in the wars first against *Philip* and then a-
gainst *Antiochus*, went on and spake as followeth. "Right honourable, there is nothing more
"difficult and troublesome unto us in all the businesse that we have in hand then this one thing, The oration of the Rhodian Embassadors.
"that there is some variance and matter to be debated between us and *Eumenes*, the only K. of all
"others, with whom especially every one of us in privat, and (that which toucheth us more) our
E "City in publick, doth entertain the bond of friendship and mutuall hospitality. How beit no re-
"pugnancy is in our affections (my LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it self (the
"mightiest thing of all) which disjoyneth us and causeth difference: this maketh us (being men
"free born) to defend and maintain the freedom also of others: this is it, that moveth KK. to be
"desirous to have all in servitude and subjection under them, and at their command. But how soe-
"ver it is, our modesty and the reverent regard we have of the King person hurteth us more, then
"either the debating of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof
"like to be intricat and troublesome unto you. For in case it were so, that you could not honour
"and reward a King, your allie and friend, for his good service done in this war (for recompence
"whereof you sit in consultation) by no other means, unlesse you deliver free Cities into his
F "hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve; for fear lest either ye should
"send away a prince (your friend and confederat) without guerdon and honour; or seem to change
"that laudable enterprise of yours which you have begun, to stain and blemish your glory now
"(which you have acquired by the war against *Philip*) with reducing so many Cities and states
"into servitude. But your happy fortune easeth you right well of this difficulty and necessity,
"that you need not fear either to empair your credit and favour with your friends, or to endamage
"your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have atchie-
"ved a victory, no lesse rich then glorious, and sufficient (if I may so say) to discharge all your
"debts, and set you clear with all the world. For *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia* both the great and the lesse,
"whole *Pisidia*, *Chersonesus*, and in brief all the confines of *Europe* are under your dominion. Of
G "all which provinces, if you lay but one by (which you will your selves) for K. *Eumenes*, you shal
"mightily enlarge and amplifie his Kingdom: but, give him all, you will make him equall to the
"greatest princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompence and en-
"rich your allies out of the conquest gotten by war, and nevertheless hold out your good custom
"that you have begun, remembring alwaies what title you pretended first in your war with *Philip*,
"& now lately with *Antiochus*: considering withal, what you did then after *Philip* was vanquish'd, &
"what is required and expected at your hands, now: not so much because you have used it alrea-

"dy, as for that it was meet and decent you should so do. Many causes there be (and those colour-H
"ably just and lawfull) to enter into arms: one pretended this, another that; some in right of lands
"and territories, other of villages; some lay claim to towns and Cities, others challenge the pos-
"session of ports and havens, and one tract or other of the sea-coasts. As for you, before you en-
"joyed these things, you desired them not: since then ye have now compassed the whole earth,
"and are LL. of the world, you cannot possibly covet the same any more. Warred you have and
"fought for honour and glory, in the sight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
"behold and regard your name and empire, no lesse then they do the gods immortall. And I wot
"not well, whether those things which we hardly come by, be not with more difficulty holden &
"kept afterwards, then they were purchased. You undertook to deliver & rid out of the servitude
"and oppression of Kings, and to maintain in liberty, a most ancient and noble state, renowned I
"for their worthy and famous acts, and right commendable for their singular learning and know-
"ledge in all sciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation in your safegard
"and protection, to defend and preserve the same for ever. And think not, that those Cities only
"are more Greek which are built and seated upon the ancient soil of *Greece*, then their colonies
"which have been drawn from them, & in times past went from thence into *Asia*: for the change
"of air and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature and complexion, or the manors
"and fashions of the people. As for us, endevoured we have do better and better, and each City
"hath entered into an honest contention and religious emulation to out-go and surmount their
"forefathers and first-founders in all good arts and commendable vertues. There be many of you
"who have been in *Greece*, many have visited the Cities of *Asia*, and setting aside this only, That K
"we are farther distant and remote from you, there is no difference and odds between us and
"them. The Massillans, whom (if possible it had been, that an imbred temperature might be al-
"tered and overcome with the strength and nature, as it were in the soil) so many wild, barba-
"rous, and untamed nations, environing them round about, would have made cruell and savage
"long before this day; we hear say and understand to be in that request and estimation (by good
"right, and their desert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very midst and heart of *Greece*, for
"not only they retain still the very naturall language of their own, they keep them to their old
"fashion of apparell and attire, and carry the same port in their gesture and countenance, but also
"above all things they have kept and observed their customs, their maners, their laws and natural
"disposition pure and entire, notwithstanding the frequent commerce with those, in the midst L
"of whom they converse and inhabit. Well, the mountain *Taurus* at this day is the limit of your
"empire and signeury one way: and therefore whatsoever lieth between you and that bound,
"you must not think it remote, but look how far your arms have reached, so far let your laws and
"jurisdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other laws then lords hests, have their Kings,
"since they take such pleasure in them, and much good may they do their hearts: as for the
"Greeks, they must do as they may, and are not (we confesse) in so good case as you, howbeit
"they carry with them as brave a mind as your selves: and the day hath been, when they were
"Monarchs, when they conquered by their own sword a mighty dominion, and held the same
"when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it now is, nay; they with it
"may remain and continue there for evermore, where it is setled at this present. They shall be M
"well spaied, and think they are well, to maintain their liberty by your force of arms, since they
"have no means of their own to defend the same. But (will some man say) there be certain Cities
"that held a side and banded with *Antiochus* I answer again, so were some before that took part
"with *Philip*, so there were that conbined with *Pyrrhus*, as for example, the Tarentins: and to
"say nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearse, even *Carthage* it self enjoyeth
"freedom and is governed by her own laws. Consider then my LL. what a precedent therein
"ye have set down to your own selves, and how ye ought to confirm and uphold so good an exam-
"ple. You must resolve to deny that unto the covetous desire of *Eumenes*, which you would not
"grant to your own ire against the Carthaginians, which they had most justly deserved. And N
"as for us Rhodians, with what valour and loialty we have served and aided you, as well in
"this war, as in all others which ye have had in those parts and quarters, we report us to our
"own selves, and leave it to your judgment. And now in time of peace, we here present unto you
"that counsell, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will beleeve and say, That
"you have born your selves more honorably in the usage, then in the atchievance of your victory.
This Oration seemed to fit well the greatness and majesty of the Romans. When the Rhodians had done, the Embassadors of *Antiochus* were called in. Who after the usual and stale maner of those that crave pardon, confessed the King was in fault, and humbly besought the LL. of the Senat to have more regard of their own accustomed gracious clemency, then remember the Kings trespasse, who had paied sufficiently for it already: and finally that they would ratifie and con- O firm by their authority, the peace granted by *L. Scipio* the Lord Generall, according to those conditions, which by him were capitulated and set down. So both the Senat thought good to admit of that peace, and also within few daies after the people gave their assent and o- stablished the same. And this accord was solemnly confirmed in the Capitol, with the Kings Procurator or agent, to wit, *Antipater*, the chief of the embassage, who also was *Antiochus* his brothers son. This done, the other embassages of *Asia* had audience, and were all dispatched with this one answer, that the Senat would send ten deputies or commissioners, according to the an-

A cient custome of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of *Asia*. But the fi-
nall conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to the dominion of *Antiochus* on
this side the mountain *Taurus*, should be assigned to King *Eumenes*, excepting the countries of
Lycia and *Caria*, so far as the river *Maander*, all which must lie to the signory of the Rhodians.
As touching the other Cities of *Asia*, which had been tributaries to *Attalus*, those also were to
pay tribute to *Eumenes*: but such as were sometimes homagers to *Antiochus*, those should be
enfranchised and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were these, to wit,
Q. Minutius Rufus, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *App. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Cor-*
nelius Merula, *M. Iunius Brutus*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, P. *Cornelius Lentulus*,
and *P. Ælius Tubero*. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and deter-
B mine as they thought good, in all the occurents that were presented in these affairs. But they
had direction from the Senat, as touching the principal points: *Imprimis*, That all *Lycaonia* and
Phrygia, both the more and the lesse, that *Mysia*, with the Kings chases and forrests, that the Cities
of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, except those that were free at the day of the battell fought with *Antiochus*, and
expressely by name *Magnesia* neer *Sipylus*, together with *Caria*, which is called *Hydrela*, and
all the territorie of *Hydrela* lying toward *Phrygia*; moreover *Telmessus* and the forts of the Tel-
messians, reserving only that territory which belonged to *Ptolomeus* the Telmessian; that all these
countries, I say, and Cities above writen, should be given and granted to King *Eumenes*. *Item*,
That the Rhodian should be enfeoffed in *Lycia*, without the foresaid *Telmessus* the forts and terri-
tory, appertaining sometime to *Ptolomeus Telmessus*: which parcels, I say, were reserved as well
from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians. *Item*, to the Rhodians was granted that part of *Caria*, which
C lieth beyond the river *Maander*, neer to the isle *Rhodes*, together with the towns, villages, for-
tresses, and lands bounding upon *Pisidia*: except those towns which were free the day before the
battell with King *Antiochus* in *Asia*. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senat for
their granities, were in hand with them for the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*: they alledged, that they like-
wise as well as themselves, were descended from *Argos*: by occasion of which confraternity and
neer alliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition
that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, as to ex-
empt that City also from the servitude and subjection of K. *Antiochus*. Then were the Embassadors
of King *Antiochus* called for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antipa-*
D *ter* stood stoutly upon this point, pleaded hard, that the accord was past already, and might not be
revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised,
it was not the City *Soli*, but also *Cilicia* that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest
till they were gotten over the mountain *Taurus*. Then were the Rhodians called back again into
the Senat, unto whom the LL. of the Senat, after they had made relation how earnest the Kings
Embassador was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover and said, That if the Rho-
dians deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the
Senat would work all possible means to cause the Kings Embassadors to relent, how stiff and obsti-
nate soever they stood. For this courtesie, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily then
for all the rest before, and said withall, that they would yeeld and give place to the arrogant spirit
E of *Antiochus*, rather then seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so as touch-
ing the City *Soli*, there was no alteration made.

Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Massilians brought
intelligence, that *L. Bebius* the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of *Spain*, was
entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his train killed outright in the place; that
himself mortally wounded fled without his lictors and sergeants into *Massilia*, and within three
dayes left this life. The Senat upon the advertisment ordeined *P. Iunius Brutus* the Pro-pretor
in *Hetruria* to go in person into the farther *Spain*, and govern the same as his own province: but
first to leave *Hetruria* and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make
choise of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Posthumius* the Pretor of
the City was sent into *Hetruria*: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Pro-pretor into *Spain*. In which
province *L. Æmylius Paulus* (who afterwards won a right glorious victory of King *Perseus*) ha-
ving the former year fought unfortunatly, now a little before the arrival of his successor, gave bat-
tell to the Lusitanians with an army rallied and assembled in hast, in which the enemies were put
to the worse and driven to flie. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead
in the field, 3300 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The bruit that went of
this victory set all matters in *Spain* in greater quietnes.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of *Ianuary*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Ar-*
tilius Serranus, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senat, planted a
Latine Colony at *Bolonia*; and three thousand people were thither sent to dwel. Every gentleman
G by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground fet out unto him, and the rest of the
coloners fifty apeece. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boians in
Gaul: and those Gauls first had dispossessed the Tuscans of the same. * 29. Decem-ber.

This year there were many men of mark and name that sued to be Censors: and this compe-
tition as if it had not been of sufficient importance it self to move matter of debate, was the oc-
casion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors were these, *T. Quintius*
Flaminius, P. *Cornel. Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius*
Marcellus,

Marcellus, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, even he who had vanquished *Antiochus* and the Ætolians at *Thermopyla*. To this man last rehersed the peoples favour and affection most enclined, by reason of many congiaries and largesses which he had given amongst them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The rest, being so many and nobly descended withall, took it to the heart, and could not endure that such a person as he newly risen and come up, and a gentleman of the first head, should be preferred before them; whereupon P. *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *C. Sempronius Rutilius*, two Tribunes of the commonalty, commenced action against him to answer at a day, laying to his charge that there remaineth a surplusage of the Kings money and other pillage gotten in the camp of *Antiochus*, over and above all that he either carried and shewed in triumph, or brought in accompt into the City chamber. Many and sundry depositions there were to prove this inditement, as well of lieutenants as of colonels. But *M. Cato*, above all other witnesses was most noted: whose great authority acquired in the whole course of his life (which he had passed hitherto in all upright conversation and constant gravity) was much empaired and discredited now, with his white robe that he bare on his back. He being produced as a witness, deposed and gave evidence, that he had seen certain plate as well gold as silver, among the rest of the pillage found in the Kings camp, which he never could set eye on in all the triumph aboresaid. In the end, *Glabrio*, because he would bring some displeasure particularly, and most of all upon *Cato*, said, he would give over his suit for the Censorship, since that there was another competitor as newly come up as himself, (whereat the Nobles indeed took indignation inwardly, although they said nothing) who pursued the cause so against him, even with incredible and inestimable perjury. Well, a fine was set upon his head of a thousand asses. And twice was the matter traversed, whether the mulct should be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the party in trouble (*Acilius*) had quite surceased to sue for the dignity, the people would not give their voyces as touching the paiment of the fine aforesaid, and the Tribunes also themselves let fall their action. So T. *Quintius Flamininus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were created Censors.

About the same time the Senat sate within the City in the temple of *Apollo*, in regard of *L. Æmylius Regillus*, who had vanquished the Admiral of King *Antiochus* in battell at sea; where he had audience given, and when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, against how puissant Armados of the enemies he had fought, and how many ships of theirs he had either sunk or taken; The LL. of the Councell with one generall consent and accord, granted unto him an Ovall triumph. And he triumphed upon the Calends of *February*. In which triumph there were born in shew fifty crowns save one, of beaten gold; but nothing that store of coin as such a royall triumph required. only there were carried in pomp 34700 Attick tetradrachms, 132300 cistophors. After this (by decree of the Senat) there were processions celebrated in consideration that *L. Æmylius Paulus* had brought his affairs in *Spain* to an happy issue.

Not long after *L. Scipio* came also into the City, who because he would not be inferiour to his brother in the honourable addition of his name, caused himself to be surnamed *Asiaticus*. He discoursed before the Senat, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthy acts. Divers there were who construed the thing thus and said, That the war was greater in name then difficult unto him in the managing: for with fighting one only memorable battel the matter was atchieved and ended, but the glory indeed of that victory was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at *Thermopyla*. But if a man should judg thereof aright, and according to truth, the battell of *Thermopyla* may rather be accompted an exploit against the Ætolians then King *Antiochus*. For what great forces I pray you had *Antiochus* there in the field of his own? But in the last battell smitten in *Asia*, the whole power and puissance that he had in all *Asia*, stood there to be seen, yea, and all the aids and succours which he could levy out of the nations as far as to the utmost parts of the East. Great cause therefore they had both to render much praise and thanksgiving to the immortall gods, in as ample maner as possibly they could devise (for vouchsafing unto them so brave a victory as it was, and the same with such ease and expedition) and also to grant a triumph to the General. He triumphed upon the last of *February*, even in the very day that maketh the leap year. This triumph of his was much greater then that other other of his brothers in regard of the magnificent pomp and shew represented to the eye: but if one call to mind the substance of the things themselves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one war with the other; there is no more equality between them, then if a man should in comparison of captain with captain, set *Antiochus* to match with *Annibal*. He shewed in triumph two hundred thirty four field ensigns and standards: he carried before him the portraicts of two hundred thirty four towns and Cities: a hundred thirty four teeth of ivory: two hundred thirty four crowns of gold: 237300 ponnds weight of silver: 234000 Artick tetradrachms: 331070 cistophores: 140000 Philip-peeces of gold: of silver plate, and that was all graven and chased, 1400 thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 1204 pound. Moreover there were led before his chariot 32 great commanders; either governors of provinces under the King, or attendant in his court. Every souldier serving on foot, had given unto him 25 deniers: every centurion had double so much; and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the souldiers had their pay double in mony, yea, and the portion of corn likewise was doubled. He had moreover given them already a double proportion in *Asia*, presently upon the end of the battell. A year it was almost after his Consulship expired ere he triumphed. And

And much about one and the same time, both *Cn. Manlius* and the Consul entred into *Asia* and *Q. Fabius Labeo* the Pretor repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Consul had work enough and wanted not matter of war within *France*. The seas were quiet after that *Antiochus* was defeated and subdued: *Fabius* therefore studied which way to take, and how to employ himself and his forces at sea, because he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: so he resolved at length to put over with his fleet into *Crete*. Now they of *Cydon* warred at that time against the Gortynians and the Gnosians: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romans and Italians, captives, living in slavery and bandage in every quarter of that Iland. He loosed therfore from *Ephesus* and set sail for *Candy*, and so soon as he was arrived and set aland, he sent his messengers about to the Cities, willing them to abandon their armor and surcease from war, and to search and seek up throughout all the Cities and territories those captives and prisoners aforesaid, to bring them to him: and moreover, to send their Embassadors or agents, with whom he would treat concerning the affairs that in common touched as well the Candiots as the Romans. The Ilanders made small regard of these messages: and unlesse it were the Gortynians, there was not one that delivered the captives *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, That out of the whole Iland there were rendred to the number of four thousand; because the inhabitants were frighted with threats of war. And that this was the cause why *Fabius*, although he performed no other exploit, obteined of the Senat a navall triumph. From *Crete*, *Fabius* returned to *Ephesus*; from whence he set forth three ships to the coast of *Thracia*, and commanded that the garrisons of *Antiochus* should quit *Ænus* and *Maronea*, to the end, that those Cities likewise might be set free and enfranchised.

The eight and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and thirtieth Book.

MArcus Fulvius *the Consul besieged the Ambracians in* Epirus, *and received them upon composition to mercy. He subdued* Cephalenia, *vanquished & brought under his subjection the Ætolians, and made peace with them. The Consul* Cn. Manlius *his colleague, overcame the Gallogreeks, the Tolistobogians, the Tectosages, and the Trocmians. who were passed over into* Asia *under the conduct of* Brennus: *the only people that within the mountain* Taurus *yeelded not obedience to the Romans. The first beginning and rising is set down: also the time when as they seized first of those places which they hold. Here is recounted also the example of the rare valour and chastity of a woman, who being the wife of a certain King of the Gallogreeks, chanced to be taken prisoner; and when a Centurion had forced and abused her body, she killed him with her own hand. The Censors held a sessing of the City: in which by computation were numbred 258328 poll of Citizens. Amity was contracted with* Ariarathes *King of* Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius *triumphed over the Gallogreeks, notwithstanding the contradiction of those ten Commissioners, by whose advice and assistance he had articled and engrossed the accord of alliance with* Antiochus, *and pleaded his own cause himself in the Senat against them.* Scipio Africanus *was indicted as some say, by* Quintus Petilius Acteus *a Tribune of the Commons: as others, by* Nævius, *for that he had defrauded the City Chamber of some part of the Pillage which he got from* Antiochus. *When the day was come that he should make his answer, he was called up to the publick pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice said unto the people: My masters you that are Citizens of* Rome, *this very day have I won* Carthage: *and with that he ascended up into the Capitoll, and the people accompanied him thither: and from thence because he would avoid these hard and injurious courses of the Tribunes, and he no more tormented with them, he retired himself to* Liternum, *as it were into voluntary exile: and whether he ended his daies there, or at* Rome, *it is not well known: for his tomb and monument was to be seen in both places.* L. Scipio Asiaticus (*the brother of* Africanus) *was accused of the same crime of embezeling the publick treasure and robbing the common-weal, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to prison, and should have been laid up in bonds and irons,* Tib. Sempronius Gracchus *Tribune of the Commons (who before-time had been an adversary and enemy unto the* Scipios) *interposed himself and rescued him: and for that pleasure done, he took to wife the daughter of* Africanus. *When the Pretor sent the treasurers of the City, so far off they were from finding any remnant or token of the King riches and money, that they could not meet with as much as would satisfie the fine wherein he was condemned. And when his kinsfolk and friends had contributed and raised an infinite masse of mony for him, he would not receive it: the same was as much only was redeemed and bought again, as might serve for his necessities to find and maintain him.*

During

The eight and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

DUring the time of the wars in *Asia*, the affairs also in *Ætolia* were in smal rest and quietnes: which troubles arose first from the Athamanians, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his Kingdom, were held in obedience by garrisons under th captains of King *Philip*; and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outragious in their government, that the Athamanians found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of him again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in *Ætolia*; and upon letters received from his own nation (conteining the state wherein *Athamania* then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again, whereupon he sent the messengers back to *Argithea* (the chief City of *Athamania*) unto the principall men of the countrey, with this credence, That if he might beassured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the Ætolians and come into *Athamania*, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the councel of that nation) and *Nicander* the Prætor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and ready to do him all service, he advertised them oftentimes upon what day he would enter with his army into *Athamania*. At the first there were but four persons that conspired against the Macedonian garrison, and these took every one six more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsell and conceal a matter secretly, then to perform any action valiantly) they adjoyned unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all; and they divided themselves into four companies. One crew of them went to *Heraclea*; another to *Tetraphylia*, where the Kings treasure was usually kept; a third took their way to *Theudoria*; and the fourth to *Argithea*. But they all agreed upon this conclusion, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these Cities as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed to set to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand Ætolians, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those four Cities aforesaid, like as it was complotted before hand: and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of *Philip*, and restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdome and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter: only the town *Theinm* made resistance and held out some few dsies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captain of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the castle. But in the end surrendred it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all *Athamania* reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of *Atheneum*, situate upon the marches of *Macedony*.

Philip advertised of the revolt of *Athamania*, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, rose himself in his journy, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as *Gomphi*. Where he before the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long a journey) and there were v thousand came to *Atheneum*, the only place held by his garrison to his use. And from to him (after he had sounded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but fear) among them, he retired to *Gomphi*, and joined withall his forces together returned into *Athamania*. Then he sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon *Æthopia*, a place that directly for his purpose commandeth *Argithea*: and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himself sat him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of *Iupiter*. There he was forced by reason of the foul and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to *Argithea*. As they marched, behold they discovered the Athamanians, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the formost ensigns made stay, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surprised with fear and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the vallies, so checked by those rocks aboveſaid. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those streights. The Athamanians at first followed after them aloof quietly enough: but when they had once joined with the Ætolians, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got afore their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; insomuch, as the Macedonians were so greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in disarray, then marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to passe over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely to *Gomphi*, and so forth into *Macedony*.

The Athamanians and the Ætolians assembled from all parts to *Ethopia* for to surprise and defeat *Zeno* and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians reposing no great trust in that place, retired from *Ethopia*, to an hill much higher and steeper

A steeper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The Athamanians having found out diverse passages unto it, enforced them to forgo that hold also. And when they were dispersed among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners & others slain. Many for fear tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with *Zeno* to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, untill they had commited their dead to earth.

Aminander having thus repossessed his realm, sent Embassadors to *Rome* unto the Senat: likewise unto the *Scipiones* in *Asia* (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, sojourned in *Ephesus*) He craved peace and pardon. he excused himself in that he had recovered his fathers Kingdome by the means and help of the Ætolians, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King *Philip*.

B As for the Ætolians, they departed out of *Athamania*, and made an expedition against the Amphilochians, and by consent of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their puissance and subjection. Having thus regained *Amphilochia* (for in times past it appertained to their siegnory) upon the same hope they passed over in *Aperantia*, which yeelded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the Dolopians, they never belonged to the Ætolians, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding once that the Amphilochians took part with the Ætolians, that *Philip* was fled out of *Athamania*, and that his garrison was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the Aetolians. Who making now full account that they were sure enough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of so many nations which environed them about, they took knowledge (by the common C bruit) of the defeat of *Antiochus* by the Romans in *Asia*, and not long after their own Embassadors returned to *Rome* without hope of peace, relating withall that *Fulvius* the Consul had passed the seas already with army. Upon these news, they were much troubled and afraid: and in this perplexity, they induced and procured first the Rhodian and then the Athenian Embassages, to the end that by the credit and countenance of these two States, their praiers lately rejected, might have more easie accesse to the Senat: and with them they sent to *Rome* once again the principall personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never forcast to prevent war, before the enemy was come welneer within their sight. Now had *M. Fulvius* transported his forces to *Apollonia*, and devised with the princes and states of the Epirots, where to begin war. The Epirots advited him to assail *Ambracia*, which as then was united to the Aetolians. And D why? if either the Ætolians should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plain all about to bid them battel; or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to assault and force the town. For not only there was at hand store enough of timber and other matter to raise mounts, mantelets, and other fabricks; but *Arethon* a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the wals of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war-service. With these reasons they perswaded the Consul to conduct his army through *Epirus*. But when the Consul was come before *Ambracia*, he found it was no easie peece of work to besiege and assault the [illegible]. This *Ambracia* is situate under the stony and craggy hill, which the inhabitants call *Per*[illegible] City it self looketh unto the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields a[illegible] the fort E and castle thereof (stand eth upon the hill, and regardeth the East. The river [illegible] running out of *Acarnania*, discharged it self into an arme of the sea, which beareth the na[illegible] City neer adjoyning, and is called *Ambracia*. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hils on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somwhat more then three miles about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a prety distance asunder, and raised one sconce upon an high ground, opposit against the fortress of the town. All these places he determined to enclose within the compass of a trench and rampier, to the end that they who were shut up within the town, might have no egress, and that from without there should be no ingress, for any aid and succour whatsoever. The Ætolians were assembled already at *Stratus* by an edict from the Prætor *Nicander*, incontinently upon the rumour that ran F the siege of *Ambracia*, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a greater part of the City was streightly beleaguered already, and blocked with trench and rampier; and withall, that the Epirots were encamped upon a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advise to divide their forces in two parts. *Eupolemus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly appointed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together; and entred *Ambracia*. *Nicander* with the rest of the forces purposed at the first by night to assail the camp of the Epirots, considering that the Romans could not easily succour them, by reason of the river running between. But afterwards upon better advise, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprise (for fear lest the Ro- G mans should discover their march, and so intercept them that they might not retire again in safety) he altered his mind, and turned to the spoiling and wasting of *Acarnania*. Now when the Consul had made an end of all his fabricks devised for to invest and enclose the City, and finishing his engins where with he meant to shake the wall, he approached neer and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries he planted in equall distance asunder, and where the easiest passage and access was from the plain, full upon that place of the City which they call *Pyrrhum*: one over against the temple of *Æsculapius*; and another opposit to the Castle. With rams he shook the wals; with long poles and hooks he fetcht off and plucked down the battle-

battlemens of the wals. The oppidans at the first were afraid to see their strange engins, and H quaked to hear so terrible noise of their wals battered: but after words, seeing that the wals stood upright beyond their expectation, they plucked up their hearts again, and with twipes weighed either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, then with a swing they let them fall ag in upon the rams of the enemies, or else tumbled mighty big logs of timber aloft, and so either brake them peeces, or bare them down. And as for their hooks aforesaid, they caught hold of them with iron flouks like anchors, and so drew them over the wals to the other side with a witness and brake both them & their poles. Moreover, they sallied out in the night upon the watch that attended their engins, issued forth of themselves in the day time, assailed the corps de guard, and put them great fear. As things stood in these terms before *Ambracia*, the Ætolians by this time were returned to *Stratus* from their rodes which they made into *Acarnania*. And then *Nicander* the Pretor conceiving some hope to levy the siege by some audacious and hardy adventure devised that one *Nicodamus* should put himself within the town of *Ambracia* with five hundred Ætolians; and appointed one certain night, and an hour also of the same night, when both they from out of the town should assail the bastricks and engins of the enemy planted against *Pyrrhum* and also himself charge upon the camp of the Romans at the same time, and put them in fright; supposing by this twofold alarm (especially in the night which maketh every thing more fearful) there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And *Nicodamus* verily for his part in the dead time of the night, having passed unseen and not descried by some of the sentinels, and by resolut force broken through the rest of the watches, passed over an arm of the river and recovered the City, and in some measure by this means heartned the besieged inhabitants to adventure K anything, and put them in better hope to accomplish al. And when the night appointed was come, all on a suddain he set upon the engins, as it was before accorded between them. The adventure of this enterprise was much more then the effect, because there were no forces without to joyn with him; were it that the Pretor of the Ætolians was afraid to be to bold or that he thought it was a better peece of service to aid the Amphilochians newly recovered, whom *Perseus* King *Philip* his son, sent from his father to reconquer *Dolopia* and *Amphilochia* assailed with great force and violence. The Romans had planted their ordinance and artillery, as is aforesaid in three places against *Pyrrhum*, which the Ætolians charged all at one time, but not with like preparations means, nor with the same violence. For some came with burning and flaming firebrands, others carried tow and hards with pitch, and faggots of dry sticks, and other like matter easie to be L kindled, in such sort as all their companies shone again with a light fire. Many of the waiders they killed at the first onset, but when the alarm and tumult was heard within the camp, and the sign given by the Consul, they took arms, and ran apace out of all the gates for to relieve and defend them. In one quarter the Ætolians did their deed, and fought with fire and sword: but in the other two places after they had given the attempt, rather then began any skirmith, they retired and went their wales. The heat of the fight inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captains *Epulemus* and *Micodamus*, encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, undertertained them with an allured hope, that *Nicander* according to agreement would be there and charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while mainteined the courages of the souldiers: but perceiving there was no sign appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not M touch with them, and seeing withall how the number of the enemies encreased, and themselves disappointed and destitute, they slaked their fight, and were not so eager upon the enemy, and in the end gave over: and having much ado to retire in safety, were chased into the City, after they had burnt some of the Roman engins, and slain a few more of their enemies then there died of themselves. And surely if the service had been followed in execution according as it was complotted and agreed, those devised engins no doubt might have been destroyed, if not wholly, yet in one part at least wise, and that with great murder and slaughter of the enemies. The Ambracians, together with those Ætolians which were within the City, not only gave over that nights enterprise, but ever after shewed more coldnes to hazard themselves again, as if they had N been betrayed by their own fellows. Not a man would sally forth upon the ward and watch of the enemies, but they all from their walls and turrets stood upon their guard only, and with the vantage of the place defended themselves in safety.

Perseus advertised that the Ætolians approached *Amphilochia*, quit the siege of the City which he was about to assault: and after he had only harried and waited the territory about it, retired from those quarters and returned into *Macedony*. The Ætolians likewise were enforced to depart from thence, by reason that their sea-coasts were spoiled and overrun: for *Plemius* the King of the Illyrians, was entred into this river of *Corinth* with a fleet of 60 barks, and with the fleet of the Achæan ships that lay in the rode of *Patræ* invested the maritim tract of *Ætolia*. Against whom were sent a thousand Ætolians, who waited upon the fleet at every turn as they doubled O any reaches, and with the vantage of the short wales and next passages by the land, were ready to welcome them on the banks and make head against them.

The Romans lying still in siege before *Ambracia*, by battering and shaking the wals in many places, had dismantled a great part of the City, and laid it open: howbeit, they could not enter with it. For at every breach where the wall was broken down, they were ready to make a new countermure, and the souldiers standing upon the very ruins, served in stead of a bulwark. The Consul seeing he could not prevail by open force, determined to undermine and make a secret way

N way in the ground into the City; but first he covered the place where they wrought with mantlets. For a good while the pioners were not perceived by the enemies, notwithstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also casting up the mould as they went. But an huge heap of earth bearing up aloft from the rest, was discovered, and gave them within the town to understand what the enemies were about: and fearing lest they had wrought so far already as under their wals, and that they were at the point to make a way into the town, they within began likewise to strike another trench just against the place covered with mantlets aforesaid: and when they had digged to that depth as the bottom might be of the enemies mine, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their ear too in divers places close to the earth, harkning if haply they might hear any noise of the pioners: and when they once had got B an ear of them, they countermined directly against them. And long they were not about it: for anon they came as far as to the void hollow ground, whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon stales and props, which the enemies had set to bear it up. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a continued passage out of this trench into the Mine, the pioners first fell to it and scuffled with their spades, shovels, and mattocks, and such other tools that they had used to work withall: but soon after, armed souldiers entred and encountred within the vault, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stopped up the Mine between when they list, one while with sacks and haircloath, otherwhiles with doors and such trash as they could come by in haste & stood next hand. One new invention above the rest was devised against those within the Mine, C and the same but a slight matter, and made without any great trouble, and this it was. The townsmen took a great tun or dry fat with a hole boared in the bottom, of that capacity, as might receive a pretty pipe like a faucet within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of iron to fit it, and an iron lid likewise to cover the other end or mouth thereof, but the same had many holes in divers places of it. Now this vessell they stuffed full of down and soft feathers, and then set it with the head forward against the very Mine. From the lid or cover aforesaid there stood proking out long sharp pikes, which the Macedonians call *Sarissæ*, for to keep off the enemies. Within the feathers they put a cole or sparkle of fire, and then with a pair of smiths bellows (the nose whereof went into the pipe aforesaid) they blowed the cole and set it on a smothering fire within the feathers. By which means there arose not only a mighty deal of smoak, but also it carried with it a D stinking savour, by the reason of the feathers burning within: and so filled all the Mine underneath, that scarce durst any man abide within for fear of being choaked.

During these affairs about *Ambracia*, *Phaneas* and *Demoteles* two Embassadors sent from the Ætolians by a generall decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenary commission unto the Consul. For their Pretor (seeing of the one side *Ambracia* besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endamaged with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the Amphilochians and all *Dolopia* piteously waited by the Macedonians; and that the Ætolians were not able to oppose themselves and make head at once against three wars in divers parts) had assembled a generall Diet to consult with the chief of the Ætolians what was to be done in this case. Their opinions jumped in this one point, "To seek for peace (if it were possible) under equal and indifferent E "conditions: if not, yet in as tollerable terms as they might. In confidence and assurance (say they) "of *Antiochus*, the war began: and now that *Antiochus* is vanquished both by land and sea, yea, "and hunted as it were out of the compass of the world into an angle beyond *Taurus*; what "hope remaineth to maintain and wage the war any longer? and therefore *Phaneas* and *Demoteles*, "let were to deal as in such a case and time, as they thought best according to their wisdome and "fidelity, and the common good of the Ætolians for what other counsell remaineth, what course "else can they take, or what choice beside hath fortune left them? With this so large and free "commission Hay, were their Embassadors sent: who besought the Consul to spare their City, to "have mercy and pity of their nation sometime linked in amity unto them, and forced through "very calamity and misery (for loath they were to speak of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall "into such follies: neither have the Ætolians in this late war of *Antiochus* deserved to suffer more "harm than they were worthy to receive good for their service in the former war against *Philip*: "and when they were not largely rewarded and recompenced then, so they ought not to be pu- "nished and chastised extremely now. The Consul made answer again, That the Ætolians had "made a suing for peace many a time, but sincerely and truly at no time: and since they had solli- "cited and drawn *Antiochus* to war, let them hardly follow his example in craving peace. Like as "he therefore hath not quit and rendred some few Cities which were in question about their li- "berty and freedom, but parted with a rich and wealthy kingdom, even all *Asia*, between this and "the mountain *Taurus*: so unless the Ætolians will simply lay all arms aside and come to treat for "peace unarmed, he would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, "they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea, and make paiment of a thousand "talents of silver, and the one moity thereof to pay downright upon the nail before hand. Over "and besides this branch, I will annex unto the accord and covenant. That they shall hold for "their friends and enemies, those whom the people of *Rome* reputeth to be theirs, & none other. To this answer the Embassadors said never a word, both for that they were very hard and grie- vous impositions, and also because they knew the natures and minds of their countrimen and neighbours at home, how unstable they were and not to be removed if they once took a pitch:

whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, to know the advice once a-
gain of the Prætor and the principal States, what to resolve upon in every respect, whiles all stood
whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well shent for their labour, in
that they had not dispatched and made an end, and so were sent away, and commanded to bring
back with them one peace or other. As they went again toward *Ambracia*, they were forelayed
and surprized in an ambush laid for them near the high way side by the Acarnanian (with whom
at that time they warred) and were had to *Tyrrheum* and there imprisoned. And by this occasion
the peace was delayed.

Whiles the Embassadors of *Athens* and Rhodes (who were come already to intreat for them)
remained with the Consul, *Aminander* also (the King of the Athamans) presented himself under
safe conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of * *Ambracia* (where he had I
sojourned the greatest part of his exile) than in the behalf of the Ætolians. By them, the Cos was
certified of the hard hap of the Ætolian Embassadors; and then he gave commandment, that they
should be brought from *Tyrrheum*. When they were come, they began to treat of peace. *Aminan-*
der in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterprise which he especially had under-
taken namely, to induce the Ambracians to submit unto the Romans: but when he saw he did
but small good, for all his parling with the principal persons of the City from their walls at length
by the Cos, his permission entred into the town; where, partly by good counsell, and partly by
prayer and entreaty, he perswaded them in the end, to put themselves into the Romans hands.
Now as touching the Ætolians, they found much favour by the means of *C. Valerius* the son of
that *Lævinus*, who first contracted amity with that nation; and was besides half brother unto the K
Co, by the same mother. And the Ambracians after capitulation made, that the Ætolians who
came to aid them might go forth without harm, set open their gates. Then articled it was with
the Ætolians: *Imprimis*, To pay 500 Euboik talents of silver: two hundred presently, and the o-
ther 300 at six paiments yearly by even portions. *Item*, To render all Roman captives and fugitive
traytors and runagates that they had into the hands of the Romans. *Item*, To challenge jurisdi-
ction over no City, which since the time that *T. Quintius* passed over into *Greece*, was either for-
ced by the Romans or entred voluntarily into amity and society with them: provided alwaies
that the Isle *Cephalenia* be not comprised within this capitulation. These articles albeit they were
somewhat easier than they looked for, yet the Ætolians requested that they might acquaint their
Council withall: and permitted they were so to do. Some small variance and debate distracted and L
held them awhile as touching those Cities, which having been in times past within their seignory
and jurisdiction, they hardly could abide to be dismembred (as it were) from their body. But in the
end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The Ambracians gave unto the Cos for
a present a coronet of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their statues of brass and marble their
painted tables (wherewith *Ambracia* was better stored and adorned, than all the other Cities of
that region, because it was the royall seat of King *Pyrrhus* where he kept his court and residence)
were all taken down and carried away: nought else was touched, nor any hurt done besides.

The Consul dislodged then and removed from *Ambracia* into the higher and more inland
parts of *Ætolia*, and encamped before the City called *Argos Amphilochium*, two and twenty
miles distant from *Ambracia*: and thither at length repaired the Ætolian Embassadors unto him, M
who marvelled much at them why they staid so long. When he understood by them that the ge-
nerall councill of the Ætolians had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to *Rome* un-
to the Senat: and permitted also the Athenians and Rhodians (their mediators and advocats) to
go with them and as orators to speak in their behalf: & moreover he granted, that his half brother
C. Valerius should accompany them: which otder when he had taken, himself crossed over the wa-
ter to *Cephalenia*.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators
wholly possessed beforehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enformed
against them: for he by means of his Embassador and letters (complaining that the Ætolians had
unjustly taken from him the Dolopians, the Amphilochians, and *Athamania*; and that his garri- N
sons, yea, and last of all his son *Perseus*, were driven out of *Amphilochia*) had wholly averted the
Senat from giving any ear at all to their requests and prayers: howbeit the Rhodians & Athenians
had audience given them with patience and silence. "The Athenian Embassador *Leon* (by report)
"moved and perswaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and simili-
"tude, he compared the people of *Ætolia* to the nature of the sea: For like as it, being of it self
"calm is troubled and made rough by the winds: even so (saith he) the people of that nation, all
"the while they entertained friendship with the Romans, and performed their faithfull promise
"unto them so long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet: but after that
"*Thoas* and *Dicæarchus* began to blow from out of *Asia*, as after that *Menetas* and *Damocritus*
"blustred and puffed from the parts of *Europe*, then arose a storm and tempest, with the gulfs O
"whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and cast (as a man would say) upon a rock. Well, the Æ-
"tolians after they had been much tossed a long time from post to pillar, in fine effected, that these
"articles of peace ensuing, were freely agreed upon. *Imprimis*, The nation of *Ætolia* shall main-
tain faithfully and truly the Empire and Seignory of the people of *Rome*. *Item*, They shall suffer to
pass through their country and confines no army that shall be conducted against their allies and
friends; nor assist them with any aid or maintenance whatsoever. *Item*, They shall repute the ene-
mies,

A mies of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war against them. *Item*, They shall deliver unto
the Romans and their confederats, all runagates, all fugitives, and prisoners that are among
them, excepting such as having been once taken and returned home, chanced to be caught a-
again the second time: or those, who being Roman enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at
what time as the Ætolians served in garrison under the Romans. As for the rest, as many as are
forth-coming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 daies next
ensuing, to the Magistrate of *Corcyra*: but those that appear not within that time, shall be like-
wise rendred when soever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They shall yield forty hosta-
ges, such as the Roman Consul in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that
none of these pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither shall there be ta-
B ken for hostage any Prætor or Captain over horsemen, nor publike Notary or Secretary to the
State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hostage before-time. Provided also, that *Cephalenia* shall
be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the sum of money which they
are to pay, and the manner and terms of the paiment, there shall be nothing changed of that
which hath been concluded with the Consul; yet, if they had rather pay the same sum in gold
than in silver, they may so do; provided then, that they keep the rate and proportion, of one for
ten, to wit, that one golden peece of coin go for ten times so much in weight of silver, and no
more. *Item*, What Cities, what lands and territories, what persons soever, which having at any
time heretofore held tenor of the Ætolians, were by the Consuls *T. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, or
any time since their Consulship, either subdued and conquered by force of arms, or otherwise
C of themselves came under the obeisance of the people of *Rome*, the Ætolians shall make no claim
nor challenge unto them. Finally, the Æniades with their City and territory, shall appertain
to the Acarnanians. Under these conditions abovesaid, the accord was concluded with the Æto-
lians.

Not only in the same summer, but also much about those very daies wherein these affairs were
managed by *M. Fulvius* in *Ætolia*, *Cn. Manlius* the other Consul maintained war in * *Gallogracia*, * Otherwise
whereof at this present I will begin to write. This Consul in the beginning of the spring came to named *Galatia*
Ephesus; where, after he had received the army of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and survey there-
of he made an Oration to his souldiers; wherein, first he praised their valour and vertue, in that
with one battell they had finished the war against *Antiochus*: then he exhorted them to enter
D into a new war with the Gauls who had succoured King *Antiochus* with aid: and were beside of
nature so untamed, that unless their puissance were abated and their courage taken down, to lit-
tle or no purpose it was that *Antiochus* was removed beyond the mountains of *Taurus*. Last of all,
some discourse he made of his own person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither
vain untruths nor excessive reports. The souldiers gave audience to the Consul with great joy and
a general applause, making this account, that since King *Antiochus* was vanquished, the Gauls
alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no puissance to withstand them. But the Con-
sul supposed that it was much out of his way, that *Eumenes* should be absent (for then he was at
Rome) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it im-
ported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gauls should be enfeebled and abated.
E And therefore he sent for *Attalus* his brother, from *Pergamus*, and exhorted him to enter into a-
ction with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promise to aid him both in his per-
son and with all the power that he could make, he sent him into his country to levy souldiers. Af-
ter some few daies, when the Consul was departed from *Ephesus*, *Attalus* (accompanied with a re-
giment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met him at *Magnesia*: and had given order
to his brother *Athenæus*, to follow after with the rest of the forces; having committed the guard
and government of *Pergamus* and the kingdom to those, whom he knew to be fast and faithfull
to his brother and himself. The Consul, after he had praised and commended the young gentle-
man, marched forward with his whole power as far as * *Meander*, and there encamped, because it * Madre.
was not possible to pass the river at any foord, and therefore boats and barges were to be got to-
gether for to ferry and transport the army. When they were set over the river, they went to *Hiera*
Come, where there was a magnificent and stately Temple of *Apollo*, and an Oracle in it. And by re-
port the Priests and Prophets there, deliver the responds and answers of the Oracle in verses, and
those not rudely composed without rhithm & meeter. From hence they removed, and at two daies
end arrived at the river *Harpasus*: & thither were embassadors come from the Alabandians, reque-
sting the Cos either by vertue of his authority, or by force of arms to compel one of their fortres-
ses which lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience.
And thither *Athenæus* also, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leusus* the
Cnidian, and *Corragus* the Macedonian, bringing with them 1000 foot and 300 horse, of divers
nations mingled together. The Consul sent one of his martiall Tribunes or Colonels with a mean
G company, to summon the Castle or fortresse aboveseid, and after it was forced and recovered, he de-
livered it into the hands of the Alabandians. Himself kept on his direct way, and turned on no
side untill he came unto *Antiochia* upon the river *Maander*, where he encamped. This river *Ma-*
ander ariseth from *Celænæ*, where the first head and source thereof is to be seen. Now this *Celænæ*
had been in times past the capitall City of all *Phrygia*. But in proces of time this old *Celænæ* was
abandoned by the Inhabitants, and not far from it they peopled a new City called *Apamea*, bea-
ring the name of *Apamene* the sister of *Seleucus*. The river *Marsyas* likewise springing not far from

the foresaid sources of *Maander*, dischargeth it self thereinto. And as the common fame goeth, at H this *Celana* it was, where *Marsyas* the Musician gave defiance to *Apollo*, and challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Maander* abovenamed, issuing out of an high hill at *Celane*, runneth through the midst of the City and first keeping his course along the country of the Carians, and afterwards of the Ionians, falleth at the last into an arm of the sea, between *Priene* and *Miletus*.

Whiles the Cos. lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Seleucus* the son of *Antiochus*, presented himself unto him with corn for his army, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some small variance and difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Seleucus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman souldiers. But this debate was soon at an end by reason of the stiff resolution of the Cos. who sent a Colonel to warn and charge the souldiers to accept no corn, before the aid-souldiers of *Antiochus* were received. From I thence he marched to * *Gordiuchos* (a City so called) & so forward the third day to *Tale*. This City is seated upon the frontires of the Pisidians, in that coast which boundeth upon the Pamphylian sea. This quarter was able to yield lusty men for war, when it had not been any way endamaged, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof, even then also there issued out of the City a cornet of horsmen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first onset troubled them not a little. But afterward, seeing themselves neither for number, nor yet for prowess comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their trespass, ready to surrender their City into the Cos. his hands. The Cos. imposed upon them a paiment of 25 talents of silver, and 10000 medimns of wheat, and upon that composition their surrender was accepted. Three daies after the Romans came to *Chaus* the river, & from thence to the City *Erizo* K which at the first assault they won. After this the army marched as far as to a Castle called *Thabusion* standing over the river * *Indus*, so called of a certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from *Cibyra*, & yet no embassage appeared from the tyrant of that country and state, *Moagetes*, a disloyal and treacherous man in all his dealings, and besides extream hard and unreasonable. Whereupon the Cos. sent out before *C. Helvius*, with 4000 foot and 500 horse, to sound his disposition and mind. As these companies entred into his frontiers, there encountred them his Embassadors, giving them to understand that the tyrant their Master was ready to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto *Helvius* to pass peaceably through his country, and to restrain his souldiers from wasting & spoiling the territories, & 15 talents they brought with them for to make a crown of gold. *Helvius* promised to save his L lands for being spoiled and wasted, but he willed the embassadors to go to the Cos. Now when they had related the same unto him, he made them answer in these terms, We cannot gather by any sign (qd. he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romans: & again, if he be such an one as the world taketh him for, we are to think rather of his chastisement, than of admitting him into our amity. The embassadors sore troubled at this word, requested him for that present no more, but to take the crown of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himself might have access into his presence for to parl with him and clear himself. The morrow after, by permission of the Cos. came the tyrant into the camp, bearing no port of a Prince. For a privat person and mean man of small wealth would have gone in better apparel, and carried a greater train about him than he: neither went he so meanly but he spake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if he had not M been able to speak them out. He complained of his own bareness and want & likewise of the poverty of the Cities under his seignory (for besides *Cybira* he held in possession *Sylinm* & that which is called *Alimne*) Yet he promised to see what he could do if haply by undoing himself & spoiling his subjects he might make up five and twenty talents. Mary he mistrusted greatly that he should never effect so much. Are you thereabout? (qd. the Cos.) Now verily I can no longer endure this mockery. Was it not enough that in your absence you bashed not to delude and disappoint us by your Embassadors, but you must persist still in the same impudency now that you be here your self in person? And would you make us beleeve indeed that the disbursing of 25 talents will beggar you and your whole kingdom? Come on sir, I say; Bring me hither within these three daies, and lay me down in ready money 500 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be N wasted, and your City besieged. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatory words, howbeit he continued still obstinatly, counterfeiting & pretending his neediness and poverty, and after much base hucking and rising by little and little, one while hasting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating (and that with whining and putting finger in the eye) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of silver, and to deliver 20000 medimns of corn besides. And all this was exacted of him to be performed in six daies. From *Cibyra* the Cos. conducted the army through the country of the Sindensians, and after he had passed over the river *Calauris*, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or mear *Caralitis*, and set them down and rested upon the river *Maander*. As they advanced from thence toward *Lagon* the next City the inhabitants fled for fear: whereupon the town void of people, but replenished with O abundance of all things was ransacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river *Lycus*, and the next day marched toward the river *Cobulaurus*. The Termissians at the same time having forced and won the City of the Lyrians, were now upon the point to assault the Castle. They who were within befieged, seeing no other hope of succour sent their Embassadors to the Consul, beseeching his help, and making pitifull moan, how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortress, and looked every hour for death, either by famine or the sword.

* The same that *Gordiocome* or *Juliopolis*.

* Hiim. Nigro. Dim. Incolis.

A sword. This fell out as the Cos. wished, namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first coming he delivered the Lyrians from the siege. To *Termessus* he granted peace, upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the Aspendians and other States of *Pamphylia*. In his return from thence, the first day he encamped fast by a river called *Taurus*, and the next day following, near a town which they call *Xyline-Come*. From whence he marched and held on his journey continually, untill he came to the City *Cormasa*. The next City unto it was *Dasa*, which he found abandoned by the Inhabitants for B fear, howbeit full of all kind of goods. As he marched still along the marshes there met him Embassadors from *Lyssus*, who came to render their City into his hands. After this, he entred into the territory of *Sagalassus*, a fertile & plenteous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The Pisidians inhabit thole parts, who are the best warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitfull and well peopled and their City strongly situat (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and contagious. The Cos. seeing no embassage presented unto him in the entrance of the frontiers, sent out forragers to fetch in booties. When they perceived once their goods harried and carried away before their faces, their stomacks came down, and then they sent their embassadors and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 20000 medimns of wheat, and as many of barley, they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the fountains of *Obrima*, untill he C came to a village which they name *Aporidos-Come*, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day *Seleucus* from *Apamea*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamea* his sick folk and other baggage and prest that he had (good for nothing) he took guides of *Seleucus* for the way, and entred into the plains of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as far as *Dinie* in *Phrygia*. After this he enred into *Synada*, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear and left desert. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was so heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day: and so he came at length to *Bendos*, named, The old. From thence he passed to *Anabura*, and the next day to the source of *Alander*, and the third day pitched down his tents near *Abassus*. There he lay encamped many daies together, because he was now arrived into the country of the Tolistobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number, were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in feats of arms, entred D under the conduct of *Brennus* into the country of the Dardanians. Where, they began to mutine among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes *Lomnorius* and *Lutarius*, departed from *Brennus*, and took their way into *Thracia*: where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to *Bizantium*: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of * *Propontis*, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this, they had a mind and desire to invade *Asia*: for they heard say being so near, how fertile and plenteous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprized and won *Lysimachia* by a wile, and by force of arms conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellespont*. Where seeing how they were divided from *Asia* but only by the E straights and that it was but a small cut thither, their desire was much more inflamed to pass over. And for this purpose they dispatched certain curriers to *Antipater* the governour of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effected not this so soon as they hoped, there arose another new sedition between the Princes themselves. Whereupon *Lomnorius* accompanied with the greater part retired to *Byzantians* from whence he came. But *Lutarius* took from the Macedonians (who under colour of an embassage were sent from *Antipater* in espiall) two covered ships, and three brigandines. By means of these vessels, within few daies he had set over all his army, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Lomnorius* also passed over into *Asia* from *Byzantium*, by the aid of *Nicomedes* Kings of *Bithynia*. After this, the Gauls joyned again together in one, and succoured *Nicomedes* in his wars against *Zybaa*, who held F apart of *Bithynia* and by their help and assistance especially, *Zybaa* was vanquished, and all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomedes*. Then they departed out of *Bithynia* into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand there were not above ten thousand armed. Yet so great a terrour they struck into all nations on this side the mountain *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached not near, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farthest as the neerest, submitted themselves, and ranged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them, to wit, the Tolistobogians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosages, they divided *Asia* likewise into three parts, and parted them so equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed a severall tract which paied them tribute. The coast of *Hellespontus* was given to the Trocmians: the Tolistobogians had for their share *Eolis* and *Ionia*: and unto the Tectosages were allotted the inland parts of the main continent of *Asia*. And in one word they demanded tribute of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. But they planted and seated themselves about the river *Halys*. The bruit of their name was so fearfull and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the KK also of *Syria* in the end refused not to be their hostagers and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in *Asia* that denied them homage, was King *Attalus* the father of *Eumenes*: and fortune beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and courageous enterprise: for he vanquished them in battell. Howbeit, he dared not their hearts so much; but still they upheld

* *Mar di Mar-more.*

and maintained their soveraign seignory, in such sort, as their puissance continued untill the war H
betwen *Antiochus* and the Romans. Yea, and after that *Antiochus* was vanquished and chased
out of part of his Realm, they conceived great hope to hold their own still; by reason they were
so remote from the sea, and therefore thought that the Roman army would never pierce so far as
to them. The Consul now, for as much as he was to war with this nation, so terrible to all their
neighbours in those quarters, assembled his souldiers to a publike audience, and in this manner
made speech unto them.

"I am not ignorant, my souldiers, that of all the people which inhabit *Asia*, the Gauls are most
"renowned for valiance in war. And why? this fierce and cruell nation having run over the world
"in a manner, and warred with all countries, chose them a place of abode, and to settle themselves
"in the midst of a generation, of all other most mild and tractable. Big and tall they are of stature I
"and personage: their hair they wear long in golden crisped and shining locks: they carry bucklers
"of huge bigness, and handle swords of exceeding length. Besides, when they enter into battell,
"they use to sing, to hoop, and dance, and with clattering their targets and weapons together, after
"the guise of their country, they make an horrible noise. And all this is done of purpose by them
"to terrifie their enemies. But such devices as these be, let the Greeks, the Phrygians, and Carians
"be afraid of, who are not used and accustomed to hear and see such things: as for the Romans,
"acquainted, with the Gauls sudden and tumultuous wars, they can skill well enough of these
"their toyes and vanities also. Once indeed, and but once, at the first encounter they discomfited
"the Romans at the river *Allia*: but since that time our Ancestors for the space of two hundred
"years have made havock of them, killed, put to flight, and driven them like sheep before them: K
"and of late, I dare well say, have they triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world besides. Thus
"much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to stand out their first shock and
"violence (which upon a furious heat of their own by nature, and in blind choler and anger they
"spend all at once) all the parts of their body run to sweat and become faint: their weapons are
"ready to fall out of their hands: their bodies are so tender, their courages so feeble (after their
"cholarick anger is once allaied and passed) that the very heat of the sun the dust and the drought
"is able without drawing sword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Proof and trial we have
"had of them not only legions to legions, but man to man. *T. Manlius* and *M. Valerius* have
"shewed plainly how far Roman vertue and prowess surpasseth the furious rage of Gauls. Why?
"even *Marcus Manlius*, one man alone, repulsed and beat down the Gauls as they climbed up L.
"by numbers to the Capitoll cliff. And those ancestors of ours beforenamed, had then to deal
"with natural Gauls indeed, born and bred in their own country: whereas these here, by this
"time now are a bastard sort of them, and clean degenerate, mingled they are with others, and in
"truth, as they be called, so are they Gallo-greeks. And it fareth with them as with plants, fruits,
"and living beasts in which we see that the seed is not of that vertue, & so effectual to keep and
"retain still the own kind and nature, as the property of the soil and the air where they are nou-
"rished is to change the same. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, who
"dwell in *Seleucia* and *Babylonia*, and other Colonies dispersed over the earth, are grown out of
"their own kind, and in manners become Syrians, Parthians, and Ægyptians. *Massilia* seated a-
"mong the Gauls, hath drawn somewhat of the nature of the nations adjoyning and bordering M
"upon them. And what have the Tarentins left them of that severe, rough, and hard discipline
"of the Spartans? For, whatsoever is ingendred and bred in the own proper place, is evermore
"kindly, and retaineth its own nature better; but look what is transplanted into another soil,
"doth soon degenerate, and grow into a bastard kind: for nature transformeth her self, and chan-
"geth into that wherewith she is nourished. Be sure therefore, that like as ye have defeated these
"Phrygians (for no beter they be) overcharged and loaden with French arms in the battell a-
"gainst *Antiochus*, even so being now conquerours, ye shall subdue and hew them in pieces once
"already vanquished. And I fear me more that ye shall win too small glory of them, then I doubt
"by fighting so little with them that ye shall have their hands too full of war against them.
"Why, even King *Attalus* many a time and often hath discomfited and put them to flight. Neither N
"would I have you to think, that savage beasts only newly taken, and keeping at the first their
"fell and wild nature, after a time that they have been fed by mans hand, grown to be tame and
"gentle; but that the fierceness and cruelty of man is likewise of the same nature to be doulced and
"made tractable. Are ye perswaded that these Gauls resemble their fathers and grandsires in con-
"ditions? Their forefathers long since left their native country for want of ground and land to
"possess; and being driven to pass through the most rough and difficult country of *Illyricum*,
"first came into *Peonia* & afterwards travelled all over *Thracia*, fighting ever as they went with
"most fierce and cruell nations, untill at length they seized upon these parts and settled there. Af-
"ter (I say) they had been hardned and made more fell by so many travels and dangerous adven-
"tures, they were received in the end within such a land, as through abundance of all good O
"things might feed and frank them up. All that the fiercenes and savage nature of theirs which
"they had when they came first thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodnes of the most fer-
"tile soil, by the sweetnes & pleasure of a most temperat air, and last of all by the gentle and de-
"bonair nature of the inhabitants their neighbors. And even you also (in good faith) are to look
"unto it; (martiall men although you be, and the very off-spring of *Mars* himself) ye are (I say) to
"take heed and beware of these delights of *Asia*, and betimes to get you forth from them. So

"forceable

A "forceable are these forrain pleasures and delicat enticements, to quench and corrupt the rigor of
"your spirits: so powerfull is the commerce and conversing with strangers; so potent is the con-
"tagion (as it were) of their manners and discipline of neighbour inhabitants. Yet this one good
"turn ye shall have, that as against you they have not that courage which in times past they had;
"so among the Greeks here, they are of as great name as ever they were in ancient time. So that
"amongst your allies, you shall win as great honour by your victory, as if you should have conque-
"red the Gauls when they were at the height of their valour and prowess. After the assembly dis-
missed, and Embassadors sent to *Epossognatus* (the only Prince in those parts who persisted in amity with *Eumenes*; and had refused to aid *Antiochus* against the Romans) the Cos. marched for-
ward. The first day he came to the river *Alander*, and the morrow to a certain village which they
B call *Tyscon*. Hither repaired unto him the Embassadors of the Oroadians, craving to be accepted
as friends; but they were enjoyned to pay two hundred talents: and when they requested leave
to make relation and report hereof at home, they were permitted. From thence the Cos. led his
army to *Plistendum*: and after that he encamped at *Alyattos*. Thither returned they who had been
sent to *Epossognatus* together with the Embassadors of Prince *Compulsus*, requesting the Romans
not to war upon the Tectosages: for that both himself and *Epossognatus* also, would go in person
to them and perswade the nation to do what soever they should be commanded. The Prince ob-
tained his request: and so from thence the army began to march through the land which they
call *Axylos*: and well it might be so called, for it hath no wood at all in it, nor beareth so much * Woodless.
as thorns, or any thing else to burn and maintain fire: cow-dung is all their burning, for want of
C other fewell. Whiles the Roman lay in camp before *Cubullum*, (a fortresse of *Gallogræcia*) they
discovered the Cavalry of the enemies coming toward them with a great hurrey and tumult:
and they charged so fiercely and suddenly upon the *corps de guard* of the Romans, that they not
only troubled and disordered them, but also killed some of them. The alarm being given within
the camp the Roman horsemen at once issued forth of all the gates, discomfited the Gauls, and
slew certain of them in the chase. The Consul perceiving now that he was come into his enemies
country, marched not from thenceforth without sending out his espials before, and kept his army
together in battell array with great heed and carefulness. Thus he held on his journey continual-
ly until he came to the river *Sangarius*, where he purposed to make a bridge, because there was
not passage over at any foord. This *Sangarius* ariseth out of the mountain *Adoreus*, and running
D through *Phrygia* it joyneth with the river *Thymbris* near unto *Bithynia*, and so growing bigger
by receiving a double current, keepeth his course through *Bithynia*, and discharged himself into
Propontis; a river not so famous and noble for the greatness thereof, as because it yieldeth fish
abundantly to all the nations bordering and dwelling thereupon. When the bridge was finished
and the army passed over, as they marched along the bank side, the Galli or Priests of *Cybele* (the
great mother of the gods) were come from *Pessinus*, and with streamers, fillets and other ornaments met them: and in their fana tieall verses (as men distracted of their wits) seemed to pro-
phesie and foretell, that the goddess vouchsafed the Romans a fair way to war and victory, yea,
and the conquest and seignory of that country. Hereat the Consul said, That he accepted their
words for a prefage of good fortune, and thereupon in that very place he pitched his Tents. The
E next day he went as far as *Gordium*: a town verily it is none of the greatest, but more frequented
and reforted unto for traffique and merchandise, then usually such dry towns are that stand far
within the land. Three seas there be triangle-wise, of equall distance all from it. On the coast
toward *Sinope*, it hath *Hellespont* and the shores of the other tract, whereas the Cicilians inhabit
by the sea-side. Moreover, it bordereth upon the confines of many great nations, who for their
mutuall heed and commodity, have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one
place. This town at that time they found altogether dispeopled, by reason that the inhabitants
were fled for fear; but well stored, and full of wares and goods of all sorts. Whiles the Romans lay
there encamped, there came Embassadors from *Epossognatus*, reporting unto them, that he had
made a journey to the Princes of the Gauls, but could obtain no reason at their hands: also,
F that they were dislodged out of the champain country, had quit their villages and lands in great
numbers, and together with their wives and children drave before them and carried with them
what soever they could: and were retired to the mount *Olympus*, from whence they purposed
to defend themselves by force of armes and the strong situation of the place. The Embassadours
likewise of the Orogondians, gave more certain intelligence, to wit, That the whole people in
generall of the Tolistobogians had seized the hill *Olympus*; that the Tectosages severally by
themselves had taken another mountain called *Magana*; that the Trocmians had committed
their wives and children to the guard of the Tectosages, minding with a main army to aid the
Tolistobogians. Now at that time the Princes of those three States were *Orgiago Combalomarus*, and *Gaulotas*, or And the principall reason and means that these had to enterprise war,
G was this, That being possessed of the highest hills of that country, and having brought thi-
ther provision of all things to serve them for a long space, they supposed to weary and wear
out their enemies in proces of time. For this account they made, that they would never ven-
ture to march against them through so hard, so difficult and disadvantageous places; and if they
assailed so to do, they might be empeached, repulsed back and beaten down with a small com-
pany: again, if they would sit still in leaguer at the foot of those frozen mountains and do no-
thing, they were never able to endure the cold and the scarcity which they should find there.

And

And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and be- H sides they cast a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which they held. Also for provision of darts and other shot, it was the least of all their care, supposing that the rough places would furnish them with sufficient store of stones to sling. The Consul forecasting in his mind that he should not deal with these enemies close at hand-fight, but a far off when he was to assail their holds, had made provision aforehand of great store of darts, light veliary javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and small stones that might be levelled and sent out of slings. Thus being well appointed and furnished with such kind of shot, he led his army toward the mountain *Olympus*, and about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with *Attalus* advanced forward with 500 men of arms to view the nature and standing of the mountain together with the situation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies horsemen being double in number to I them, issued out of their camp, and put them to flight, slew a few of them in the rout, and hurt many. The third day he set forward with all his forces to discover the places, and by reason that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the mountain in safety at his pleasure, and perceived that on the South-side, there were certain little hils, all of of clean earth without stones, and the same rising up with an easie ascent to a certain place: but to the North were high rocks and the same in manner steep upright. And whereas all the rest were inaccessible, three only waies and advenues he found, the one directly toward the midst of the mountain (where those little mounts of earth stood) the other two were difficult, the one lying Southeast, and the other Northwest. After he had considered and viewed these places that day, he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morrow after he sacrificed, and K finding by the first beasts which he killed that the gods were pacified and favourable unto him, he divided his army into three battaillons, and so advanced against the enemy, and himself in person with the greatest part of his forces, mounted up the hill, whereas it yielded the easiest ascent. He commanded his brother *L. Manlius*, from the Southwest to get up the hill as the place would permit with safety, giving him in charge that if he met with any dangerous places steep and hard of ascent, that he should not wrestle with the difficulties of the ground, nor strive against those things, which to force and overcome were unpossible; but rather to traverse the ground, and retire toward him, and so to joyn with his battaillon. As for *C. Helvius*, he willed him with a third part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compass at the hill foot and then from the Northwest to mount up. Likewise the aids of *Attalus*, he divided into three equall parts, L and took order that the young Prince himself in person should keep with him. The Cavalry and the Elephants he left in the next downs beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereof to have a carefull eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yea, and to make haste to rescue and succour wheresoever need should be. The Gauls making full reckoning that on two sides they were sure enough, and the place that way to be inaccessible; because they would stop the other advenue by force of arms on the South side, sent forth about four thousand armed men to seize upon a certain hil within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way, supposing there, as from a fort or castell to debar them of passage. Which when the Romans perceived they put themselves in readiness to fight. A pretty space before the ensigns, marched the skirmishers, together with the Candiot archers and slingers from *Attalus*; likewise the Triballi- M ans of *Thrace*. The ensigns of the footmen followed softly after (as well as they might) against the hill, bearing their targets before them so, as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equally performed with shot a good distance off: for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, so the Romans had the odds for variety and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and encreased, there was no more equality seen. For the shields of the Gauls being made long, and not broad enough for their bodies, and with all flat and plain without, hardly covered and defended them: and by this time all their shot was spent; & weapon had they none but their very swords, whereof there was no use at all, considering the enemy came not to close fight. The only help they had was with stones, and those too big for their handling and not easie to weild by reason they were not pro- N vided before, but such as in that haste came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, being not used and exercised to slinging, they had neither the artificiall sleight, nor sufficient strength to help themselves withall: but contrariwise, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead and galled with arrows & darts at unawares, which they could neither ward nor avoid: and for that with anger & fear together their wits & understandings were blinded, they wist not what to do, seeing themselves surprised and overtaken in a kind of fight wherein to they were least of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, wherein raps are given and taken enterchangeably, choler kindleth courage: even so, when men are wounded aloof with light darts, & from whence they know not they wot not upon whom to run & eat whom to make in that blind fit of theirs, but they run upon their own fellows without all reason as a venture, like wild beasts O galled with arrows sticking in their sides. Now, they receive not a wound but it is seen by reason that they fight naked, and their bodies are fair, slick and white, as being never bare but in battell: by which means greater store of blood gusht out of the wounds in their fleshy bodies, the gashes appear greater and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they pass not so much for broad & wide slashes (for otherwhiles when the skin is cut away & the wound rather broad than deep, they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor. Many it ie happen

A happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to pain and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance. yet when they seek to pluck out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on and are stark mad, for shame that so small a prick should plague them so, and be ready to kil them, insomuch as they cast themselves on the ground, and lie wallowing along every where. Others there be of them that ran full upon their enemy, and those were sticked with arrows and darts from all parts. & when they came neat to hand, were by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. These souldiers use to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long, carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloof, and wear by their side a Spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they shift their spear out of their right hand into the left, and take them to their swords. By this time there were B but few of the Gauls left alive; who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them & seeing withall the ensigns of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heels on all hands, and began to flie amain toward the camp: which now was full of fear and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were crowded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hils abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted so far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path, they turned to that quarter of the hill which only afforded a way, and both of them began to follow the Consuls battaillon, a pretty distance asunder, as if they had agreed beforehand so to do: and that which at first C had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvantage, succours behind in a rereward, have often times served in right good stead: that if those in the vanguard should chance to be beaten back; they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also begin freshly a new fight. After that the formost ensigns of the legions were come to those hills; which the light armed before had seized, the Consul commanded the souldiers to rest them awhile and breath themselves, and shewed them withall where the bodies of the Gauls lay dead along all over the mountains. And if (qd. he) the light armed skirmishers have made such a riddance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionary souldiers, armed all over in compleat harnes? What will they do that carry the hearts of most noble warriors? Surely they must needs win the camp, into which D the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed souldiers. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go afore, who all the while that the legions rested themselves, spent not the time in vain; but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp. The Gauls likewise for their parts, fearing lest their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and rampier. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they were in number, and the thicker they stood, the less lighted any dart in vain) only they left strong guards about the gates and entrance into the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged at random a mighty number of darts: and that many of E them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrikes of women and children. Now against them that warded the gates, and took up the avenues with their guards the legionary souldiers in the forefront let flie their javelins. And albeit these were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another, and stuck fast. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans, insomuch as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gauls fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ran they wist not whither like blind men; as well through places which had no way, as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downfals, no cliffs so rough with crags, could stand in their way: and nothing feared they affront; their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake their necks, or else for very feebleness lost their breath, were windless, and ready to die. The Consul after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commanded the souldiers every one to follow the chase hard: and whiles the enemies were thus affraid, to affright them throughly. Then came the other regiment with *L. Manlius*, but the Consul would not suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forthwith to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person anon after followed; when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the military Tribunes of the army: for this reckoning and resolution he made, that the war was at a finall end, if in this tumultuous fright of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Consul was no sooner departed, but *C. Helvius* came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his souldiers from the pillage of the camp, insomuch as the booty and prizes were most unjustly dealt among them who were at no end of the skirmish. The Cavalry stood all this while still and wist not of the fight, or that their fellows had gotten the victory: but afterwards they also espying the Gauls dispersed about the root of the mountains, made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hils: some they slew, and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were slain cannot easily be counted, because they fled far and near among the cranks and windings of the mountains, where they were killed in blind corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,

ward, tumbled down into the vallies of a monstrous depth underneath. Yea, and some happned to be killed in the woods amidst the thickets & bushes. *Claudius*, who writeth of two battels fought upon the mount *Olympus*, reporteth that there died there forty thousand enemies. But *Valerius Antias*, who otherwise is wont to overreach and exceed in number, hath recorded not above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to forty thousand full, because they went with a train of all sorts and ages, more like men dislodging and removing out of one country unto another, than going to war. The Consul, after he had burned all the armour of his enemies in one heap, commanded his souldiers to bring forth the rest of the pillage and spoil into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publike treasury of the City, or else parted it amongst the souldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a just and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all in open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several deserts. But above the rest, and with the general accord of all he both praised, and also recompenced *Attalus*. For surely that young gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardness in all travels and dangers, but also a speciall modesty and rare sobriety.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the Tectosages, against whom the Consul made an expedition, & upon the third day arrived at *Ancyra*, a noble City in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there fortuned to be kept in ward, the wife of *Ortiagon*, a woman of surpassing beauty. The Centurion who had her person in safe custody, was lecherous and covetous withall, as many of these souldiers are. Her he sollicited and tempted first to commit folly: but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute her self unto him, he did violence upon that body of hers, which fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and assuage the indignity of this villany, he put the woman in good hope, and promised that she should return home again to her friends: mary, he would not do all for pure love alone and freely without ransom, for he bargained to have a certain sum of gold besides. And to the end forsooth that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners whom she would her self as messenger to her friends and kinsfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river, whither the next night following should repair two and no more (of the said captive Ladies friends, with the gold aboresaid) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out so, that among the rest of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bondslave of her own: this messenger at the shutting in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the *corps de guard*. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed both the two friends aforesaid of the gentlewoman, and also the Centurion himself with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full sum of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed between them) and with that the woman spake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold. Which done, she caused his head to be stricken off, and wrapped it her self within her garment, and so carried it home to her husband *Ortiagon*, who from *Olympus* had fled and escaped to his own house. But before that she clipped and embraced her husband, she threw down the Centurion his head at his feet. And when he wondred what mans head it was, and what act this might be, for passing a womans deed, she confessed to her husband the injury that her body had suffered, and likewise the revenge for the abuse of her chastity by force and violence: and (as it is reported) she maintained the honour of this matronlike act ever after even to her dying day, in all sanctimony of life and modest carriage of her self like a chaste dame.

Whiles the camp lay at *Ancyra*, the Orators of the Tectosages shewed themselves unto the Consul, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before he had parled with their Lords and Princes: saying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than war. The time was set down, even the next morrow, and a place likewise appointed, as just in the mid way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and *Ancyra*. The Cos. thither came at the hour assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse: but perceiving no Gaul at all there, he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the same Orators unto him the second time, excusing the default, and saying that their Princes could not come in person by occasion of some scruple of conscience that arose the while; howbeit, the chief personages besides of the whole nation should appear, by whom all matters might be composed as well as with themselves. The Consul made answer, that he likewise would send *Attalus* in his stead. So they came to this emparling from both parts. *Attalus* had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard: and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but forasmuch as they might not grow to any finall conclusion in the absence of their chief Commanders, accorded it was that the day following the Consul and their Princes aforesaid should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delaies and trifling off the time, was this, that first they might gain some convenient space to transport over the river *Halys* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their own persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambush for the Consul himself, who took small regard, and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpose, they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavalry, of especiall valour and approved hardiness,

A ness, for the execution of this treacherous design. And surely this their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had complotted. Certain souldiers of the Romans sent out to purvey forrage and fewel, were directed to those very quarters whereas the parly aboresaid should be kept. The Colonels thought it the surer place for them, because they were to have the Consuls guard also opposed for their defence against the enemy: howbeit, they set another *corps de guard* of their own, consisting of 600 horsmen nearer to the camp. Now by reason that *Attalus* assured the Consul so certainly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be soon knit up and dispatched, he departed out of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sudden the
B Gauls riding in full gallop against them in most furious manner as enemies: wherupon he staid the march and made a stand: commanding the horsemen to make ready their weapons and resolve to fight. The first charge and shock he received right valiantly, and stepped not back one foot: but afterwards as the multitude pressed still upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but so as he brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer stay, than commodity and help in keeping their arraies, they all at once turned their horse heads and fled. When they were disarraied once, the Gauls pursued hard and killed them: and no doubt a great part of them had died for it, but that the forragers guard of 600 horse aforesaid came in to rescue them. For they hearing afar off the fearful cry of their fellows, made ready their armor and horses, and being fresh & in heart, entred upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and
C discomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the losers to the winners: for at the first encounter the Gauls were put to flight: and withall, the said forragers and fewelers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and affronted the Gauls; insomuch as they could neither flie readily nor escape surely, because the Romans with their fresh horses followed them in chase, and they themselves were already tired: few therefore went away with life, and not one was taken prisoner, for the greater part by ods paid dearly by the lois of their lives for violating of this their parly under the colour of truth and fidelity. The Romans whiles their stomacks were inflamed with anger, the very next day came against them with the puissance of all their forces. But the Cos. employed two whole daies himself in viewing and
D discovering the situation and nature of the hill, because he would not be ignorant of any thing requisit. Upon the third day, after he had first taken the auspices and presages of the birds, and afterwards killed a sacrifice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battailons. Two of them were to mount up the midst of the hill, & the other two he set in the sides to flank the wings of the Gauls, and to march up against them. The Tectosages and Trocmions, who were the whole flower and strength of the enemies, made their main battel in the midst, consisting of 50000 men; and because there was no use of horse among those rough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alight on foot to the number of 10000, and those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Ariarathes*, & the auxiliary Morzians, who arose to the number almost of 4000 men, held the left. The Cos. (like as before in the mount *Olympus*) marshalled his light armed for skirmish in the forefront of the vangard, & gave order to have ready at hand as great store of darts & other shot of all sorts as he had
E before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other, like as in the former conflict; saving that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their fortunate succes & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and danted. For albeit themselves had not yet been foiled & vaquished, yet they took the overthrow & lois of their countrimen for their own. And therefore as the beginning of the battell was suitable, so the issue was likewise. For the Gauls battell was overspread & covered again as it were with a cloud of light shot. And not one of them durst run forth out of his range, for fear he should discover his whole body & lay it open to take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thicker they stood, the fairer mark they were for the enemies to level at, & the more wounds they received. The Cos. perceiving they were already of themselves troubled and supposing that if he set forward & presented unto them
F the ensigns of the legions, they would immediatly all of them flie, received the light armed loose shot, & the rest of the auxiliary souldiers within his own ranks and files, and then advanced his legions. The Gauls affrighted with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the Tolistobogians, carrying also about themselves the darts sticking in their bodies, weary besides with long standing a foot, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide so much as the onset and shout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heels and flie toward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there, on both hands, and dispersed themselves into all parts as it took them in the head, and as every man in this confused fright caught a way by himself. The
G Conquerors followed them still even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their backs and beat them down. Which done, they staid and stuck still in the camp for desire of pillage, and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings stood to it longer, by reason that it was later ere they were set upon, but able they were not to abide the first charge and shot of the Roman darts. The Consul, who could not possibly pluck those out of the camp that were once entred in for greedines of spoiling and rifling the tents, sent out those immediatly that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chase still forward. These pursued them a certain space: howbeit in this flight (for in truth it was no fight at all) there were not above eight thou-

sand

sand that left their carcasses behind them; all the rest recovered the other side of the river *Hæa*. H
Many of the Romans remained that night within the enemies camp: the rest the Consul brought back again to his own. The next day he took account and survey of the prisoners and prizes, which was so great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others most greedy of pilling and spoiling might possibly rake and heap together for so many years, as they held all those parts within the mountain *Taurus* by force of arms. The Gauls thus scattered in flight, rallied themselves into one place, as being many of them hurt or disarmed, and stripped clean out of all they had sent their Embassadors unto the Consul to treat for peace. The Consul willed them to give attendance upon him at *Ephesus*: himself made haste to remove out of those cold quarters, by reason that the mountain *Taurus* was so near (for now it was the midst of Autumn) and led back his victorious army to pass the winter near the sea side. I

Whiles the affairs thus passed in *Asia*, all was quiet in the rest of the Provinces. At *Rome* the Censors *T. Quintius Flamininus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* made a new choice of Senators: and *P. Scipio Africanus* was chosen the President of the Senat now the third time: four only were left out and discarded; but not one of them had born office of State, and had the honour to sit in the Curule chair. The Censors shewed themselves likewise passing mild in the review of the Cavalry and order of Knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground works upon the Æquimelium in the Capitoll: and likewise they bargained for to pave the street with hard flint or pebble from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mars*. The Campans demanded of the Senat, in what place they should be assessed and entrolled: and thereupon a decree passed for their enrolment at *Rome*. The rivers were out, and great delinges hapned that year. The *Tyber* overflowed K his banks twelve times, and drowned *Mars* field and all the low parts of the City.

After that *Cn. Manlius* the Consul had brought the Gauls war to an end in *Asia*, the other Consul *M. Fulvius* having utterly subdued the Ætolians passed over into *Cephalenia*; and sent to all the Cities about the Iland certain messengers, to sound them whether they would rather yield themselves unto the Romans or hazard the fortune of war? And so forcible was fear among them all, that there was not one person refused to surrender. And being enjoyned (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hostages, the Nesiotes, Cranians, Peleuthians, and Samians delivered twenty apiece. This peace no sooner shone upon the Cephalenians beyond all their expectation, but suddenly one City of the Samæans revolted, and upon what cause it is not known: themselves alledged and said, That for as much as their City was seated in a commodious L place they feared greatly to be dispossessed and turned out of it by the Romans. But whether they only imagined this and put themselves in fright, and so changed their quiet and repose for vain and foolish fear: or whether there had been question hereof among the Romans, and upon much canvassing in mens mouth the rumour of such a matter, ran unto them, it is not certainly known. Only thus much, after they had given their hostages, they shut their City gates upon a sudden; and desist they would not from their enterprise, for all the entreaty and prayers that their own hostages made, whom the Consul had sent (on purpose) even under their walls, to move their countrimen and parents to pity and compassion. When as therefore they would make no answer tending unto peace, the Consul began to assault the City: and all the ordnance of artillery and engins of battery were under his hand, which had been brought from the siege of *Ambracia*. M And look what works and fabricks were needfull besides to be made, the souldiers with great diligence and forwardness performed. So in two places at once they planted rams against the City and battered the walls. The Samæans on the other side for their part omitted and neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the works. But two things there were principally wherewith they made resistance and withstood their violence: the one was, a countermure within the City, which they ever raised new instead of the old & ful as strong as it was, that was demolished and broken down: the other was, their often sudden sallies, one while upon the fortifications and fabricks, otherwhiles upon the *corps de guard* of the enemies: and for the most part in these skirmishes they had the better hand. But one mean there was devised, and the same of small shew to speak of, to restrain and keep them in from sallying forth. The Ro- N mans sent to * *Ægeum*, * *Parie*, and * *Dime*, for an hundred slingers. These nations from their childhood used to exercise themselves (after the manner of the country) to discharge out of slings into the open sea certain round stones, which commonly the shore is overspread with among the sands: by reason of which exercise, they have more skill both to sling farther from them, and also to strike more surely and give a smarter rap and stroke than those of the Baleat Islands: for their sling is not made with one only cord as the Balearians are, and those of other nations; but it hath three leather thongs hardned and made stiff with many sutures and seames, lest if the leathering were soft and gentle, the bullet and stone within should wag to and fro and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being settled and counterpoised (as it were) it went merrily away, and sent and driven out of the noose of a stone-bow. And so well practised Q they were in this feat, that they could a great way off levell a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of small compass, and miss not: nay, they would be sure to hit, not only the head of an enemy, but any part of the face that they aimed at, point blank, and never fail. These slings (I say) made the Samæans to pluck in their heads, that they durst not sally out neither so often nor so boldly as they did. Insomuch as from the walls, they requested the Achæans for a while to go aside and repose themselves, and see them how they skirmished with the *corps de guard* of

* *Visitgi*.
* *Paræ*, or *Balubetiræ*.
* *Clarenſa*: a town of *Achæa*.

A of the Romans. Four months space the Samæans endured the siege. Now when of that small number which they had, some or other daily drope away, and were either killed outright or wounded; and they that remained, were both tyred in body, and danted in courage; the Romans one night passed over the wall, by the fortress which they call *Cyrtæ* for the City where it boundeth upon the Sea, yeth toward the West) and entred so far as the market place. After that the Samæans perceived that one part of the City was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortress, and the next day yeelded: the Town was ransacked, and they themselves were all sold in open market, to who would give most.

The Consul having set the state of *Cephalenia* in good order, and put a garrison within *Samæa*, passed into *Peloponnesus*, having been called and sent for to come thither a long time, principally B by the Ægians and Lacedæmonians. Time out of mind, and from the first beginning of the Diets of *Achæa*, the whole nation used to assemble and meet at *Ægium* ordinarily, were it for to grace and honour the City, or because the place was commodious therefore. This ancient custome *Philopœmen* that year began first to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the Cities of *Achæa*, their Councels and Diets shall be holden in course and order at their times. And against the coming of the Consul, when the Demiurges of the free Cities and states summoned the Diet to be kept at *Ægium*, *Philopœmen* (Pretor for that time) came with a counter-summons and proclaimed it to be held at *Argos*. And when it was evident to be seen, that they all in manner minded thither to resort; the Consul also (albeit in affection he favoured the Ægians) came to *Argos*: where, after much debate, seeing the matter growing the other way, he C desisted from his design and gave over the cause. After this, the Lacedæmonians averted him from thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controversies and dissentions. Certain banished persons they were who most of all disquieted and troubled that state: and many of them had their abiding place in the Castles coasting along the frontiers of the Laconian territory toward the sea, which was taken wholly from the City. The Lacedæmonians much discontented and offended hereat, entred one night a certain borough called * *Las*, surprised it unawares to the in- * *Vachi*.
habitants, and kept it to their use: to the end, that if need were at any time to send Embassadors to *Rome* or else whither, they might have some free access unto the Sea: and withal, be served of a mart-Town for vent, and a place of receit for all forrain merchandise from strangers to their necessary uses. The Townsmen within, as also the exiles aforesaid (there dwelling) were terrified at D the first with this suddain and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) when they had once rallied themselves together, with small ado and skirmish chased forth the Lacedæmonians: howbeit, the fear spred over all the Sea coast, so that in one general accord, the Castles and Villages every one, yea, and the exiled persons (as many as there inhabited) dispatched their Embassadors to the Achæans. *Philopœmen* their Pretor (who ever from the beginning friended the cause of the banished, and had alwaies advised and counselled the Achæans to abate and take down the puissance and reputation of the Lacedæmonians) granted them at their suit and seeking, a Diet. In which (upon a motion by him made) there passed a decree in this form: That whereas *T. Quintius* and the Romans, had committed and delivered to the safeguard and protection of the Achæans, the fortresses, burroughs, and villages, situate along the Sea-coast of the Laconians, and (by vertue of a covenant and accord) the Lacedæmonians had nothing to do therein, but ought to forbear them; and yet notwithstanding, the Town *Las* was by them forced, and a great massacre there committed: therefore unless the principals and accessaries both of that outrage, were yeelded to the Achæans, they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalf provided, to be broken. Hereupon incontinently were Embassadors addressed to *Lacedæmon*, to challenge and demand the parties aboveſaid: but the Lacedæmonians took this for so proud a commandment, and thought it such an indignity, that without all doubt, if they had been in as good estate then, as sometimes they were, they would immediatly have taken arms. But nothing troubled and disquieted their spirits so much as this, for fear lest if once they received the yoke of subjection upon their necks, in yeelding obedience to their first demand, *Philopœmen* would effect and put in execution that which he long intended and went about: even to deliver the City *Lacedæmon* into the hands of the banished aforesaid. Enraged therefore with choler and anger, they fell upon thirty of that faction who were complotted in counsel with *Philopœmen* and the exiles, and slew them out-right: and withal made a decree, To renounce and reject all society with the Achæans: and forthwith to send their Embassadors to *Cephalenia*, with commission, to deliver *Lacedæmon* unto *M. Fulvius* and the Romans; and to beseech him to take the pains to come into *Peloponnesus*, there to receive the City *Lacedæmon* under the obeisance and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Embassadors had made relation hereof to the Achæans, presently war was proclaimed against the Lacedæmonians by common consent of all the states of that assembly and general council: but the winter impeached them for entring into any action and present execution. Howbeit they made small rodes into their frontiers, and wasted the same not only by Land, but also by Sea, after the manner of robbery and piracy, rather than of warlike hostility. These troubles drew the Consul into *Peloponnesus*, and by his commandment a Diet was published to be holden at *Elis*; and thither were the Lacedæmonians sent for to argue and debate their cause. Where there was not only much reasoning and dispute, but also wrangling and altercation. The Consul who in other points bare himself nicely enough, and answered in doubtful terms, as one willing to entertain both parts, determined and ended the controversie in one only

word, warning them both to put up their swords, and lay arms aside, until they had sent their Embassadors to the Senate of *Rome*. So there were embassages addressed both from the one and the other to *Rome*. In likewise the banished Lacedæmonians joined their cause and embassy with the Achæans. *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both Megapolitans, were the chief in the embassage of the Achæans, who as they jarred and disagreed in the managing of State-affairs, so they accorded not but varied in the speeches that they delivered. *Diophanes* referred the decision of all matters unto the Senat, as who were best able to compose all controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But *Lycortas*, instructed by *Philopœmen*, required that the Achæans might do and execute whatsoever they had ordained, according to the covenant, and the conditions therein comprised; and that they would maintain their full liberty without abridging and empairing the same, according as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achæans in those daies was in great credit and reputation at *Rome*, howbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any change and alteration in the State of the Lacedæmonians. In conclusion, they returned such an intricate and doubtful answer, that both the Achæans might construe it, as if they had permission and free liberty to do what they would with *Lacedæmon*, and the Lacedæmonians again took it as though they had not so large a scope and absolute power allowed them, as to do their pleasure in every thing. But this authority and liberty whatsoever it was, more or less, the Achæans stretched beyond all measure and compass, and used it too proudly and insolently. *Philopœmen* continued still in place of soveraign government, and levied a power to be ready in the beginning of the spring, and so encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedæmonians. This done, he sent his Embassadors to demand the delivery of them into his hands, who were the authors of the revolt; promising withal, that if they would so do, their City should remain in peace without any molestation, and they suffer and sustain no harm, before they had answered for themselves in open audience. All the rest for fear kept silence and said not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer of themselves to go, under safe conduct received from the Embassadors, and faithful promise that no violence should be done upon their persons, until they had pleaded their answer. Accompanied they were with divers noble personages of great mark and name, both as advocats unto them in their particular quarrels, and also in regard of the Common-weal, as far as their private cause any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achæans before time brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the confins of *Lacedæmon*, because they supposed that nothing might so much alienate and estrange the hearts of the whole City as that. But then the whole head, as it were, of the vanguard, were no other but those banished persons. And as the Lacedæmonians abovesaid were coming, who should meet and affront them arranged in order of battel at the very gate of the camp, but they? At the first they welcomed them with chiding and railing, after that they fell to bitter words and brauls, and their blood was up on both sides, insomuch as those of the banished crew who were of hottest spirit and sharpest metal, made no more ado but ran upon the Lacedæmonians: whereupon they called the Gods to witness, and cried to the Embassadors for protection; who together with the Pretor himself came between, voided the press, and safeguarded the persons of the Lacedæmonians, empeaching and staying some of their hands who were already about to bind them and make them sure. But the tumult still encreased, and the multitude was all up on a flurrey. The Achæans ran first to see only what the matter was, and to be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to cry out, and report what wrongs and injuries they had sustained, beseeching them of their help, and avouching withall right confidently, that if they let slip this opportunity, they should never have the like again, alledging moreover, That the league first made in the Capitol, after renued at *Olympia*, and last of all confirmed by a sacred oath in the Castle of *Athens*, had been broken and disanulled by them, and therefore the guilty and culpable parties were to be punished accordingly, before they entred into any bond of new accord. At these words the multitude was incensed, and by occasion of one mans voyce, who cried to strike and knock them down, fell to flinging stones at them. And by this means seventeen of them, who during the garboil chanced to be tied in bonds, were stoned to death. The rest, to the number of six and thirty, were the next morrow apprehended, whom the Pretor had shielded and protected from violence, not for any desire he had to save their lives, but because he would not have them miscarry and perish before they were heard. These were presented and exposed as a prey to the unruly and angry multitude: and when they had made some small speech unto them, from which they turned away their ears, they were all condemned and delivered over to be led to execution. When the Lacedæmonians were once put in this fear, then they were commanded, *Imprimis*, To demolish and break down their walls. *Item*, That all forrain auxiliary souldiers, who were waged and served for pay under the tyrants, should avoid out of the Laconian countrey. *Item*, That all the slaves whom those tyrants had set free (and of such there was a great number) should depart before a certain day: and that it might be lawful for the Achæans to attach the bodies, to sell and carry away as many as staied and remained behind. *Item*, That they should abolish the laws, ordinances and customs of *Lycurgus*, and frame themselves to live after the fashions and manners of the Achæans, for so they should be incorporate into one civil body, and better accord and sort together in all things. They condescended to none of all these conditions more willingly and sooner, than to the rasing of their walls; and nothing troubled them so much and vexed their heart, as the restoring of the banished persons. Howbeit there passed an act at *Tegea* for their restitution in a general Councel of all the Achæans there held. In

A In which assembly, upon a report and mention made, that the mercenary strangers above specified, and the new unrolled Lacedæmonians called *Ascripti* (for so they termed them, who by the tyrants were enfranchised and endued with freedom) had abandoned the City, and were departed sundry wales into the countrey, it was thought good before the army was dissolved and cassed, that the Pretor should go with a company lightly armed and appointed, to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of a prize and booty gained from the enemies. Many of them were apprehended and sold. And with the money raised of them, that porch or Gallery at *Megalopolis*, which had been ruinate by the Lacedæmonians, was by the permission of the Achæans reedified. Likewise the territory of *Belbina*, which the Lacedæmonian tyrants unjustly held in possession, was laid again to that City, according to an old decree of the Achæans, which was
B made during the reign of King *Philip*, son of *Amyntas*. The City of the Lacedæmonians by this means much enfeebled, continued a long time in subjection and thraldom under the Achæans. But their State received damage by no one thing so much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of *Lycurgus*, to which they had been used and accustomed for the space of 700 years.

Presently after the holding of this Diet, wherein the Achæans and Lacedæmonians debated their causes before the Consul, *M. Fulvius* repaired to *Rome* (for that the year was almost expired) against the solemn election of new Magistrats; wherein he created for Consuls, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, and gave the repulse to *M. Æmylius Lepidus* his enemy, who that year made suit also to be Consul. This done, there were Pretors also chosen, to wit, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Stertinius*, *C. Catinius*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and
C *Ln. Manlius Acidinus*. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient that *M. Fulvius* should return into his former Province to the army there: and not only he, but his colleague also *Cn. Manlius*, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another year. The same year according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought into the Temple of *Hercules* the statue of the same God: and within the Capitol were set up by *Cn. Cornelius* six steeds in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Consul gave that present. Also *P. Claudius* and *S. Sulpitius Galba*, Ædiles Curule, hung up twelve brasen shields, made of the fines that certain corn-hoorders paid, for hoording up and keeping in their grain. Moreover *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* an Ædile of the Commons, erected two golden images railed of the mony that one guilty person was condemned in (for they commenced their actions severally by themselves.)
D Also *A. Cecilius* his companion, he condemned none. The Roman great games were set forth all throughout, thrice: and the Plebeian plaies exhibited likewise full and whole, five times.

After this, *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Livius Salinator*, entred their Consulship upon the * 15. day of *March*, and proposed before the Senat as concerning the affairs of the State, touching their Provinces also, and the armies. As for *Ætolia* and *Asia*, there was no change at all. The Consul, by a decree of the Senat had the charge, one of *Pisa*, together with the Ligurians; and the other of *Gaul*: and they were commanded either to agree between themselves, or to cast lots for their Provinces. They were enjoyned also to levy new armies, and each of them to enrol two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latine Nation with 15000 foot, and 1200 horsemen. Unto *Messala* fell the government of *Liguria*: and to *Salinator* of *Gaul*. After this, the
E Pretors likewise cast lots for their Provinces: the jurisdiction within *Rome* of citizens was allotted to *M. Claudius*, and of forainers to *P. Claudius*. *Sicily* to *Q. Martius*, *Sardinia* to *C. Sertinius*, high *Spain* to *L. Manlius*, and the low to *C. Atinius*. As for the armies, ordained it was, that the legions under the conduct of *C. Lelius* should be withdrawn out of *Gaul*, and made over to *M. Tuccius* the Propretor for to serve in the Brutians country. *Item*, That the forces which were in *Sicily* should be discharged: and that *M. Sempronius* the Vice-pretor there, should bring from thence the fleet to *Rome*. Ordained likewise it was, that either of the Provinces of *Spain* should have one legion, which at that time served there: and that both the Pretors should for supply levy of the allies three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen apiece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that these new Governors went to their Provinces, by order from the
F whole colledge and society of the Decemvirs, there was published a general procession and supplication to be holden for 3 dayes in all the quarrefours or cross streets of the City: for that in the day time between the third hour and the fourth, there arose a general darknes which continued almost all that while. Moreover, a Novendial sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 dayes together, because on the Aventine hill it had rained stones.

The Campans, when as the Censors (by vertue of an act of Senate which passed the former year) compelled them to be enrolled in *Rome*, (for afore time they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract marriages and take Roman citizens to their wives; and that whosoever had wedded any of them before, might keep them still; and what children soever they had born before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightfull
G heirs. Both suits were granted. As concerning the free burgesses of *Formiæ*, *Fundi*, and *Arpinum*, *Publius Tappo* a Tribun of the Com. preferred a bill, that they might be priviledged to give their voices in *Rome*: for before that time, citizens in deed they were of *Rome*, (and that was all) for liberty of suffrages they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by four other Tribuns, because it was propounded without the warrant and approbation of the Senate. But being afterwards better advised and informed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senate to give their voices where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves

no more to hinder the proceeding thereof. So it passed: and enacted it was, That the Formians and Fundans should give their voices in the tribe *Æmylia*; & the Arpinats in *Corneliæ* so in these tribes then first and never before, were they enrolled by an act of the same *Valerius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Censor took a survey of the City, and by lot obtained the pre-eminence thereof before his colleague *T. Quintus*. In which there were numbred 258308 polls of Roman citizens. This review being accomplished, the Consuls took their journeys into their several provinces.

During that winter season whiles these things thus passed at *Rome*, there resorted Embassages from all States, Cities and Nations which inhabit on this side *Taurus*, unto *Cn. Manlius* first Consul, and afterwards Pro-consul, whiles he kept his winter in *Asia*. And as the victory atchieved over *Antiochus* was more honorable and glorious to the Romans, than that over the Gauls, so the conquest of the Gauls was more joyous and pleasing to the Roman allies, than that of *Antiochus*. For the servitude in which the King held them was more tolerable, than the cruelty of these savage and inhumane barbarians, and the doubtful fear and fright wherein they stood every day; as not knowing how far forth they would proceed, carried so (as it were) in a tempest to waste and spoil them clean. And therefore as nations who by the defeat of *Antiochus* recovered liberty, and by the subduing of the Gauls enjoyed peace, they presented themselves not only to give thanks and shew their contentment in that behalf, but also brought with them certain coronets of gold, every one according to their ability. Likewise there came Embassadors from *Antiochus*, as also from the very Gauls, to have conditions of peace ministred unto them: yea, and from *Ariarates* King of the Cappadocians, who craved pardon, and offred to buy out his trespass for money, in that he had given aid unto *Antiochus*: and fined he was to pay 200 talents of silver. The Gauls had this answer returned unto them, That K. *Eumenes* when he came should tender unto them articles of peace. The embassages of the other States and cities were dismissed with gracious answers, and went away better pleased and contented, than they were at their coming. The Embassadors of *Antiochus* were commanded to bring mony into *Pamphylia*, and corn likewise, according to the covenant made with *L. Scipio*: for thither the Consul purposed himself to come with his army. After this, having taken a review and survey of his forces, he set forward in the beginning of spring, and within 8 daies arrived at *Apamea*. There he sojourned in camp for three daies: from thence he removed, and at the third daies end came to *Pamphylia*, whither he had given order to the Kings Embassadors to convey their mony and corn. There he received 1500 talents of silver which were transported unto *Apamea*. The corn was divided in the army. From thence he marched to *Perga*, which was the only country in those parts held with a garrison. When he approached, the Captain of the garrison met him on the way requesting 30 daies space in which time he might know the pleasure of K. *Antiochus* as touching the rendring of that City. The time was granted and within that day the garrison quit the place and departed. From *Perga* he sent his brother *L. Manlius* with 400 souldiers to *Oroanda*, for to demand the rest of the mony which by promise was due: and himself because he was advertised that K. *Eumenes* and the deputies or commissioners were come from *Rome* to *Ephesus*, retired with his army also to *Ephesus*, and commanded the Embassadors of *Antiochus* to follow him thither. There, by the advice of the ten commissioners, a final league was concluded, and comprised in these or such like terms: There shall be amity and friendship between King *Antiochus* and the people of *Rome*, under these conditions ensuing. *In primis*. The King shall not suffer to pass through any part of his realm, or their countries that are under his dominion, any army that intendeth to make war against the people of *Rome*, or their associats, nor aid them with victuals or any other succour whatsoever. *Item*, The Romans and their allies shall do the like by *Antiochus*, and all those that are under his subjection. *Item*. It shall not be lawful for *Antiochus* either to make war with those that inhabit the Ilands, or to pass over into *Europe*. *Item*, He shall quit all Cities, Lands, Villages, and Fortresses on this side the mountain *Taurus* unto the River *Tanais*; and moreover from the foot and valley under the said hill, unto that ridge thereof which bendeth toward *Lycaonia*. *Item*, Out of those Towns, territories, and Castles which he is to void, he shall carry away no armour: and if he have conveyed from thence any already, he shall duly restore the same to every place accordingly. *Item*, He shall receive neither souldier nor any other person out of the Kingdom of *Eumenes*. *Item*, If any citizens belonging to those Cities which are dismembred and cut off from his realm, chance to remain now with him they shall return all to *Apamea* within a certain day. *Item*, As many as appertain to the Kingdom of *Antiochus* and are now with the Romans or their allies, may depart home or tary still at their pleasure. *Item* All slaves, whether they be fugitives or taken captive in war; likewise all other persons free of condition before, and afterwards either taken prisoners or revolted, he shall deliver again to the Romans and their allies. *Item*, He shall make delivery of all his Elephants, and shall provide himself of no more hereafter. *Item*, He shall yeeld up all his Gallies of war, with the tackling to them belonging: neither shall he keep above ten small vessels; and none of them shall have more than thirty oars to guide and row them; nor so much as one * Galley with a single bank of oars to serve in any war that himself shall first begin. *Item* He shall not sail within the promontories of *Calycadnum* and *Sarpedon*, unless haply there be some ship that bringeth mony, Embassadors, or hostages. *Item*. It shall not be lawful for King *Antiochus* to levy and wage any souldiers out of those nations which are subject to the people of *Rome*; no, nor to entertain so much as voluntaries from thence. *Item* What houses and edifices belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, are now within the precincts of the realm of *Antiochus*, shall return to the

A the said Rhodians and their associats, in as stood estate and tenor as they were before the war began. And if any mony or debts be to them due, they may demand and recover the same. *Item*, If ought have been taken from them, they shall have good law and right to search, own, demand, and challenge it again. *Item*, If any of those Cities which ought to be rendred, be held by those unto whom *Antiochus* hath committed them, he shall withdraw the garrisons from thence, and take order that they be surrendred accordingly. *Item*, He shall pay within twelve years by even portions, 12000 Attick talents of good and lawful silver: provided, that every talent weigh no less than eighty pound after Roman poise; besides 540000 modii of wheat. *Item*. He shall pay unto King *Eumenes* 350 talents within five years; and for corn according to the rate and proportion 127 talents. *Item*, He shall send unto the Romans 20 hostages, and change them for o-
B thers every three years: provided, that they be not under 18 years of age, nor above 45. *Item*, If any allies of the people of *Rome*, begin of their own motion to make war upon King *Antiochus*, it shall be lawful for him to revenge himself, and use forcible means to withstand their violence; yet so, as he hold no City in right of war, nor receive any into amity: and all controversies which shall arise between them shall be decided by law and justice; or if both parties be so pleased they shall trie the issue by force of arms. *Item*, it was comprised also within the covenants of this accord, That he should deliver into the Romans hands, *Annibal* the Carthaginian, *Thoas* the Ætolian, *Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, *Eubulus* likewise and *Philo* the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter hapned to be added moreover, or changed otherwise, the same in no case to prejudice any thing contained within the covenants aforesaid. To this accord the Consul swares; and
C to receive the Kings oath likewise, there went unto him *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *L. Manlius*, he who fortuned at that time to return from the Oroadians. And the Cos. wrote his letters to *Q. Fab. Labeo* Admiral of the fleet, presently to come to *Patara*, and what ships soever of the Kings were there, to hew them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from *Ephesus*, and either brake into fitters or burnt, 50 covered ships belonging to the King. In the same voyage and exploit he surprised and won *Telmessus*, by reason that the Townsmen were so affrighted at the suddain coming of the fleet. Then forthwith he departed out of *Lycia*, and having given order to those that were left behind at *Ephesus* to follow after, he crossed the Seas (between the Ilands) over into *Greece*. After he had sojourned some few daies at *Athens*, until the ships from *Ephesus* were entred into the harbor of *Pyræum*: from thence he brought back his whole armado
D to *Italy*. *Cn. Manlius* having received (among other things which were to be yeelded up of *Antiochus*) the Elephants also, and bestowed them all freely upon *Eumenes*, gave audience to the controversies of many Cities and States, amongst whom (during these changes and alterations) there arose sundry troubles and much variance. And *Ariarates* the King, who by the means and mediation of *Eumenes* (unto whom about that time he had affianced his daughter in marriage) was discharged and had acquittance for the one moity of the mony imposed upon him, entred into amity with the people of *Rome*. When the differences of the Cities aforesaid were debated and known, the ten Commissioners set down an order between them, respectively to their condition. To as many as had been tributaries to King *Antiochus*, and yet sided with the people of *Rome* in affection, they granted franchise and immunity: but as many as took part with *Antiochus*, or were tri-
E butaries unto King *Attalus*, those were commanded to pay their customs and duties to King *Eumenes*. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all task and tallage (expresly by name) the Colophonians inhabiting *Notium*, together with the Cymeans and the Milesians. Unto the Clazomenians (over and besides the same freedom) they gave the Iland *Drymusa*. To the Milesians also the territory called *Sacer*: to the Ilians, they annexed *Rhæteum* and *Gergithus*, not so much for any fresh and late deserts, as in memorial of their ancient beginning and foundation: which was the cause also that they set *Dardanus* free. Semblably the Chians, Smyrneans, and Erythræans, for their singular loyalty and devoir which they shewed in that war they not only indowed with fair lands and territories but also graced with all kind of honor and reputation above the rest. Moreover, the Phocæans had both their own lands restored unto them which they enjoyed before the
F war, and also liberty to live under their ancient laws. As for the Rhodians, they had those things now confirmed and established unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their estate, *Lycia* and *Caria* were bestowed upon them, as far as the River *Mæander*, all save the City *Telmessus*. Unto the dominion of King *Eumenes*, they laid *Chersonesus* in *Europe*; and *Lysimachia*, with all the Castles, Villages, and Lands thereto belonging, in as large terms and ample manner as *Antiochus* held the same: also within *Asia*, the one and the other *Phrygia*, as well that which confineth upon *Hellespont*, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they restored unto him *Mysia*, which King *Prusias* had taken from him: over and besides, *Lycaonia*, *Mysia*, and *Lydia*; together with these Cities by special name, *Tralleis*, *Ephesus*, and *Telmessus*. As
G touching *Pamphylia*, some debate there was between the Agents of *Eumenes* and the Embassadors for *Antiochus*, because one part thereof is situat on this side the mount *Taurus*, and the other lyeth beyond. The decision of this controversy was wholly referred to the arbitrement of the Senat. *Manlius* having set down these covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his army toward *Hellespont*: and when he had caused the Princes of the Gauls thither to repair before him, he declared unto them in what terms and under what conditions they should entertain peace with *Eumenes*: & therewith he gave them warning, to leave their manner of inroding and roving in hostile wise by force of arms, and to contain themselves within the precincts and

bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from H
the Sea coasts, together with the entire flote of King *Eumenes*, which by his brother *Athenæus*
was brought from *Elea*, he transported all his forces into *Europe*. From whence he marched
through *Chersonnesus* by short & easy journies, because his army was heavily charged with prizes
and booties of all sorts; and encamped at *Lysimachia*, purposing there to rest a while, to the end
that his travelling beasts of draught and cariage, might be fresh and in good heart to pass through
Thracia, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that he
dislodged from *Lysimachia*, he came to the River which they call *Melas*, and from thence the
next day to *Cypsela*. When they were past *Cypsela*, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but
through wild woods, narrow streights, and those rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the
difficulty of which passage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he commanded to march I
before, the other to come behind in the rereward a great distance after, and in the midst between,
he bestowed the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongst them were waggons and wains,
loden with the publick treasure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the
streight pass, there were about 10000 and not above, sailed out of four nations of *Asia*, to wit,
the Astians, Cœnians Maduarenes, and Cœletes, who beset the streights to debar them of passage.
It was supposed that King *Philip* of *Macedony* his hand was herein, and that they entred not into
this action without his privity and fraudulent practise; who as he knew that the Romans could re-
turn no other way but by *Thracia*, so he was aware and wist well enough what a mass of money
they carried with them. The Roman General himself was in the vanguard, careful only and trou-
bled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the Thracians sat still and stirred not, until the K
armed souldiers were passed by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out
of the streights, and that the rereward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the packs and
coffers of the carriages: and after they had killed the guards, some of them ransacked and rifled that
which was in the waggons, others led away the pack horses and other sumpter beasts with their
load and burden on their backs. Hereupon arose a cry and alarm, and was first heard of those that
followed but afterwards of them also in the foreward, & so from both ends they ran to the midst,
and at one time in diverse places, skirmished without all order confusedly. The Thracians heavily
charged and encumbered with pillage, and most of them without any weapon at all, because they
might have the use of their hands more nimble and agile to snatch & catch unto them their prizes,
were by this means more exposed to receive hurt, and soon killed. The Romans again L
were much distressed and annoied through the disadvantage of the ground and the waies: which
the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and out of them would issue forth to
encounter, and other whiles lurk within hollow blind caves, and not be seen. The very packs like-
wise and the waggons, standing and lying unto wardly in the way, sometime of one, and sometime
of other (as it hapned) troubled and hindred them much in their fight. So as here in one place
lay the theef dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of
ground was good or bad, as well for the one sort as the other, as their hearts and courages served
or sailed them, and as the number was more or less, so the skirmish and fight was variable: and in
one word, of both sides many a man say in the dust and lost his life. By which time the night ap-
proached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not so much to avoid wounds and for fear M
* *Diana.* of death, as for that they had sped themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encam-
ped without the forrest in the open ground about the Temple of * *Bendis*. The rereward remain-
ed still behind in the midst of the woods to guard their carriage, fortified within a double pallisado
of strong stakes. The morrow after, when they had well discovered by their espials the way before
them, they joined themselves with the vanguard. In this battel (over and besides a great part of
their pillage lost, and a number of camp-followers and lackies slain, with some souldiers also, for
that there was skirmishing every where throughout the chase) there died *Q. Minutius Thermus*:
and a right great lois there was of him, for he was a man of much valour and execution. That day
the army marched as far as to the River *Hebrus*. From whence they passed through the confines
of the Ænians, neer unto the Temple of *Apollo*, whom the inhabitants name *Zerynthius*. And there N
they met with another streight passage about a place called *Tempyra*, as rough and cumbersome
under foot as the former. But for asmuch as there were no woods about it, it yeelded no good
place for ambushes. Howbeit the Thrausians (a people likewise of *Thrace*) assembled together,
hoping also to light upon the like booty. But by reason that the valliesIay naked and open, so as if
any be set the narrow waies they might be discovered a far off, the Romans were less affraid and
troubled. For, say that they were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrange
themselves in battel aray in open field, and join in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore em-
battelled in Squadrons thick and strong they charged the enemy with a great shout and cry, and at
the first shock forced them to retreat and lose ground, and afterwards to turn back and flie. And
in the rout they were beaten down and killed; for even their own streights which they seized O
for their vantage, empeached and hindred themselves. The Romans having gotten the victory,
encamped neer a village of the Maronits, called *Sare*. The next day they marched through the
champain open countrey *Priaticus*, where they so journed three daies to take in corn, partly from
out of the fields of the Maronits, which willingly of themselves they conferred upon them, and
partly out of their own ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kind of provision.
From this place they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and so passing through the territory of

A of the Abderits, they came to *Nestus*. All this way they journeied peaceably through the Colonies
of the Greeks. But the rest behind, if it were not dangerous unto them for any hostility, yet su-
spected still it was, all the whiles that they passed night and day through the midst of the Thra-
cians, until at length they came into *Macedony*. The same army conducted sometime before by
Scipio that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cause, but
that they had less store of pillage and booty with them to let their teeth on water, and fingers
on itching. And yet even then also (as *Claudius* writeth) there were fifteen thousand Thracians
that encountred *Mutines* the Numidian, as he marched before the vanguard to discover the
coasts: and he saith, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horsemen, and some
few Elephants: also that his son, with an elect wing of a hundred and fifty horse, brake through
B the midst of the enemies, who also within a while after, (when his father *Mutines* having placed
the Elephants in the midst, and the Horsemen in the flanks, joined in battel with his enemies,
charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which storm and tem-
pest (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came so far, as to deal with the battel of the foot-
men. *Cn. Manlius* led his army through *Macedony* into *Thessaly*, and marching on by the way
of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he abode all winter. For he made not so light a mat-
ter of winter sailing, that he durst take the Sea, and hazard the passage at that time of the year.

The year almost expired, M. *Valerius* the Consul returned out of *Liguria* to *Rome*, for the crea-
tion of new Magistrats, having atchieved no such memorable exploit in his Province during the
time of his government, as might have yeelded any colourable reason of his long stay, in that he
C came more tardy (than the usual manner was) to the assembly for an election of Consuls: (for
holden it was upon the * 12 calends of *March*) wherein were created, M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C.* * 18 of *Febru.*
Flaminius. The next day after, these Pretors were elected: namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpi-*
tius Galba, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *L. Terentius* M *Istulcus*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and M. *Furius Crassipes*.
After the election of Magistrats the Consul proposed to the Senat as touching the Provinces and
governments of the Pretors. And the LL. decreed, that two of them should remain at *Rome*, to mi-
nister laws and execute justice: other two should be employed out of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*:
two in *Italy* to wit, at *Tarentum* and in *Gaul*. Immediatly before they entred into office they were
enjoyned to cast lots: and *Ser. Sulpitius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and Q. *Terentius* of
strangers and aliens: *L. Terentius* took the charge of *Sicily*, Q. *Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius*
D was to govern *Tarentum*, and M. *Furius* to rule *Gallia*. It fortuned the same year, that *L. Minutius*
Mythias and *L. Manlius* were delivered to the Carthaginian Embassadors, by the hands of the Fæ-
cial heralds at the commandment of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the City for the time being, and trans-
ported over to *Carthage*, for that the voice and speech went, That they had beaten the said Em-
bassadors. A bruit and rumour there was of a great war begun in *Liguria*, & which encreased every
day more than other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Consuls the Province of
Liguria that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to consult about the Provinces and
the affairs of the Common-weal. But *Lepidus* the Consul opposed himself against this their act and
ordinance alledging, "That it was a shameful indignity, that both the Consuls should be shut up
E "and enclosed within the vallies of *Liguria*; whereas for two years already *M. Fulvius* and *Cn.*
"*Manlius* had raigned like Kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, in stead of *Philip* and *An-*
"*tiochus*. And if (qd. he) it be the pleasure of the Senat that there should be armies maintained in
"those parts, more meet I wot, it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct there-
"of than those privat persons. As for them, they range about those nations, terrifying them with
"threats of war against whom there hath been none proclaimed: making merchandice and selling
"peace among them for sums of mony. Now if it be requisit and needful to keep two armies for
"the government and defence of those Provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* Consuls, suc-
"ceeded M. *Acilius* and L. *Scipio* Consuls: so C. *Livius* and M. *Valerius* the Consuls ought to have
"entred in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At least wise now, when the Ætolian war is finished and
"brought to an end, *Asia* recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls vanquished
"subdued, either ought Consuls to be sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought
"back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common-weal. The Senat notwithstanding
they gave him the hearing, persisted still in their resolution that both Consuls should be imploied
in the Province of *Liguria*. Yet thought good it was, that *Manlius* and *Fulvius* should leave their
Provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and return to *Rome*. An old grudge there was
and a cankred enmity between the said M. *Fulvius*, and M. *Æmylius* the Consul: and among
other matters of discontentment, *Æmylius* gave out, that by the means of *Fulvius*, himself was
created Consul two years later than otherwise he should have been. And therefore to work
him deipight and make him odious to the World, he caused the Embassadors of *Ambracia*
(whom he had suborned and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat-
G house. These being in place, complained that *M. Fulvius* had warred upon them at what time as
they were in peace, performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them, and were also
ready in all duty and allegeance to do the same unto him. "First our lands and territories say
"they were piteously spoiled and wasted: then were we terrified with the sacking of our City,
"and threatned with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to shut our gates.
"Afterwards we were beleaguered and assaulted, and against us all kinds of hostility practised,
"by sword, by fire, by ruinating and ransacking our City. Our wives, our children, have been led

"and

"and haled into captivity and bondage; our goods violently taken from us (and that which a-
"bove all went neereſt to our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City deſpoiled and
"robbed of their goodly ornaments: the images of our Gods, and finally our Gods themſelves
"plucked out of their ſhrines and places, and ſo carried away; yea, the very walls and pillars left
"bare and naked, ſo as the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongſt them to adore, and to
"whom they might make their prayers and ſupplications. As they poured out their complaints,
the Conſul of a mind to aggravat and heap more matter upon his adverſary, ceaſed not to propoſe
unto them many interrogatories (as it was complotted between them before) and drew them
on to ſpeak many things, as if with their good will they would not have uttered them. When the
reſt of the LL. were moved herewith, then the other Conſul *C. Flaminius* undertook the apologie
and defence of M. *Fulvius*, ſaying, "That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did no
"otherwiſe than ſome before them had done. For even ſo was M. *Marcellus* accuſed by the Syra-
"cuſians, ſo was *Q. Fulvius* charged by the Capuans. And why by the ſame means ſuffered they
"not *T. Quintius* to be charged by King *Philip*, M. *Acilius* and *L. Scipio* by *Antiochus Cn. Manlius*
"by the Gauls, and the ſame *Fulvius* himſelf by the Ætolians and people of *Cephalenia*? That
"*Ambracia* was aſſaulted, battred, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were
"taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which uſually follow upon the
"winning of Towns, think ye my LL. that either I in the behalf of *Fulvius* will deny, or *Fulvius*
"himſelf will diſavow? who, in regard of theſe worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to de-
"mand at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purpoſeth to carry before his triumphant
"chariot the portraiture of *Ambracia* as it was taken, the images which they accuſe him to have
"caried away and other ſpoils of that City; yea, and to ſet them upon the poſts of his houſe for a
"memorial to poſterity? No reaſon there is that the Ambracians ſhould ſever themſelves from
"the Ætolians, and do more than they, for their caſe and condition is all one. And therefore let
"my colleague ſhew his rancor and malice, and bewray a ſetlered enmity in ſome other cauſe: or
"if he will needs ſollow and purſue this forward, let him intertain and keep ſtill his Ambracians
"unto the coming of *M. Fulvius*. And for mine own part, I will ſuffer no act to paſs either of the
"Ambracians or the Ætolians, ſo long as *M. Fulvius* is abſent. *Æmylius* accuſed his enemy for ha-
ving a crafty head of his own, and for his ſuble ſetches, as being notorious and well known to all
men for no better; ſaying, that full cunningly he would triſle out the time, and make delaies all the
year long, that he might not come to *Rome* ſo long as his adverſary was Conſul. Thus in this de-
bate between the two Conſuls two dayes were ſpent and nothing elſe done. And it appeared evi-
dently, that ſo long as *Flaminius* was in place and preſence, nothing could be concluded and de-
termined. Whereupon a time was ſpied out when *Flaminius* chanced to be ſick, and by that oc-
caſion was away. Then upon a motion made by *Æmylius* there paſſed an act of the Senat, That
the Ambracians ſhould have all their goods reſtored unto them again; that they ſhould enjoy
their freedom and franchiſes, and live under their own Laws: and finally might take what cu-
ſtoms, toll and impoſts they would for portage, as well by Land as Sea: provided always that
the Romans, and their allies the Latins, ſhould be exempted and free there from. As for the
images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their ſacred Temples, the
Senat ordained that when M. *Fulvius* was returned to *Rome*, the colledge of the Pontifies ſhould
have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and ſet down, it ſhould ſtand
and be performed accordingly. And the Conſul not content with all this, took the vantage when
there were but few Senators in the houſe, and procured an other act of Senat in this form, That
they judged *Ambracia* not to be reputed a City forced by aſſault. This done, there was by vertue
of an order from the Decemvirs a ſolemn ſupplication holden three dayes for the health of the
people, in regard of a grievous peſtilence that diſpeopled both City and Countrey. After that the
Latine feaſts and holy-dayes were celebrated. When the Conſuls had accompliſhed theſe devo-
tions, and rid their conſciences of ſcruple, and withal made a full and compleat levy to furniſh
legions (for both of them were deſirous to have new ſouldiers) they departed into their Pro-
vinces, and caſſed all the old.

After the Conſuls were ſet forward on their journey, the Pro-conſul *Cn. Manlius* returned home
to *Rome*. For whoſe ſake the Pretor *Servius Sulpitius* aſſembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bel-
lona*. Where after relation made of his deeds atchieved, he demanded that in conſideration
thereof, due honor and thankſgiving ſhould be rendred to the immortal Gods, and withal, that
himſelf might ride triumphant into the City. The moſt part of the Legats and Commiſſioners, who
had been with him gainſaid and denied the ſame, and above all the reſt L. *Furius Purpurio*, and
L. *Æmylius Paulus*, who ſtepped forth, and informed againſt him in theſe terms: "That they had
"been ſent in commiſſion to aſſiſt *Cn. Manlius*, for the making of a peace with *Antiochus*, and fi-
"niſhing of that accord and thoſe covenants and conditions, which were commenſed and begun
"between him and *L. Scipio*. Yet *Cn. Manlius*, ſay they, endevoured all that ever he could to trou-
"ble that peace, yea, and to have ſurpriſed and intrapped *Antiochus* by trains of ambuſh if he had
"ever come in his way, or within his reach. But the King being aware of the Conſul his fraud and
"deceit, albeit there was made great means many a time to have caught him by colour of parley
"and conference, yet avoided evermore not only to have ſpeech and communication with him,
"but alſo to come within his ſight. And when *Manlius* would needs have paſſed over *Taurus*,
"hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithſtanding all the commiſſioners prayed
"and beſought him to ſtay, and not to hazard himſelf and incur the danger of a notable loſs and
"overthrow, fore-told by the verſes and prophecies of *Sibylla* to light upon them that would paſs
"beyond the bounds limited by the fatal deſtinies. All this notwithſtanding he advanced forward,
"and approached with his army, yea, and encamped neer the very pitch and top of the mountain,
"where all the water that falleth from above, runneth contrary wayes into divers Seas. And
"when he could find no quarrel there for which he might make war (becauſe the Kings people
"and ſubjects were ſtill and quiet) he turned the army about to the Gallogreeks, againſt which
"nation there was no war intended, either by warrant and authority from Senat, or by grant and
"commiſſion from the people. And what man was ever ſo hardy and bold, as to war upon his
"own head? The wars againſt *Antiochus*, *Philip*, *Annibal*, and the Carthaginians, are moſt freſh
"in each mans remembrance: and of all theſe, the Senat was conſulted with, and the people gran-
"ted their ordinance. Embaſſadors many a time and often were addreſſed before: reſtitution and
"amends were by order demanded: and laſt of all, heralds were ſent, ſolemnly to denounce and
"proclaim war. Now tell me, *Cn. Manlius*, Which of all theſe things were done: that we may call
"this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of *Rome*, and not rather a
"privat brigandage and robbery of your own? But contented you your ſelf with this, and did you
"no more? marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but that which was in your
"way; leading your army againſt thoſe only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather at
"all turnings and windings, nay, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you
"were at a ſtand, followed not you like a mercenary and waged Conſul unto *Attalus* (King *Eu-
menes* his brother) with the Roman army, what hand ſoever he turned and marched? There
"was not a crank and nook but you viſited; there was not a corner that you left unſearched, in all
"*Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Phrygia*. There was not a tyrant, Prince nor Potentat, there was not a Lord
"of any borough or caſtle, how far ſoever out of the way, but you had a ſaying to them to pill and
"poll them, and to pick pence out of their purſes. For what buſineſs had you with the Oroandi-
"ans? What had you to do with other nations, as innocent and guiltleſs as they? Now as con-
"cerning the war, (in regard whereof you demand a triumph) in what ſort managed you it?
"Fought you a battail either in place commodious, or time convenient? Surely, I muſt needs ſay,
"great reaſon you have and good cauſe, to require that honor and praiſe be given to the immor-
"mortal Gods: firſt for that their gracious will and pleaſure was, that the army ſhould not ſmart
"for the temerity and raſhneſs of their chief leader, warring as he did againſt the law of nations:
"then, in that they preſented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beaſts and no better.
"For ye muſt not think, that it is the name only of the Gallogreeks, which is mingled and com-
"pounded; for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mixed and corrupted,
"and themen themſelves baſtard and degenerate from their firſt nature. Had they been the ſame
"Gauls with whom we have fought a thouſand times in *Italy*, and with doubtful iſſue, and loſt as
"much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have re-
"turned ode meſſenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at leaſt-wiſe that our Gene-
"ral there did? Twice he came to conflict with them: twice he encountred them in place of diſ-
"advantage; mounting with his army againſt the hill, and ranged in the botome of the valley,
"even under the enemies feet: in ſuch ſort, that if they had lanced no darts againſt us from the
"higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and diſarmed bodies, they had been able
"to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God-amercy the
"good fortune of the people of *Rome*: we may thank (I ſay) the great and terrible name of the
"Romans. The freſh renown of the late ruins and overthrows of *Annibal*, *Philip*, and *Antiochus*,
"amazed and aſtoniſhed (as one would ſay) theſe men with their ſo corpulent and mighty bo-
"dies; with ſlings and arrow-ſhot only were they diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo affrighted
"were they. There was not a ſword once bloudied in all this Gauls war: at the firſt twang of the
"bow and ſinging of the arrow they fled away, like ſwarms of bees with ringing of baſons. And
"yet believe me, even we the ſame and no other (as if fortune would admoniſh and ſhew what
"had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we fortuned to
"light upon certain perty robbers and theeves of *Thrace*, were ſoundly beaten, killed, and put to
"flight, and ſpoiled and well ſtript of our bag and baggage. *Q. Minutius Thermus* (by whoſe death
"we have ſuſtained a far greater loſs, than if *Cn. Manlius* had miſcaried, whoſe raſhneſs was the
"cauſe of all this calamity and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man beſides, loſt his life in
"this skirmiſh. Our hoſt, bringing away with them the ſpoil and pillage of K. *Antiochus*, was diſ-
"membred and parted into three troops: the vanguard in one place, the rereguard in another, and
"the carriages in a third, were fain to take up their lodging one whole night amongſt buſhes, bri-
"ars, and brambles, and lurk within the caves and dens of wild beaſts. Are theſe the brave and
"worthy exploits for which you demand a triumph? But ſay, that you had received in *Thrace*,
"neither damage nor diſhonor; which be the enemies over whom you would needs triumph in
"all the haſt? I to they be thoſe, whom the Senat & people of *Rome* deſtined & aſſigned to be your
"enemies: for ſo was triumph granted to this *L. Scipio* here in place: ſo likewiſe to that M. *Acilius*
"before him over K. *Antiochus*: ſo alſo erewhile to *T. Quintius* for the victory of *Philip*: and ſo to
"conclude unto P. *Africanus* for ſubduing *Annibal* the Carthaginians and K. *Syphax*. And when
"the Senat had ordained war, yet before they enterpriſed and began theſe high and hauty affairs,
"they made ſome doubt and pauſe in ſuch petty circumſtances as theſe, to wit, unto whom they
"ſhould

" should send defiance and denounce the said war: whether to the Kings themselves in their own H
" person; or if were sufficient to give intimation to one garrison or other within their fortresses.
" And would ye now (my masters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be polu-
" ted and confounded, that the rights and laws of the Feciales and heralds should be abolished, &
" that there shall be no more Fecial at all. But let religion and divine service (God forgive me if I
" seem to blaspheme) be trodden under foot: suppose the Gods were utterly forgotten of you, and
" their remembrance quite exiled out of your hearts: Is it your pleasure also, and think ye it meet,
" that the Senat be consulted no more for their advice in question of war? or that a bill be not
" propounded to the people, in this wise: Pleaseth it you or no, to ordain that war be levied a-
" gainst the Gauls? The other day, and no longer since, the Consuls were desirous and earnest to
" govern *Greece* and *Asia*, yet when they perceived you to be resolute and perfist still in assigning I
" unto them both, the Province of *Liguria*, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall
" they have therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have atchieved an happy
" victory and finished that war, which they first enterprised under your warrant and authority.
" After this manner as ye have heard, spake *Furius* and *Æmylius*. And *Manlius* again, as we find in
" record, answered thus, or much to this effect, as followeth: "Right honorable & my very good
" LL. the Tribuns of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and crois them that
" demanded triumph: and I take my self much beholden unto them for this favour, that either in
" their love to my self, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their
" silence given their consent for my honor, but also seem ready and prest to propound the same
" unto the people, if need had been. But now forsooth, whom have I (and God will) for mine ad- K
" versaries, but even some of my ten adjacents or suffragans, whom our ancestors thought good to
" give unto their Generals in the war, as a council both to assist and aid them, and also to counte-
" nance and grace them in their victory? L. *Furius* and L. *Æmylius* are the men and none but
" they, who inhibit and debar me for mounting up into the triumphant chariot; they are ready to
" pluck from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I should wear: even those (I say)
" whom (if the Tribuns had hindred and empeached my triumph) I would have reported my self
" unto as witnesses of my worthy acts. Certainly, (my LL.) far be it from me, that I should envy
" and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late daies when certain Tri-
" buns of the Common state (men of great courage and action) went about to stay and forbid the
" triumph of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, ye by your authority diverted and scared them from that intended L
" enterprise: and he triumphed in the end. notwithstanding his adversaries gave out and said a-
" loud, not that he had fought a war unjustly, but in reprochful manner charged him, That he had
" not so much as set eye upon the enemy. And I, who have so often in ranged battel fought with
" an 100000 most fierce and war like enemies, slain or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them,
" forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this side the ridge of the mountain
" *Taurus* more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of *Italy*, am not only frustrate and put beside
" my triumph, but also stand here before your honors to defend my self against the challenge of these
" mine own Council and Suffragans. Which accusation of theirs, consisteth (as ye have heard my
" LL.) of two principal points: for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made
" war with the Gauls; and secondly, that I conducted and managed the same, rashly and with- M
" out discretion. The Gauls (say they) were no enemies of ours; but being quiet in peace, and
" ready to do whatsoever they were charged, were by you abused and wronged. I will not require
" (my LL.) that ye should have the same hard conceit of the Gauls which inhabit in *Asia* as touch-
" ing their cruelty and mortal hatred against the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in
" the people of the Gauls: Do but consider and judge of these Gauls as they be in themselves
" simply without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole ge-
" neration: O that King *Eumenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of *Asia* were pre-
" sent in place, that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make, than my self ac-
" cusing of them. Send but your Embassadors to all the Cities of *Asia*, and enquire whether servi- N
" tude were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chasing of
" *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, or this whereof they are now eased by the subduing of
" the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been
" wasted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and
" how they were brought to so low a pass, that they hardly could find means and make any shift
" to redeem their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how
" they killed men, yea, and their children, to sacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from
" me, that your allies yeelded tribut to the Gauls, yea, and should have paied still at this day, not-
" withstanding they were by you delivered from their subjection under King *Antiochus*, if I had
" not bestirred my self the better. For the farther that *Antiochus* was removed from them, the more
" proudly and outragiously would these Gauls have ruled like LL. over all *Asia*, and whatsoever O
" lands had lien on this side the top of the mount *Taurus*, you should have laid to the seignory of
" the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will some one say,
" and what of all that? These Gauls likewise once spoiled the temple at *Delphos*, reputed in times
" past the common Oracle of the whole world and situat in the very heart and midst of the earth,
" & yet the people of *Rome* neither denounced nor made war for al that. Certainly, I always would
" have thought there had been some difference to be made between those daies, when as neither
" *Greece*

A " *Greece* nor *Asia* was under your jurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care
" and regard of what was done in those parts) & this present time, in which ye have set the moun-
" tain *Taurus* to be the bound & limit, whereunto your Empire extendeth: in which you give free-
" dom and immunity to Cities: in which ye enlarge the confins of some, and take in the precincts
" of others: fining these cities with forfeiture & lois of their territories, punishing those with taxes
" and tributs: in which I say, you augment and diminish realms, give and take away Kingdoms at
" your good pleasure: and in one word, in which ye judg it a matter that concerneth you, to pro-
" vide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, that
" *Asia* might not be counted free, unless *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garrisons which kept quiet
" within their fortresses and castles, and stirred not forth: and thought you withal, that your gifts
B " granted unto King *Eumenes*, might be assured unto him, and the freedom likewise of the Cities,
" established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about to and fro in those coun-
" tries? But why stand I so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the
" Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio*, I call you here to witness,
" into whose charge and government I succeeded, whose vertue and felicity withal, I besought the
" immortal Gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my prayer was not in vain:) and you likewise, O *P.*
" *Scipio*, who with the Gods your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place indeed of
" an adjoinct Lieutenant and no more, but carried the Majesty of a Collegue & joint companion;
" speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in
" the army of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the
C " points and flanks of the main battel, as the very flower and strength of the whole puissance of
" *Antiochus*? Say directly, fought ye not with them, I ew you them not, & carried away their spoils,
" as undoubted and lawful enemies? And yet both Senat decreed and people ordained war with
" *Antiochus* by name, and not with the Gauls. But I (or else I am much deceived) within this
" decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom
" (excepting *Antiochus* himself, with whom *Scipio* had articled peace and alliance, and ye also had
" expresly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against
" us in the quarrel and behalf of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were
" comprised in this number, together with some petty Kings and Tyrants besides: yet I contracted
" accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to
" their respals) as far forth as I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and I
D " allaied also to gain and win the hearts of the Gauls, if haply it had been possible to have dulced
" and reclaimed them from their inbred fiercenes and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that
" they were untractable, untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high
" time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have clee-
" red the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that
" I yeeld you an account of the conduct thereof. Wherein verily I would make no doubt to ap-
" prove mine innocence, and justify the goodnes of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not, in the
" Senat of *Rome*, but even at the councel table of *Carthage*; where (as men say) they make no more
E " ado, but truss up, hang, and crucify their Generals, if they proceed to execution of any service in
" war with bad advice and counsel, although the issue and event be never so good. But in that
" City, which therefore useth the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they
" proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to detract or de-
" prave that maliciously, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant & or-
" dinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn form of words: *For that he hath well*
" *and happily administred and managed the weal publick*: In this City, I say, if I were unwilling, nay,
" if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance to vaunt my self
" and boast of mine own prowes: yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and
" mine army, in that without any lois of souldiers, we vanquished and subdued so great and mighty
F " a nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendred unto the im-
" mortal Gods, and then, that I might my self ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph, from
" whence I descended to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and
" made my prayers after the solemn and religious order; would ye deny both me and the immor-
" tal Gods also? Yes marry would you, and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage.
" But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? consi-
" dering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort.
" I should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them.
" What? how, if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls,
" and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given the
" assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *M. Acilius* (I beseech you) at *Thermopyla*
G " in a place of advantage? Why? did not *T. Quintius* after this manner dispossess *Philip* of the high
" Mountains, which he held over the River *Aous*? In faith, I cannot yet devise what kind of ene-
" mies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteem them
" to be. If degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of *Asia*, what
" danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubted and terrible
" for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? Envy (my
" good LL.) is blind, and can skill of nothing but to detract and defame vertues, to falsifie
and

" and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto. Pardon me I beseech you herein, and hold me
" excused, if I have been over long and tedious. It is not (I assure you) any delight and pleasure that
" I take to put forth and glorify my self, but a necessity imposed upon me (in mine own defence,
" to confute these crimes objected against me) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To
" proceed, was it possible also that in *Thrace* I could make the passes within the forrests large and
" wide, which naturally were streight and narrow? the ground plain and smooth, which by na-
" ture was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of steep mounts? open champian and
" fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it in me, to prevent those Thracian
" theeves that they should not hide themselves within their lurking holes and ordinary covert
" thickets? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might snatch and carry nothing of
" our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beasts out of so great a number, I
" should be driven and led away from their company? that no person should be hurt? and finally,
" that *Q. Minutius* a brave and hardy knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries press
" hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unlucky hap to lose so worthy a Gentle-
" man: but they never think that if they would say nothing but suppress and conceal all, yet you
" should know (since the whole army is here present to testify that which I say) That although
" the enemy assailed us in a narrow streight, in an inconvenient place of great disadvantage, yet
" both of our battaillons at once, as well the vanguard as reteward, compassed the army of the
" Barbarians busy and occupied in rifling of our carriage, slew many thousands of them that very
" day, and within few daies after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far.
" Well, if I had not drawn a sword in *Asia*, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Pro-consul had
" deserved a triumph well enough for those two battels in *Asia*. But enough hath been said of
" these matters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldnes, if I
" have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The accusation that day had prevailed more than his own defence, but that they continued arguing and debating in the Councel-house until it was late in the evening. Then the Senat arose with this mind (as it should seem) to deny him a triumph. The next morrow, the kinsfolk and friends of *Cn. Manlius*, laboured all that ever they could. Likewise the authority of the ancients stood him in great stead; who said plainly that the precedent could not be found in any historie, That a General who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private person, without the honor of the triumphant chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and shame of this example, surmounted the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assembly granted his triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contention, that arose with a far mightier and more noble personage. For as *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, the two *QQ. Petilii*, called *P. Scipio Africanus* into question, and set him down a day peremptorily to make his appearance, and answer for himself. This action divers men construed diversly, according to their several disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribuns of the Commons, as the whole City in general, for suffering such an abuse: discoursing in this wise: That the two chiefest States and Common-wealths in the World were become at one time unthankful, but *Rome* more ungrateful of the twain. For *Carthage* being subdued, had banished *Annibal* likewise vanquished: but *Rome* a victress was about to expulse *Africanus* a conqueror. Others again reasoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen so pre-eminent and high above the rest, that he might not be under law, and brought to answer unto interrogatories accordingly. And nothing preserveth isonomy in a City, and maintaineth equal liberty more, than to have the mightiest man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be safely committed to any man (and surely the soveraign rule of the State least of all other things) if he be not to yeeld an accompt of the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can not abide to be equal unto others, to proceed against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all. Thus men commonly talked *pro & contra*, until the judicial day came of his personal appearance, and answer to be made. Never was there man known before that day (no, not *Scipio* himself when he was at the highest, either Consul or Censor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accused person, there to plead his cause. Being commanded to speak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entred into a discourse of the acts by him atchieved; and that with such a Majesty and magnificence as it was well known and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than he. For with what courage and mind he atchieved those his brave exploits indeed, with the same spirit he delivered them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weary to hear his speech, because all that he related was for his own defence in this his danger, and not upon vain glory and ostentation. The Tribuns of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certain supposed crimes committed of old, as touching his wasteful excess whiles he wintered in *Syracusa*: as also the riot and outrage of *Pleminius* which happned at *Locris*: they proceeded to charge him by presumptions and suspitions, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for embezling and averting to his proper use certain treasure gotten from King *Antiochus* and namely, that his son being taken prisoner, was rendred unto him without ransom: and that in all other things, *Scipio* was respected and regarded

A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his girdle. Also that he bare a strong hand over the Consul, more like, I wot, a Dictator and absolute commander, then a Lievetenant and assistant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither aimed he and shot at any other mark, when he went that journey, but that the same, which long before was notoriously known to *Spain, Gaul, Sicily*, and *Africk*, might as evidently appear to *Greece*, to *Asia*, and all to the Kings and nations of the East parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the shaddow of *Scipio* his wing, that City which is the lady of the world, was covert and protected; that a beck and nod of his head, was as good as all arrests of Senat and hests of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fasten upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle envy. Thus with orations they spent the time until night came, and the business was put over
B to another day: which being come, the Tribunes, only in the times in the morning were set in their pewes within the *Rostra* [or common pleading place] the defendant was called, who garded with a great company of his friends and followers, passed through the mids of the assembly, approached the *Rostra*, and stood just under it. Then after an *oyez*; and silence made: " My
" Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and ye likewise Quirites, my neigh-
" bors and citizens of *Rome*, upon this very day of the month it was that I fought a pight battell against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, with right fortunat and happy successe; meet there-
" fore and good reason since it is, that to day all pleas and actions surcease; I will go directly
" and immediately from hence to the Capitol and pretent my self before *Jup. Opt. Max.* before
" *Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of other gods and goddesses, presidents and patrons of that
C " temple and fortresse, to perform my humble duty unto them, to salute and thank them, for that
" they have vouchsafed me that resolute affection and powerfull means with ill, both on such a
" day as this; and also many times besides, to perform my devoir well and truly unto the Com-
" mon-weal. As many of you therefore (Quirites) as well may, go ye with me, and pray the
" gods to send to you like governors to my self, and no worse. If I lay (and not else) as you ever
" since I was seventeen yeers of age, even to these mine old daies, you always advanced me to
" honors before the ordinary time of mine age, so I again advanced and prevented the said honors
" with good service and noble deeds. This said he departed from the *Rostra* and ascended up to the Capitol; whereat the whole audience there assembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*; in so much as at last the scribes and notaries, ye, and the very sergeants left the Tribunes there a-
D lone, without any to bear them company but their own bondservants and the common cryer, who still from the *Rostra* called and cited the defendant. *Scipio* not only visited the temples upon the Capitoll hill, but also made a perambulation with the people of *Rome* throughout the whole city to all the churches and chappels of their gods and goddesses. This was in manner a more solemn day unto him in regard of the affectionat favour of men, and the estimation of his true grandeur indeed, then on which he rode into the City in triumph over King *Syphax* and the Carthaginians. But it was the last fair day that ever he saw: and never shone the sun again pleasantly upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foreseeing envy growing toward him, and what a life and how full of debates he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the processe of
E law against him, he retired himself apart to *Liternum*, of set purpose to make default and not appear to plead his cause any more. He caried a greater spirit with him, his heart was too big, & used he had been to an higher degree of port & honor, then to take knowledg what it was to be accused: he could not skill to vale bonet and stoop so low, and to abase himself to the abject condition of those that plead for themselves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence his name began to be called, *L. Scipio* answered for him, and alledged sickness to be the cause why he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, replying and saying, " That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judiciall triall, and
" left the Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appear to make his answer.
F " Even so triumphed he then over the people of *Rome*, when accompanied with those whom he
" led after him as prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give
" their censure and doom of him) he sequestred himself that day, by way of an insurrection from
" the Tribunes of the Commons into the Capitol. Well are ye now served therefore (say they) and
" justly punished for that daies folly and rashness. For lo, how he himself now abandoneth you,
" who was your motive and leader then, to forsake us. See how every day more then other our
" courage is fallen and heart abated: and dare not we now send folk to fetch him (a privat per-
" son and no more) out out of his farm and house in the country, and make him to appear and
" plead his answer; unto whom not past 17 yeers ago, at which time as he was General of an ar-
" my on land, & Admirall of the Armado by sea, we were so bold as to send Tribunes of the Com.
G & an Ædile, to arrest and bring him away with them to *Rome*? In the end, the rest of the Tribuns of the Com. being called earnestly unto by *L. Scipio* for their lawfull favour, set down his order & conclusion, that if sickness were alledged for his excuse, and that there were nothing else but it that occasioned his absence, it should be received for good & lawful, and their colleagues should adjourn his trial to a farther day. It fortuned at that time that *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was one of the Tribunes between whom & *P. Scipio* there was some quarrel. He forbad expressly that his own name should be subscribed to the instrument of the aforesaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to hear some heavier sentence denounced against *Scipio*, he awarded

in this manner. "For as much as *L. Scipio* excuseth the absence of his brother by sickness, it is good
" and sufficient in my opinion. And more then that, I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be ac-
" cused before he return again to *Rome*. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helping hand I will
" give him assistance, and stop the course of processe against him. And as to the main point of
" the cause, this is my resolution, that *P. Scipio* being advanced so highly as he is to that pitch of
" honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the peo-
" ple of *Rome*, as it both gods and men had consented to set him aloft, for him to come down
" now and stand pleading below at the bar beneath the *Rostra*, and there to have his ears glow
" and ring again with the checks and taunts of certain green heads and busie youths, were a grea-
" ter shame and disgrace to the people of *Rome*, than to himself. Nay, he staied not thus with
" this bare award, but sealed and set it on surely with words of indignation, testifying his discon-
" tentment for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall *Scipio* (quoth he, my master Tri-
" bunes) that renowned conqueror of *Africk*, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated
" he and put to flight in *Spain*, most brave and noble Generals of the Carthaginians, with their
" entire armies? Took he *Syphax* prisoner, vanquished he *Annibal*, subdued he *Carthage* and
" made it tributary unto us? Chased he *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, (for it must be
" confessed, that in this glorious conquest *L. Scipio* had his brother copartner with him) and all
" for this, to be troden under foot of two *Petilii*? And that ye should seek to triumph over *P. A-*
" *fricanus*? Will it never be better? Shall great personages with all the good deserts of their own
" for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong
" fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and past all danger, &
" and wherin their old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least-wise
" in security, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it self of *Gracchus* (enforced
" with such a speech especially) moved not others only, but also the very accusers themselves; who
" made no other rejoinder again but thus, That they would consider better what they might
by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was broken up, the LL. of the Senat began to sit in councell; where, the whole order of the Sena-
tors (but principally the ancients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and thanked *Tib. Gracchus*, for that he had preferred the weal-publick, before privat grudges and particular quarrels. But the *Petilii* were well shent and baited with reproachfull checks and bit-
ter rebukes, in that they would seem to rise by the fall of another, and so grace themselves with L
the disgrace of *Africanus*, and seek to triumph over him and be enriched with his spoils. Well af-
ter that, there was no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life he passed at *Liternum* and never had mind to come to the City: there ended he his daies in a country village; and (as they say) he charged his executors upon his death-bed, to inter him in that very place. And there his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funeral obsequies should be performed at *Rome*, (his native country) so unthankfull as it was. A rare man he was and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martiall exploits in war, as the governance of civill affairs in peace, then in his latter daies. For in his youth, he followed the wars continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decaied and faded, so whatsoever he did, M lost much of the wonted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Consulship and the second, al-
though ye put his Censorship to it in the ballance? What comparison was there, and what semblable thing in that lieutenancy of his in *Asia*? of so little or no employment was it by reason of his own sicklinesse; and blemished withall, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And afterward, his return home again was no lesse unfortunat, for the hard choice whereunto he was driven, forced of necessity to abide the triall of a doubtfull issue in judgment, to quit withall his native City for ever. Howbeit he alone were away with the honor above all other, of finishing the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made. N

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft: of whom, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief and principall: a man who was wont to bark (as it were) and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatnesse. And it is thought, that the *Petilii* were set on by him, and procured through his perswasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to have drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: May
" it please you to grant and ordein, that true search and diligent enquiry be made, what sums of
" money were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King *Antiochus* and those which
" were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much therof as came not into the pub-
" lick treasury and chamber of the City, *Ser. Sulpitius* (the Pretor of the City) may propose unto
" the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it: that whomsoever of all the Pretors O
" for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and inqui-
" sition thereof. This bill was first crossed by *Q.* and *Lucius Muranus*, who thought it meet and reason, that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore) should make enquiry of the monies so purloined and embezled: as is aforesaid, and not brought into the common chest of the City. The *Petilii* charged the *Scipios* for being over great and mighty, and as it were KK. in the Senat, to carry all before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consul, and one of the ten commissio-
ners in *Asia*, was of opinion, that the forsaid enquest should be granted in more large & ample terms, namely,

A namely, as touching the mony not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and na-
tions: covertly taxing herein *Cn. Manlius* his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped
forth to dissuade this matter; albeit it was thought he would rather speak in defence of himself,
then against the thing. He complained much and shewed his grievance, that such a bill as this
should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most va-
" liant knight and hobliest personage that ever was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Africanus*
" wanted the solemn Panegyrick oration at the *Rostra* after his death, but he must be accused al-
" so. Why? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Annibal*, and seek no more:
" but the people of *Rome* is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, unlesse both his own good
" name after he is buried be wounded and mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of
B " mens malice and hatred) be killed and sacrificed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf
" of the bill, and perswaded that it might passe. His oration as touching the treasure of King *An-*
tiochus, it extant to be seen: and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two *Mami-*
nii Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they
once had renounced and given over their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices af-
firmatively, *Vti rogasti is*. After this, *Ser. Sulpitius* proposed unto the Senat, Whom they would
appoint for this enquest according to the act *Petilia*? and the LL. of the Senat deputed *Q. Teren-*
tium Culleo. This Pretor was so great a friend to the house of the *Cornelii*, that some authors,
namely those, who report how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be enterred at
Rome (for that bruit also runneth currant) have written, How he went at his funeralls before
C the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his tri-
umph, and gave sweet wine or mede to all those that attended the convoy, as far as to the gate
Capena. This honour he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other prisoners in *Africk*, he was
by his means recovered out of the enemies hand. But it should seem rather, that he was such an e-
nemie to that family, that for the cankred rancour and malice which he carried against that name,
he was by the adverse faction of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that
inquisition. But certain it is, before this Pretor (all in his extremities, who either in love & friend-
ship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean) information was given immediately against *L. Sci-*
pio. Presentments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants A. *Hostilius* and
L. Hostilius both *Catos*: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Aculeo*. And to the end that it
D should appear to the world, that they were all attaint of this crime of purloining and robbing the
publick treasure of the common-weal in one complot, there were two secretaries also and one
of his sergeants called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before-na-
med, were found ungnilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judiciall triall: howbeit *Scipio* and A.
Hostilius his lieutenant, together with C. *Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Valerius*
Antias writeth) to make a more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 6000 pound
weight of gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more then he brought into the City chamber. *A.*
Hostilius, for that he likewise deteined eighty pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver:
and *Furius* the Questor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, and two hundred of
silver. These sums I set down of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registred by *Valeri-*
E *us Antias* in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezle, I
would rather think that the clerk or secretary fauited with his pen in writing the copies, then the
author lied so loud with his tongue in the first inditing of the Originall. For it is more likely of the
twain, that the weight of the silver was more then of gold. As also for the fine wherein he was
condemned, should amount but to forty thousand *Sesterces, then arise to two hundred and
forty thousand. And I am rather induced thus to calculat, because it is said, that P. *Scipio* himself was
required in the Senat to give his account but of such a sum; and when he had bidden his bro-
ther *L.* to fetch him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senat, tare and
rent it with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasury two mil-
ons of *Sesterces*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which confident boldnesse of
F spirit and courage, when the Questors durst not (against the order of law) take forth mony out
of the Treasury, he called for the keis, and said he would be so bold as to open the chests
of the Treasury since he was the cause that they were locked. Many things besides are diversly
reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his
death, his funerals, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tomb, which distract me so, that I wot not
what report to cleave unto, nor which records to beleeve. For they accord not as concerning his
accuser. Some write it was *M. Naevius*, others again say that they were the *Petilians* that called
him to his answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the year, no,
nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was enterred. Some affirm he ended his daies
G and was buried at *Rome*, others at *Liternum*. And in both places there are monuments and Sta-
tues of his to be seen. For of *Liternum* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of
his personage erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrown in a tempest. At *Rome*
likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*,
whereof two are said to be of *Pub.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And this
difference among authors is not touching his acts and affairs only, but also about the very Orations
(if to be they were the orations indeed of P. *Scipio* & *Tiberius Gracchus*, which are commonly so
taken and caried about, which disagree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth
for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Naevius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole

* *Sestertius*, is the forth part of a Roman *denarius*, three halfepence farthing cue.

Oration it self there is no mention at all of that accusers. He termeth him one while *Nebulo* [Knave] and another while *Nugator* [Cousiner.] In like sort the oration of *Gracchus* maketh no mention at all either of the *Petilii*, the accusers of *Africanus*, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devise to tell the whole tale otherwise, it would have it to agree with the oration of *Gracchus*: and follow we must those authors; who write, that when L. *Scipio* was accused and condemned for taking bribes of King *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was Embassador in Tuscany; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embassage and made hast to *Rome*. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thrust the sergeant from his body, yea, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and carried himself in this action so, as he shewed more kindness and love to his brother, then manners and civility otherwise. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his oration, that the Tribunes authority and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he promised to assist L. *Scipio*, he knit up his speech with these words, that it was a thing more tolerable that both the Tribunitian puissance and the Common-weal should seem overcome and surmounted by Tribunes themselves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this one violence and excessive outrage against him, and made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overshooting himself and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperat carriage of himself aforetime, and that in so good terms and ample maner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharp reprehension he used for the present. For he said, that in times past he had rebuked and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetuall Consul and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressly, that any of his Statues in triumphant habit, should be set up and erected in the publick places of assemblies, as in the *Comitium* and *Curia*, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* These commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an oration penned of purpose for his praise, must needs testifie and shew a wonderful magnanimity of his, in the modest use of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproach and upbraiding him, acknowledgeth and confesseth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus*, took to wife the yonger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by his father to P. *Cornelius Nasica*. But it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether he was both betrothed and wedded also unto him, afters her fathers death or no. As also, whether I. it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to prison, *Gracchus*, seeing none of his own fellow Tribunes to succour and rescue him, sware a great oath and protested that he was an enemy still to the *Scipioes* as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to curry favour with them, or to come into their grace; yet could he never endure that he should be caried to that prison, into which he had seen his brother *Africanus* lead Kings, great generals and commanders of enemies, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senat fortuned to be at supper together in the Capitol, and arose up all at once, and requested *Africanus* to affiance his daughter to *Gracchus*, before the supper and banket was ended. Which espousals being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of that solemn feast, *Scipio*, when he was returned home to his house, said unto his wife *Æmylia*, that he had fianced and bestowed his daughter upon an husband. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her acquainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet good reason it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon *Scipio* took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice, and inferred streightwaies, that he was the man to whom she was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthy and noble person, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and diversity of writings in that behalf.

After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finished the inquisition and whole processe thereof, *Hostilius* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in sufficient sureties to be bound in recognisance to the treasurers of the City, for the paiment of their fines. But *Scipio* debating the matter still, & pleading that all the mony which he had received was in the City chamber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and committed to prison, *P. Scipio Nasica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a speech full of true praises and commendations, not in generall only of the whole name and family of the *Cornelii*, but in particular also of his own house. And namely he alledged and said, That himself and P. *Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers *Cn. Scipio* and *P. Scipio*, most noble and famous personages; those who for certain yeers in the land of *Spain*, advanced the renoun and glory of the Roman name, maugre the heads of many captains & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martial feats of war, but also in this especially, that they had given testimony and proof unto those nations, of the temperat government, & faithful dealing of the Romans: and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrel of the people of *Rome*. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posterity to maintein only & uphold the glory from them received, yet *P. Africanus* so far surpassed the praise worthy acts of his father, that it was verily beleeved he was not born of human blood, but descended from some divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in trouble, to say nothing of his worthy acts which he atchieved in *Spain* and in *Africk*, when he was

was lieutenant there to his brother Consul) he was both reputed by the Senat sufficient, without any casting of lots, to undertake the province of *Asia* and the war against King *Antiochus*, and also esteemed by his brother *Africanus* so worthy a person, that himself who had been Consul twice, Censor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought not scorn to accompany him unto *Asia* in quality of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatness & resplendent glory of the lieutenant should not dim the brightness of the Consul, and so drown his vertues and good parts) it so fell out, that the very same day, on which *L. Scipio* vanquished *Antiochus* neer *Magnesia*, *P. Scipio* lay sick at *Elea*, a City distant certain daies journies. He defeated I say an army there, nothing inferior to that of *Annibal*, with whom his brother had encountred before in *Africk*. In which battell among other great commanders and captains under the King, *Annibal* was himself imployed in person, even he who had been the grand-General in the Punick war. Which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man poisibly could not find fault so much as with fortune, or any accident that hapned there. And now when the war is unblamable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace: and it (they say) was bought and sold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistance in councel, are also touched and noted with corruption, by whose advise the said peace was granted and concluded. Well, of those ten, there were some that stepped forth and accused *Cn. Manlius*: yet so far off was that accusation of theirs from being credited that it did not so much as hinder and delay the very time of his triumph. But (beleeve me) in *Scipio* his case, the very conditions of peace favour strongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective & favorable on part of *Antiochus*. For his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquished, he possesseth as much as before the war began: and *Scipio* having received from him a mighty masse of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasury, but averted all from thence, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not caried in pomp at the triumph of L. *Scipio* (in the very sight of all men) as much gold and silver, as in ten triumphs before (and put them all together) could not be shewed. For what should I speak of the confines and frontiers of his realm? Namely, that *Antiochus* before time held under his dominion all *Asia*, and the marches also of *Europe* adjoining? & great a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill *Taurus*, and lyeth out so far as the Ægean sea; how many not Cities only, but spacious countries and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as also that this countrey, bearing out in length more then 30 daies journey, and in bredth between two seas ten daies journey, even as far as to the top of the mountain *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*, & he driven into the utmost angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could he have been disseized of more in case his peace had cost him never a penny of mony? When *Philip* was conquered, he had *Macedony* left unto him: when *Nabis* was subdued, he enjoied still *Lacedæmon*: and no man ever went about to call *Quinctius* in question for it. And why? many he had not to his brother *Scipio Africanus*, for whose sake the envy and malice of men hath defaced and hurt *L. Scipio*, whereas his brothers glory ought to have graced and helped him. Would any man of sence and reason judg, that so much gold and silver was brought into the house of *L. Scipio*, as may not not poisibly be raised, if all the goods he hath were sold to the worth? What should become of all that gold of the Kings? Where be those great purchases of lordships and inheritances that he hath made therewith? Certainly it cannot be, but in that house that hath not exceeded in superfluous expense, there should be seen some heap and mount of this new treasure. But what care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the substance and goods of *L. Scipio* they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (belike) and expose to contumely & villany, to the end that a man of the best mark and quality that ever was, should be shut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high-way side, amongst night theeves and cut-purses, and there in the hard flocks and balefull darkness render his last breath; and when he is dead, to have his body cast out naked at the prison dore. But be it whensoever it shall, this will be no greater Blot to the house *Cornelia*, then a shamefull reproach for ever to the City of *Rome*. Against all these remonstrances, the Pretor *Terentius* opposed and read the law *Petilia*, the decree of the Senat, and the sentence given of *L. Scipio*, and he for his own part said, he could not do withall, but if the sum wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common Treasurehouse, he knew no other remedy, nor what else to do, but to command him (a condemned person) to be apprehended again, and had away to prison. Then the Tribunes went apart to consult and lay their heads together. And within a while after *C. Flaminius* pronounced aloud, according to his own advice and the opinion of all his Colleagues (excepting only *Gracchus*) that the Tribunes would not interpose themselves, but that the Pretor might do and execute his office and his authority to the full. But *Tib. Gracchus* set down his own decree in this form, That as touching the sum wherein *L. Scipio* was condemned, he would not be against it, nor impeach the Pretor, but that he might use his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as far as they would extend. But that *L. Scipio* who hath subdued the mightiest and most puissant monarch in all the world, who hath drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman empire, as far as the farthest frontiers of the earth; who hath obliged and bound King *Eumenes*, the Rhodians & so many Cities and States besides of *Asia*, and made them beholding to the people of *Rome* for favours and benefits bestowed upon them; finally, who hath himself laid up fast in prison many a General captain over the enemies, after he led them in triumph: that he I say, should lie in prison & irons

among the enemies of the people of *Rome* he would never suffer: and therefore he commanded H
him to be released and set at large. This decree was heard with so great applause, and all men
were so joious to see *L. Scipio* delivered, that hardly a man would have beleeved (unless he had
seen it) that there had been such a judgement passed in the same City. Then the Pretors sent
the Questors or Treasurers, to enter and seize upon all the goods of *L. Scipio*, in the name and to
the use of the City: whereof there was not to be found, so much as any one token or mention of
the Kings money, no, nor so great a sum could be raised, as the fine came to wherein he was con-
demned. The friends, kinsfolk, followers and well willers of *L. Scipio*, made such a contribution
of money for him, that if he would have accepted of it, he had been a richer man by odds, therefore
fore this crosse and calamitie fell upon him. But he took never a denier. His neerest kinsmen in
blood bought again and redeemed as much of his own goods, as served for his necessary mainte- I
nance and no more. And the envy and hatred of men intended against the *Scipios*, turned upon
the heads of the Pretor and his councell, together with the accusers themselves.

The nine and thirtieth Book *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the nine and thirtieth Book. K

MArcus Æmylius *the Consul after he had subdued the Ligurians, made the street or high way from* Plaisance *to* Ariminum, *untill it met with the way* Flaminia. *In this book are recounted the beginnings of riotous and dissolute life brought in by the Asian army. All the Ligurians on this side* Apennine *are tamed and brought under. The Bacchanales (a Greekish feast and celebrated in the night season, the very seminary and nurse-garden of all wickednesse, being grown to this enormity, that therein was contrived a conspiracy and complot of a mighty multitude) were now visited and searched into by the Consul, and put down with the punishment of many persons.* L. Quintius Flamininus, *the brother of* T. Quintius, *was deprived of his Senators dignity by the Censors, to wit,* L. Valerius Flaccus, *and* Mar. Porcius Cato, *a right excellent man, as well for feats of arms as peace. The cause* L
was this, for that whiles he was Consul and governor in Gaul, *at the request of one* Philippus Pæan, *a notorious wanton Ganymede whom he loved, he slew a certain Gaul with his own hand: or, as some have written, because at the entreaty of an harlot, upon whom he was enamoured, he beheaded one of them that were condemned. The invective oration of* L. Cato *against him is extant.* Scipio *departed this life at* Liternum, *and (as fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death at the same time of two most renowned and great personages)* Annibal *poisoned himself. by occasion that* Prusias *King of* Bithynia *(unto whom he was fled for succour after the defeat of King* Antiochus) *would have yeelded him into the hands of the Romans who had sent of purpose* T. Quintius Flamininus *to demand him. Likewise* Philopœmen *the General of the Achæans, an excellent man, was poisoned by the Messenians, who took him prisoner in war. Colonies were sent to* Pollentia, Pisaurum, Mutina M
and Parma. *Over and besides, this book containeth the prosperous affairs against the Celtiberians: also the beginning and cause of the Macedonian war, whereof the original spring arose from* Philip, *much discontented, that his Kingdom was empaired by the Romans, in regard that he was forcibly them to withdraw his garisons out of* Thrace *and other parts.*

The nine and thirteth Book of T. Livius.

DUring the time that these affairs passed at *Rome* (if this were the year wherein they happened), both Consuls made war against the Ligurians, a nation born as it were to maintain N
the military discipline of the Romans, and to find them occupied in all times of respite
and rest from greater wars; neither was there any other province that gave a sharper
edge to the valour of the souldiers, For *Asia* with the beauty of their Cities, the abundance of all
commodities as well by sea as land, the effeminat tendernesse of the enemies, and the roialty of
the Kings riches, had made their armies more wealthy then valiant: and especially under the go-
vernment of *Cneus Manlius*, nusled they were in much loosnesse and neglegence. And thereup-
on it was, that finding the way in *Thrace* a little more rough and difficult then ordinary to travell
in, and an enemy better practised and exercised to deal withall, they received a great foil and
losse among them. Now in *Liguria*, they met with all things that might rouse and awake sleep- O
py souldiers: the countrey rough and full of mountains, that much ado they had themselves to
seiz the same, and as great a labour they found to dislodge the enemies, that were before possess-
ed of them: the waies, steep up-hill, narrow, and dangerous for ambushes: the enemy,
light, swift, nimble, and suddainly setting upon them, giving no time of rest, no place of re-
pose and security. Driven they were of necessity to assault strong and fortifie Castles, with great
difficulty and danger both: the countrey poor and needy, which caused the souldiers to spare
and live hardly, and afforded them no opportunity of preys and prizes: and therefore no victual-
lers, scullions, souldiers boyes and lackies, followed the camp; neither the labouring beasts for car-
riage, took up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, reposing all hope in
their

A their arms, and nothing else. And never wanted they some matter of quarrell, and some occasion or other to make war: for by occasion of their barenesse and penury, they made rodes into the lands of their neighbours, but so, as they never ventured all at once, nor put the main chance in hazard.

C. Flaminius the Consul having fought sundry times with the Friniat Ligurians, and in many battels gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their own country, brought the whole nation by composition under the obedience, and disarmed them: but because in the delivery of their armor, they dealt not soundly and faithfully, and should have been chastised therefore, they abandoned their villages, & fled to the mountain *Angines*; whither the Consul pursued them hard at heels: howbeit, being disbanded and scattered again, and most of them disarmed, they fled B into the valley through places where no wayes led, and over broken and cragged steep rocks, whereas the enemies could not possibly follow after, and so passed the other side of *Apennine*. But as many as kept still within their hold, were beset round about and overthrown. Then were the legions led to the further side of *Apenninus*, where the enemies for a time ill while, defended themselves by the hight of the place, but anon they yeelded. Then was their armor fought for with more care and deligence then before, and they were disfurnished and stript out of all. After this, was the war diverted and before turned wholly upon the Apuan Liguri ns, who had so overrun the territories of *Pisa* and *Bolonia*, that they could not be manured and tilled. The Consul having subdued them also, granted peace unto the borderers: and now that he had brought the province into quietnesse and rest; to the end that his souldiers should not be idle and do nothing, he C made a causey or street-way from *Bononia* to *Aretium*.

The other Consul *M. Æmylius*, set on fire the villages, and wasted the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the campain fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themselves were retired into the two mountains *Balista* & *Suismontium*, which they held. Afterwards he assailed them also who had taken the hils aforesaid: and first wearied them with light skirmishes; afterwards, he forced them to descend into the plain, and there in a set battell vanquished them: in which conflict he vowed a temple to *Diana*. Thus having subdued, all on this side *Apennine*, he then set upon those that dwelt beyond the mountain; among whom were the Frisin t Ligurians, (so far as to whom C. *Flaminius* went not:) all those, *Æmylius*, subdued despoiled them of their armour, he forced the multitude of them to forsake the mountains and come down into the plains. After he had D quieted the Ligurians, he led his army into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from *Placentia* to *Ariminum*, so as it met with the causey *Flaminia*: and in the last battell, wherein he fought with banners displaied against the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Queen *Iuno*. And these were the exploits for that yeer, in *Liguria*.

M. Furius the Pretor in *Gaul*, seeking in time of peace for some pretence and colour of war, had taken from the Cenomans their armour notwithstanding they were innocent and did no harm. The Cenomans made complaint hereof at *Rome* to the Senat, and were put unto the Consul *Æmylius*, unto whom the Senat had directed a commission of *oier* and *determiner*. After great debate with the Pretor, they overthrew him in the action, and had their armour delivered unto them again; and so the Pretor was commanded to give over his government and depart out of E the province.

After this, the Embassadors of the Latin nation, who assembled and resorted in great number out of all parts of *Latium*, had audience given them in the Senat. These complained, that the great multitude of their own naturall citizens, were removed and gone to inhabit in *Rome*, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commission was granted to Q. *Terentius Culleo* the Pretor, to make search for such: and look how many of them those Latine allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themselves or their fathers) in any City or corporation of theirs, either at the time that *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Censors, or after their Censorship, to force those to return thither again, where they had been entred or matriculated. By vertue of this inquisition, to the number of 12000 Latins returned home again into their own country: for now the City of *Rome* was overcharged and pestered with a multitude of strangers and forreiners.

Before that the Consuls repaired to *Rome*, *M. Fulvius* the Proconsul returned out of *Ætolia*: who, for he had discoursed of his exploits performed in *Ætolia* and *Cephalenia*, before the Senat assembled in the temple of *Apollo*, requested of the LL. to judg it meet and requisite, and accordingly to grant and ordein, that praise and thanksgiving might be rendred unto the immortall gods, and himself allowed to triumph, for that he had so well and happily managed the affairs of the common-weal. Then stept forth *M. Aburius* a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly, That, in case they went about to passe any decree in that behalf, before the coming of *M. Æmylius* the Consul, he would crosse it: for that the Consul himself was minded to contradict that proceeding, and had given him charge unto him, at what time as he took his journey to the province, that the consultation of this matter should be referred wholly untill his return home. And *Fulvius* (quoth he) shall lose so much time: and when the Consul himself is present in place to assist, then might the Senat move what decree it pleased them. Then answered *M. Fulvius* and said, "If men were ignorant either of the grudg and quarrell between me and *M. Æmylius*, or "with what outragious spirit and Kinglike choler and indignation he pursued the said enmity "and variance, yet it were not a tolerable thing and to be endured, that the absence of the Con- "sul should both impeach the honour due unto the immortall gods, and also hinder and stay the

triumph

"triumph which I have so justly deserved: that a General (I say) who had so worthily atchie-
"ved his service, and an army so victorious, should stay and give attendance without the City
"gates, untill it pleased the Consul to return home: who no doubt of very purpose and on set pur-
"pose, upon this occasion would make slow hast and take his leisure. But now considering that
"the enmity and heart-burning that the Consul beareth to me is so notorious as it is, What indif-
"ferency and reasonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of
"the time when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senat to passe
"by stealth, and entred it in the treasure house, conteining thus much in effect, that *Ambracia*
"should not be reputed as a own forced by assault, notwithstanding it were assailed with
"mantilets and platforms: where we were driven to erect new fabricks, and plant other en-
"gins and ordance of war after the former were consumed with fire: where we maintained fight
"about the wals, as well under the ground as above, for the space of 15 daies together: where
"after that the souldiers had scaled and gained the wals, the conflict endured notwithstanding a
"long time doubtfull, from morning to night; and where were slain above 3000 enemies. Now as
"touching the sacriledg commited (after the City was forced) in spoiling the churches of the im-
"mortall gods what a slander think ye, hath he raised of me? what a matter hath he made thereof,
"and how he hath informed the Pontifies and Bishops? unlesse a man would say, that lawful it was
"not for the City of *Rome* to be garnished & beautified with the ornaments of *Syracusa* & other
"Cities won by force: but the law of war extended it to this only City of *Ambracia*? I beseech
"you therfore the LL. of the Senat, yea, and I request the Tribuns, not to suffer me to be mocked
"and abused by a most insolent and proud adversary. Then at all hands they dealt with the Tri-
bune, some intreated him, other rebuked and blamed him: but the speech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of his collegues) moved him most of all others: who shewed, that it was no good precedent and example, that men should maintain and follow their own privat quarrels in time of magistracy and publick government, but a shamefull matter and a foul indignity it was, and much beseeming the Tribuns of the Commons and their sacred laws, that a Tribune should be Proctor to other men and prosecute their actions and enmities. "Men ought (qd. he) according to their own discre-
"tion and judgment, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; not to depend
"and hang upon the countenance and beck of others, not to be carried to and fro with the wils,
"pleasure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accordeth and
"taketh part with a cholerick and testy Consul, and remembreth well what *M. Æmylius* left with L.
"him in privat charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribunship was commited unto him by
"the people of *Rome*: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assist privat persons, and to
"maintein their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and a roialty of a Consul. Never
"seeth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yeerly
"Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribuns in the same fellowship and society, one for the love
"of the Common-weal renounced and gave over his own privat displeasure and enmity to a par-
"ticular person, and the other to encharge as it were by way of Commission, to pursue the quar-
"rell of another man. The Tribune should endure no longer these rebukes and checks, and there-
with departed out of the temple: then the Pretor *Ser. Sulpitius* propounded the bill the second time; and so a triumph was granted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendred great thanks to the LL. of the Senat, added moreover and said, that the very day wherein he forced the City *Ambracia*, he had by vow promised, to the honor of *Jupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and solemn Rom. games. And to that effect the Cities of *Greece* had contributed towards the charges, a hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordein that out of that mass of money which he was to carry and shew in triumph, and meant to bestow and lay up in the City Treasury, the forsaid sum of gold might be sequestred and reserved apart for the proper use abovenamed. The Senat commanded, that the Colledg of the Prelats and Priests in this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessary that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said games? The Prelats made answer again, that it was not materiall to relegion and to the service of the gods, to how great a great a reckning soever the charges of the games should arise. Whereupon the Senat permitted *Fulvius* to defray what he would himself, so as it exceeded not the sum of 80000 [asses.] He had proposed to triumph in the month of *January*, but hearing that *Æmylius* the Consul (who was advertised by letters, that *Aburius* the Tribune of the Comons had renounced and let fall his opposition which he commenced) was coming in proper person to *Rome*, only for to hinder the triumph, and staid by the way sick; he prevented the day, for fear he should have had more anger and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 22 day of *December* he triumphed over the Ætolians and *Cephalenia*. Before his chariot there were born 196 crowns of gold, weighing 12 pound apeece: of silver 83000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 118000: of Philip peeces of gold coin 12422: images of brasse 285: of marble 230. Likewise of armor, as well defensive as offensive, and other spoil of the enemies, an huge deal, besides Catapults, Balists, and other engins and peeces of battery. Moreover, there went before him 27 captains either Ætolians and Cephalens, or else under King *Antiochus*, left by him in those parts. The same day before that he entred into the City, he bestowed in the cirque *Flaminius*, many military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horsmen and centurions, as well Romans as allies. Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii apeece: twice as much, to the centurions, and threefold to horsemen.

Now

A Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and because *M. Æmylius* whose lot it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the day, *C. Flaminius* came of purpose to *Rome*. By whom were created Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. After that were Pretors elected, to wit, *T. Mœnius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scaurus*, and *L. Quintius Crispinus*. In the end of the said yeer, after the magistrates were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Volso*, the third day before the Nones of *March*, triumphed over the Gauls who inhabit *Asia*. The cause why he triumphed so late, was this, for that he would avoid making his answe (according to the act of *Petilius*) whiles *Q. Terentius Culleo* was Pretor, fearing he should burn in the flame of the same sentence and judgment whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, or lest the flame of another mans judgment,
B I mean the sentence whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and caught hold of him likewise: considering that the jury and enquest were more incensed and provoked against him then *Scipio*; for that he succeeeding after him, had spoiled and marred with all kind of licentious loosnes, the military discipline, which *Scipio* had observed most precisely and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for those things only which by bare hearsay were reported to have been done in the province, far remote from the view of men, but also of those particular instances to be seen daily in the demeanor of his souldiers. For verily the forein excesse and strange superfluities took beginning from the Asian army, who brought all with them into the City. They were the first with in *Rome* that took up the use of brasen tables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboord-cloths, hangings and curteins of sundry kinds of tyssue.
C Likewise of one footed standing tables, buffets and cupboords, which in those daies were counted magnificent and stately moveables. Then came up the maner of having at bankets singing minisken wenches, and such as could play upon the dulcimers or other instruments of musick, with dancers, jetters and other pastimes, and delightsome pleasures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the boord to be furnished and set out with more exquisit & deinty viands, and of greater expense. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves, as well for calling as estimation, as for the use they were put unto, came to be in great requeste: and that which before time was a mechanicall kind of manual service, grew now to be accompted a science of deep skill and understanding. And yet all these things that then bare so great a shew, were scarce so much as small seeds and slips, to the excessive superfluities that were to ensue.
D Well, *C. Manlius* caried in triumph two hundred crowns of massie beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of silver 220000 pound weight: of gold 2103 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 127000; of Cistophors 250000; of Philip golden peeces 16320. Also much armor there was and spoils of Gauls carried in shew upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongst the souldiers he gave a donative of 42 denarii apeece, he doubled the same to every centurion. Also to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horsman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military presents for especial service, and those followed next after the chariot. The souldiers chanted such songs and sonnets, as a man might easily see they were composed to feed the humor of a General desirous of glory, and one that made much of his souldiers especially; whereby his triumph was more honoured with the affectionat favour of them, then otherwise recommended and celebrated with the
E hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of *Manlius* served him in good stead to win the good will of them also, through whose soliciting & earnest endevour, there passed an act of the Senat, that out of that mony which had been shewed in triumph, there should be repaied unto the people that subsidy which had been levied among them for souldiers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treasurers of the City made true and faithfull paiment with all diligence of 25 asses and d. in every thousand [for the loan.]

About the same time two Colonels came out of both provinces of *Spain*, with letters from C. *Catinius* and *L. Manlius* the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Lusitans were in arms, wasting and spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederats.
F The Senat referred the entire consultation of this matter to the new Magistrates. During the time of the Roman games that yeer which P. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Aulus Posthumius Albinus* represented, a certein mast or high pole which stood not fast in the shew place called *Circus maximus*, fell down upon the image of *Pollentia*, and overthrew it to the ground. The LL. hereupon made some scruple in conscience, and ordeined, that the solemnity of those games should continue one day longer, and caused two images to be set up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt. Likewise the Plebeian plaies were renewed one day more, by the Ædiles, *C. Sempronius Blesus* & *M. Furius Lusous*. The yeer following averted the Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, & *M. Martius Philippus* from the army, from the regard I say of wars and government of provinces abroad,
G to the punishment of a certain intestine conspiracy at home. The Pretors last costs for their provinces, *T. Manius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and M. *Licinius Lucullus* between citizens & strangers. Unto *C. Aurelius Scaurus* fell the governance of *Sardinia*, and to P. *Cornelius Sulla* of *Sicily*: *L. Quintius Crispinus* was assigned to the hither *Spain*, and *P Calpurnius Piso* to the farther. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisition into secret conspiracies within the City.

There was a certain Grecian of base degree and condition, who came first in *Hetruria*; a man not endued with any of those arts, whereof the nation (of all others most learned) hath brought many unto us, as wel for the erudition of our minds, as the triming of our bodies: but a sacri-

ficing

ficing priest he was, and a divining wisard withall. Neither was it one that made out-ward pro- H
fession of reaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and so by an open shew of religion
possessed their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had forsooth for cer-
tein hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, howbeit
afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this
religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheer, to the end that more customers
might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and
dulled the understanding: when the night season, when the entermingling of men and women
together one with another (and namely, they of yong and tender years, with those of elder age)
had clean put out and extinguished all respect and regard of shamefast honesty: there began first
to be practised all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures ready at commandment, and I
his choice of those whereto by nature he was more prone and given to lust after. Neither was
there wickednes committed here, of one sort, namely, the abusing of mankind and womenkind
one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workhouse proceeded false wit-
nesses, forging of seals, depositions, and testimonies; and more then so, wrong and untrue in-
formations. From hence came the divelish cast of poisoning, and privy murders of the neerest of
kindred in one house; and the same so secret, that otherwhiles the bodies would not be found to be
commited to the earth. Many sinfull parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cun-
ning cousenage; but more by spert force. As for violence, it was kept clote and hidden, by reason
that with the hideous noises, with the sound of tymbrels, tabors and cymbals, there could no voice
be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuse, or beaten to death. K
The infection of this catching poison of *Hetruria*, spred as far as *Rome*, like a contagious malady.
At the first the spacious capacity of the City, having been used to wink and bear with some enor-
mities, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the Cos. *Postumius*, much after this maner.

The Bacchanals detected. *P. Ebutius* (whose father had served in the wars in quality of a gentleman of *Rome* with a Ci-
ty horse) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceased, became ward to his mo-
ther *Duronia* and his father in law (her second husband) *T. Sempronius Rutilius*, under whom he
had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband,
so his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship, that he could make no good ac-
compt thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant his ward should be made away,
or else obliged and enthralled unto him. The only way to compasse and bring this about, was the L
corruption and abuse of the Bacchanals. The mother therfore upon a time called her son unto her,
and told him, that she had made a vow for him when he was sick, that so soon as ever he should
recover and be well again, she would present him to the priests of *Bacchus* to be consecrated and
professed in their mysteries: and now, quoth she, seeing that by the goodnes of the gods thou art a-
mended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my self therof, and per-
form it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he must for ten dayes live chast, and
not touch a woman, and at the ten dayes end after he had taken his supper, and was wel washed
and purified after the manner, she would bring him into the holy place of those sacred my-
steries. Now there was a famous strumpet, by condition a bond woman enfranchised, named *Hi-
pala Fecsenia*, too good, I wis, for that occupation which she used while she was a yong wench M
and bondservant: but yet still after that she was manumised and in frank state of a free denizen,
she maintained her self by the same trade and manner of living. Grown she was into familiar ac-
quaintance with the foresaid yong *Ebutius*, by reason they were neer neighbours, and dwelt not
far asunder: yet so, as she endamaged not the youth one jot either in charging his purse, or touch-
ing his credit. For she it was that first was inamored upon him, and him she woed: and for as
much as he had but short allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them
kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving harlot. Nay, more
than that, in continuance of time she was so deeply ingaged in him, that when her own patron
was dead, and her self at the disposition of none, she sued unto the Tribunes and the Pretor for ano- N
ther tutor, becau se she meant to make her last will and testament, wherein she declared *Ebutius*
her only heir in remained er to all that she had. There passing thus between them these gages and
pledges of love, and they using to empart the one unto the other the secrets of their hearts, the
yong youth by way of mery and pleasant talk, willed her one day not to marvell or think any thing
in it, if for certain nights he lay away and parted beds with her: for that upon a religious zeal
and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be professed and consecrated by the Priests of *Bac-
chus*, and all to be assoiled from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him say
so, and troubled in spirit, Mary god forfend, (quoth she) and I would not that for all the good in
the world. And better it were for me and you too to die both at once, then so to do: and with
that she threatened, she cursed and banded, wishing all mischief and plague to light upon them O
that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wondred much to hear her words, and to see
her so to fare and take on beyond all reason and order, beseeching her of all loves to be content, and
to forbear those cursed speeches, and said it was his own mother, by the consent of his fa-
ther in law, who had enjoined him so to do. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth she, (for
peradventure I should not do well to blame your mother) that hasteneth you by this action of yours
to make shipwrack of your honesty and chastity, of your credit and good name, your hope another
day, and lastly, to hazard your very life? Hereat the yong man marvelled much more then be-
fore

A fore, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all
gods and goddesses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could
neither will nor chuse but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, she fet tais an
end and said "That she her self once entred into that chappel, when as she waited on her mistresse,
"but since that she was made free and at her own liberty, she never set foot within the doore.
"And upon my knowledge (qd. she) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickednes that
"can be devised. And now for certain these two yeers last past, there is not one professed and
"admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 yeers of age. So soon as any one is inducted
"and brought thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they
"lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying, with singing of divers coniours,
B "with jangling noise of cymbals, with thumping & beating of tabers, to the end that the voice of
"any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her body
"might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case
"by one means or other you avoid this, howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong the-
"ther, where first you shall be sure to endure and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrat and commit
"all abhominable wickednes not to be named. And never would she let the youth go from her,
until he had made her faithfull promise to abstein and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies.
When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must
do this day and that day, and so forth: he flatly denied and said plainly, he would do neither the one
nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whatsoever came of
C it. His father in law was present and at one end of this resolute speech of his. His mother straight-
waies cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to lie apart from *Hispala* one ten
daies, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charms & poisoned allurements
and baits of that false serpent and perilous *Hydra*, that he had no respective regard either of his
mother, or mothers husband, no, nor any reverent fear of the immortall gods. The mother raged
him of one side, the father baited and coursed him on the other, till in the end they hunted him
out of dores with 4 bondslaves besides. The yong man betook himself to *Ebutia*, an aunt that he
had by his father side, and shewed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of
her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsell the next day he o-
pened and declared the same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the
D Consul *Postumius*. The Consul commanded him to repair again unto him three daies after, and so
for that time dismisted him. Then the Consul in the mean while enquired of his wives mother
Sulpitia, a brave and sober matron whether she knew an old wife called *Ebutia* dwelling in the
Aventine? Yes that I do qd. she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old
world, and few her like now adayes. I must needs speak with her (qd. he) and therefore I would
have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. *Ebutia* at the first tending came
unto *Sulpitia*; and the Consul within a while sorted (as it were by chance) into their company, &
began to find some talk of her brothers son *Ebutius*: with that the woman eyes stood full of wa-
ter, and with tears she began to bewail the case and mishap of the yong man; who being spoiled
of all his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at
E home in her house, chased and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the honest good
youth (God blesse us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted
to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (if all be true that is reported thereof.) The Consul had
enough now, and was fully perswaded of *Ebutius*, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave *E-
butia* leave to go her waies home, and requested his mother in law *Sulpitia* aforesaid, to send
likewise for *Hispala* from thence out of the *Aventine* to come unto her; a woman (qd. he) affran-
chised and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat also
to say to her. *Hispala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent
for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she saw the
Lictors before the entry of the doore, the troop and train also belonging to the Consul, and with-
F all the Consul himself in person, she was altonied and (in manner) half dead. The Consul tarrying
with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto
her, that she need not to be affraid, if so be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for
assurance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of *Sulpitia* (a lady of so
good credit and reputation) or of himself if need were. Only he would have her to utter and de-
clare what was ordinarily done at the grove of *Stimula* in the Bacchanals, where they used to
sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a
fear, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her
lips and speak a word: but after she was come to her self again out of this trance, and by them
G heartned and encouraged, she said, that when she was a very yong wench and a bond-maid, she, to-
gether with her mistresse, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain yeers of late, and
namely since that she was affranchised and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor
will not what work was there. I confesse thanks for this yet (quoth the Consul) that thou denieste
not how thou were there entred into that profession; but say on and tell out the rest as truly and
faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Con-
sul replyed upon her and said, that in case she were taken in a trip, & that mother came forth to be-
face & reproved her, she should neither find the same pardon, nor have the like favour at his hands

as otherwise she might if of her self she confessed the thing, forasmuch as he who had all from H
your own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and was perswaded verily (as it was indeed) that *Ebutius* was a blab of the tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon she fell down at the feet of *Sulpitia*; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of course passed between her an enfranchised woman and her paramour, should turn not only to earnest and importance, but also to a capitoll matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumius* hereat was chafed, and fell into a fit of choler: What? (quoth he) thou thinkest belike that thou art jesting and cogging with thy lover *Ebutius*, and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in communication with a Consul. But *Sulpitia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted I as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheer, and also appeased the wrath of her son in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found fault with the disloyalty and falshood of *Ebutius* for serving her so, and requiting her but badly again for so singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, That she stood in great awe of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no doubt for bewrysing these matters, would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she besought *Sulpitia*, and entreated the Consul to take some order for her, and to send her into some place out of *Italy*, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safety yet of her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Consul) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at *Rome*, and that without all danger. Then declared *Hispala* the ori- K ginall and first commencements of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (qd. she) it was priviledged place & consecrated for women only, & they alone medled with those mysteries; neither was it the custome and manner, that a man should enter in among them: and three set holidayes they had in the yeer, during which time, the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies in the day time, and solk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time & turn one after another. But *Paculla Minia* (a Campane woman) when she was the priest, enlarged all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods so to do: for she was the first that sacred and admitted men, to wit, her own sons *Minius* and *Herennius* the Certinians: she altered the solemnity from the day to the night; and for three daies in the whole yeer, she ordeined five nights. L
very month, to serve for the attendance and ministery of these mysteries. Since which time that these sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, & the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no act so wicked, no fact so filthy, but there it is committed: and more sinful & unnatural abuse there is, of mankind one with another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this foul filthiness, or bestir themselves more dully in the beastly action and performance of that villany, such presently are to be killed and sacrificed as beasts. And this is supposed amongst them, the principall point and sum of their religion, to hold and beleeve that nothing is unlawfull whatsoever. The men shaking and wagging their bodies to and fro after a fanaticall fashion, as if they were distracted & out of their right wits, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the she-priests of *Bac-* M
chus, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose about their ears, run down with flaming torches to the river *Tyber*; where they dip their torches into the water, and take them out again light burning still, because they are made with sulphur vive and quick lime: and they say, that certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither; such as they bind fast to a certain engine or frame, and hurry them out of sight into certain hidden caves: and those be such, as either would not swear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them in al their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number & multitude there assembled, is exceeding great, and grown now be another body of a people: and among them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these two yeers last past, or- N
deined it is That none should be there professed and sacred above twenty yeers old; for such ages they lay for to serve their turn, as are soonest seduced and drawn to errour, or most subject to be forced to suffer abuse and villany. When she had thus finished her information and discovered all, she fell down upon her knes again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That he would send her away out of the countrey. Then the Consul intreated his mother in law to spare some void corner of her house, wherennto *Hispala* might retire her self, and there make her abode. So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the and the stairs that led towards the street were stopped up, and the entrance turned into the house. Then presently were all the moveable goods and houshold stuff of *Fessenia* removed, and her family sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Ebutius* was commanded to go and lodge O
with a tenant or client belonging to the Consul. Thus when both the informers were forthcoming and under *Posthumius* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat. And after he had laid every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great fear, as well in regard generally of the commonweal, lest those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might simport some secret complot of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accessary and culpable.

The

A The Senat yet were of this mind, that the Consul was highly to be praised and thanked, for that he had found out and brought to light such a matter as this, both with so singular care & diligence, and also without any tumult and uprore. Then they took order and ordained. *Imprimis*. That the Consuls should have an extraordinary commission to make search and inquisition into these Bacchanals and night-sacrifices. *Item*, That *Ebutius* and *Fessenia* the informers thereof should not be prejudiced thereby, nor come to harm for it, yea, and that a recompence and reward should be propounded to others that could give light and reveal the same. *Item*, That the Priests belonging to these religions, be they men or women, should be sought out not only at *Rome* but in all other markets towns, fairs and places of frequent resort and convented before the Consul to be and remain at their disposition. *Item*, That proclamation be made at *Rome*, and edicts sent through-
B out all *Italy*, that no person whatsoever, who had been sacred & professed religious by the Priests of *Bacchus*, resort any more into assembly or conventicle for those sacrifices, nor yet do ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and presentment be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any such filthiness and wickedness. And these were the ordinances of the Senat. The Coss. then granted their warrants out to the Ædiles Curule, to make diligent search and enquiry for those Priests of that religion, and upon apprehension to keep them in free ward and large prison forthcoming for to be examined: also to the Ædiles of the Commons to look well, that no service of the gods be celebrated in secret. Moreover, the Triumvirs capital were straightly charged to set good watch and ward throughout the City, and see to meetings by night, for fear that no scare-fire caught hold
C of any place. To those three Commissaries or Triumvirs were five other Quinquevirs adjoyned assistants, who every one should watch well and take charge of all the houses of his quarter with in *Tyberu*. Then the Coss. having set them about these their severall charges mounted up the *Rostra* or place of publike audience. And when the people were assembled together, then the Consul after he had pronounced the solemn prayer which Magistrats are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people, began his Oration unto them in this wise. "Never in any
"of your assemblies, O Quirites, was this solemn prayer unto the gods either so meet and conve- *The Oration of the Consul Posthumius, for the overthrow of the Bacchanals.*
"nient, or so requisit and needfull as in this, to advertise and put you in mind, that those be the
"true gods indeed whom your ancestors ordained, that you should honour, serve, worship, and
"pray unto, and not these here who prick & provoke (as it were) with goads of furies, your spirits
D "and minds transported and carried away with false and strange religions, to commit all wicked-
"nes, mischief, & filthy lust. Surely for mine own part I wot not either what I were best to con-
"ceal, or how far forth to speak out and utter my mind. If you know not all, I doubt I should give
"you occasion to be negligent; again, if I discover all, I fear me that I shall affright & terrifie you
"too much. But what and how much soever I shall say, be ye sure it will be far less than the great-
"nes and enormity of the thing requireth. Yet endeavour will we so much to deliver, as may suf-
"fice to give you a warning and watch-word to take heed. This am I well assured of, that you un-
"derstand not only by hearsay and bare report, but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in
"the night season, that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all *Italy*, yea, and in many
"places throughout the City of *Rome*, which resoundeth again therewith. But what manner of
E "thing it is, I am verily perswaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some beleeve that it is a
"certain worship and service of the gods; others suppose it is some foolery and wanton pastime
"tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there are but a few interessed & em-
"ployed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they
"were many thousands, you cannot chuse but suddenly be afraid, unless I also presently shew, who
"they be and of what quality. Know ye therefore first and formost, that the most part of them are
"women (& from thence is sprung the source of all this mischief.) Then are there men indeed, but
"such as for all the world resemble women, so effeminat they are: such I say, as have abandoned
"themselves as well to be abused as to abuse others: fanatical persons and bereaved of their wits
"by reason of excessive watching past sence & even astonied with bibbing of wine without mea-
F "sure, with houting, hollowing & crying all night without intermission. This conventicle of con-
"spirators is yet of no great force, howbeit it gathereth much strength, in regard that they multi-
"ply still, & their number is every day more than other. Your ancestors in times past would in no
"wise admit that ye should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occa-
"sion, unless it were either by rearing a standard or banner upon the fortress for to levy an army;
"or to gather the people together to give their voiced in elections of Magistrats; or that the
"Tribunes proclaimed a general congregation of the common people: or some of the Magistrats
"summoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration: and whereseever a multitude were
"thus met together there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull governour and over-
"seer of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye first these might be & namely, where
G "men and women are met and thronged together peil mell one with another? In faith, if ye wist
"at what age they of the male sex are professed and made novices, ye would not only pity them,
"but also be ashamed and dismaied. Think ye my masters Quirits, that young men thus profes-
"sed & having taken this oath, are meet to make soudiers of? and that ye are to put weapons
"into the hands of such as are taken out of that stinking and detestable Chappel? Shall these, thus
"stained polluted, and overwhelmed with filthy uncleanness, as well of their own kind as o-
"thers, fight for the pure chastity, for the honesty (I say) of your wives and children? Less harm

"had it been, if they could have rested so, and become only effeminat by their own unchaste im-
"purity (for that had redounded most to their proper shame and dishonour) and not have abused
"their hands to practice mischief, and busied their brains to contrive fraud and deceit. But never
"was there in Commonweal either so great and dangerous a malady, as touching more persons,
"or reaching to farther matters of greater consequence. For wot ye well this, that all the sinfull
"parts committed for these late years, were it filthy lust, crafty cozening, or any wickednes what-
"soever, proceeded & sprung out of this one ungracious chappel and place of counterfeit holines,
"and no other. Yet have they not put in practice all their mischiefs, which they have most cursed-
"ly complotted and sworn to execute. Hitherto their impious & detestable conspiracy hath bro-
"ken out, and passed no further than to particular and privat mischiefs, because they have not ga-
"thered force and strength enough to invade and oppress the Common-weal. Howbeit, the evill
"encreaseth, and the malady spreadeth further daily, and by this time is grown so much, as it will
"not contain within the privat fortune and condition of particular persons, but threat neth the
"very main State of the Common-weal. And unless (Quirits) ye take order to prevent it, these
"night-Congregations may soon be as frequent and great as this present assembly, summoned by
"order of Law and commandment of the Consul in the open day time. Now are they (singled by
"themselves apart) afraid of you, when they see you thus all assembled together, but so soon as
"you are retired either to your houses within the City, or farms in the country, & by that means
"severed asunder, they will surely meet together; devise they will and consult both to save them-
"selves, and also to ruinat and destroy you at once. Then take heed to your selves; then shall you
"(singled one from another) be in dread and danger of them all in generall. It behoveth therefore
"every one of you to desire and wish that all they who belong any way unto your charge, be wise
"and well given. Then, if either fleshly lust or furious rage, have drawn & haled any one of them
"headlong into that gulph and sink of sin, to hold such a person to be of their crue, with whom he
"hath thus sworn and devoted himself to all sin and abominable wickednes, and not reckon him
"of your own retinue and train any more. Moreover, careless I am not of your own persons in
"this behalf, that none of you should be seduced and led away with errour. For nothing is there
"in the world, that deceiveth more under fair semblance, than false religion. For when the name
"and Majesty of the gods is pretended to cover and colour naughtines, suddenly there entreth
"into our mind a scrupulous awe, which doth captivate and possess our conscience, for fear lest
"in chastising and punishing human trespasses, we violat and offend some divine right and power
"therewith. But of this scrupulosity discharged ye are, by an infinit number of Pontifical decrees,
"acts of the Senat, yea, and answers of divine Sages and Soothsayers. For how many a time and
"often in the daies of our fathers and grandfathers, hath commission been granted to the Magi-
"strats, To restrain and forbid expressely all forrain sacrifices and strange liturgies? To chase & ba-
"nish all odd hedg-Priests, Wizards, Tellers of Fortune, and Magicians out of the common place,
"out of the shew place and theatre, yea, and quite out of the City? To search out all their books
"of Magick and Prophesies, and to set a fire on them? Lastly, to abolish all other order and man-
"ner of sacrificing but according to the Canon, form, and order of *Rome*? For they judged (wise
"men as they were, and deeply seen in all divine and humane laws) nothing so forcible to ruinat
"and overthrow religion, as when divine service is celebrated after some strange and forrain fa-
"shion, and not according to the ancient custome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way
"of caveat to foretell you of to the end that no superstitious opinion should trouble your spirits
"when you shall see us to demolish and overthrow the Bacchanals, and scatter these unlawfull
"assemblies. For all this will we do with the good leave, favour, and grace of the gods. Who be-
"ing highly offended to see their divinity and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abomina-
"ble filthines, have discovered the same lying hid in darknes, and brought it to light: neither in
"their wisdom and providence, was it their will and pleasure, that such enormities thus detected
"should remain unpunished, but be suppressed and extinguished for ever. Now hath the Senat
"directed out unto me and my Colleague an extraordinary commission and warrant to make due
"inquisition hereinto: by vertue whereof, we for our parts will accomplish our charge according-
"ly with all diligence and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the City, we have gi-
"ven order already to the inferior Magistrats to look unto it. Likewise, meet and reason it is,
"that every one of you according to his place and calling, quit himself well in whatsoever shall
"be imposed and laid upon him: and especially to endeavour and prevent that no danger or mu-
"tiny arise by the malicionsnes of those that are culpable and offenders. Then the Consuls com-
manded the acts of the Senat in this behalf to be read openly: they propounded and promised
also rewards to all informers, that either convented and brought before them any such persons,
or presented their names, if they were absent and out of the way. And look whosoever were thus
nominated and fled upon it, they would assign him a certain day to make his appearance: upon
which day, if he answered not to his name when he were called, he should be condemned not-
withstanding his absence. And if any of their names were presented, who hapned at the time of
the information to be without the land of *Italy*, he should have a longer term set down, to come
in and make his answer. After this, they published an Edict, forbidding (lest any one should be de-
sirous to sell or buy ought tending to flight and departure) to receive, conceal, aid, or maintain by
any means those that were about to flie. After the assembly of the people dismissed, great fear
there was over all the City: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties, and territory only
of

A of *Rome*; but in all parts of *Italy* they began to quake and tremble for fear: and namely, after that letters came from their friends and acquaintance, touching the ordinance of the Senat, the solemn assembly of the people, and the Edict of the Consuls foresaid. The next night following that day (wherein this matter was thus declared openly in audience before the people) many would gladly have started aside and been gone, but apprehended they were and brought back again by the Triumvirs, who had set a good watch at every gate. Many presentments were made, and certain persons thus presented, as well men as women, killed themselves. It is reported, that there were found in this conspiracy of both sexes one with another above eleven thousand. The principal heads were known for certain to be *M.* and *L. Cæsonius* Romans both, and by calling * no lesse good as Senators: *L. Opiternius* of *Falerii*, and *Minius Cerrinius* a Campane. These were the ringleaders of the rest, B from them arose all mischief and villany whatsoever: these were the chief Priests (forsooth) and the founders of this religion. To apprehend these persons with all speed, no possible means were neglected. And when they were brought before the Consuls, they confessed all, and for any let in them, they might presently have been condemned. But such a number there was of them who fled out of the City, that because the actions and goods of many men hereby were in danger to be lost and perish, the Prætors *T. Manius* and *M. Licinius* were constrained by the Senat to give thirty daies respit and delay for the pleas, until such time as the Consuls went through with their inquisition. By occasion of the same infrequency (for that they whose names were presented, neither made answer nor could be found) the Consuls were enforced to ride their circuit about market towns and places of resort, and there to hold Assise and Sessions for to make inquisition, and C judicially to proceed in sentence against the offenders. As many as they found to be only cursed, and to have taken orders, namely, such as according to a certain form of words endited and prompted by the Priest, had made their prayers saying after him (in which was contained a detestable sacrament and oath that they took to commit all wicked acts and beastly filthines, and yet notwithstanding had offered and done no such act either in their own persons, or in others, to which they were obliged by oath) those I lay they let still in prison and durance. But inclas were defiled with filthines of all, polluted with bloudy murders, such as were attaint and stained with bearing false witness, with forging and pilfling of wills and testaments, with counterfeiting of seals, and other such cozening cats, those they executed with loss of life, and the number of them that thus were put to death surmounted those other that suffered only imprisonment. But D a wondrous multitude there was of both sorts the one and the other, and those as well women as men. As many of the women as were condemned they committed over to their next kinsfolk, or to those guardians under whose tuition and subjection they were, that they might themselves privatly at home punish them accordingly. But if there were none to be found meet to do the execution, then they suffered publikely abroad in the face of the world. After this a commission was granted to the Consuls, for to overthrow and pull down first at *Rome*, and then throughout *Italy*, all the places of these Bacchanals, unless in any of them there stood some old altar or image consecrated. And for the time to come, by an act of the Senat a prohibition went out, that there should be no Bacchanals any more either in *Rom* or in *Italy*. Moreover, if any person made some conscience of this religion, and held it for a devout, solemn, and necessary institution, and protested before the Prætor of the City that he could not lay away the same without prick, remorse, E and clog of conscience: then the said Prætor was to put the cause in question before the Senat, and if the Senat (assembled in no lesse frequency than one hundred) would allow and permit the same, then might the party solemnize that devotion and divine service: provided alwaies, that there were not above five persons present thereat, to assist him nor any common silver to be used in the ministery, nor Offer-master nor Priest. Over and besides, another act of the Senat there was joyned unto this, and the same moved by the Consul *Q. Martius*. That as touching those persons whom the Consul had for the informers and revealers of this matter, the full authority in disposing of them, should be wholly referred to the Consul, so soon as *Sp. Postumius* had finished his inquisition, and was returned to *Rome*. As for *Cerrinius* the Campane, they ordained F that he should be sent to *Ardea* there to lie in prison, and that the Magistrates of *Ardea* should have a charge given them beforehand to look to their prisoner more straightly, that neither he brake prison and made an escape, nor yet might have means and opportunity to make himself away. After a certain time *Sp. Postumius* came to *Rome* again, and when he put to question before the Senat, concerning the reward of *P. Ebutius*, and *Hispala Fecsenia*, for that by their means the Bacchanals were disclosed, there passed an act and decree, That the Treasurers of the City should deliver unto them out of the City Chamber 100000 asses apiece. Also that the Consuls should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons for to prefer a bill unto the people, as soon as possibly they might, that *P. Ebutius* for ever might be exempt from souldiery, and have his pension and fee, as if he had accomplished his term of service by law required, so as he neither were compelled to go to wartage against his will, nor the Censors should assign unto him a publike horse of service. Moreover, that *Fecsenia Hispala* might have the liberty and power to make a deed of gift or alienation of her goods unto whom she pleased, yea, and spend the same, and do therewith what she thought good. *Item*, That she might be wedded out of her own family into what house she would her self, and make choice of her tutor and patron to her own liking and contentment, as if her husband by his will and testament had so ordained and set down. *Item*, That she might be wedded to one of frank condition or freeborn, and that he who had espoused and married her,

should not thereby sustain discredit, or receive damage. Finally, that not only the Cos. and Prætors now in place, but also those hereafter to come, should provide and take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but secure her from all harm. This the Senat judged meet and requisite to be done. All the sethings were likewise propounded unto the Com. and executed according to the ordinance of the Senat. Finally, as touching both the impunity and also the recompence of other the Informers, it was referred to the discretion of the Consuls.

By this time *Q. Martius* also having finished the inquisition in his circuit and quarter, made preparation to go into his Province of *Liguria*, after he had received for to supply and make up his legions 3000 foot, and 150 horsemen Romans, besides 5000 footmen and 200 horse of Latins. The same Province with the like number as well of horse as foot, was decreed likewise unto his companion in government. Those armies they took charge of which the former year *C. Flaminius* and *M. Æmilius* the Cos. had: moreover, by an act of the Senat enjoyned they were to enroll two new legions besides: and withall they levied of the Latine allies 2000 foot, and 3000 horses 300 of footmen also and 200 horsemen Romans. All these forces (setting aside the legions) it was thought good to be led to furnish out the army in *Spain*. And therefore the Cos. whiles they were themselves in person occupied about the foresaid inquisitions, gave commission to *T. Manus* for to take the musters. And when those enquests were performed and done as is beforesaid *Q. Marcius* took his journey right of the twain towards the Apuans in *Liguria*. But whiles in eager pursuit of them he engaged himself into the secret and blind passes, wherein at all times they had their lurking retreats and places of safe receit: within those streights and passages which the enemies had seized before, he was environed by them in a place of great disadvantage: where he lost 400 of his souldiers, with three ensigns of the second legion, and eleven banners of the Latine allies which were all taken by the enemies. Also much armour and many weapons were thrown away here and there, by reason that they were encumbred therewith as they fled through the woody paths of the forrest: neither did the Ligurians give over their chase, before that the Romans ended their flight. The Consul so soon as he was escaped out of the enemies territory sent his army away into divers parts of the peaceable country to the end, that it might not be seen, how much his forces were empaired. yet could not he for all that suppress and smother the bruit that was blown abroad of his unfortunat journey, nor cancell the remembrance of the overthrow: for even first before the news of the affairs in *Liguria*, the letters out of *Spain* were read, containing sorrow mixed with joy: to wit, That *C. Cæsinius* (who two years before went as Prætor into that Province) fought a field with the Lusitans in the territory of *Alis*, where 6000 enemies fell upon the sword; and the rest were discomfited put to flight and driven out of their camp. Afterwards, he conducted his legions to the assault of the town *Asta*, which he forced and won, with no greater ado than before he gained their camp. But as he approached near the walls and took no good heed to himself, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few daies died. Upon the reading of these letters (importing the death of the Pro-Prætor:) the Senat was of advice to dispatch a messenger (to overtake the Prætor *C. Calphurnius*) as far as the port of *Luna*, and give him to understand from the Senat that their advise was he should make all the haste he could in his journey, to the end, that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The courrier which was sent, within four daies arrived at *Luna*: and but few daies before, *Calphurnius* was departed and had put himself in his journey.

Moreover, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his Province at the same time that *C. Cæsinius* went) struck a battell likewise with the Celtiberians in the hither Province of *Spain*. But they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtfull victory save only that the Celtiberians the next night following dislodged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had liberty and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the spoils of their enemies. And within few daies after, the same Celtiberians having raised a more puissant army, of themselves gave the Romans battell near the City *Calagurris*. It is not set down in the history, what should be the cause why they were the weaker, considering their number was re-enforced: but foiled they were in fight and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000, and not so few as 2600 taken prisoners: and the Romans likewise were Masters of the camp. And had not *Manlius* been empeached and restrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed) by the coming of *Calphurnius* his successor in government, the Celtiberians had been utterly subdued. The new Prætor withdrew both armies to their wintring harbors.

At the same time that these news came out of *Spain*, the plaies called *Taurilia* were exhibited two daies together, in honour of the gods. And after them, *M. Fulvius* set out (with great furniture in sumptuous maner for the space of ten days) his plaies which he had vowed in the Ætolian war. And for to do him honour, and grace this solemnity, many cunning actors and players came out of *Greece*. This was the first time that there was represented at *Rome* the shew of champions and wrestlers for the best game: then also was exhibited the pastime of hunting and baiting Lions and Panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great magnificence and variety almost as the modern pastimes and games in these daies. After all this was holden a Novendiall feast, during which, there was much sacrificing; and all by occasion that for three daies it rained stones in the Picene country: and because it was reported, that the lightning in divers places, and in sundry sorts, had blasted and lightly singed the garments especially of many folk. To

To the said feast, there was adjoyned a supplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddess *Ops* (standing in the Capitol) was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the Cos. procured expiation by sacrificing greater beasts, and so they purged and hallowed the City. At the same time word was brought out of *Umbria*, that there was an Herma phrodite or Scrat found almost twelve years old. This was held for a detestable monster; and therefore order was given, that it should be kept out of the territory of *Rome*, and killed out of hand.

The same year, certain Gauls from beyond the *Alps* passed into the territory of *Venice*, without forraging, spoiling, and using any hostility: and not far from the place where as now *Aquileia* standeth, they seized upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embassadors were sent about this matter beyond the *Alps*; where they received this intelligence and answer from the inhabitants of the country, That neither those Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation, neither knew they what they did in *Italy*.

L. Scipio likewise about the same time, set out his plaies for ten daies together; for which he said, that he had made a vow during the time of the war against *Antiochus*, & he defraid the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers KK. and States for that purpose. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiscat and sold, he was sent in Embassage into *Asia*, for to take up certain controversies and differences between the two KK. *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*: and then it was (saith he) that the said contribution was made, and many skilful artificers and plaiers gathered unto him out of all *Asia*: and in the end, after this Embassage, he moved the Senat for these games, because he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the said war: by occasion whereof (by *Valerius* his saying) he vowed them.

The year being now at an end, *Q. Martius* in his absence was to leave his Magistracy: & *Q. Posthumius* having fate upon the inquisition aforesaid, and with all fidelity and carefull diligence that might be, brought it to an end, held the solemn assembly for election of Magistrats: wherein were chosen Cos. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. And the morrow after were elected for Prætors, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *C. Icilius Strabo*, *C. Atilius Serranus*, *L. Posthumius Tempsanus*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the years end upon the relation of *Sp. Posthumius* the Cos. that in his visitation about the enquests aforesaid, as he rode along the sea coasts of *Italy* on both sides, he found certain Colonies dispeopled and desolate, to wit, *Sipontum* upon the Adriatick sea, and *Buxentum* upon the *Tuscan*. *T. Manius* the City Prætor (by vertue of an act of the Senat in that behalf) created three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there, namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tucius*, and *Cn. Bebius Tamphilus*.

The war against King *Perseus* and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, arose not upon that cause & occasion which most men imagine, nor yet from *Perseus* himself: for the first groundwork thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if he had lived longer, would have been seen in open action. One thing there was above the rest which stung him, at what time as the Romans imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished, to wit, That the Senat laid a bar for to be revenged of those Macedonians who had revolted from him: which he despaired not but it had been possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that *Quintius* in the capitulations of peace reserved that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwards, when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battel of *Thermopylæ*, and that both *Philip* & the Cos. entred upon the severall exploits: *Acilius* went in hand to assault *Heraclea*, and *Philip* at the same time the City of *Lamia*. *Heraclea* was no sooner forced, but *Philip* had commandment to levy his siege before *Lamia*, and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit, the Cos. appeased his choler for the time, in that making haste in person to *Naupactum* (unto which town the Ætolians after their rout were retired) he suffered *Philip* to war upon *Athamania* and *Amvandar*; to adjoyn also and lay unto his kingdom those Cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Now had *Philip* chased *Aminander* out of *Athamania*, and won certain Cities without any great ado, *Demetrias* also (a strong City of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the Magnetes he brought under his obedience. After this, he forced certain towns in *Asia*, which were troubled with the seditious variance of their principal and great personages, by reason that they knew not how to use their new liberty, wherewith they had not been acquainted: he won those Cities (I say) by taking part with those, who in this civill dissention were the weaker, and otherwise would have gone to the walls. By these means the wrath of the King against the Romans was well allaied for the present: nevertheless, he ceased not all the time of peace to bethink how he might gather more strength, and be able to war again, whensoever any good occasion should be presented unto him. He encreased therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth and setting impost and customs upon all merchandise brought into his Realm by sea from forrain parts; but also revived the rents & issues of the old mines which had discontinued, yea, & in many places ordained new. Moreover, to replenish his country, which by many calamities following war, was dispeopled, he not only took order that his subjects should multiply by forcing them to get, breed, and bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of Thracians into *Macedony*; and for a good time wherein he was in repose and rest from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed all his study how to make himself great, and augment the puissance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his stomack, and kindle his anger against

the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perrhœbians made for that their H
Cities were by him possessed, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King *Eumenes*
laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the
Romans; so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the
Senat most, was this, That they had inteligence how he intended to be Lord of *Ænus* and *Ma-*
ronea: as for the Thessalians, they took less regard of them. Moreover, there came the Embassadors
of *Athamania*, who complained not for the loss of some part of their territory, nor that he en-
croached upon their frontiers, but that all *Athamania* full and whole, was reduced under the sub-
jection and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of *Maronea*, who had been chased
out of the City by the Kings garrison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty)
made relation, that not only *Maronea* was in the hands of *Philip*, but the City of *Ænus* also. Like-I
wise there came Embassadors from *Philip*, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge,
who averred, That their King and Master had done nothing but by commission and warrant from
the Roman General. They pleaded and alledged, that the case of the Thessalian, Perrhœbian, and
Magnesian Cities, yea, and the whole nation of *Athamania* together with *Aminander*, was all one
with the Ætolians: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chased and expelled the Col. him-
self being employed and occupied in besieging the City of *Ætolia*, sent *Philip* for to recover the
States abovenamed, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the
Senat, because they would not determine and set down any thing in the absence of the King, sent
three Delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *M.*
Bæbius Tamphilus, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whose arrivall, there was published a generall Diet of K
all those States that were at difference with the King, to be holden at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*. When
they were all set there in councill, the Roman Legats, as umpiers and judges, the Thessalians, Per-
rhœbians, and Athamans as plaintiffs and accuers, and *Philip* as defendant to hear and receive
the challenges and accusations against him; the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded
against *Philip* bitterly or mildly, more or less, according to the several disposition of their natures,
and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him.
Now all the question and debate touching *Philippopolis*, *Tricca*, *Phaloria*, *Eurymenæ*, and other
towns about them was this: Whether those pieces, considering the Ætolians won and held them
by force (& well known it was, that *Philip* had taken them from the Ætolians) belonged in right L
to the Thessalians or appertained of old time to the Ætolians? for *Acilius* had granted them un-
to the K. upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the Ætolians,
and if they combined and took part with the Ætolians willingly of their own accord, and not by
constraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversie of the Perrhæbian and Mag-
nesian towns. For the Ætolians had brought a confusion in all their tenures, by reason that they
held and possessed those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these sub-
stantiall points properly to be decided, the Thessalians came in with their complaints also: "For
"that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them, yet) he should render
"them spoiled, naked, and desolat, For over and besides those who miscarried by casualty of war,
"*Philip* had carried away into *Macedony* 500, even the principall flower of their youth, and abu-
"sed them like slaves, in putting them to base ministeries & servil drudgeries, and look whatsoe- M
"ver by compulsion he redelivered to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should
"be good for nothing. As for example (say they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for
"much traffick and merchandise, was in times past gainful and commodious to the Thessalians,
"and brought them great revenues and profits. But *Philip* had turned the staple and all the trade
"and negotiation by sea from thence to *Demetrias*, and having got hulks and hoys, caused them
"to baulk and pass by *Thebes*, and direct their course for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not so much as
"hold his hands from evill entreating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable.
"For he forelaied them in ambush, as they were in their journey to *T. Quintius*. By which means
"the Thessalians all in generall were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not
"a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and N
"Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are far
"off, but an imperious Lord they have that sitteth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them conti-
"nually in the sides, and will not suffer them to use and enjoy the benefits granted them by the
"people of *Rome*. For take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they
"left? And even at this present for all the assurance and confidence they have in the priviledge of
"Embassadors, they rather sigh and groan out their words, than speak frankly, and parley with li-
"berty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good sort, that both the Greeks remain-
"ing in *Macedony*, may be void of fear, and *Philip* also curbed and kept short for being so bold, it
"will be to no purpose at all, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore O
"to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse,
"that will not be ruled with a gentle snaffle. In this sharp and eager manner dealt the last, where-
"as the former had used fair language to appease and mollifie his anger, beseeching his grace to
"pardon them in case they spake their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and
"Master, to bear himself like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and
"them to imitate, who chose rather to gain associats by love, than constrain them by fear. After
"audience given to the Thessalians, the Perrhæbians came in place, and alledged, that *Gomphi* and *Tri-*
"*cca* [illegible]

A "*lus* (a City which *Philip* named *Olympias*) belonged in right to *Perrhæbia*: & earnest they were,
"that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have *Malloea* and *Erscinium* again.
"Then the Athamans put in, and spake for their liberty, and to have the forts of *Athenæum* and
"*Poetneum* rendred unto them. *Philip* because he would seem more like a plaintiff than a defen-
"dant, & to accuse rather than to be accused, began himself also with complaints. He found him-
"self grieved, that the Thessalians had won by force of arms the City *Menelaus* in *Dolopis*, part of
"the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom. *Item*, That the same Thessalians and the Perrhæ-
"bians together had forced *Petra* in *Pieria*. As for *Xynie* (an Ætolian town without all question)
"they had indeed laid it unto his seignory, but *Parachelous*, which should be under *Athamania*,
"by no right in the world was annexed to the Thessalians, & comprised within their charter. For
B "as touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me so odiously, namely, of laying await for the
"Embassadors of frequenting those port-towns or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockery
"and ridiculous thing: namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants, and mariners sail
"unto or arrive at: the other is clean adverse & contrary to my nature & that which I never could
"abide to practice. For these many years (qd. he) Embassadors have never ceased and given over,
"to inform grievous matters against me to the Roman Generals, and to the Senat at *Rome*: and
"which of them ever to this day hath had so much as a foul word given again unto him from me?
"Supposed & objected it is, that once they were forlaied by the way as they were going to *Quin-*
"*tius*, but it is not said withall what hapned unto them. This manner of dealing & accusation sa-
"voureth of quarrellers that fain would have somewhat to say, be it never so false, when they can
C "find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. These Thessalians beyond all measure abuse the
"kindness & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & taring as men who had endured a long drought,
"they drink over-greedily, pouring in sheer liberty & nothing else to it, and know not when to
"make an end, and to break their draught: Like, for all the world to bondslaves suddenly set at
"freedom beyond their hope and expectation whose manner is to break out into broad terms
"and licentious language, and cannot contain but revile and rail at their very Masters. And at last,
"in a furious fit of choler he burst forth into these words, That the sun was not set and gone to
"bed for ever, but would one day rise again. This minatory speech of his not only the Thessalians
took to themselves but the Romans also construed as a glance at them. Upon these words arose
some bruit and murmuring in the assembly, but being in the end appeased & stilled, he answered
D the agents for the Perrhæbians and Athamans in this wise, "That the case and condition of those
"Cities for which they stood, was one and the same namely, that the Col. *Acilius* and the Ro-
"mans passed them unto him by a deed of gift, as having aforetime belonged to their enemies.
"Now if they who have given, will also take away the same, then (qd. he) I must needs quit my
"hold, and lose them: but in so doing they shall to grarifie their fickle, inconstant and vain allies,
"men of no regard, and good for nothing, do mere and manifest wrong to a far better and more
"faithfull friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankless and less while accepted than li-
"berty, especially with them who know not how to use it, & by abuse thereof will soon spill the
"grace of such a benefit. Then the Roman Delegats having heard the reasons and allegations of
both parties pronounced sentence, That the Macedonian garrisons should quit the Cities above-
E said, and the Realm of *Macedony* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching
the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another, there
was a form and course of law to be set down which should contain a process and manner, how
the matters between the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and composed.
Hereat the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegats went their waies toward
Thessalonica, to visit likewise the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their causes; where the Embassa-
dors of King *Eumenes* made a speech to this effect.
"If the pleasure of the Romans be, that the two Cities *Ænus* and *Maronea* shall be free, it is not
"for us in modesty to say any more, but advertise & admonish them to leave the same in reall and
"not in verball liberty, and not suffer a gift by them granted, to be impeached or intercepted by
F "another. But if they have less care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*,
"yet more meet and reason it is, that those places which sometimes were subject unto *Antiochus*,
"should fall to *Eumenes* rather than to *Philip*; by way of recompence for war-service, in regard
"as well of the merits of his father *Attalus* during the war against *Philip*, as of his own deserts,
"who during the war with *Antiochus*, was personally present in all travels & dangers both by sea
"and land. And to this effect, he hath besides an award of the ten Delegats passed already before-
"hand, who in the grant and donation of *Chersonesus* & *Lysimachia*, have no doubt given *Ma-*
"*ronea* & *Ænus* likewise to be as dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and
"neighborhood of those other Cities. For, as concerning *Philip*, what hath he deserved at the
"hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of seignory can he pretend, why he should plant gar-
G "risons in these Cities so far remote & distant as they be from the frontires of *Macedony*? I wish
"ye would call for the Maronits, and hear what they can say, who are able to enform you more
"fully and certainly in all respects of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the Embassadors
of the Maronits called in: who affirmed, "That the King had a garrison not in one place only of
"their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof at one time; so as
"*Maronea* was pestered full with Macedonians. And therefore (say they) the Kings favorits and
"flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway: they and none but they, may be allowed to
"speak

"speak both in Senat at the Council-table, and in general assemblies before the people: th ey go H
"away with all honours & dignities, & either are invested therein themselves, or else confer them
"upon whom they please. The best men, who stand either for defence of freedom, or in mainte-
"nance of the laws, either are driven their country and banished, or sit a cold & blow their nails,
"for any advancement they come unto; & being subject and-thrall to persons of no worth, stand
"like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they said moreover as touching the right of their
limits, to wit, That *Q. Fabius Labeo*, at what time as he was in those parts, confined *Philip* within
the bounds of the old Kings-street or high way, which directly leadeth to *Pæoreia* in *Thrace*, and
in no place declineth toward the sea: but *Philip* afterwards had made a new causey, and drawn it
with a compass about, within which he empaled and took in the Cities & territories also of the I
Maronits. To these challenges *Philip* began far otherwise, than he did of late against the Thessali-
The Oration of King *Philip*. ans and Perrhœbians, and in this wise he spake: "I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either
"with the Maronits or *Eumenes*; but now at this present I am to contest even with you (my Ma-
"sters of *Rome*) at whose hands I have seen thus long that I can obtain no reason and equity. I
"thought it meet and right, that the Macedonian Cities, which had revolted from me during the
"time of truce, should be rendred again unto me: not for any great encrease of seignory that
"thereby should have accrued unto my kingdom (for small towns they are god wot, and situat up-
"on the utmost frontiers) but because their precedent and example might have imported much
"to retain the rest of the Macedonians in their duty and alleageance. In no wise it would be gran-
"ted, During the Ætolian war, I was enjoyned by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege and assault the K
"City *Lamia*: and after I had been toiled out and wearied with maintaining skirmishes, raising
"fabricks, planting ordnance and engins against it, even when I was at the very point to scale
"the walls and force the City, the Consul reclaimed and called me away, yea, and compelled me to
"levy the siege, and withdraw my forces from thence. And for to make me some part of amends
"for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain small piles and forts,
"rather than Cities of *Thessaly*, *Perrhœbia*, and *Athamania*. And even those also, I may say unto
"you *Q. Cæcilius*, ye have taken from me within these few daies. And now forsooth of late, the
"Embassadors of *Eumenes* also (and God will) have presumed upon this as a thing granted and
"without all question, That more reason it is for *Eumenes* to have & enjoy that which belonged
"to *Antiochus*, than for me. But my judgment is far otherwise. And why? *Eumenes* could never
"have continued in his Realm, unless the Romans, I will not say, had vanquished K. *Antiochus*, L
"but surely if they had not waged war against him. And therefore is he endebted unto you, and
"you no waies beholden unto him. As for my kingdom, so far was it off, that any part or quarter
"of it should be in hazard and jeopardy; that when *Antiochus* of his own meer motion offered
"to buy my society with three thousand talents, and fifty covered ships of war, together with
"all those Cities in *Greece* which I held in possession aforetime; I refused all, and disdained his
"alliance, yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his army into
"*Greece*, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consul, was employed in what part soe-
"ver of the war, which he charged and laid upon me. Also when *L. Scipio* the Consul his suc-
"cessor, determined to lead his army by land to *Hellespont*, I not only gave him leave to pass
"peaceably through my Realm, but also caused the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridges M
"to be made against his coming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And this did
"I, not in *Macedony* alone, but also throughout all *Thrace*, where among other matters, this
"was not of least importance and consequence, to restrain those barbarous nations there, from
"running upon them, and to keep them in peace and quietness. In consideration now of this
"kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought ye Romans
"in reason to give me somewhat to that I have, to augment and encrease my dominion by your
"largess and munificence or, to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own
"right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confess to have been parcels of
"my kingdom are not restored unto me. *Eumenes* on the other side, he comes to make spoil of
"me, as if I were *Antiochus*, and (mark I pray you the device of it) he pretendeth a decree of the N
"ten delegats to colour his most shameless, impudent & cautelous falshood; even that by which
"himself may be most refuted and convicted. For in very express and plain terms it is thus writ-
"ten, That *Chersonnesus* & *Lysimachia* are given to *Eumenes*. Where I pray you, and in what cor-
"ner of the instrument and patent stand *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and the Cities of *Thrace*? Shall he ob-
"tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from those ten Delegats, which
"he never durst so much as once demand and require of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth so
"much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpose be to persecute me as an
"enemy and mortall foe, spare not, but go on still as ye have begun: but if you respect me as a
"King, as your ally and friend, I beseech you, repute me not worthy of so notorious and mani-
"fest a wrong. This Oration of the King in some measure moved the Commissioners, and there- O
fore by framing a mean and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspence undecided.
"If (say they) the Cities in question were given to *Eumenes*, by vertue of a decree set down
"by the ten Delegats, we will not change nor alter any thing therein. But in case *Philip* acqui-
"red them by Conquest and force of arms, he should have held them as the guerdon of his
"victory. If neither, we are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall
"be referred over to the Senat: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garrisons in
those

A "those Cities shall be withdrawn and depart. These, I say, were the causes that principally estran-
ged the affection of *Philip* from the Romans, and wrought discontentment in his heart; insom-
much, as evident it is, that the war was not enterprised by his son *Perseus* upon any new quarrels
and fresh occasion, but upon these motives left unto him by his father to be pursued.

No suspition was there at *Rome* of a Macedonian war, *Ex Manlius* the Pro-Consul was returned
out of *Spain* and when he demanded a triumph of the Senat assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*,
the same in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained, but for example
sake it was not granted. For an order it was in *Rome*, by ancient custome of their forefathers,
that no man might triumph, who brought not his army back with him unless he left unto his suc-
cessour the Province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, *Manlius* was allowed an indiffe-
B rent honour, namely, to enter into the City by way of Ovation. In which solemnity he had born
before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover, in gold a hundred
thirty two pound weight, and in silver six thousand three hundred. Also, he pronounced aloud in
the Senat, that *Q. Fabius* the Questor was coming, and brought with him ten thousand pound
weight more of silver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the Chamber of
the City.

That year a great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in *Apulia*. *L. Posthu-
mius* the Prætor had the government of *Tarentum*, and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew
of certain herdmen and graziers, who had conspired together and used to rob by the high-way
side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City; which Commission he followed with
C such severity and rigor, that he condemned 7000 of them. Many escaped and fled, but many were
executed and suffered death. As for the Confederate long were they kept in the City of *Rome*, about the le-
vy of souldiers, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The same year, *C. Calphurnius* and *L. Quintius* the Prætors in *Spain*, having in the beginning of
the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintring holds, and joyned their forces together in
Bæuria, advanced forward into *Carpetain*, (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolution
on to manage and conduct the war with one joint mind and common council together. Not far
from the Cities *Hippon* and *Toletum*, there began a skirmish between the forragers of both parts,
that were goon forth to make provision: seconded they were from the one camp and the other,
by means whereof, the whole armies of both sides by little and little, came forth into the field to
D strike a full battel. In this rumultuary skirmish the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground
wherein they were embattelled, as of the manner of fight and service. By reason whereof, both
the Roman armies were discomfited and driven back into their camp: but the enemies pressed
not upon them, notwithstanding they were put in great fright and much disordered. The Roman
Prætors doubting lest their camp the morrow after should be assailed, dislodged in the night be-
tween, in great secret and silence, without any sound of trumpet, and departed. In the morning by
break of day, the Spaniards in ordinance of battell approached the trench and rampier: and be-
ing entred within the camp (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expecta-
E on) they rifled and ransacked all that the Romans left behind them, whiles they made haste away
in the night season: from whence the enemies returned to their own camp, and there for certain
F daies abode in standing leaguer and stirred not. In that battell and in the chase together, there
were slain of Romans and allies 5000: and with the spoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed
themselves: from thence they marched to the river *Tagus*. The Roman Prætors in the mean sea-
son employed all that time to levy and assemble new forces out of the Confederat Cities of *Spain*,
and in comforting and encouraging the hearts of their own souldiers after their fright, upon this
adverse conflict and unlucky foil. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a sufficient
power, and took themselves strong enough, and that the souldiers also desired to be doing with
the enemy, for to raise out and cancell the former ignomy and disgrace, they encamped twelve
miles from the river *Tagus* aforesaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their
standards, and marching in a four square battell, by day light they were come to the bank of the
F river (now were the enemies lodged upon a little mount beyond the water:) and incontinently
in two places (where the river shewed a soord) they waded through with their arms, *Calphurnius*
on the right hand, and *Quintius* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and mo-
vod not: but in the mean time, while as they wondred at their sudden coming, and devised how
to trouble and disorder the souldiers as they should make haste to pass the river, the Romans
had transported over themselves, and their bag and baggage also; yea, and brought all together
into one place. And because they perceived by this time the enemy to stir and remove, and
had no time to fortifie their camp, they put themselves in battell array. In the midst stood the
fifth legion of *Calphurnius*, and the eighth of *Quintius*, which was the very flower and strength
of the whole army. Now they had a fair open plain all the way between them and the enemies
G camp, so as there was no cause to fear any ambush. The Spaniards so soon as they espied two ar-
mies of their enemies upon that side of the bank which was next to them all at once issued out
of their camp, and ran to battell; to the end that they might surprise and empeach them be-
fore they could joyn and range themselves together. The fight was sharp and hot in the begin-
ning: for the Spaniards of the one side were puffed up with the conceit and pride of their late
victory: and the Romans of the other, were galled and incensed for anger of a dishonour re-
ceived, which they were not used unto. The battell in the midst (consisting of two most valiant
and

and hardy legions) fought right courageously: which the enemies seeing that they could not o- H
therwise forth to retreat and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battaillon in coin-
fashion close together: and still they pressed hard upon them in the midst more & more in num-
ber, and euer thicker ranged. *Calphurnius* the Prætor seeing this battell distressed and in danger,
sent with all speed *L. Quintilius Varus*, and *L. Iuuentius Tuta*, two Lieutenants, to either of the
legions severally, to encourage and exhort them to stick to it like men, and so make remonstrance
and relation. "That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering and keeping *Spain*: if
"they never so little yielded back & lost their ground, there was not one of the whole army that
"should ever see *Italy* again no, nor so much as the farther bank of *Tagus*. As for himself, he took
with him the Cavalry of two Legions, and when he had wheeled a little about and set a compass
with them, he charged hotly upon the flank of the foresaid strong battaillon of the enemies, which I
assailed and urged till the main battell. *Quintius* also with his Cavalry flanked the enemies on the
other side; but the horsemen of *Calphurnius* fought more fiercely by odds, than the other, and the
Prætor himself in person was foremost of them all: for he was the first that drew blood of an ene-
my, & so far engaged himself within them that hardly a man could know of which side he fought:
by his singular valour, the horsemen were mightily animated; and by the valour of the Cavalry
on horseback, the Infantry also were enkindled to fight on foot. The principall Centurions were
abashed and ashamed to see the Prætor in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies:
and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the port-ensigns, willing them to
advance their banners, to the end that the souldiers might follow hard after. Then began they on
all hands to set up a fresh and lusty shout; they took their bier and charged upon them as from K
the vantage of an higher ground; by reason whereof they disarrayed them first, and like a forcible
stream they bare them down before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and sustain
this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the camp, the horse-
men pursued, and so intermingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they entred
pell-mell with them into their hold: where, they that were left for the guard thereof, renewed
the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to alight from their horses: and while they
maintained the conflict, the fift Legion came to second them, and consequently more and more
succours as they possibly could ran to them: down went the Spaniards and were massacred in all
parts of the camp: and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and saved themselves; of which
number, about 3000 (who still kept their armour) fled upon a hill near adjoyning: the other L
thousand being for the most part armed by the halfe, were scattered all over the fields. The ene-
mies were at first above 35000, but after this battell, for how few of them were left: and from
them were won 123 ensigns. Of Romans and Allies, there died few above six hundred; of auxi-
liary souldiers from out of the Province, about 150. Five martiall Tribunes were lost, and cer-
tain Roman Gentlemen whose death especially, made it seem a bloudy victory. After which
the army abode within the enemies camp, for that themselves had no time to fortifie their own.
The next morrow *C. Calphurnius* in an open audience, highly praised the horsemen, and rewarded
them with rich hatneſs and trappings, declaring aloud, That by means of their good service
principally the enemies were discomfited, and their camp forced. As for *Quintius* the other Prætor, he bestowed upon his men of arms, small chains and buttons of gold. The Centurions M
likewise of both armies received gifts at their hands, and namely, those who fought in the main
battell.

The Consuls having finished the levy of souldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be done in *Rome*, led the army into their Province of *Liguria*. *Sempronius* departed from *Pisa*, and made a journey against the Apuan Ligurians: where, by wasting their territories and burning their towns and fortresses, he made way into the forrest, and opened the passages as far as to the river *Macra* and the port of *Luna*. The enemies took a certain mount (an ancient hold) where their ancestors sometimes had seated themselves: but from thence they were by force dislodged, by reason that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues thereto. *Ap. Claudius* likewise for his part, was equall in valour and good fortune to his Collegue, as having fought certain prospe- N
rous battels with the Ligurian Inguames. He forced besides six towns of theirs, and took many thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and forty to lose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for election of Magistrats at *Rome*: and albeit *Sempronius* his lot it was to hold the said assembly, yet *Claudius* returned first to *Rome*, because *P. Claudius* his brother made suit to be Consul. He had for his competitors, *L. Æmylius Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* all four of the Nobility. Old suitors they were all, and because they had suffered the repulse aforetime, they renewed the suit for this dignity, as being so much the rather due, because it had been once denied them. And this was the cause that these four followed & pressed the harder for to obtain the same, because it was not lawful for any more O
than one of the *Patritii* at once to be created Cos. There were also of the Commoners certain persons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit, *L. Porcius*, *Q. Terentius Culleo* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*: they also had taken repulse beforetime, and were put off still in hope one day yet to obtain that honourable dignity. *Claudius* of them all was only the new Competitor. Now men thought verily without any doubt & question, yea, and destined in their conceits, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *L. Porcius Licinius* to be Consuls. But *Claudius* the Consul, together

A together with his brother bestirred himself, and without his Ushers attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place: notwithstanding the adversaries, yea, and the most of the Senators cried out upon him, and said, That he ought to consider and remember rather that he was the Cos. of the people of *Rome*, than brother to *P. Claudius*; why then sat he not still in the Tribunal either as president and judge of the court assembled, or else as a beholder and spectator only, without saying any word himself? Howbeit, he could not possibly be reclaimed from this disordinate affection of his which he shewed in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times also troubled with the great debates and contentions raised by the Tribuns of the Commons: whiles some of them spake against the Cos. others again maintained his suit, and took part with him. But in the end, *Fabius* took the foil, and *Appius* went away with the game, for B his brother. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was created Cos. beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for. *L. Porcius Licinius* held his own, and obtained the second place in his course; for that the Commoners went moderately to work, & shewed not so much affection and forcible means as *Claudius* did. After this, was holden the election of Prætors. And chosen there were, *C. Decimius Flavus*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Nævius Matho*, *C. Sempronius Blæsus*, and *A. Terentius Varro*. Thus much concerning the acts atchieved both at home in the City, and abroad in the war, that year wherein *Ap. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which *P. Claudius* and *L. Portius* bare the Consulship, when as *Q. Cæcilius*, *M. Babius* and *T. Sempronius* (who had been sent to hear and decide the con- C troversies between the two Kings, *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessaly*) had made report of their embassages; they permitted likewise the Embassadors of the said Princes and Cities, to enter into the Senat. Who related the self-same things again, which had been alledged before in the presence of the foresaid Legats in *Greece*. After this, the LL. of the Senat addressed another new embassage into *Macedony* and *Greece*, whereof *Ap. Claudius* was the chief for to visit and see, whether the Cities adjudged and assigned to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians were delivered unto them accordingly. They also had in charge to cause the garrisons to quit *Ænus* and *Maronea*, and to look that all the sea-coast of *Thracia*, were freed from the subjection of *Philip* and the Macedonians. They were enjoyned moreover to go into *Peloponnesus*, from whence the former embassie was departed in more doubtfull terms than if they had never gone thither. For o- D ver and besides other things they were sent away without any answer for their dispatch: and albeit they requested the Achæans for to assemble their generall Diet, they might not obtain it. For which, when as *Q. Cæcilius* found himself discontented and grievously complained, and the Lacedæmonians withall made pitious moan, that the walls of their City were demolished and rased, their common people lead away in captivity into *Achæa*, and there sold, and the laws of *Lycurgus* taken from them, under which their City and Common-weal untill that day had been maintained and governed: the Achæans excused themselves most of all for the imputation of refusing to hold a Council; and to that purpose they rehearsed a Law and Ordinance, whereby they were forbid- den expresselly to call and publish a Diet, unless it were in the case of levying war and contracting of peace, upon occasion that any embassadors came directly unto them from the Senat of *Rome* with letters, or commission in writing. But for that this manner of excuse should not serve their E turn again afterwards, the Senat gave them plainly to understand, that they ought to take care and order that the Roman Embassadors might at all times have means of free access to their Councils, like as they also reciprocally should have a Senat held for their sakes, as often as they would themselves.

After these embassages were departed, *Philip* was advertised by his Embassadors, that there was no remedy but he must abandon those Cities, and withdraw his garrisons: and herewith being mightily offended & angred against all, yet he discharged his choler only upon the Maronits. Unto *Onomastus*, warden of the ports and sea-coasts, he gave commandment to kill the chief of the adverse part. And he by the means of *Cassander*, one of the Kings supposts and favorits who a long F time had dwelt in *Maronea*, procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night. & there he committed murder and massacre, as if it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embassadors made complaint to him, namely of such outrages committed so cruelly against the guiltless Maronits, and so proudly and insolently against the people of *Rome*; in that they should be killed and cut in peeces as enemies, unto whom the Senat had ordained restitution of their freedom, he made answer and said, that neither himself, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another; whiles some of the Citizens drew to him, and others enclined to King *Eumenes*. Which ye may (qd. he) soon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronits themselves: for this account he made, that whiles they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him. *Appius* replied again, and said, That they were not to make G an enquiry in this so evident and notorious a fact, as if it were in any respect doubtfull: but if he would discharge and clear himself as innocent of the action, he should send to *Rome Onomastus* and *Cassander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senat might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the first so troubled and dashed the King that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himself, he made answer, That (if they needs would) he cared not much to send *Cassander*, for that he had dwelt & continued in *Maronea*: but as for *Onomastus*, who neither was at *Maronea*,

nor

nor so much as in any quarter near unto it, how possibly could he be charged or touched with the H
matter? Now as he spared *Onomastus* the rather of the twain, and was loath to have him come in
question, as being his more dear and honourable friend: so he feared him much more than the
other, lest he should bewray and disclose the thing; for that himself had conferred with him
thereabout; and besides, he had served his turn divers times as a Minister to execute, and been
privy unto him as a complice to plot such like designments. *Cassander* also, as it is verily thought,
was poisoned and made away, by certain that were sent of purpose to accompany him through
Epirus to the sea side; and all because the villany should not be detected and come to light. Thus
the Legats departed from the parley and conference with *Philip*, as shewing in their counte-
nance, that they were nothing well pleased: and *Philip* on the other side went his waies as reso-
lute to levy war again: but forasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to do any exploit, I
ard because he would delay the time between, he determined to send his younger son *Demetrius*
to *Rome*, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith he was charged, and also by hum-
ble request to appease the anger of the Senat; supposing, that this young gentleman, who had
been left as an hostage at *Rome*, and there had shewed a good testimony of a Princely nature and
royall disposition, might much avail in the cause. In the mean while himself under colour of aid-
ding the Bizantins, but in very truth to strike some terrour into the Princes of *Thrace*, made an
expedition against them: and when he had in one battell discomfited them, and taken prisoner
their chief Captain *Amadorus*, he returned into *Macedony*, having sent certain messengers to solli-
cit the barbarous nations inhabiting near the river *Ister*, for to enter and invade *Italy*. In *Pelo-*
ponnesus also the coming of the Roman Legats was expected, who by this commission were enjoy- K
ned to pass out of *Macedony* into *Achæa*: against whom because the Achæans would not be to
seek what to say, *Lycortas* their Prætor summoned a publike Councill aforehand. In which there
was parly as touching the Lacedæmonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become in-
formers and accusers, and danger it was, lest when they were conquished they would be more to
be feared, than all the time that they waged war. For during the wars, the Achæans found the Ro-
mans to be their good associats, but now the same Romans are more friendly to the Lacedæmo-
nians, than to the Achæans, seeing that *Areus* and *Alcibiades* (banished persons both out of *Lace-*
dæmon, and by the means of the Achæans restored again to their place) had undertaken to go in
embassage to *Rome*, against the Achæan nation, which had so well deserved at their hands; and
there gave so hard language against them, as if they had been chased and driven out of their coun- L
try and not restored thereunto by them. Hereupon arose a great outcry from all parts of the as-
sembly, for to put to question, what should be determined expressely of them by name; and in
this fit, where all went by choler, and nothing by counsel, condemned they were to die. Some few
daies after came the Roman Embassadors, for whose sake a Councill was holden at *Clitora*, a Ci-
ty in *Arcadia*. But before any matter was treated on, the Achæans were surprised with exceeding
fear, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and car-
ried with any indifferency for their behoof; forasmuch as they saw *Areus* & *Alcibiades* condem-
ned by them in the last Councill) to be in the company of the said Embassadors, and no man durst
open his lips and speak a word. *Appius* declared, That the Senat was much displeased at those mat-
ters whereof the Lacedæmonians had made complaint, namely, That first in a tumultuary fray and M
conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by *Philopœmen*, and came to plead and
speak in their own cause: Then, after they had exercised their cruelty thus against their persons,
to the end, that in no part their inhumanity should be wanting, they had rased the walls of a right
noble and famous City, abolished their most ancient laws, and put down the discipline and go-
vernment of *Lycurgus*, so renowned throughout all nations. When *Appius* had made an end of his
speech then *Lycortas*, both in regard that he was Prætor, and also because he took part with the
faction of *Philopœmen* (who was the author of all that had been done at *Lacedæmon*) made an-
swer in this wise: "More hard it is for us now, O *Appius*, to speak before you, than of late it was
"in the presence of the Senat. For then we were to answer the Lacedæmonians, who accused us:
"but at this present we have you to be our accusers before whom, as competent judges we should N
"plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have submitted our selves, and undergone this unequal
"and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accusatory heat
"which not long since you used, and put upon you the person of a Judg to hear with indifference
"and equity. For mine own part, considering that you erewhile have but related those matters
"which the Lacedæmonians both here in place before *Q. Cacilius* of late, and also at *Rome* after-
"wards complained of, I would think that I am to answer therefore not unto you, but unto them
"in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them who being called out by the Prætor
"*Philopœmen* to plead their cause were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected
"against us by you Romans, no, nor so much by any other in your audience. And why so? because O
"it was expressely specified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the Lacedæmoni-
"ans should have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the Lacedæmonians
"took arms, and seised by force in the night those Cities, which they were precisely forbidden
"to meddle withall; *T. Quintius*, if the Roman army had been in * *Peleponnesus*, as aforetime no
"doubt we must needs think, that being thus surprised and evill entreated, they would have had
"recourse thither for succour. But since ye were so far off, whither else should they flie and re-
"tire themselves, but to us your allies, whom they had seen before to help and succour *Gythium?*
"whom

* *Mœta.*

A "whom upon the like cause they knew to have assailed *Lacedæmon* together with you? It was in
"your quarrel therefore that we enterprised a just and lawful war. Which being an act of ours, by
"others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedæmonians to be condemned, and
"considering that even the Gods themselves have approved thereof in that they gave us victory,
"how cometh it then to pass, that you bring those matters into question which are by right of
"law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. That
"we caused them to come forth to answer their cause, who had raised a commotion of the multi-
"tude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had ranacked them, who also had massacred
"the principal citizens, we are to answer therefore, and to us that properly appertaineth. But
"that they were murdered in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but your
B "deed O *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who now (forsooth) are become our accusers. The banished La-
"cedæmonians (of which number those two also are, and who at that time were with us, for that
"they chose the coast Towns to retire into for their habitations) supposing that their own death
"was sought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, they ran upon
"those, by whose means they were driven out of their countrey; even upon an indignation that
"they might not so much as pass their old age in banishment with safety. They were the Lace-
"dæmonians then, and not the Achæans that slew the Lacedæmonians: whether justly or unjustly,
"that is not the question, neither skuseth it. But what say ye to this O Achæans, how can ye deny
"but that ye are culpable, in that ye have abolished the Laws and the most ancient discipline of
"*Lycurgus*? and withal rased the walls of *Lacedæmon*? And how is it possible that both these
C "points should be objected unto us by the same men? considering that those walls were never
"built by *Lycurgus*, but contrary-wise (and not many years past) for to overthrow and anull the
"discipline instituted by *Lycurgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to serve as a fortress
"and bulwark for themselves, and not for a defence unto the City. And if *Lycurgus* at this day
"should rise again from death to life, he would take joy in their ruins, and say that he acknow-
"ledged now his own native countrey and ancient *Sparta* indeed. You Lacedæmonians should
"not have expected *Philopœmen* nor the Achæans, but your selves ought with your own hands to
"have pulled down and destroied, all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Those walls were the
"very marks and as a man would say, the unseemly and deformed scars of your thraldom and ser-
"vitude. And you who without walls for the space almost of 800 years had lived in freedom,
D "yea, and for a certain time also had been masters of *Greece*, became slaves during a hundred years,
"enclosed and restrained within walls, as if ye had been fettered by the feet. Now as touching the
"laws, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us, I suppose verily that the tyrants they
"were, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their ancient laws: and that we have not taken from
"them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have
"we done otherwise than well by them: but regarded much the good of their City and Common-
"wealth, in that we have united them in our solemn court of Parliament, and incorporated them
"unto us: to the end, that in all *Peloponnesus*, there should be but one body, one State, and one
"Councel. Then (I wot well) they might have justly complained to have been wronged, then
"they might have grieved and said they had not been well used, in case we our selves had lived
E "under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, O *Appius*, that
"all my speech hitherto is neither beseeming allies to use unto their allies, nor decent and meet
"for a nation that is free, but rather (to speak more truly) fit for slaves debating before their ma-
"sters. For if that sound of the trumpet, if that voice of the publick crier were not in vain, where-
"by ye ordained and declared, That we Achæans before all others should be free; if the confede-
"ration stand firm and stable; if our alliance and amity be entertained and observed equally and
"indifferently: why demand not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of *Capua*? See-
"ing you will have us Achæans to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedæmonians
"whom we conquered by war? Set case that we caused some of them to be killed. What of that?
"Commanded not you (I pray) that the Senators of *Capua* should lose their heads? We have
F "demolished the walls indeed, but ye have not only ruinated their walls, but wholly turned them
"out of City and territory. But (you will say) the confederation in behalf of the Achæans is equal
"and indifferent in outward apparence, and in truth and effect their liberty dependeth upon the
"good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminence of the seignory and
"dominion besides: I know it *Appius*, as well as you can tell me, yea, and (although it behoveth
"me not so to be) I am not overmuch offended and discontented therewith. But this I beseech
"you, let there be as great ods and difference as ye will between us Achæans and you Romans:
"provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account,
"nay, that they be not in a better degree and condition than we your allies and associats. For,
"that they should be equal to us, we have been the cause in that we granted them our own laws,
"in that we admitted them to be incorporate in the general Diet of the Achæan State and com-
"monalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to content and satisfie
"the conquerors: enemies demand more than allies have and enjoy: and those things which are
"confirmed by oath, ratified and consecrated by monuments and instruments of writings, cut and
"engraven in stone, for a perpetual memory to all posterity, they would force and wrest from us
"even with our perjury. True it is, O Romans, we honour and revence you; yea and if you will
"needs have it so, we dread and fear you also: but yet so, as we both honour and also fear the im-

"mortal Gods more than you. Audience he had with, the accord and consent of the greater part: H
and all men judged, that he had spoken like a Magistrat indeed, and for the dignity and Majesty of
his place: in such sort, as it was easily seen, that they were never able to hold their dignity and
maintain their authority with the Romans, in case they went coldly to work and proceeded in
mild terms with them. Then *Appius* answered and said, "That he would gladly advise and per-
"swade them, all that he possibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians, whiles they
"might do it with full contentment; for fear lest soon after they should be constrained and forced
"to seek unto them against their wills and maugre their hearts. At this word they all sighed and
groned again; but affraid they were and durst not refuse to do that which they were commanded.
This petition only they made unto the Romans, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would
change & alter what they thought good, and not force the Achæans to sin against their conscience, I
in disanulling those things which they had established and ratified with a solemn oath. So the sen-
tence of condemnation only (lately passed against *Arcus* and *Alcibiades*) was reversed.

In the beginning of this year (when at *Rome* they had sitten in consultation about the Provinces
of Consuls and Pretors) *Liguria* was assigned unto the Consuls for their charge and government,
because there was no war in any other place. Then the Pretors cast lots for theirs. To *C. Decimius
Flavus* fell the jurisdiction of the City: and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that other betwixt citizens
and forrainers: *C. Sempronius* had the government of *Sicily*, and *Q. Nævius Matho* of *Sardinia* with
commission also to sit upon the inquisition in case of poisoning. *A. Terentius Varro* was deputed
L. Governor of high *Spain*, and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of those 2 Provinces it fell
out so, that there came much about the same time two Lieutenants, L. *Jwventius Talva* and *T.* K
Quintilius Varus; who having related before the Senat how great a war was now dispatched and
finished in *Spain*, required withal, that there should be rendred praise and thanks to the immortal
Gods for the happy success in the wars, and likewise that the Pretors might be permitted to bring
away their armies. So there was a solemn procession ordained to be holden two dayes: but as
touching the reducing of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated, at what time
as there should be question about the armies of Consuls and Pretors together. Some few dayes
after, it was ordained, that the Consuls should have with them into *Liguria* two legions apeece,
which *Ap. Claudius* and M. *Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spanish forces, great
contention there was between the new Pretors and the friends of *Calpurnius* and *Quintius* in
their absence. Both sides had Tribuns and both had Consuls to take part with them. The Tribuns L
threatned to cross the act of the Senat, if they ordained that the armies should be brought home.
The Consuls again protested, that if the Tribuns thus opposed their negative, they would not suf-
fer any other decree and ordinance to pass. In conclusion, the respect of those that were absent,
was of less importance: and an act of the Senat was entred, That the Pretors should enrol 4000
footmen of Romans, and 400 horsemen: likewise 5000 foot and as many horse of Latine allies, to
conduct with them into *Spain*. And when they had thus enrolled these four full legions, look what
surplusage there remained over and above 5000 foot and 300 horse in a legion, they should give
them their congie and dismiss them of souldiery; first, as many as had served out their full time,
and then those who had born themselves most valiantly in the war under *Calpurnius* and *Quin-
tius*. M

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the neck of it, occasioned
by the death of *P. Decimius* the Pretor. *Cn. Licinius* and L. *Puppius* (who had been Ædiles the last
year before) likewise *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, laboured to be in
his room late deceased. As for the last of these rehearsed (because he was Ædile Curule) he
shewed not himself in his white robe; but he made more means and laboured above all the rest,
having to his adversary and concurrent the Flamin abovesaid. At the first he seemed equal only
unto him in the suit, but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribuns of
the Commons stood upon this point, and alledged, That his name was not to be accepted as eli-
gible; for that one and the self-same person might neither take nor exercise at one time, the fun-
ction of two Magistracies; and namely, both Curule or of State. Others again said, that it was N
meet and reason that he were dispensed with and exempt from the Laws in that behalf, to the end,
that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would for Pretor. L. *Porcius* the Consul
was first of this resolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, because he would seem to do
by warrant and authority of the Senat, he assembled the LL. together and said that he propoun-
ded and put to question before them, That for asmuch as an Ædile elect sued to be Pretor with-
out all right, or any precedent tolerable in a free-state; for his own part he was minded (unless
they were of a contrary opinion) to hold the general assembly for the election according to law.
Then the LL. gave their advice, that L. *Porcius* the Consul, should commune and treat with Q.
Fulvius, that he would be no hinderance, but that the assembly for the substitution of a Pretor in
the room of *C. Decimius* departed, might be holden by order of law. As the Consul was thus in O
hand with him according to the act of the Senat *Flaccus* made answer, That he would do nothing
unfitting his own person. By this doubtful and indifferent answer of his, he put those in good hope
(who expounded and construed as they would have it) that he would accommodate and apply
himself to the authority of the LL. of the Senat: but at the time of the election he sued more
earnestly than before; complaining of the Consul and Senat, That they wrung and wrested out of
his hands the benefit of the people of *Rome* intended unto him; and to bring him into ill will and
obloquy

A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two offices and a double dignity: as if all the
world saw not, that after he were declared and pronounced Pretor, he would incontinently resign
up the Ædileship. The Consul perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the suit,
and also the favor and affection of the people enclined more and more toward him, brake up the
assembly aforesaid, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent session of Senators it was ordained,
That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing moved with the authority of the LL. of that
honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people.
When the people were met together at the summons of the Consul, he propoied the matter unto
him before them. *Flaccus* relented never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the peo-
ple of *Rome* thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him Pretor;
B so often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him:
which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This
constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed so great love and affection in them to-
ward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen Pretor out of hand, in case the Consul
would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribuns, one against
another; yea, and between them and the Consul, until at length the Consul held a Senat, and there
a decree passed in this wise. That forasmuch as the wilfull stub borness of Q. *Flaccus* of one side,
and the inordinat affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for subelect-
ing of a Pretor in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the Senat
agreed and resolved, that there were already Pretors enough, and *P. Cornelius* should administer
C and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the playes and games in the honour of
Apollo.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdome and valorous cou-
rage of the Senat suppressed, there arose another far greater, by how much the thing was of weigh-
tier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number and for quality and place migh-
tier. There stood in election to be Censors (and that with earnest endeavour and exceeding heat
of contention) L. *Valerius Flaccus*, P. and L. both *Scipios*; *Cn. Manlius Volso*, and *L. Furius Purpureo*,
all *Patritii*. And of commoners, M. *Porcius Cato*, M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, *T.* and *Marcus* both *Sem-
pronii*, the one surnamed *Longus*, the other *Tuditanus*. But *M. Porcius* over-went them all by
many degrees, as well those of the Patritians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were
D come of most noble families. This man carried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that
howsoever he were born and descended, it seemed he was able to make way of himself to ad-
vancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisit for the managing either of
private busines of his own, or publick affairs of state: cunning he was in country husbandry, as
well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places, by
their deep knowledge in the law: others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again,
who have risen and become great through martial prowess and feats of arms. But this man was
by nature so trainable and pliant to all alike, that whatsoever he addicted and gave himself unto,
a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to
nothing else. In war a most hardy and valiant souldier: and in many foughten fields highly re-
E nowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander
he proved, and General of an army. In peace again, for sound counsel in the civil law, passing well
learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself so,
that his tongue flourished only whiles he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singu-
lar eloquence; but it liveth, nay, it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were and recommended to
posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extrant many, which he penned and pro-
nounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends, yea, and invectives also against
others: for able he was to put down and weary his adversaries, not only by declaiming and accu-
sing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Factious quarrels and enmities there were exceed-
ing many, that tormented him; and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set
F down, whether he were urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself coursed and baited
them more. Doubtless, by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharp biting, and be-
yond measure plain and free: but he carried a mind with him that stooped to no desires and lusts
whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: de-
spising all fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In thift and frugality, in sobriety, in
patience, in sufferance of travail and danger, his body was steel to the very back. And as for his
mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abateth and consumeth all things else)
was not able to break and daunt: when he was fourscore years old and six, he pleaded at the bar
for others: he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year of
his age, he convented *Sergius Galba* before the people, to receive his judgment by them. As all his
G life time before, the nobility was set against him, so when he stood now to be Censor, they pressed
hard upon him: insomuch as all his competitors (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his col-
leagne in the Consulship) complotted together, how they might give him the repulse and put him
besides the Cushion: not only for that their own teeth watered, and they were desirous themselves
rather of that honor; nor because they repined to see a new risen Gentleman, and one of the first
head to be a Censor: but also because they looked for no other but that his Censorship would be
rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men; considering how he had been

The commen-
dation of *M.
Porcius Cato*.

crossed and hurt by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a shrewd turn, and be meet with them again. For even then, whiles he laboured and sued for the place, he used minatory speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship sharply exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith he maintained and upheld the suit of *L. Valerius* with him, saying, that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rife in the City, and to bring in request again the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much moved in these respects and considerations; and so maugre the heads of the nobility, they not only created him Censor, but also adjoyned unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretors took their journies into their several Provinces, all save Q. *Nævius*; who before that he could go into *Sardinia*, was staied behind no less than four months, about certain inquisitions of poisoning: whereof, he sate upon many without the City of *Rome*, in corporate burroughs, market Towns and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we list to believe *V. Antias*, he condemned two thousand persons.

Semblably, *L. Posthumius* the Pretor, (unto whom the government of *Tarentum* by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain grasiers; and with great care and diligence followed the enquest of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their sureties bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of *Italy* he either judged and condemned as guilty and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to *Rome* unto the Senat; who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the farther part of *Spain* all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war subdued: but in the hither part, *A. Terentius* forced *Corbio* a Town of the Suessetans, which he assaulted with mantilets and other fabricks of war, and sold all the prisoners: which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of *Spain* also.

The old Pretors, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quintius* returned to *Rome*; and both of them were with great accord and content of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph. And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in shew 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few dayes after, *L. Quintius* triumphed over the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnity, there was represented in shew, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, whiles men hung in suspence between fear and hope what they would do, held a review and a new choice of the Senate. Seven Senators they displaced and deposed from that dignity: amongst whom, there was one of mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely, *L. Quintius Flaminnus* who had been Consul. An ancient order (they say) it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senat, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers sharp orations of *Cato*, against them whom either he called and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away horses of service: but of all others, the fouresit and bittersit is that of his, against this *L. Quintius*; which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother *T. Quintius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quintius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters he articled against him, That he had trained with him from *Rome* into his Province of *France* (in hope of many great rewards) one * *Philippus Pœnus*, a notorious and costly Ganymede. This boy, as he was fooling and playing the wanton with the said *Quintius* then Consul, used to upbraid him with this, That he was had away from *Rome*, against the very time that the shew of sword-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to shew how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chanced as they were making good cheer together, and having taken their wine liberally were well heat therewith, news came and reported it was in the banket time, That a certain noble man of the Boians was arrived, with his children, as a renegat from the adverse part; and was desirous to speak with the Consul, for to have assurance from his mouth of safe-conduct: whobeing brought into the pavilion began to parly with the Consul by a truchman or interpreter. And in the midst of his speech: How saist thou (quoth *Quintius* to that wanton deinty, his Catamite) because thou hast missed and lost the sight of those sword-players at *Rome*, wilt thou see presently here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him in good earnest of his desire that way: but the Consul at the first beck of that beastly filth and baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and first gave the poor Gaul a wound in his sconce as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to flie from him, and called upon the protection of the people of *Rome*, and the assistance of those that were present, *Quintius* ran him quite through the sides. *Valerius Antias*, who never had read the oration of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying fable only, without any head or author, telleth the tale with some other circumstance howbeit much like in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty. He writeth, that *Quintius* whiles he abode at *Plaisance*, sent for a famous courtesan (upon whom he was enamored) to a banket; and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, vanting himself unto

* This Philip I take to be no Carthaginian. The name foundeth not like others of this nation: but both it and Pœnus are Roman proper names.

unto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners he had in Icons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harlotry sitting next beneath him, said, That she had never in all her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a sight that of all other she would faine see. Whereupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratify the queen, caused one of those poor souls condemned to die, to be set out of prison into the banketting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was & inhuman, whether it were committed as *Cato* hath objected in his Oration, or as *Valerius* hath written in his story, that any human creature should be thus massacred like a sacrifice, and the table besprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custome was to taste and take the first essay in the honor of the Gods, and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and feed the eye of a wanton and shameless Harlot, lying in the bosome of the Consul. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quintius*, That if he would plead unguilty, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial: but if he confessed himself guilty, then he willed him to consider whether he thought any man would grieve and be sorry at the ignominie which he was to receive, who being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to shed mens blood at a very banket. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of *Rome*, *L. Scipio Asiaticus* had his great horse of service taken from him. This Censorship was likewise executed with severity and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely, in the prising and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparrel of women, also of their chariots and coaches if they amounted to the sum of 15000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Censors book; *Item*, all bondslaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 10000 Asses or upward, that they should be valued at an higher price by ten sold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand. These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a privat house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all houses either built by private persons upon common ground, or any wayes encroaching and leaning to publike places they caused to be demolished and pulled down within thirty dayes. After this, they set out divers peeces of work to be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose, namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to scoure the draughts and sinks where need was: and in the mount *Aventine* and other parts where none were already to make new. And particularly of themselves *Flaccus* caused the causey or wharfe to be made against the waters called *Neptunia*, that the people might pass to and fro that way: and also a street-way through *Formianum*. And *Cato* for his part built two galleries, * *Mœnium* and *Titium*, in the Mineries: and bought four shops for the City: he built there also the stately Hall or Palace called *Porcia*. As for the City revenues, they did set and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding racked rent: but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains aforesaid being once cancelled by order from the Senat, and new made at the importunat suit and that with outcries and tears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers: then the Censors by proclamation commanded those to avoid fat from the subhastation, who had disanulled the former leases and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demised the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a censorship of great note, full of rapine, ill will, and heart-burning, which troubled and molested M. *Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therin.

* Querites. Latinius.

The same year two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from *Rome*, to wit, *Pollentia* into the Picene territory, and *Pisaurum* into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the coloners. And the same Triumvirs, namely, Q. *Fabius Labeo*, M. *Fulvius Flaccus*, and Q. *Fulvius Nobilior*, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and planting of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consuls that year atchieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against the year following they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and Q. *Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of *March*, on which day they entred into their government, put to question as concerning the Provinces, as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* (who also the year before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *P. Cornelius Sisenna*, also *L. Puppius*, *L. Iulius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*. Unto the Consuls was assigned the province *Liguria*, together with the charge of the same armies which *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had conducted. As for both the Provinces in *Spain* [as we beyond as on this side *Iberus*] they were reserved with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the former year by special commission without casting any lots at all therefore. The new Pretors were enjoyned for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of *Rome*. So he was *L.* chief justice for the forrainers, and *Sisenna Cornelius* over the citizens. Unto *Sp. Posthumius* fell *Sicily*, to *L. Puppius Apulia*, to *L. Iulius Gallia*, and to *Cn. Sicinius Sardinia*. As for *L. Iulius* he was enjoined to make hast and set forward on his journey for the Transalpin Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the streights of the forests and wales unknown before time, into *Italy*, as hath been before said, and were building them

a Town in that territory, which at this day is called *Aquilienſis*. This Pretor had in charge to im- B peach them in that enterprise, ſo far forth as he might poſſibly without war and force of arms: and if there were no other remedy but that they muſt of neceſſity uſe violence, then to certify the Conſuls therof: for agreed it was that one of them ſhould lead the Legions againſt the Gauls. In the end of the former year there was a general aſſembly holden for the chuſing of an Augur: wher- in *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* was created in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* late deceaſed. But in the beginning of this preſent year P. *Licinius Craſſus* the arch-Pontife departed out of this world, in whoſe place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was inveſted for the Biſhop. But *C. Servilius Geminus* was created the arch-prelat or high-prieſt aforſaid. In the honor of P. *Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of fleſh: and a ſhew exhibited of 120 ſword-ſenſers fighting at ſharp: likewiſe there were repreſented funeral plaies and games, which continued three dayes: and after that ſolemnity, I a feaſt was holden: during which, when the tables were ſet & ſpred accordingly all over the grand- place of the City, ſuddainly there aroſe a tempeſt with great ſtoirms, which forced moſt men to erect tents and booths there: but after a while when the weather was fair again, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and ſaid, That wheras the Prophets & wiſards had foretold among other their fatal preſages, that they ſhould be forced to quarter & pitch tents in the market place of *Rome*; now that propheſie was fulfilled, and they were ſreed and excuſed from farther danger. And no ſooner were they eaſed and delivered of that ſcruple, but they were troubled with another; for that it had rained blood two daies in the court-yard of *Vulcan*: and the Decemvirs publiſhed a ſolemn ſupplication for the expiation of that prodigious ſgn.

Before that the Conſuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senat ſor to have K audience, the embaſſages come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were ſo many men of thoſe forrain parts ſeen at *Rome*. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad amongſt the nations bordering upon *Macedony*, that the Romans gave no deaf ear to the complaints and ac- cuſations commenſed againſt *Philip*, and that many had ſped well by complaining; every City and State in their own behalf, yea, and many privat perſons in particular (for an ill neighbour he was to them all) repaired to *Rome*, in hope either to be righted and eaſed of their wrongs, or to diſ- charge their ſtomacks and be moned and comforted for their miſeries. Likewiſe from King *Eu- menes* there arrived an embaſſage accompanied with his own brother *Athenæus* to make com- plaint, as finding themſelves grieved that the garriſons were not withdrawn out of *Thracia*: as al- ſo to inſorm that *Philip* had ſent certain aids into *Bithynia* to *Pruſias* who made war upon *Eu-* L *menes*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his ſon) at that time a very yong Gentleman, was to anſwer to all theſe challenges: and an eaſy peece of work it was not, either to bear in mind all the matters ob- jected; or to think upon the points of every anſwer accordingly. For over and beſides, that the ar- ticles were many in number, moſt of them were of very ſmall conſequence and importance: name- ly, ſtrife about limits and land-marks, about carying away men and raviſhing women; of driving of cattel, of miniſtring juſtice partially and with affection, or elſe of none miniſtred at all: of ſen- tences given and judgments paſſed in cauſes either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could ſpeak to theſe points and give them good evidence, nor themſelves be well informed and cleerly inſtructed by him; being moved alſo and grieved to ſee the youth ſo raw a ſcholer in theſe affairs, and therwith much troubled in ſpirit, gave order to enquire and de- M mand of him. Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father, as touching the pre- miſſes? And when he anſwered and ſaid, Yea, they thought the firſt and principal thing for them to do was, to ſee and hear what were the anſwers of the King to every ſpecialty and particular. And thereupon they preſently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents therof. Now therein were ſet down certain brief abſtracts of pleas and defenſes, to each ſeveral point: ſhewing *Imprimis*, that ſome things he had done according to the decrees & awards of the Roman Delegats and commiſſioners. *Item*, Wheras he had left ſom what undone, the default was not in him but in the very parties that accuſed him. He had interlaced between, certain grie- va ces and complaints, as touching the iniquity and hard penning of thoſe decrees: and how mat- ters were not ſcanned and debated before *Cæcilius* with that indifferency and equity as was meet N and requiſit: and namely that without deſert of his part, all men were ſet againſt him and inſulted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of *Philip* was wounded and galled againſt the Romans. But when the yong Prince excuſed ſome of theſe matters, and for the reſt promiſed and undertook, that all ſhould be done to the uttermoſt as it pleaſed the Senat to order and ſet down; then it was thought good to deliver this anſwer unto him, That his father had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat than that he ſeemed willing (howſoever matters were paſſed already) to make ſatisfaction to the Romans by the means of his ſon *Demetrius*. As for the Senat, they could diſſemble, forget, put up and endure many things done and paſt: yea, and were perſwaded verily in their hearts, that they might believe and truſt *Deme- trius*: as knowing aſſuredly, that although they ſent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had O his heart and affection with them ſtill, as a ſure pledge and hoſtage: and that he was a friend to the people of *Rome*, ſo far forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leave: let- ting him withal to underſtand, that for to do him honor, they would ſend Embaſſadors into *Ma- cedony* to the end that if ought had not been ſo fully effectuated as it ſhould have been, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or pœnal ſatisfaction to be made for any thing hitherto omitted: yea, and deſirous they were, that *Philip* ſhould underſtand, that by the

A the mediation of *Demetrius* and for his ſake, he ſtood yet in good terms of peace and friendſhip with the people of *Rome*. Theſe things intended and done for the increaſe of credit and reputati- on, preſently turned to the diſpleaſure of the yong Gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

Then were the Lacedæmonians admitted to audience in the Senate. They moved many petty matters and trifling controverſies; but thoſe that principally touched the main point were theſe, to wit, Whether they ſhould be reſtored again whom the Achæans had condemned, or no? *Item*, Whether they were juſtly or unjuſtly killed, whom they murdered? Moreover, they put to queſti- on, Whether the Lacedæmonians were to be compriſed within the general aſſembly and Counſel of *Achæa*; or, that this State (as before-time) ſhould have their rights and franchiſes apart by, B themſelves from all others in *Peloponneſus*? The Senat ordained and awarded: *Imprimis*, That they ſhould be reſtored. *Item*, That the ſentences pronounced againſt them, ſhould be reverſed. *Item*, That *Lacedæmon* ſhould do ſervice to that high court and publick Diet of *Achæa*: and ſinally, that this accord and award ſhould be engroſſed, ſubſcribed, and ſigned as well by the Lacedæmonians as Achæans.

Q. Martius was ſent Embaſſador into *Macedony*: who alſo had direction and order given him by the ſame commiſſion, to viſit the ſtate of the allies in *Peloponneſus*: for there alſo remained ſome troubles after the old quarrels and variance: yea, and the Meſſenians refuſed to appear at the gene- ral councel of *Achæa*. Now if I would ſet in hand to record the cauſes and circumſtances of that war, I ſhould forget my purpoſe in the beginning of my work, wherein I reſolved not to touch at C all any diſcourſe of forain hiſtories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs. How- beit one memorable occurrence there hapned, which I cannot paſs by, namely, that albeit the Acha- ans had the better hand in war, yet it chanced that *Philopœmen* their Pretor was taken priſoner by the Meſſenians, as he made an expedition to ſeize upon *Corone* by prævention, which the enemies were deſirous to be maſters of. Surpriſed he was in a valley of great diſadvantage, and ſome few horſmen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Candiots, he might have fled and eſcaped: but for very ſhame to abandon thoſe men of arms, which were the nobleſt Gen- tlemen of that nation, & whom he lately had made choice of, he had not the power to do other- wiſe, but ſtay to ſee the laſt. For whiles he came himſelf behind in the rereward, becauſe he was deſirous to make means for their evaſion through the ſtreights of that paſs, and to that purpoſe va- D liantly received the charge of the enemies, his horſe fell and caſt him at once; ſo as with his own fall and his horſe lying upon him, he had like to have gone away, in a ſwoon: a man now threeſcore years old and ten; and withal, newly crept abroad, and recovered of a long and lingering diſeaſe, which had mightily waſted and conſumed the ſtrength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him; and ſo ſoon as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horſe, no leſs reſpective than if he had been their own General in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to him- ſelf, and forth of that by-valley ſtanding out of the paſs, they carried him into the high way: and were ſo far poſſeſſed and overcome with joy ſo unexpected, that they could not well believe their owne eyes that they had gotten him. Some diſpatched van-courriers to *Meſſene* with the news E hereof; namely, that the war was brought to an end, conſidering that *Philopœmen* was taken and was their priſoner. At firſt the tidings ſeemed ſo incredible, that the formoſt meſſenger was held, not only for a vain liar, but alſo for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the ſame at length it was believed. And then, ſee what they did! before they knew for certain that he approached neer unto the City; they all, ran forth of the gates by heaps to ſee the man: all, (I ſay) bond as well as free, women and chil- dren one with another. In ſo much, as the gates were choaked up with the thruſt and throng of the preſs: for no man could believe aſſuredly it was true, the thing was ſo ſtrange, unleſs he might ſee him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, ſound much ado to put by the multitude whom they encounted, and to enter in at the gate: and ſo thick they ſtood in the F preſs, that they took up all the wayes beſides, ſo as he could not be brought forth to be ſeen. Now becauſe the moſt part of the people might not poſſibly have a ſight of him, they gat up all at once into the Theatre, which ſtood neer unto the way, and peſtered it full; and with one voice they cried aloud, That he might be brought thither and preſented unto the view of the whole people. The Magiſtrats and principal citizens, fearing leſt the compaſſion that might ariſe in mens hearts upon the beholding of ſo worthy a perſonage, would raiſe ſome trouble and commotion; whiles ſome comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majeſty, with his preſent condition and calamity; and others calling to remembrance his manifold deſerts and paſſing good turns; might haply be touched with pity; ſet him a far off in the open ſight of them all, and then at once took him haſtily out of their view: for their Pretor *Dinocrates* gave out openly and ſaid, That the G Magiſtrats were to enquire and demand certain points of him as touching the main ſum of the to- tall war. Then he was brought into their Councel-Chamber, where their Senate aſſembled and began to conſult about him. It was now well toward evening; and ſo far off they were from reſolving in other matters, that they could not bethink themſelves and agree, in what place they might keep him that one night in ſafeguard. Aſtonied they were and amaſed, to conſider and think upon the greatnes of his eſtate paſt, and of his noble vertue and valour: and no man durſt receive the charge and cuſtody of him in his own houſe, nor truſt any one beſides with his

his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publick treasury of the City, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled all about with strong square stone, into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mighty huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engin laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more trust for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his means and mediation, to seek for remedies and redress of their present distresses and calamities. But those persons by whose motive and inducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weal) consulted apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to put him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by delay. But those prevailed in the end, who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycortas* (the other General of the Achæans) were escaped alive, and the foresaid horsmen safe? When answer was made, that they were in safety: That is happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yeelded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of *Messene* being conquered by force of arms, among other capitulations, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of *Philopœmen* were likewise rendred unto them, and interred he was by the general Councel of all *Achæa*, in such solemn wise, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbare not also to adore him as a God immortal. The Historiographers, as well Greek as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this year:) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopœmen*, *Annibal*, and P. *Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and noblest Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintius Flamininus* in embassage to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans had in suspition and jealousy, both for that he had received *Annibal* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because he made war upon *Eumenes*. Now, were it that among other matters *Flamininus* charged *Prusias*, that he entertained in his court the most spightfull enemy of all men living, unto the people of *Rome*: who first sollicited his own native countrey to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, perswaded King *Antiochus* to do the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his own accord to gratify *Flamininus* there present, and to do the Romans a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Annibal*, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were souldiers sent incontinently to beset and guard his house. *Annibal* evermore forcast in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and inexpiable hatred that the Romans bare unto him; reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings, and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King *Prusias*. Moreover, he had in horrour this coming of *Flamininus*, as fatal unto him, and a mean to work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all sides he was encumbred, and have a ready way of evasion to save himself, he had devised and caused to be made seven doors for egress out of his house, whereof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be environed with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be searched out and discovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Annibal* being advertised that the Kings souldiers were at the gate, assaied to steal away at a postern, which stood furthest out of the way, and whereof the conveiance was most secret, but perceiving that the souldiers had beset it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, and that every place was invested with a set guard, he called for the poison which he had of long time before ready prepared for all such occurrent occasions, and uttered these words withal, "Let "us rid these Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while, "since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one old man. *Flamininus* shall obtain no "great nor memorable victory of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betraied into his hands. But this "very day shall prove and testify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from "their ancient manners. Their forefathers (qd. he) advertised King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed "in field, and lying with an host of men against them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I say to take "heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their Embassador, even one that hath "born the dignity of a Consul, to advise and counsel *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his "own guest. Then after he had cursed the person of *Prusias* and his whole realm, and called upon "the Gods, protectors of the law of hospitality, to bear witness how he had violated his faith "and broken promise with him, he set the cup of poison to his mouth, and drank it off. This was the end of *Annibal*. *Polybius* and *Rutilius* write, that *Scipio* also died this year. But I, accord neither with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censors, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senat, where-

The end of *Annibal*.

as *Africanus* had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Censors next before. And so long as the said *Africanus* lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been cassed and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which disgrace and note of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *Valerius Antias*, he is sufficiently refuted by *M. Navius* a Tribun of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Navius* is recorded in the rols and registers of Magistrats, by the title of Tribun of the Commons, in that year when *P. Cladius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but he entred into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius*, the tenth of December. From which time to the fifteenth of *March* are three months, upon which day *Tub. Cladius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship. So, it seemeth that he was living during the Tribunship of *Navius*, and that he might well commense an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other, in this regard, that they hapned all just at one time, more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the portly state and glorious lustre of his life. For first and formost in this they all jumped together, that they neither died nor were entered in their native countrey. Again, *Annibal* and *Philopœmen* were both poisoned. *Annibal* was banished and betraied by his own friend and host, *Philopœmen* was taken prisoner, and left his life in prison and irons. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of appearance at the day assigned unto him, and being cited to his answer in his absence, wilingly banished not himself only for his life time, but his corps and funerals also after his death.

Whiles those affairs passed in *Peloponnesus* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embassadors into *Macedony*, diversly wrought in mens minds, and amused them some in one thing, and some in another. The common people of *Macedony*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the author of peace, and withal they deemed him without all doubt to the Kingdom, after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawful wife, whereas he had *Perseus* by a concubin, who carried no token and mark of a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, men said, That the Romans would place and establish *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk stuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects else he was inferiour to his brother, but *Philip* also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was a more in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Offended otherwhiles he was, that the Macedonians resorred unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speak a truth, the young Prince himself returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt, with pride, than was beseeming: as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much favor and honor (in respect of the Romans) he won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby not only with his brother, but with his father also: and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived and that *Philip* was forced to part with *Thracia* and withdraw his garrisons, and to do other things either by vertue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. Well, he performed all, but with an heavy heart and many a deep sigh and grone, and so much the rather, because he observed and saw how his son *Demetrius* conversed more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeied, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans, because he would minister unto them no occasion of levying war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policy to avert their minds from all suspition that he minded any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the midst of *Thracia* against the Odrysians, Danthelets, and Bessians. He won the City *Philoppopolis* abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining: and after he had wasted the Lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champain countrey, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garrison at *Philippopolis*, which soon after was chased and expelled by the Odrysians, he determined to build a Town in *Deuriopus*, a region of *Paoria* neer the river *Erigonus*, which issueth out of *Illyricum*, and keeping his course through *Paonia* dischargeth it self, and falleth into the river *Axius*. Not far from *Strobe* the old City, he built a new, and caused it to be called *Perseis*, thereby to do honour to his eldest son *Perseus*.

During the train of these affairs in *Macedony*, the Consuls took their journey into their several Provinces. *Marcellus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Pro-consul, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first

approach

approach of the Consul, the Frenchmen yeelded the place. Twelve thousand they were that bare H
arms and most of them had by force gotten their armour out of their country villages, which was
taken from them maugre their hearts, with all things else, that either they had gotten out of the
country by pilling and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they addressed
their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to make complaint of these abuses and wrongs: who having au-
dience given in the Senat by C. *Valerius* the Pretor, declared, how by occasion that *Gaul* was sur-
charged with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and posses-
sions, as also for need and poverty, to pass over the *Alps* and seek themselves some place of habi-
tation. And where they saw any quarters forlet, desart, and unpeopled, there they had planted
themselves, without offering injury to any person: where also they had begun to build a town, I
which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or
country Village. And now of late *M. Claudius* had sent unto them a message, that unless they sub-
mitted and yeelded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (al-
though it were less honorable) before the doubtful hazard & adventures of war, surrendered, rather
to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of *Rome*. But a few
daies after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon resolved in
their mind to depart in silence and saying never a word into what place soever they could, there
to seek their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yea, and spoiled and stript of all that ever they
had, and nothing left, that either they drave before them, or carried about them. In regard where-
of, they were humble suppliants to the Senat and people of *Rome*, that they would not proceed in
more rigour and cruelty against them, harmless persons as they were, and submitting themselves K
unto them, than against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senat caused this an-
swer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into *Italy*, and presuming to
build them a City upon other mens territories without permission of the soveraign Roman Ma-
gistrat, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senat was well pleased, that they
should be thus despoiled, considering they had yeelded. And therefore minded they were to send
with them their Embassadors to the Consuls to command them in their name, to see that all their
own goods should be restored again unto them, so that they made return thither from whence
they came: who also should go forward immediatly over the *Alps*, to give the States of *France*
warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: for as much as L
the *Alps* were the frontier limits standing in the mids to confine between them, and therefore
those mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other: and to make account
of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time as
they first made a way and passage over them into *Italy*. The Embassadors employed about this
business, were *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. Thus the French, after re-
stitution made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others,
departed out of *Italy*. Now when these Roman Legats were come, they had good words and cour-
teous answer from the Transalpine nations. And those amongst them that were more ancient
than the rest, blamed the people of *Rome* for their overmuch lenity, in that they let those persons
go, who without warrant from the whole State, durst be so bold as to take a voyage to settle upon
any lands belonging to the Signory of *Rome*, and were so hardy as thereon to build a Town. For M
surely they deserved not less than to abide grievous smart for their rash demeanor. Moreover and
besides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that so
great indulgency of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterprise the like. So they
friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embassadors, yea, and liberally presented them
with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consul having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the
ground of the Istrick war, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senat, for a warrant and
commission to pass with his legions into *Istria*. The Senat was therewith contented. But whereas
they were in question and consultation about conducting a Colony to inhabite *Aquileia*, they
could not agree whom to send, whether Latins or Roman citizens. But in conclusion the LL. N
thought it better to plant there a Colony of Latins. The Triumvirs for to effect this, were created
P. Scipio Nasica, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*.

The same year were two Colonies of Roman citizens erected at *Mutina* and *Parma*: and two
thousand persons were to either place translated out of the territory which lately was occupied
by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuscans. They of *Parma* were en-
dued with eight acres of land, and those of *Mutina* with five a peece. The Triumvir-Commissi-
oners who had the disposing and managing of the business, were *M. Æmylius Lepidus*, *T. Ebutius
Carus*, and *L. Quintius Crispinus*. Likewise the colony *Saturnia* consisting of Roman citizens, was
brought into the territory of *Caletra*, by the conduct of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, *C. Afranius Stellio*, and
T. Semp Gracchus, deputed Triumvirs therefore: who set out for every man ten acres of ground. O

The same year *A. Terentius* the Pro-pretor, not far from the River *Iberus* in the Ausetans coun-
try, fought fortunatly against the Celtiberians, and forced certain Towns which they had forti-
fied. *Base Spain* beyond *Iberus* was quiet this year, because both *P. Sempronius* the Propretor lay
sick of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hap was) rested still and quiet, as being by
not man provoked to stir. Neither was there any memorable exploit atchieved in *Liguria* by *Q.
Fabius* the Consul. *M. Marcellus* was called home out of *Istria*: and after he had discharged his
army,

army, returned to *Rome* for to hold the election of the Magistrats. For Consuls he created *Cn.
Bebius Tamphilus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus*. This man had been Ædile Curule together with *M. Æ-
mylius Lepidus*, who was Consul five year before; and yet the same *Lepidus* suffered the repul se
twice ere he was created Consul. Then were Pretors chosen, to wit, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, *M. Va-
lerius Levinus*, *L. Manlius* the second time, *M. Ogulnius Gallus*, *L. Cæcilius Denter*, & *C. Terentius Istra*.
In the very end of the year there was a solemn supplication holden by occasion of certain prodi-
gies for men believed verily that in the court yard of the goddess *Concordia* it rained blood for the
space of two daies: and reported it was not far from *Sicily*, that a new Land was discovered out
of the Sea, where never any was before seen. *Valerius Antias* writeth that *Annibal* died this year:
and that to compass and work his death, there were sent in embassage to *Prusias*, *L. Scipio Asia-
ticus*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, besides *T. Quintius Flamininus*, who in that action is named most.

The fortieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fortieth Book.

C *When* Philip *had given commandment to make streight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison (and personages they were of most noble birth) for to put them to death: Theoxena fearing the King his malicious intent and wicked lust, in the behalf as well of her own children as of her sisters, little ones (God wot) and very yong infants, brought forth and offered unto the said children naked keen swords, and a cup of deadly poison, perswading with them to avoid the imminent shame and dishonour, by present death: which after she had obtained and seen effected, she likewise plated her own part, and slew her own self. Moreover in this book are related the debate and variance between* Perseus *and* Demetri-
us, *the two sons of* Philip *King of* Macedony: *and how* Demetrius *came to his death by poison, through the mischievous practise of his brother* Perseus: *who devised false crimes and raised slanders against him:*
D *and principally among the rest, charged him that he intended to kill his own father, and meant to usurpe the Kingdom, & last of all, because he was a friend to the people of* Rome: *by which means after the death of* Philip Perseus *obtained the crown. Also it containeth the happy exploits atchieved by many and di-
vers commanders in* Liguria, *and in* Spain *against the Celtiberians. The books of* Numa Pompilius *were found enclosed with in a coffer of stone, and written both in Latine and Greek. And when the Pretor of the City, to whom the books were brought, had perused them, and found therein many points tending to over-
throw religion and the divine service of the Gods, he swore before the Senat, that it was dangerous for the State and Common-wealth, that they should be read and preserved: in such sort, that by an Act of the Senat they were burned within the* Comitium *or Hall of publick assemblies. The Colony* Aquileia *was now erected.* Philip *exceedingly displeased with himself and pricked with remorse of conscience for that*
E *he had caused his son* Demetrius *to be poisoned, upon the false suggestions and accusations of his other son framed against him, devised to punish* Perseus, *and rather to confer the Kingdom upon* Antigonus *his friend, than that his son should succeed him: but in this designment and purpose of his he suddainly died: and so* Perseus *took the crown and Kingdom upon him.*

The fortieth book of T. Livius.

IN the beginning of the year next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretors cast lots for their several go-
vernments. As for the Consuls, there was no other Province to employ them in but *Liguria*.
The civil jurisdiction among citizens fell to *M. Ogulnius Gallus*; and the forein over strangers
F to *M. Valerius*. High *Spain* was assigned unto *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; and the Nether-land thereof
to *P. Manlius*. *L. Cæcilius Denter* had the governance of *Sicily*, and *C. Terentius Istra* of *Sardinia*.
The Consuls were enjoyned to take musters: for *Q. Fabius* had written out of *Liguria*, that the
Appuans inclined to rebellion, and greatly to be feared it was, that they would break out and make
rodes into the territory of *Pisa*. And well they knew already, that of the two Provinces of *Spain*,
the higher parts were in arms, and the war with the Celtiberians was still in train: and as for the
lower, the military discipline there, was clean corrupt and gone, by reason of riotous pleasures and
idlenes where unto the souldiers were wholly given, by occasion that the Pretor lay so long sick.
For these causes thought good it was, that new armies should be levied and en olled; to wit, four
legions for *Liguria*, and every one of them to contain 5200 foot and 300 horse: unto which,
G there was an addition of 15000 footmen, and 900 men of arms from out of the Latine allies.
And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides they were commanded to
enrol 7000 foot, and 600 horsemen of Latine allies, and them to send into *France* to M. *Marcel-
lus*, who was to continue still in place of command, after the term of his Consulship expired. Like-
wise they had in charge to levy of Roman Citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of allies
7000 of the one, and 300 of the other to be conducted into both Provinces of *Spain*. And *Q. Fa-
bius Labeo* had his commission of government renewed for one year longer, with the charge of
that army which he had in *Liguria*.

The

The spring season that year was very stormy and tempestuous. On the * even of the feast *Palilia* about noon-tide, suddainly there arose a mighty blustring wind, which overthrew many edifices as well sacred as profane. It cast down the braien statues and images in the Capitol: it caught up the wicket of the dore belonging to the Temple of the * *Moon*, (which is in the Aventine) caried it away and set it fast to the back wall of the Temple of *Ceres*. It overturned and laid along other statues in the great cirque or shew-place called *Circus Maximus*, together with the pillars upon which they stood. The lanterns and pinnacles it rent and tare after a strange sort from the roof and top of certain Churches, and carried them clean away. And therefore this tempest was held for a prodigious token, and the Aruspices gave order for the expiation and satisfaction thereof. Likewise the same provision was made in regard of a report from *Reate*, that a mule was foled with three feet: and from *Formiæ*, that the Chappel of *Apollo* (and namely at *C ieta*) was striken with lightning. For these prodigies, there were twenty greater beasts killed for sacrifice: and a supplication holden one whole day. And about the same time, intelligence was given by letters from *A. Terentius* the Pretor, that *P. Sempronius* having continued above a year in ik was departed this life, in the farther Province of *Spain*; which was the cause that the Pretors were wished to make more haste, and so much the sooner to pass into *Spain*.

* 19 of *April*; for the feast unto the goddess *Pales* was solemnized an. 1 *Calend. Mai.* which was *Natalis dies urbis Rome*; the birth day (as it were) of *Rome*.
* *Luna*.

After this, the embassages from beyond the Sea had audience given them in the Senat. The first was that of the two KK. *Eumenes* and *Pharnaces*, and also of the Rhodians, who complained for the great loss and overthrow by the Sinopians received. And about the same instant arrived also Embassadors from *Philip* from the Achæans and Lacedæmonians who had their answer and dispatch, after a speech made by *Martius*, who had been sent to visit the estate and affairs of *Greece* and *Macedony*. But as touching the foresaid Kings of *Asia*, and the Rhodians this stood for their answer: namely That the Senat would send their Embassadors and Commissioners to take knowledge and see to all things there in place. But as concerning *Philip*, *Martius* had so told his tale, that he put the LL. of the Senat in more fear and perpleaity: for in his declaration he confessed, that *Philip* indeed had accomplished the will and pleasure of the Senat, but in such sort, as it was evident to be seen, that he would do so no longer than he were held thereto and compelled of necessity; for apparant it was, that he minded to make war again, considering that whatsoever he either did or said, tended to no other end. For first and formost he caused all the multitude to be removed and translated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the Sea-coast, into that quarter which now is called * *Emathia*, and in times past was named *Paonia*; and gave those Cities aforesaid to the Thracians and other barbarous nations to inhabit; supposing that this kind of people would be more fast and faithful unto him in his wars against the Romans. And verily this deed of his bred a great discontentment and murmuring throughout all *Macedonia*: insomuch, as few there were of them, who thus left their native habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in and contain their secret grief and heart-burning, and say nothing: but being pricked and nettled more to anger than curbed and bridled with fear, they brake out, and were heard to curse and cry out upon the King as they went along the way in troops and companies. Hereupon his fell stomack by nature was so galled that he had all men in jealousy, and no time nor place there was, but he suspected. In the end he began to give it out openly, that he could not make account to be in safety and security unless he apprehended and kept in prison the children of those persons whom he had before-time killed, for to dispatch and make away them also (in time) one after another. This cruelty in it self hainous enough and enormous, the calamity and woful misery of one house made more odious and detestable. Murdered he had many years before *Herodicus*, a noble man and a Prince of the Thessalians: and some time after, he slew also his sons in law, who had married his daughters. These Gentlewomen being left Widows, had each of them by their Husbands a little Son: and the names of these women were *Theoxena* and *Archo*. As for *Theoxena* she would in no wise marry again, albeit she had many suiters that wooed her: but *Archo* was wedded to one *Poris*, the very principal and noblest personage of the Ænean Nation: and when she had born him many children she died, and left them all very yong. Then afterwards *Theoxena* likewise was married to the foresaid *Poris*, to the end, that she might have the bringing up of those her sisters children with her own hands: and in truth she was not more kind to her own pretty son than to those her sisters children: but so tenderly regarded them all alike, as if she had born them of her own body. Now when she heard once of the Kings edict and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehension of all those infants whose fathers before had been put to death; supposing that these children should be exposed not only to the abuse and scornful mockery of the King but also to the lust and villany of his guard she conceived in her mind an horrible designment: yea, and she stuck not to say, That with her own hand she would rid them of their lives, rather than they should come within the clutches of *Philip*. But *Poris* her husband (who abhorred the very naming of so abominable a fact) said that he would conveigh them out of the way as far as *Athens*, to certain trusty friends of his there, and would himself in proper person accompany them all the way thither, and take part with them of that exile and banishment. So they put themselves in their journey all together [he and his wife and children] from *Thessalonica* toward *Ænea*, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast which yearly they use to celebrate with much ceremonious pomp, in the honor of *Æneas* their first founder. Now when they had spent that day in feasting full solemnly, about the third watch of the night (when all others were found asleep) they were embarked in a ship prepared aforehand by *Poris*; making

A making semblance, as if they would return to *Thessalonica*; but indeed purposing to cut over to *Eubœa*. But when they had laboured and wrought to no purpose upon the wind, which was full against them, they were overtaken and prevented by the day-light before they were far from the Land, and past sight. And being discovered by the Kings officers who had the charge and keeping of the haven, there was a pinnace or foist (well appointed with armed men) set out to fetch in that vessel, with express commandment (as they would answer to the contrary at their utter peril) not to come again without it. Now as they approached neer, *Poris* verily for his part was very earnest with the rowers, mariners, and sailers, to plie their business and make way from them; otherwhiles stretching out his hands up to heaven, calling and praying unto the Gods to help them in this their hard distress. But the couragious lady his wife all the while (turning again
B to execute that designment of hers long before purposed) tempered and mixed a potion of poison, and brought forth certain swords withal. Now when she had set the poisoned cup before the children in their very eye, and drawn the swords naked: Death (quoth she) is the only means we have to save our liberty; lo here the wayes that lead to death: now as every ones heart standeth to this or that, take thereto, and avoid the cruelty and pride of the King. Come on lads and jolly striplings, lead you the way first that are the bigger and elder; take sword in hand, fall thereupon and work the feat at once: or if ye list rather to be long a dying, drink here of this cup. What should they do? the enemies were fast upon them ready to boord their vessel, their mother on the other side, encouraging them instantly to take their death. In such wise, that to conclude, some dying the one way and some the other, were all cast headlong over shipboord, when they
C were but half dead. Then she for her part embracing her husband about the middle (because she would dye with him for company) threw her self and him both together into the Sea. Thus the Kings men seized upon the ship, when the masters thereof were gone.

The horrible example of this fact kindled more coals, and set the malice and hatred kindled against the King as it were on a light and flaming fire anew, insomuch as now commonly in al places they fell to open cursing of him and his children. Which maledictions and execrations it was not long but all the Gods listned and gave ear unto, and caused that he likewise exercised cruelty even upon his own flesh and blood. For *Perseus* seeing his brother *Demetrius* to arise every day more than other in favour, greatness, and reputation with the whole Macedonian people, and to grow also in credit and grace among the Romans, supposing with himself how he had
D no other hope left him of attaining to the crown, but by the means of some wicked practise, bent all his thoughts and studies that way, and aimed only at that mark. But believing verily that he was not strong enough and sufficient alone, to execute and bring forth so much only, as within that unmanly and womanish mind of his he had devised and conceived, he practised with his fathers friends, and eftsoons sounded their hearts one by one apart, casting out ambiguous and doubtful speeches. And at the first verily some of them shewed countenance, as if they could not abide to hear of any such thing, because they reposed more hope in *Demetrius*. But afterwards, as the hatred of *Philip* grew daily greater against the Romans, which *Perseus* still fostered and maintained, whereas *Demetrius* with all his might laboured against it; they fore-seeing in their mind the unhappy end of *Demetrius*, who lay too open and was not heedful enough to guard himself
E against the fraudulent and mischievous plots of his brother, sided with *Perseus*; making this account in policy, to set that agoing and help it forward, which in the end would take effect, and namely to entertain and advance the hope of the mightier. For the execution of the rest they reserved every thing to a meet and convenient time therefore. As for the present, the best course they thought upon was this, to incense the King all that ever possibly they could against the Romans, to induce and put him forward still to think of nothing but war, whereto of his own accord his mind stood well enough and was enclined. And withal (to the end that *Demetrius* might be from day to day more and more suspected) they entred of purpose (as before they were agreed) into speech, as touching the hope and great port of the Romans: whereat when some of them would seem again in scornful wise to debase their manners and fashions, others to de-
F prave their deeds and acts, some scoffing in general at the very form and making of their City, how it was not yet embellished & beautified either with stately edifices in publick places, or with fair houses of private men: others mocking and having in derision the principal and chief personages of the City in particular: the inconsiderat yong Gentleman, carried away as well with an affectionat love to the Romans, as with a desire to cross his brother, would answer to all those points in the defence and maintenance of the Romans: by which means he brought himself both into more jelousy with his father, and also to be subject & exposed to slanderous imputations. Where-
upon his father acquainted him no more with any counsel as touching the Roman affairs, but wholly relied upon *Perseus*, and with him conferred there about, imparting unto him both day and night all his projects and designs whatsoever. By this time were they returned whom he chanced
G to send to the Basterns for to levy succors and aid-souldiers, and brought they had with them from thence certain noble yong Gentlemen, and some among of royal blood. One of them promised to give his sister in marriage to one of *Philip* sons, insomuch as the association by way of affinity with that nation set the Kings heart also aloft. But *Perseus* brake out into these words: "What serves "all this for (qd. he) since we have not so much help and safety by aids from abroad, as harm and "danger by a mischief and malady at home. We keep here and foster in our bosome, I dare not say "a traitor, but I assure you a very dangerous spie and no better; whose body verily the Romans

"have sent us again, but his heart and soul they are possessed of, ever since he was an hostage at H
"*Rome*. All the Macedonians in a manner have their eies upon him set, him they court, and give
"out in plain terms, that they will no other King than whom the Romans shall set up. Old *Philip*
was of himself badly enough affected in his mind, but upon these suggestions buzzed into his head,
he was the worse, and more disquieted and set out of frame: he entertained these surmises, and set
them neerer to his heart than he made fair in outward shew and countenance. Now it fortuned
that the time was come of the ordinary review of his army, the solemnity wherof was usually per-
formed in this manner. They cut a dog overthwart the midst in two halfs, the head and foreparts
together with the entrals were set on the right hand of the high way; the hind parts on the left.
Between this sacrifice thus divided, the companies in their armour passed in a shew. Before the
front of the vanguard were carried the coats of arms and royal ensigns of all the Macedonian Kings I
that ever had been from the beginning. Then followed the King himself in person with his chil-
dren. Next marched the Kings guard and cohort, with the squires of his body. And last of all, in the
reregard behind came the rest of the multitude and commons of the Macedonians. Of either side
of the King went his sons, two lusty Gentlemen. *Perseus* was about 30 years old, and *Demetrius*
five years yonger; the one in the mids and best of his age and strength, and the other in the very
prime and flour thereof. An happy father had he been for so fair issue, seeing this proof, this matu-
rity and perfection of theirs, if the grace of God had gone withal, and that they had been well dis-
posed and affected in mind. The manner and custome of this review and solemn sight was (after
the sacrifice duly accomplished) for the whole army to joust and tourney in this wise, that being
divided into two battailons, they should one charge the other, and represent the shew of a very K
conflict and set field. And who should be the chief leaders and captains in this brave pastime, but
the Kings two sons? But believe me they jested never a whit, nor made a vain shew for disport,
but went to it roundly in good earnest, as if they would determine now who should be King a-
nother day? Foul work they made with their woodden watters and headless pikes; many were
wounded, and nothing wanted there but sharp iron, of a very bloody battel indeed. That regiment
which *Demetrius* commanded, had the upper hand by ods. *Perseus* shewed himself highly displea-
sed and angry thereat: but contrary-wise his friends and favourits of the wiser sort rejoyced at it,
and made remonstrance, That this was the only thing to minister just occasion unto him for to
challenge and accuse his yonger brother. Now the same day, the one as well as the other feasted
their companions, who had thus performed the jousts and tournaments of either side with them. L
Perseus was invited by his brother to supper, but he refused and denied to come. Howbeit such
was the good fellowship amongst them: and so merry were the yong gallants and lusty Cavaliers,
that they passed the feastival day in all joy and mirth, either part with their Captain, and plied the
wine full liberally. Then in their cups they fell to discoursing freely of their running and pastime,
and began to cast out merry conceits and broad jests at their adversaries of the contrary side, in-
somuch as they forbare not to glance at the very Captains themselves. Now had *Perseus* sent a
privy spie, one of his guests, to listen what good talk there was at his brothers boord, but he de-
meaning himself & walking not so circumspectly as he should, was encountred by certain youths,
that chanced to comeforth of the hall or parlor where they sate at supper, and was evil entreated
and well beaten for his labour. *Demetrius* nothing aware thereof, among other table talk, Why M
go we not (qd. he) and banket with my brother? and if there remain any anger and displeasure be-
hind after our jousting in jest, appease and mitigate the same in simplicity of heart and mirth-ma-
king? Mary, no better, cried they all again with one voyce, save only those that feared to be met
withal presently and served alike for misusing & knocking the forsaid spie. *Demetrius* would needs
draw even them also with him: whereupon they carried weapons hidden under their apparel, for
fear of the worst, that they might defend themselves, if any violence were offred. But what can be
carried so secret, but out it will, where there is intestine discord in one family? All was full of spies
and false knaves, as well in the one house as the other. For there ran a pick-thank and tale carier
before unto *Perseus*, and declared unto him that there were coming with *Demetrius* four yong men
with privy skeins by their sides. And albeit he wist well enough what was the cause thereof (for N
he had heard that one of his guests was by them beaten) yet to aggravate the matter and make it
more odious, he commanded the dore to be fast locked, and from the upper rooms and lofts of the
house and out of the windows to the street side, he kept off and repelled those (that came to ban-
ket and be merry with him) from approaching the dore, as if their coming were for no other pur-
pose but to murder him. *Demetrius* after he had for a time cried out in the street and taken on
for this disgrace and indignity, saying it was long of the wine and nothing else that he was thus
excluded, returned again to his own house to make an end of the banket there: and all this while
knew nothing what the matter was. The morrow after, *Perseus*, so soon as ever he thought he
might have access to the speech of his father, came to the court and in the sight of the King, stood
afar off with a troubled countenance and heavy cheer, and not a word with him. How now (qd. O
"his father) what is amiss with you? is not all well? Ah, my good lord and father (qd. he) I would
"you knew, that it is the fair gift & grace of God that I am a liveisman at this hour. That brother
"of mine, goeth not about us any more by way of secret practises and hidden ambushes: for the
"night that was, he came with armed men to set upon me in mine own house, and to take away
"my life. I was driven (father) to shut the doors against him, and to save my self from his furious
"rage, within the defence of the walls thereof. When he had thus possessed his father with fear and

A and astonishment together: Nay (qd. he) I will prove all plainly before your face, that you shall
know it is a truth that I say, if your grace can be content to give me audience. Audience? (qd. he)
yes mary will I and that with patience: and immediatly he commanded *Demetrius* to be called be-
fore him. And withal, he sent for two of his old friends to assist him, and to take their advise, to
wit, *Lysimachus* and *Onomastus*, who wist nothing of the quarrel and variance between the two
brethren, for that they had been strangers a long time at the court. In the mean while, he walked
up and down alone, attending their coming, coursing and discoursing many matters in his head, and
his son *Perseus* stood still aloof. After word was brought that the parties were come, he retired a-
side with those two friends, and as many of his guard into an inner room, and permitted his sons
to bring with them into the place, three friends a piece unarmed. And when he was set, thus be-
B gan he to speak.

"Here sit I a most wretched father, to be a judg between my two sons, the one plaintif, the other The speech of
"defendant in the case of parricide; and to find among those of mine own house and blood, the *Philip* to his
"foul stain of that fellonious crime, either falsly forged or indeed committed. Certainly long a- two sons.
"go I feared such a storm and tempest toward and I saw it rising afar off, when I perceived your *Virtus faepe fa-*
"unbrotherly looks one toward another, when I over-heard some unhappy words to pass be- *cinus pietas.*
"tween you. Yet other whiles I was in good hope that the heat of your anger might evaporate
"and slake, and the suspicions and jealousies be cleered and pass away: considering that even pro-
"fessed and mortal enemies, have laid down arms, concluded peace, and become friends at last: yea,
"and great quarels and enmities between private persons have had their end. I hoped that one
C "time or other, ye would remember how ye were natural brethren, that ye would call to mind,
"how ye were little children together and had conferred with all simplicity & singleness of heart
"familiarly in your infancy: and finally, that ye would think upon my good lessons and precepts
"unto you which now I fear me much that I have sounded to your deafears in vain. How often
"have I blamed and detested in your presence and hearing the examples of brethren at discord and
"variance, recounting unto you the stories of the fearful sequel and horrible issue thereof? namely,
"how they have thereby undone themselves and their race overthrown their own houses, yea, &
"utterly subverted whole Kingdoms? On the other side, I laid before you better patterns and pre-
"cedents to follow, and namely of the concord, agreement and unity between the Lacedæmonian
D "KK. that reigned two by two together to their own good and the publik weal of their country
"for many hundred years: but the same City fell soon to decay and ruin, when the fashion once
"was taken up, to usurp the tyranny and soveraign rule every man for himself alone. Moreover, I
"set before your eyes these two brethren hereby *Eumenes* and *Attalus* who at the first began with
"so little that they were in manner abashed and ashamed to take upon them the title and style of
"Kings: and at this day are equal in graundeur of dominion to my self to *Antiochus*, and to any
"Kings of this age living: and that by no other means in the world, more than by brotherly love
"and mutual concord. Nay, I laid not so but discoursed unto you and recited sundry examples of
"certain Romans which either I had learned by hear-say, or observed by mine own eye-sight and
"experience: and namely, the two *Quintii*, *T.* and *L.* who warred both against me. The *Scipios*
"likewise, *P.* and *L.* who vanquished and subdued *Antiochus*: their fathers also and uncles, who
E "were brethren, and whose concord and unity all their life long was such, as it was not disjoyned
"in their very death. But neither the wickedness of those first recited, and a semblable end corre-
"spondent to their ungracious life, was able to scare you from outragious discord; nor yet the
"good heart & meaning of the later sort, together with their happy fortune draw & induce you to
"be wise. During my natural life, whiles my breath is within my body, both twain of you, seduced
"by foolish hope & disordinat desire, are ready to take possession of my Kingdom over my head.
"And so long only would ye have me to live, until that I surviving the one of you, might presen-
"tly by my death put all out of question, and make the other (as sole heir apparant) undonbted
"King. Sick ye are I see well of father and brother: ye can abide neither the one nor the other,
"There is no goodnes in you at all: nothing is there that ye held deer, nothing that you count holy
F "and inviolable: but in liew and stead of all, there is crept and entred into you an unsatiable desire
"to raign: and that hath wholly possessed your hearts. Come on therefore now grieve and wound
"your fathers ears with your ungracious tales and wicked words; debate and dispute the matter
"with reciprocal accusations, you that shortly will decide and determine it by dint of sword: say
"on and spare not: speak out all that either you can alledge truly, or list to devise & invent falsly.
"Mine ears are now wide open, but shall hereafter for ever be close shut, against all secret slanders
"that ye shall whisper and report one against the other. When he had breathed out these words
with great indignation the assistants there began all to weep much and shed tears, and for a good
time there was bad cheer and not a word until at length *Perseus* began and said: "I should belike The accusato-
"have opened the dore in the night that I should and received into my house armed guests to ry Oration of
G "banquet with me, yea and held one my throat unto them for to be cut: since that nothing is be- *Perseus* against
"lieved unless the deed had been done and dispatched: since that the same is said unto me (who his brother *De-*
"have been forlaid and whose life hath been sought) which were more beseeming to speak unto *metrius.*
"a wood-kern and robber by the high way side: It is not for nought I see well that these here,
"give out abroad and say, That you have no more sons but *Demetrius*, and call me a bastard, and a
"supposed son of yours, as begotten of a concubine. For if you held and avowed me legitimate, if
"you vouchsafed me the place, the degree and love of a son, you would never fare and storm a-

"gainst me so as you do, for discovering the ambush set for me, and complaining thereof; but a- H
"gainst him rather that laid in wait to surprise me: neither would you set so light and make so
"small account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger past wherein I was, nor at the
"peril to come, if such wait-laiers may escape unpunished. Now if there be no remedy, but that we
"must die and say nothing, let us hold our tongue and be mute: let us only pray to the Gods be-
"fore that this intended mischief begun in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be
"not he, who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in case (like as by the very in-
"stinct and suggestion of nature, they that are assailed and set upon in a desart wilderness, be
"taught to implore and call for mens help and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of
"any before) in case (I say) it be lawful for me likewise to open my mouth and speak, when I see
"the naked sword drawn upon me: then I beseech you for your own love, even for the love of I
"your good self, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more esteemed and
"regarded, you have full well known long ago) to give me audience, and to hear me, as if you had
"been awakened at my cry and pittiful lamentation in the last nights riot, and came in the way
"where I was forced to call, Help, Help: and as if you had taken *Demetrius* in the manner, with-
"in my gate, in the very entry of my dore, accompanied with armed men, at an undecent and un-
"due hour of this night past. Those plaints and mones which then I would have uttered by way
"of disordered and confused cries in that suddain affright of mine upon the deed doing, the same
"I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, not (I wot) as
"brethren that should banket and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
"after, that is certain and past peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers K
"waies. My birthright and mine eldership is a block in your way between you and it: the law of
"nations is against it; the ancient custome of the Macedonians checketh it; and finally, the will,
"pleasure and judgment of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly so high, but
"by the effusion of my heart blood. You go to work, you assay all means, you leave no stone un-
"tolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day either mine own wary diligence
"or happy fortune hath guarded me and withstood your wicked parricide. Even yesterday, du-
"ring the time of the solemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
"and jousting in time of the shew and pastime resembling a skirmish, you missed very little of ma-
"king a bloody battail of it and a deadly conflict indeed; and nothing else saved me from death,
"but this, that I suffered my self and my men to go by the worse and be overcome. From this mar- L
"tial combate, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would needs
"have trained and drawn me to a supper. Why? think you father, that I should have supped a-
"mong those guests unarmed, who came in arms to banket with me? Do you believe, that I should
"have been in no danger of their naked swords of steel at night: who in the day time and within
"your sight, laid on such load with * wooden swords and battons, that they had like to have kil-
"led me? To what end else came you, brother at that time of the night? why came you as an ene-
"my, considering I was in choler and my blood was up? or, wherefore came you accompanied with
"tall fellows privily armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit
"at supper with you: should I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
"quet with me? Father, if the dore had been opened; whereas you hear me now to make my com- M
"plaints, you should have been by this time busied about my winding-sheet, herse, and funerals.
"I lay not forth and urge matters in slanderous manner, after the fashion of these accusers at the
"bar: neither collect I bare conjectural presumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtful points:
"for what need I so to do? Denieth he that he approached my dore with a troop of men? or that
"he had in his train a company, such as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do but send
"for them whom I shall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to do, that can do this? and
"yet I trow, they will never be so hardy and shameless as to deny it. If I had taken them in the
"manner with their weapons about them within mine entry, and to brought them before you,
"then you would say it were a plain case and out of all doubt. If then, they confess as much with
"their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been surprised in the act doing. Now curse N
"(and spare not) the greedy appetite and thirst after a Kingdom; now fall to raise and call up the
"furies out of hell to set brethren together by the ears: but, good father, let not your curses and
"execrations thus flie at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him
"that lyeth in awair, and the party who is forelaid. Let him be holden guilty that sought to kill
"his brother, let him feel withal the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry against him.
"But as for him who was in danger to lose his life through his brothers mischievous practise, let
"him have his refuge and recourse to the mercy and justice of his father. For alas, whither else
"should I flie for succour? seeing that neither the solemn review and purging of your army, nor the
"running and jousting of the men at arms, neither mine own house nor my table, nor yet the very
"night season (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repose) affordeth me safety and
"security? If I go to my brother (being bidden to supper) die I shall: if I receive my brother with-
"in my dores (coming to banquet) die I must. So that whether I go or stay all is one; I cannot a-
"void but fall into trains and ambushes, laid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire
"and betake my self? None have I regarded nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
"self, father. As for the Romans, I stand in no such terms with them of grace and favour as to trust
"upon their succour: nay, they all wish me hanged, because I take the wrongs done unto you by them,

* *Sudibus*, or *Rudibus*. The same I suppose that παξάξιφος *Xiphias*, Pollux. Like as in the end of the 26 book, where, *Præpilatis missil bus jaculari*, I take to be all one with ἐφεστρωμένοις ἀκοντίοις ἐκσπᾶν, in *Polybius*, when either some round ball of wood is fastned to the end of the dart or javelin, after the manner of foils: or else it is turned round in the head like a bird-bolt. For so *Xenophon* useth in his book of Horsmanship, ἱππασικὴ τέχνη ἀκόντια: of ἀγῶνες, even so *Pausanias*, of *Praxiteles*, *P.* 15, a bill.

A "them to the heart, because I shew my self discontented and touched with the indignity that so
"many Cities, so many nations are plucked from you: and namely, that of late they have despoiled
"and bereaved you of all the maritime parts and sea coasts of *Thrace*: and so long as either you or
"I live, they never look to enjoy *Macedony*. But if by the mischievous practise of my brother, I
"might once be rid out of the way: and withal, if old age had made an end of you, yea, and pera-
"venture before that day came (which I would never stay so long for) then they know well
"and make full account, that both the King and Kingdom of *Macedony*, will be theirs sure enough.
"Indeed if the Romans had spared any piece at all without *Macedony*, I should have thought and
"made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so
"long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your self yesterday how
B "violently the slanderers charged upon me: what wanted they but the sharp sword and edged
"weapon, wherewith they failed and missed of me in the day time my brothers banquetting mes met
"with in the night. And why so? should I speak of the greatest parts of the nobility? they have groun-
"ded and built all their hopes of dignity, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and na-
"med in him who now can do all in all with them, and is of greatest reputation. And surely, to
"speak truth, him they prefer not only before me his elder brother, but also they go within a
"very little to set him before your self, his liege King and natural father. For this is he, for whose
"love and in favour of whom, the Senat hath remitted and pardoned you that penalty, which you
"had incurred. This is he, who now protecteth you from the force of Roman armies; who dee-
"meth it meet and reason that your old age should be obliged and beholden to his youth. For him
C "stand all the Romans, with him take part all those Cities which are delivered and free from your
"subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that wish for peace with the Romans, and take con-
"tentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or help can I have elsewhere, but in you alone?
"Whereto think you send those letters of *Quintius* sent lately unto you; wherein he writeth, That
"you did passing well for your own estate, in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*: and exhorteth you with-
"all, to send him again the second time, accompanied with more Embassadors, and those the very
"principal and best of all the Macedonians? This *T. Quintius* (if you will needs know the reason)
"is the man, who leadeth, inducteth, and directeth him at this present, in all things: he is his coun-
"sellor and school-master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his own father, & hath
"put him in your stead, where it is, where all these privy plots have heretofore been first contrived
D "and set a hatching: and at this present, in willing you to send more, in embassage, and those the
"chief personages of the Macedonians with him, he seeketh nought else but helpers and assistants
"to put those designs in execution. As many as go from hence to *Rome*, be they never so sound &
"uncorrupt at their coming out, be they loyal subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philip* for
"their King, return from thence tainted and infected with the alluring epticements of the Ro-
"mans. *Demetrius* alone is altogether in their books. They are all for him, and pass for none else.
"Him they call their King, during the life of his own father. Now if I seem to be touched, often-
"ded and grieved herewith, by and by I am sure to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of
"mine ears, not only from others, but also from your mouth father, that I aspire and seek to be
"King. For, mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were
E "here set between us both, I would none of it. For who is he, that I should need to undermine &
"supplant for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and
"long may he so be, I pray God, and I wish to survive him no otherwise, but if I be worthy and
"deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor
"of the Kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed coveteth to be a King, yea, and ungraciously co-
"veteth it, who hasteneth to make pace forward, and to step before the course of nature, the order
"of age, the custom of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*,
"suppose ye? Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and honor; to him
"appertaineth the Kingdom by right and by my fathers will: Let us rid him out of the World,
"What I am not the first that sought to be a King by murder of a brother. As for my father, he is
F "aged, he is desolate, and bereaved of a son: he will have more care to look to his own person, than
"mind to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoyce, they will approve and
"maintain my fact. These be nice points, and these be tickelish and doubtful hopes, but believe me
"father, they are not altogether vain and frivolous. For thus stands the case, and this is the sum of
"all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whiles I am alive, by inflicting punishment
"upon those who take weapon in hand to kill me: but let their enterprise speed once, and take ef-
"fect, you shall never be able to pursue them to the purpose and revenge my death.

When *Perseus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes wist-
lyupon *Demetrius*, as if he would have made answer immediatly, and so were all silent a long time,
and said not a word: for they perceived evidently that he could not for weeping open his mouth:
G but in the end he was urged by them to speak, and then after that necessity had surmounted his
grief, thus he began; "My father, all those means of help which were ever wont to serve the defen-
"dant in good stead, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaint if my accuser. By those false
"and fained tears of his wrung out and shed to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath
"made my true tears suspected, which gushing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & woun-
"ded heart within. And whereas himself hath not ceased, (ever since that I returned from *Rome*)
"to practise secretly with his consorts and complices both night and day to lay wait for my life,

The Oration of *Demetrius* in his own defence, before his father.

" now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world believe H
" that I play the part not only of a secret and cunning waite-later, but of an open thief and a notori-
" rious murderer and cut-throat. He seemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might
" make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent bro-
" ther. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have
" no parcel at all of hope left, so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone, forlorn, de-
" stitute and void of all succour, he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with forrain stran-
" gers: a thing I wis, that doth me more harm than good. Moreover, see how he proceedeth like a
" practised and cunning barrister, in that he inserteth and mingleth the last nights work together
" with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more suspitious by the course
" of mine other years passed, this criminous matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know)
" anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, my will, and
" intended designs, by this subtile invention of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which
" was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this
" accusation of his was not premeditat and studied upon beforehand, but framed *ex tempore*, and
" occasioned only upon the suddain fright and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Porsenna*, if I
" had been a traitor to the King my father & the realm, if I had complotted with the Romans and
" other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you should not have waited for this nights devised fable,
" but you ought to have accused me before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vain
" and frivolous without this surmise, and served to discover and bewray your envy & spight which
" you bear against me, more than it detecteth any crime which is in me; yet you should have let K
" me alone and forborn this day, or put it off until another time; that it might have been clearly
" seen whether of us twain laid wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary man-
" ner of hatred. As for me (so far forth as I possible can, in this suddain trouble of my spirits) I will
" endeavour to speak severally of each point, which you have heaped up together so confusedly,
" and reveal I will the ambushes and crains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He
" would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder
" brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertained by the law
" of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also, as he saith, by your judgment; I the yon-
" ger might step into his place, and succed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and
" whereto serveth that other part of his Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been so respective to L
" the Romans, and that upon the affiance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were
" perswaded thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of *Mace-*
" *donia*, & if withal I presumed so much of their good grace and favor to me-ward, what need had
" I then to commit a parricide? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embrued with my
" brothers blood by me murdered? and was I desirous to make my self odious & execrable among
" them, with whom either for mine honesty indeed, or at least-waies for a counterfeit shew there-
" of, I have won some credit, such as it is, if haply it be any at all? Unless perhaps, you think that
" *T. Quintius* (by whose vertue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill
" my brother, *Quintius*, I say, who is so kind unto his own brother, and liveth with him so loving-
" ly. This plaintif & accuser of mine, hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which M
" they bear unto me, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of me, yea, and in a manner
" the consent of all Gods and men in my behalf: in which regards all, he took himself not able to
" match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet see, how the same man
" laieth to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was fain to have
" recourse to this last shift of practising mischief and wickedness. Will you have this to be the case?
" Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be
" reputed worthier of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have sought and con-
" ceived the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some sort or other, the order
" and manner of this pretended and devised crime. He hath burdened me, that I have laid for him
" many and sundry waies: yet hath he knit up all these means and couched them together in one N
" daies work. I purposed to kill him (saith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and
" assoiling of the army, even when we jousted together, and seemed to charge one another in bat-
" tel-wise: yea, upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity. I intended I wis (be-
" lieve him if you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I
" would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to ban-
" ket with him, & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapon about them.
" You see, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this preten-
" ded murder; namely, the very day of disports, the time of supper, of banket and collation. As for
" the day, let us examine it and the manner thereof: was it any other than that, wherein the army
" was surveied and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice cut in twain, the royal coats of all O
" the arms of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a stately shew; and we
" alone your two sons (father) marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Ma-
" cedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatory sacrifice
" (if haply I had committed any sin before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very
" same instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast
" sacrificed: entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, & the handling of swords pre-
" pared

A " pared aforehand against the banket, to perform a parricide? that afterwards I might with some
" other sacrifices expiat and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wicked-
" ness? A likely matter surely. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of slandering ano-
" ther, upon a desire to gather matter and make al suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing upon
" another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit
" to set forward that designment, than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon you &
" fighting with you so roughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse be-
" ing requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choler you had once denied to sup with
" me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you, and seek some other
" opportunity, since I had prepared the poison for that present only? But I must leap from that de-
B " signment to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day,
" under a pretence of banquetting with you? If I thought that for fear of death you forbare my ta-
" ble at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not semblably, that for the said fear you would
" avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, Father,
" if upon such a festival day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much a-
" mong my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth,
" and meriment I feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy set us the farther out, be-
" cause in that warlike pastime of lusty youths, our side went not by the worse. But this misery &
" unhappy fear upon that our mirth, hath well delaied and cooled the wine; spent it hath the
" strength thereof fuming up into our heads: which if it had not come between, we as great laiers
C " await as we were, had to this hour lien sound asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assail
" and force your house, and that done, to murder you the master thereof, would I not think you,
" have for born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine so freely? and likewise kept my souldiers
" from drinking drunk? But because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse
" thereby, this my good brother also, who God wot is none of these naughty and suspitious crea-
" tures, comes in with his vie and saith, I know nothing, I charge no body, neither wot I what to
" say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask how you
" came to that knowledge, you cannot chuse but confess that either my house was full of your
" spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons so openly, that every one saw them.
" And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at
D " this time pursueth the matter with any accusatory spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom
" he named, whether they had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought
" into it as a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted.
" But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner; whether they
" took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by my warrant, direc-
" on, and privity? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which
" you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the case is plain, yea, & they
" will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well
" or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you
" mingle my cause with that action of theirs, which intereseth it nothing at all. But rather de-
E " clare, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed?
" why was there none of us besides those persons that did beat your spie? If secretly, what was the
" train and order of the execution of that design? After the banket ended, and I the setter of the
" banket retired from thence, should those four have staied behind to fall upon you when you
" were asleep? How could they have caried it so close as not to be spied, for that a little before, they
" had been seen in a braul? And say, they had killed you: by what means could they escape them-
" selves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? Fie, fie
" *Porsen* speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you
" at the heart, which kindleth your envy, and setteth you on fire, How cometh it to pass, O *Deme-*
" *trius*, that men speak abroad that you shall be King? why should you be deemed of some more
F " worthy than my self, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my
" hope, which, but for you, were sure & certain? These are the secret thoughts of *Porsen*, although
" he saith nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine
" accuser: these conceits they be that fill your palace, your court and your realm, with surmises, slan-
" ders, and suspicions. But for mine own part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your roial
" crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because I am the
" younger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder bro-
" ther: so, it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, to demean my self so in any
" action, that I should seem unworthy to have you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities
" whatsoever. The one point I should attain unto by indirect courses and wicked vices, in not
G " yeelding unto him, as right and reason would: but the other, by my good carriage and sober be-
" haviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brother: and those things which in right ought to
" turn to my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me for. It was no seeking of mine, that I was
" delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to *Rome* as Embassador: but when I was ap-
" pointed by you, father, I refused not to go. At both times, such was my demeanor, that I had an
" eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your Kingdom, or the Mace-
" donian nation. And therefore you were the cause, father, of that friendship which I have with the
" Romans,

"Romans, As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin war once;
"I that was an hostage and Embassador among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for
"you my father, even I, will become a most spiteful and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I at
"this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might stead me any way: only I be-
"seech you, that it may not prejudice and harm me. It began not by occasion of war, neither is it
"reserved for the time of war. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance
"of peace, I was employed in embassage. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I nei-
"ther purchase fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiety against you father, if I have
"done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I refuse no punishment, I crave no pardon
"or favor. If I be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not over-
"weighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, since I can be overthrown by no crime justly
"objected unto me. This is not the first day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the
"first day, that he is seen to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my fa-
"ther had been displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others, being
"the elder brother, should have been a mediator and intercessor for me (the yonger) to my father,
"and a means to purchase a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but see I where my
"succour and refuge should have been, there contrary-wise is my ruin and overthrow. From my
"feasting and banquetting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither
"not half waked, but with mine eyes full of sleep, to answer in the case of parricide: and forced I
"am to plead mine own cause without my counsel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had
"been to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to study, premeditat and frame
"an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Instead
"thereof I, not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your Majesty first (wroth and angry
"as you were) to command us to plead our causes: and then my brother, who hath stood up to ac-
"cuse me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oration studied for, and devised long before hand:
"but I was allowed no longer time (than whiles I heard my self accused) to be think me what to
"plead or to examine and take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that
"present moment of time, could I, think you (so suddainly taken as I was) either give ear to my
"accuser, or consider and think duly of mine own plea? stonied so I was, with that suddain trouble
"and unexpected occurrent, that much ado I had, to understand what I was charged with: so far
"was I from devising what to speak in mine own defence. What hope should I have now? and in
"what case were I, if I had not my father for my judge? at whose hands (albeit I am not so well be-
"loved as mine elder brother is, yet sin.e I am the party defendant, I ought at least wise to find as
"much pitty and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save me, in regard of my self and
"you: but he requireth you to take away my life, only for his own assurance and better security.
"And what will he do against me think you, after you have made over the crown and scepter
"into his hands; who now already thinketh it meet and reason, to dispose of my blood at his good
"pleasure? In uttering of these words, the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his
mouth so, that he could neither speak or draw his breath. Then *Philippus* after he had commanded
them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, spake and said, That he would not de-
cide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquiry into M
both their lives, and observing their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in
small. Hereby they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was suffi-
ciently refuted and evicted & the only thing in *Demetrius* to be suspected, was the over-great fa-
vour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very seed of the Macedonian war, sowed as
one would say, during the life of *Philip*, but the war was after to be waged most of all against *Per-*
seus.

The two Consuls took their journy into *Liguria*, the sole consular Province of them both; and
because they had atchieved their exploits fortunatly there, ordained there was a solemn procession
for one day. It fortuned that there came two thousand Ligurians or thereabout, to the utmost fron-
tier of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* lay in leaguer, requesting to be received under his
protection. *Marcellus* after he had commanded the said Ligurians to give attendance upon him
in the same place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to *M. Ogul-*
nius the Lord chief justice of the City, to write back again unto *Marcellus* to this effect, That it
was more meet that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertained, should give order
and determine (as touching the Ligurians who yeelded and submitted) what was expedient for
the common-weal in that behalf, than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion,
they thought it not good to accept of the Ligurians surrender: and being once received, then to be
disarmed: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requisit they should be sent and re-
ferred over to the Consuls.

The Pretors at the same time arrived in their Provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in base *Spain*, where
he had been Governor before during his former Pretorship: and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* in the higher
where he received the army of *Terentius*; for that other side of *Spain* beyond *Iberus*, had been left
without a Lord Deputy, by occasion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretor. Whiles *Ful-*
vius Flaccus assaulted a Town in *Spain* named *Urbicula*, the Celtiberians made head and came
upon him; where many and sundry hot skirmishes passed: and wherein many Roman soul-
diers were both hurt and slain. Howbeit *Fulvius* held still his resolution, and by no for-
cible

A cible means whatsoever, could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians toiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their succours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked: and the Pretor gave the pillage thereof to his souldiers. Thus *Fulvius* after he had gained this Town, and *P. Manlius*, when he had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had been dispersed; without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And these were the exploits in *Spain*, during that summer season. *Terentius* who was departed out of that Province before, entred the City of *Rome* in a petty triumph by way of ovation. He carried before him in shew, eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and fourscore of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

B The same year the Romans were chosen Arbitrators between the people of *Carthage* and King *Masanissa*, as touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: *Gala* the father of this *Masanissa*, had won the ground in question from the Carthaginians. *Syphax* afterward disseized *Gala* thereof: and consequently to gratify *Asdrubal*, his wives father, freely gave the same to the Carthaginians, and set them in possession again. Now last of all, even this very year, *Masanissa* had dispossessed the Carthaginians of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no less courage and fervency of spirit, than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The Carthaginians laid claim and put in their plea, For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveighed to them by the free gift and dona-
C tion of *Syphax*. *Masanissa* counterpleaded again and alledged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was cleer on his side, in regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession where-in he was; saying, that in his cause he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respective to him, a King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not in-fringe and alienat the right of possession, but lest all as they found it, and referred the entire deci-
sion of the matter to the Senat of *Rome*.

Nothing was there done after this, in *Liguria*: for first, the enemies were retired for safety into
D their wilds and forrests out of the way: and afterwards they cassed their army, and slipt away every man to their own villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dismiss their forces: and thereupon sent to the LL. of the Senat to know their pleasure in that point; who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats the next year: and the other, with his legions, to winter at *Pisa*. A rumour there ran, that the Transalpine French put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of *Italy* this multitude thus levied, would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed toge-
ther, that *Cn. Bæbius* should be present at the general assembly at *Rome*, for the election aforesaid, because *M. Bæbius* his brother sued to be Consul. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*. This done,
E the Pretors also were chosen, namely, the two *Quintii Fabii*, the one *Maximus*, and the other *Buteo*; *T. Claudius Nero*, *Q. Petilius Spurinus*, *M. Pinarius Posca* and *L. Duronius*. When these were entred into their magistracy, the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The Ligur-ians fell to the Consuls: as for the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the strangers: *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of *Gaul*, *T. Clau-dius Nero* of *Sicilia*, *M. Pinarius* of *Sardinia*, *L. Duronius* of *Apulia* together with the Istrians; for that the Tarentins and Brundusins had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoied by the robberies of pirats and men of war from beyond Sea: and the like complaints were made by the Massilians, of the Ligurian navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, contain-ing in every one 5200 Roman footmen and 300 horse: also to enrol 15000 footmen and 800 horsemen of Latine allies. In the Provinces of *Spain* (both the one and the other) the old Pretors continued still in their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reenforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 200 horse of Roman citizens together with 6000 of the one and 300 of the other, from out of the Latine nation. All this while they forgat not their navy at Sea. And the Consuls had in charge to chuse for that purpose, two wardens called Duumvirs, who after they had out of the Arsenal shot into the Sea twenty ships, and set them aflote, should furnish them with mariners, and those Roman citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural Ro-mans free-born should only be Captains and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two
G Duumvirs so parted and ordered between them the defence of the maritime coasts, with ten ships apeece; that the Cape of *Minerva* should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so as the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to *Massilia*; and the other the left side, even to *Barium*.

This year were seen at *Rome* and reported from forrain parts many uncouth and strange prodi-gies. In the Church-yards belonging to *Vulcan* and *Concordia*, it rained sheer blood: and the Bishops made relation, that the Spears [of *Mars*] shook and moved of their own accord.

Also

Alſo at *Lanuvium* the image of *Juno Soſpita* ſhed tears. Moreover, the plague reigned ſo hot in H
the country villages market Towns marts and places of frequent reſort yea, and within the City
of *Rom*, that they were not able to furniſh the funerals accordingly and inter the dead. The LL.
of the Senat, being in great anguiſh and trouble, in regard of thoſe fearful tokens and the loſs of
their people, ordained, That as well the Conſul ſhould kil greater beaſts for ſacrifice unto what
Gods they thought good, as alſo the Decemvirs ſhould viſit and peruſe the prophetical books of
Sibylla. And by vertue of their decree, there was publick ſupplication proclaimed at *Rome* for one
whole day, at all the altars and ſhrines of the gods and goddeſſes. By their counſel alſo and di-
rection, both the Senate adviſed and the Conſuls alſo publiſhed throughout all *Italy* for three
daies ſpace, ſolemn litanies and devout holy-daies. The rage of this peſtilence was ſo great, that
whereas there paſſed an act by the Senate to enrol 8000 footmen and three hundred horſe from I
out of the Latins (in regard that the Ilanders of *Corſica* were revolted and the Iolians up in arms
within *Sardinia*) with which power *M. Pinarius* the Pretor was to tail over into *Sardinia*: the
Conſuls made report again unto them, that ſuch numbers of people were dead already, and ſo
many lay ſick, that it was not poſſible to levy that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretor had
commiſſion to furniſh out that defect of ſouldiers, with a ſupply which he was to receive of *Cn.*
Fabius the Pro-conſul, who then wintered at *Piſa*; and from them directly to take the ſeas and
paſs over into *Sardinia*.

L. *Duronius* the Pretor (unto whom the Province of *Apulia* was allotted) had a commiſſion be-
ſides to make inquiſition for the Bacchanals, for there remained yet ſome ſeeds of the ſo mer enor-
mities which began already the former year to ſprout and bud forth. But L. *Pappius* the Pretor K
laſt before had entred into the enquiry and diſcharch of the matter, rather than effected and
brought it to a final end: and therefore the LL. gave order to this new Pretor to cutoff this miſ-
chief in the ſpring and breeding thereof before it gat more head a ſecond time. and upon growth
ſpred it ther. Moreover the Conſuls by the advice and authority of the Senat, preſented certain
* Lex de am- laws unto the people, as touching the *inordinat ſuit and ambitious ſeeking after offices of go-
bitu. vernment. After all this they brought into the Senat the forrein embaſſages; and gave audience
firſt to them that came from the KK. to wit. *Eumenes*, *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, and *Pharnaces*
of *Pontus*. But no other diſpatch and anſwer they had than this That they would tend certain De-
legats and commiſſioners to hear decide and determine their controverſies. After them the
Embaſſadors of the Lacedæmonian exiles, and of the Achæans, were admitted into the Senat L
houſe. The baniſhed perſons aforeſaid were put in ſome good hope, that the Senat would write
their letters to the Achæans for their reſtauration. The Achæans declared as touching the reco-
very of *Meſſene* and the pacification of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the LL. of
the Senat. There arrived moreover two Embaſſadors from *Philip* King of the Macedonians, na-
mely *Philocles* and *Apelles*, about no ſuit that they had to the Senat, but ſent rather as ſpies to un-
derprie and to learn ſomwhat as touching thoſe points that *Perſeus* had charged *Demetrius* with,
and namely of certain ſpeeches that he ſhould have with the Romans, and eſpecially with *T. Quin-*
tius, againſt his brother about ſucceſſion in the Kingdom. Theſe twain were choſen by the King
as indifferent perſons, and nothing affectionat either to the one brother or the other: howbeit
they were the miniſters, conſorts, and complices of *Perſeus*, in his intended miſchievous plot a- M
gainſt his brother. *Demetrius* (as one ignorant of all deſignments againſt him, but only of the late
wicked prank of *Perſeus* which laſt brake out) at the firſt was neither in great hope, nor yet in
utter deſpair to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had leſs confidence every day
than other in the good affection of his father toward him, ſeeing his brother continually to buz
into his ears many matters, and poſſeſs his head with tales againſt him. And therefore he looked
circumſpectly about him that he trode not awry and namely, that he let no words fall or did any
thing that might be offenſive and breed more jealouſy: and above all, he wholly forbare confe-
rence and commerce with the Romans; in ſuch ſort, that he would not have them ſo much as to
write any letters unto him: knowing full well, that his fathers heart would be exaſperated againſt
him by ſuch imputations and informations eſpecially. N

Philip becauſe he would provide that his ſouldiers and men of action ſhould not degenerore
and wax worſe through idleneſs and diſuſe of arms and that under one, he might avert from himſelf
all ſuſpition that he intended any war againſt the Romans, appointed the City *Scobi* for the *Rendez-*
vous of his army and marched into the quarters of *Mædica*. A great deſire he had to mount up the
creſt & top of the hill * *Æmus* becauſe there was an opinion commonly received & which he had
* Caſtra mundi, or, *Monte ar-* given credit unto that from thence a man might diſcover within one proſpect the * Pontick and
gentato. Adriatick ſeas. the river * *Iſter* alſo, and the *Alps*: for thus he thought, that the view of theſe places
* *Mar. maiore.* would ſtand him in no ſmall ſtead in projecting & plotting the war againſt the Romans. When af-
* *Danubium*, *Do-* ter diligent inquiry of them that knew thoſe quarters well, as touching the aſcent of that moun-
naw. tain, he had learned and founded it clear and certain, that there was no way at all for to conduct an O
army thither and that a few men, & thoſe nimble and lightly appointed, ſhould find enough to do
and exceeding much difficulty to paſs. he taketh his yonger ſon apart, whom he was reſolved not to
have with him in that expedition; and becauſe he would ſeem to dulce and mollify his diſconten-
ted mind with ſome familiar and private ſpeech, firſt he demanded of him conſidering the great difficulties of the journey preſented unto them, whether he were better to hold on the way ſtil and
"follow his deſign, or give over? But if I ſhould go forward (qd. he) I cannot forget that which
"befel

A "befell to *Antigonus* in the like caſe, who being upon a time much toſſed at Sea in a boiſterous
"tempeſt, and having with him in the ſame ſhip all thoſe that were of his blood, is reported
"to have given this good advertiſement and leſſon to his children, that they ſhould alwayes re-
"member, and alſo give their poſterity warning, never to venture all their goods in one bottome,
"nor to engage themſelves together with their whole race and off-ſpring in any peril and danger.
"Remembring therefore (qd. he) this good precept and counſel of his, I will not hazard both my
"ſons at once in this preſent jeopardy which I ſee before mine eyes: but for aſmuch as I propoſe
"to take mine elder ſon with me, I will ſend my yonger back into *Macedony*, for to uphold and
"maintain the hope of my poſterity, and for the defence of my Kingdom in the mean while. *De-*
metrius found him ſtreight, and wiſe enough that he was ſent away for no other intent but
B that he ſhould not be preſent in counſel, when upon the view of thoſe places aboveſaid, he was
to deviſe and conſult in what coaſt lay the neereſt and ſhorteſt way to the Adriatick Sea and to
Italy, and what courſe they ſhould plot for the management of the war. But there was no reme-
dy: he muſt not only then obey his father, but alſo ſooth him up and ſeem to approve and like well
of that which he ſaid, for fear leſt it might be thought, that it went againſt his ſtomack to yeeld
obedience unto him. and ſo be held in more jelouſy and ſuſpition than before. Howbeit, to the end
that he might paſs into *Macedony* with ſafety. *Didas* one of the Kings Deputies and L. Governor
under him of *Peonia*, was commanded to accompany and conduct him with a mean guard and
convoy. Now was this *Didas* one of thoſe conſpirators that had ſworn the death of *Demetrius*,
whom *Perſeus* had made ſure to his part, like as he had many other of his fathers friends, even ſince
C that men began to make no doubt, unto whom *Philip* in affection was enclined, and whom he
meant to make the heir apparent of the crown. And at this very inſtant *Perſeus* had charged him
and given him inſtructions, by all obſequious ſervices to inſinuate and wind himſelf into moſt fa-
miliar talk, and to come to neer within him, that he might draw from him all his ſecrets, & diſco-
ver the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. Thus departed *Demetrius* attended with a
train about him more dangerous to his perſon, than if he had travelled alone without any com-
pany. *Philip* firſt paſſed through *Mædica* and then forward over the deſarts lying between *Mædica*
and *Æmus*, and at the ſeventh daies march was come as far as to the foot of the mountain. Where
after he had reſted and ſtaied one day, to make choice of thoſe whom he minded to take up with
him: the morrow after he ſet forth & put himſelf in his way. At the firſt, the labour was not great,
D nor the pains much to overcome the nethermoſt hills; but the farther they went and the higher
that they advanced, the more wild and woody ſtill they found every place; yea, and they met with
many that had no paſſage at all. At length they were mounted to a paſs or way ſo ſhadowed and
dark, that for the trees ſtanding ſo thick together, and their boughs plaited and interlaced one
within another, ſcarcely or hardly could a man ſee the skie through them. But when they approch-
ed once the pitch and creſt of the mountain, behold (a thing not lightly ſeen in other parts) they
light upon ſo groſs and thick a mirt, which overſpread and covered all: that they had as much ado
to march forward, as if they had travelled in the dark & mid-night. At laſt by the third daies end,
they gained the very top of the mountain. Now when they were come down from thence again,
they made no leſs report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it; which I believe
E verily they did of purpoſe, becauſe they would not be mocked and ſcorned for this their fooliſh
and vain voiage, rather than for that they could indeed within the ſame proſpect and from one
place, view ſeas, mountains, and rivers, ſituat and diſtant ſo far aſunder. Much moiled they were all,
and ſore toiled in this untoward way: but the King above the reſt. by reaſon that he was far ſtept
in age, and unweldy of body. Well, after he had done ſacrifice there upon two altars conſecrated to
Jupiter and the Sun, he deſcended in two daies, whereas he had made three of it in aſcending: and
that which he feared moſt, was the cold nights, which there in the beginning of the dog-daies
were like to thoſe of mid winter in other places. Many difficulties he wreſtled and ſtrove withal
during thoſe daies, and being returned into his camp, he found no better. Nothing was there but
extream want & penury, as being pitched in a place compaſſed about on every ſide with deſarts and
F wilderneſs. And therefore when he had ſtaied there but one only day to reſt and repoſe his men,
whom he had taken with him in that journey, he haſtned away, and in a running march, as if he
had fled in rout, entred the countrey of the Denthelets. Theſe Denthelets were his own confederat
allies, but the Macedonians (ſuch was their need and neceſſity) pilled and ſpoiled their confines,
no leſs than if they had been profeſſed enemies. For firſt they waſted & deſtroied their holts, gran-
ges, and farm houſes, afterwards certain wicks and villages alſo, robbing and rifling as they went,
to the great diſhonor of the King: who could not chuſe but hear the piteous complaints & mones
of his aſſociats crying to the Gods, Patrons of alliances, and calling upon his name for help, but
could have no redreis and remedy. When he was purveyed of corn from thence, and returned into
the countrey *Mædica*, he began to aſſail a City which they call *Petra*. Himſelf in perſon lay encam-
G ped in the avenue and ready way upon the plains, but he ſent his ſon *Perſeus* with a ſmall company
to fetch a compaſs and give the aſſault from the higher places that commanded the Town. The
Townſmen thus hard beſted with terror on every ſide, for the preſent yeelded upon compoſition,
and gave hoſtages; but after the army was retired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the
City and fled for refuge into certain forts, fenced places, and high mountains. *Philip* having wea-
ried his ſouldiers with all manner of travel to no effect, and withal entertained more jelouſie and
ſuſpition of his ſon *Demetrius*, by the lewd practiſe and falſe ſuggeſtions of *Didas* (the Governor
of

of *Paonia*) returned into *Macedony*. This *Didas* (as hath been said before) sent to conduct *Demetrius* home, abused the simplicity of the yong Gentleman, who was nothing circumspect and wary, but seemed discontented and complained to him (as good cause he had) of those that were nearest in nature and blood unto him; he, I say, by flattering, by soothing him up, and seeming withal to be offended and grieved for his part at such hard usage, laid snares and grins, and set traps for him; and in conclusion, by his double diligence, and offering his voluntary service to do him pleasure, protesting also to be true and fast unto him, yea, and to keep his counsel, fetched out of him the very secrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpoie with himself to flie to *Rome*, and to effectuate this desygnment of his, he was perswaded, that of a special grace and favour the Gods had sent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretor of *Paonia* to be his helper and assistant; for through his Province he conceived some hope to pass and escape with security. This intent and plot of his was both immediately disclosed to his brother *Perseus*, and also by him declared to his father. And first were letters hereof brought unto him, whiles he lay at the siege of *Petra*. Afterwards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward, and withal, order was taken to watch and observe *Demetrius* that he started not aside; but all underhand and close, without semblance of any such matter. These occurrents above all others, caused the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into *Macedony*. These new accusations thus presented, troubled him much: howbeit he thought good to expect the return of those whom he had sent to *Rome* as spies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agony of these cares and perplexities, when the King had continued certain months, in the end those Embassadors came home; who at first ere they set foot out of *Macedony*, had devised and framed before hand what reports they would make from *Rome*. These messengers, to make up the full measure of all their wicked and divellish practises, delivered also into the Kings hand a false and forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of *T. Quintius*. The said letter was indited to this tenor and effect, That *Quintius* should seem for his own excuse to say, that albeit yong *Demetrius*, carried away with an inordinat desire to be King, had slipped a little, and treated with him about some such matter, yet would he do nothing to prejudice any one about K. *Philip*, neither would he be thought or found a man, to give any ungodly and ungracious counsel. These letters struck it dead sure, and made the King believe, that all the former imputations fastned upon *Demetrius* were true and past all peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* presently was put to the rack and examined, but after he had endured intolerable pains a long time, and confessed nothing, he died in the end under the tormentors hand. *Perseus* accused *Demetrius* again before his father, for that he intended and provided to take his flight through *Paonia*. And there came forth certain to testify against him, saying, that he had corrupted, inveigled, and induced them to accompany him in that journey. But that which made most of all against him, was that same devised letter of *T. Quintius*. Howbeit there was no grievous sentence pronounced openly against him, to the end, that rather by some covert and cautelous practise, he might come to his death: and this, not for any fear that he had of him, but doubting left some open punishment executed upon him, might reveal and discover his secret designment, of making war upon the Romans.

Philip himself taking his journy from *Thessalonica* to come to *Demetrias*, sent *Demetrius* his son to *Æstreum*, a City in *Paonia*, and the same *Didas* still to accompany him: but *Perseus* he addressed to *Amphipolis*, for to receive the hostages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his son *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feast thereof, whereupon he came from *Æstreum* to *Heraclea*. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediatly he felt that he was sped; for within a while it began to work extreamly, and for very dolour and pain, he was forced to rise from the Table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he piteously complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the patricide his brother, and of the trecherous villany of *Didas*: and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one *Thyrsis* a Sutherean, and *Alexander* of *Berrhæa*, who enwrapped his head and throat with the bed-cloaths, carpets and counterpoints of tapistry, and held them so hard, that they throtled and smothered him, and in the end stopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent yong man piteously made away; whose enemies one single kind of death could not content and satisfy, but needs they must kill and murder them twice.

Demetrius murdred.

Whiles these things hapned in *Macedony*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who continued still in government after his Consulship expired, marched with his army against the Ligurians Ingaunes in the beginning of the spring. So soon as he was entred into the confines of his enemies country, and there encamped, there came Embassadors unto him under colour of seeking peace, but indeed only to escout and spie. *Paulus* made them answer, That he could contract no accord with them, unless they yeelded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse, but said, That they needed some time to perswade their nation unto it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had ten daies truce allowed to effect this, they requested moreover, that the Roman souldiers might not pass over the next hills adjoyning, either for fewel or forage, for asmuch as those lands were the only tilled and well manured grounds of their appurtenances and territory. When they had obtained so much, they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they had

had averted the enemies, and suddainly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and assaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the assault in such sort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to set forth and display their ensigns, or room sufficient to put their army in order of battel: but were compelled to defend their camp more by standing thick thronged together against the enemies in the very gates then otherwise by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the sun, when the enemies were retired, *Paulus* dispatched two light horsemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Consul, as far as *Pisa*, that he should come away with all speed to succour him, being in time of truce besieged. But *Babius* had delivered up his army before to *M. Pinarius*, the Pretor, as he went into *Sardinia*. Howbeit he both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Æmylius* was invested by the Ligurians, and he wrote also to *M. Cl. Marcellus*, whose province was next adjoining, to bring over his forces (if he thought so good) out of *Gaul* in to *Liguria*, and deliver *L. Æmylius* from siege. But alas, these succours should have come all too late; for the Ligurians the very next day returned and advanced against the camp *Æmylius*, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but also might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himself so close within the strength of his rampiar, minding to hold off and not to fight, untill *Babius* might with his army come from *Pisa*. Now the letters of *Babius* caused great fear at *Rome*: and so muce the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the City, some few daies after he had made over his army unto *Fabius*, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in *France* could not possibly passe into *Liguria*, by reason of the war with the Istrians, who impeached the planting of the colony at *Aquileia*; against whom *Fabius* was gone, and might not possibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding *Æmylius* was this, (and yet the same seemed to be with the latest, considering the urgent necessity of the time) in case the Consuls made haste to go into their privinces: which to do all the LL. of the Senat called aloud and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied flatly to stir one foot before the levy of souldiers was fully finished; alledging that it was not their slackness, but the violence of the plague, which caused it to be so late ere it were performed. Yet for all this, such was the generall accord and consent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuse but go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclamation to assigne a certain day, upon which all the souldiers whom they had enrolled should shew at *Pisa*: and commission they had to take up subitary souldiers, all the country over as they went, to presse them forth presently and have them away. Moreover, the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commanded, the one, namely, *Petilius*, to enrol in hast two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fiftie yeers old: and *Fabius*, to levy of the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horsemen. The two Duumvirs or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, *C. Matienus* and *C. Lucretius*, who were soon provided of ships ready rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And *Matienus*, who had the charge of the coasts upon the gulf of Gaul, was commanded to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to to the tract of the Ligurians, if hapily he might any way tread *L. Æmylius* and his army. *Æmylius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horse men above-said, were intercepted and staied by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his own forces to trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to assail them then before) he put his men in battell array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the signall given, they should at once from all parts sally forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he adjoined two other, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the false postern gate called *Extraordinaria*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattelled the Hastati or Iaveliners of the first legion, and the principes of the same legion in the rearguard to second them, commanded both by *M. Servilius* and *L. Sulpitius*, Konmarshals, or Tribunes military. The third legion he marshalled full against the other gate *Principalis* on the left hand. This change only was here, for that the Principes were set in the front, and the Hastati behind in the tail of them. Sex. *Iulius Cæsar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Questoria*. Two cohorts and the Triarii of two legions had commandment to stay behind for the defence of the camp. The Generall himself in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible means he possibly could devise, to provoke and whet the stomacks of his souldiers, and to give a poinant edge to their courage and choler: one while reproaching his enemies for their falshood and treachery, who having craved peace and obtained truce; during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to assail the camp: another while shewing and declaring unto them what shame and indignity it was for the Roman army to be besieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may "be accounted theeves and robbers, then go for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you should escape "from hence, not by your own vertue and valour, but through the help and succour of others, "with what face shall any of you be able to meet, I say, not those souldiers who have vanquished "*Asmibal*, defeated *Philip*, and subdued *Antiochus*, the mightiest Kings and greatest commanders of our age: but even them who many a time have hunted and chased the very same Ligurians like brute beasts, over the wilds and forrests as they fled, and hewed them in peeces in the end?

"That which the Spaniards that which the Gauls, that which the Macedonians and Carthaginians H
"dare not enterprise, namely, to approach and enter upon the rampier of the Roman camp; shall
"a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? shall he of his own accord presume to besiege and
"assail our camp, whom heretofore when we beat all the blind bushes, by-woods and thickets,
"to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay so close and lurked so covertly? At these words
the souldiers set up a consonant crie in token of applause, and answered him with a general shout,
saying, there was no fault on their part, seeing that no man had given them the signal to issue
forth and make a sally. For let him but once say the word to sound the trumpet, he should see
and find, that both Romans and Ligurians were the same still as before-time. Now the Ligurians
kept two camps on the neer side of the mountains aff ront the Roman leaguer; from whence
(for the first daies so soon as the sun was up) they used to advance their ensigns, and march forward I
well armed and ranked in battell array: but then they put no armor upon their backs, nor took
weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with meat and their heads with wine:
they came forth (I say) dispersed and out of order; as who hoped and trusted assuredly, that the
enemies would not march under their ensigns without their rampier. Against them (coming thus
in disarray) the Romans issued forth at once, out of all the gates in one instant with a mighty
shout, which not only they who were within the camp set up, but also the lackies, scullions, lan-
ders, and other drudges that follow the camp redoubled. This was such an unlooked for occurrent
to the Ligurians, that they were set in as great an affright therewith, as if they had been surprised
& beset all about with suddain ambushments. For a smal while there was some shew of a conflict,
such as it was; but anon they took their heels and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives K
behind them in every place. Then the men of arms had the signall given to mount on horseback,
to pursue them & not suffer one to escape alive: & so in this fearful rout they were driven to take
their camp for safety: but in the end were dislodged and turned out of it also. That day were
slain of the Ligurians not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2500 taken prisoners. Within three
daies after, the whole nation of the Ligurian Ingaunes, yeelded absolutely, and put in their hosta-
ges. A search was made for all the pilots and mariners, who had exercised piracy on the sea, and
they were all laid up fast in prison. Sembably *C. Matienus* one of the Duumvirs or wardens of
the navy met with two and thirty ships of that sort, belonging to men of war upon the coast of
Liguria, and boorded them. To carry these news to *Rome*, and letters to the Senat, *L. Aurelius*
Cotta, and *C. Sulpitius Cotta* were sent to *Rome*: who also were to require that *L. Æmylius* (when L
his time was expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his souldiers from thence with
him, and so discharge them of service. Both these demands were granted by the Senat, and a
solemn procession besides was ordeined in all churches and chappels, and at every shrine and al-
tar for three daies space. The Pretors also were commanded, *Petilius*, to cause and dimisse the le-
gions of the City; and *Fabius*, to remit the Latine allies the levying and mustering of their soul-
diers. Also there was order given to the Pretor of the City, for to write unto the Coss. and give
them to understand, that the Senat thought it meet and reason, that the subsidiary souldiers (who
were enrolled in hast for the suddain tumult and alarm) should with all speed be licensed to depart.

The same yeer the colony of *Graviſca* was planted in the territory of *Tuſcany*, which in times
past was conquered from the Tarquinians; and five acres of land was set out to every man. The M
Triumvirs who had the charge thereof to distribute these lands, were *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, *P. Clau-*
dius Pulcher, and *C. Terentius Iſtra*. A yeer it was of note, in regard of the drought that hapned,
and the dearth of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that in six month space
it never rained one drop.

The same yeer it fortuned, that certain plowmen and labourers plowed and digged some-
what deep within the ground, in the lands of *L. Petilius* a secretary, (which lands lay under the
hill *Janiculum*) there were found two coffers of stone, each of them about eight foot long and
four foot broad, the lids and covers whereof were bound and sodered with lead. Both these
chests had a superscription upon them in Greek and Latine letters to this effect, That in the one of N
them lay buried *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, sometime King of *Rome*: and in the other,
were bestowed the books of the said *Numa*. The owner of this ground opened these coffers by
the advice and counsel of his friends: and that which carried the title and inscription of the
Kings sepulture, was found empty, without any shew or token of the reliques of a mans body
or any thing else, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in continuance of time
after so many yeers past. In the other were found two fardels, wrapped within wax candles (or
cear-cloths) containing either of them seven books; which were not only whole and sound, but
also seemed very fresh and new. One seven of them were written in Latin, as touching the Pon-
tificiall law: the other seven in Greek, entituled, *The diſcipline or doctrine of Philoſophie*, such as
those daies might afford. *Valerius Antias* saith moreover, That they were the books of *Pythagoras*; O
according to the common received opinion of *Numa*, that he was the disciple of *Pythagoras*;
herein giving credit to a probable lie, resembling a truth. These books were first read by those
friends of his who were present at the place where the chests were opened; but afterwards as
they came into more mens hands to be read, it chanced that *Q. Petilius* the lord chief justice of
the City, desirous to peruse those books, borrowed them of L. *Petilius*, with whom he was famili-
arly acquainted, by reason that the abovenamed *Quintus Petilius* had chosen the foresaid *Lucius*
into the decury of the Scribes and secretaries. Who after he had read the titles with the summaries and

A and contents of every chapter, and finding the most part thereof, tending directly to abolish the
state of the religion then established, said unto *L. Petilius*, that he purposed to sling those books
into the fire; before he did so, he would permit him to use what means he thought by order of
law, or otherwise would serve his turn to recover the said books out of his hands, and good leave
he should have to take that course without his displeasure, or any breach of friendship between
them. The Scribe or notary aforesaid goeth to the Tribunes for their assistance, the Tribunes put
the matter over to the Senat, before whom the Pretor said plainly, that he was ready to take his
corporall oath, if it were to put to it, that those books ought neither to be read nor kept. Where-
upon the Senat judged, that for such a matter the offer only of the Pretors oath was sufficient, and
that the books should be burned with all speed possible in the open place of assemblies called
B *Comitium*: but they awarded withall, that they should be paied unto *Q. Petilius* the right owner
as much mony for the books, as the Pretor and the more part of the Tribunes of the Commons
esteemed them worth. The Scribe would touch none of mony: but his books were burnt in the
foresaid place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinary servitors attending upon the
sacrifices.

The same summer there arose suddainly a great war in the higher *Spain*. The Celtiberians
had gathered a power of five & thirty thousand men, a number more then lightly at any time before
they had levied. Now was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* lord Deputy of that province. He for his part; be-
cause he was advertised that the Celtiberians put their youth in arms, had raised and assembled
as great aids of the confederats, as he could, but nothing came he neer to the enemie in numbers
C of souldiers. In the beginning of the Spring he led his army into *Carpetania*, and encamped
before the town *Ebura*, after he had plainted a mean garrison within it. A few daies after the Cel-
tiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence under a little hill. When the Roman
Pretor perceived they were come, he sent his brother *Marcus Fulvius* with two companies of
the horsemen of allies in espial, to view the enemies camp, willing him to approach as neer to the
trench and rampier as he could, and to see what compasse the camp took, but to forbear skirmish;
and in any hand to retire, in case he perceived the Cavalry of their enemies made out against him.
According to this direction, in did in every respect. And so for certain daies together, there was
nothing done, but only these two companies of horsemen shewing fight, and afterwards retiring
D also came forth and advanced forward withall their power, as well horse as foot, and having set
them in ordinance of battell, staied as it were in the midst between. The whole ground was a
smooth and even plain, fit to join a battell in. There stood the Spaniards (I say) expecting their
enemies: But the Roman Pretor kept his men within the rampier four daies together; and
they likewise of the other side held the same place still in battell array. The Romans all that while
stirred not a foot. The Celtiberians then seeing the enemies refused fight, held themselves quiet
also within their camp: only the horsemen rid forth; and they kept a *corps de guard*, to be in
readiness if peradventure the enemies should be busie and come abroad. Both of the one side and
other, they went out of the back side of their camp to purvey forage and fuel, and impeached not
one another. The Roman Pretor, supposing now that after so many daies rest, the enemies were
E born in hand and hoped fully, that he would never begin first, commanded *L. Acilius* to take
with him the left wing of the Cavalry, and six thousand of the provincial auxiliaries, and to fetch a
compasse about the hill which stood behind the enemies; and from thence to soon as they heard
a Cry, to run down amain and charge upon their camp. And because they might not be discove-
red, in the night time they departed. *Flaccus* the next morning by peep of day, sent out *C. Scribo-*
nius (a colonel of the allies) against the enemies camp, with the extraordinary horsemen of the
left wing: whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approaching neer toward them & also more
in number then usually they had been, they put forth all their Cavalry at once out of the gates:
& withal, gave the signal to the Infantry also to come abroad. *Scribonius*, according to the direc-
on given, so soon as ever he heard the first noise and shout of the horsemen, turned the head of his
F horse and retired back full upon the camp: therewith the enemies followed more freely: first
the horsmen, and within a while the footmen also, making full account to be masters of the Ro-
man leaguer that day, and verily now were they put past half a mile. When *Flaccus* supposed
that they were trained far enough from their camp, for succouring it, he issued forth at once in
three places, with his army arranged before in order of battell within, and caused them to set
up a mighty cry, not only to animat the souldiers to the combat, but also that their fellows
behind the hill might hear it. Who made no stay, but presently ran down and set upon the ene-
mies camp as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed
men. By reason therefore, that they within were so few, the enemies without so many, and
G the enterprise so suddain and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and so in manner with-
out any skirmish and resistance at all, their hold was forced and won. *Acilius* set on fire that
part also, which might easiest be seen of them that were fighting in the plain. Now the Celtiberi-
ans which stood behind in the rereguard, were the first that discovered the flame, but afterwards it
was noised and went current through the main battel, that their camp were lost and all on a light
fire. The enemies were greatly amated, but the Romans much more animated. For now
they might hear the shout of their fellows, having the upper hand, now might they see the
tents of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while stood in suspence,
doubtfull

doubtfull what to do; but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of safe retear, if upon their H
discomfiture they should fall to running away, they saw no other hope but in fighting it out, and
so they began to renew the skirmish afresh, with more resolution then before. Fiercely they were
encountred and charged in the midst of their battel by the first legion: but against the left flank and
wing, where they saw the souldiers of their own nation ranged (who came to aid the Romans)
they made head, and advanced their enfignes with more boldnesse and confidence. And verily
that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated, but that the seventh legion se-
conded and succoured them: and withall they that were left within *Ebora* in garrison, came from
the town in the very midst and hottest of the conflict; and *Acilius* from another part plaied
on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians along time, and were cut in peeces between. As
many as remained, made shift to flie and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Cavalry was I
sent out after them two waies in severall bands: who also committed great slaughter and execu-
tion. That day were slain of the enemies about 23000. 4800 taken prisoners, with five hundred
horse and above; besides 88 military ensignes gotten from them and carried away. A great victory
this was, but not without bloudshed of the Romans part: for of two legions there died somewhat
more then two hundred, but of Latine allies 8303 of forrein aids, much about 2400 lost their lives
in the field. The Pretor then retired with his victorious army into his own camp. *Acilius* was
commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next mor-
row they fell to gather up the spoils of their enemies: and those who had born themselves valiant-
ly in that service among the rest, were rewared with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the
whole army. After this, when the hurt and maimed were brought back into the town *Ebora*, the K
legions were led through the countrey *Carpetania*, towards *Contrebia*. This City when it was
once besieged sent to the Celtiberians for succour; but they came not in time: not for any slack-
nesse of their part, but because after they were departed from home, & had entred on their journey,
the foul waies hindred and staid them, which they were not able to pass for the continuall rain
that fell: over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled so high, that possibly they
could not come forward: whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in dispair of help, from their
friends, rendred the town. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous weather
to put his army into the same City. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey,
and not aware that their friends had surrendred, at length having passed over the rivers (when
the rain gave over and the weather took up) came to *Contrebia*, but seeing no camp without the L
walls, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dislodged and
gone, they approached the town, and marched loosely and retchlesly forward in disarray. The
Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put
them to the rout. But see what hapned! that thing which hindred them that they could not make
head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one
entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours) the same stood them in good stead
to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran so scattering, and were so spread all over the
plaines, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to com-
pass them about on every side. Howbeit 2000 of them were killed, & above 5000 taken prisoners,
besides 400 horse, 62 ensigns of war won from them. Those who after their straggling flight re- M
tired homeward, met with another troop of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they re-
counted the yeelding up of *Contrebia* and their own misfortune: by which means they caused
them to turn and goe back againe, who immediately slipt away in their villages and forts.
Then *Flaccus* departed from *Contrebia*, and conducted his legions through *Celtiberia* wa-
sting and spoiling as he went: where he forced many castles untill the greater part of that coun-
trey was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high *Spain* that year. As for
the lower province, *Manlius* the Pretor fought fortunatly in certain battells against the Portu-
gals.

The same yeer a Colony of Latins was planted in *Aquileia*, within the territory of the Gauls, N
and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed
with fifty acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and
forty acres apeece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution
were P. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, C. *Flaminius*, and L. *Manlius Acidinus*. In which year also
two Temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* neer the gate *Collina* (which L. *Porcius*
Licinius the son of *Lucius* dedicated, being a Duumvir deputed for that purpose, and had been
vowed before by L. *Porcius* the Consul in the Ligurian war) the other to the goddesse *Pietas*, in the
herb market: and of this chappell M. *Acilius Glabrio* the other Duumvir, had the dedication;
where, he erected and set up in the honor of his father *Glabrio*, a guilt statue, which was the first
gilded image that ever was made in *Italy*. This *Glabrio* the father was he, who had vowed to
edifie the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battell against K. *Antiochus*, at *Ther-* O
mopylæ, and by warrant from the Senat, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those
daies wherein these holy houses were consecrated, L. *Æmylius Paulus* the Proconsul, triumphed
over the Ligurians Ingaunes. He had born before him in shew five and twenty golden Coronets,
and besides them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Li-
gurians, men of mark, whom he took captive; were led before his chair. He dealt among his
souldiers, 300 Asses apeece. The fame of this triumph of his, was much more renowned by this

A this occasion, that the Ligurian Embassadors craved to have a perpetuall peace with the Romans
"saying, That their whole nation were resolved, never to take arms again, but by commandment
"and licence of the people of *Rome*. Q. *Fabius* the Pretor, returned this answer unto them by the
"advice of the Senat, That it was no newes to hear this language from the Ligurians; but it stood
"them upon and was beseeming rather, to carry a new mind, and the same agreeable to their
"speech: and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and do by them which they were enjoined:
forasmuch as the Senat would beleeve none but the word only of the Consuls in the behalf of the
Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to observe peace. Thus was peace con-
cluded with the Ligurians: but there was a battel fought in *Corsica* with the Islanders there;
in which M. *Pinarius* the Pretor slew 4000 of them in the field: which defeat compelled them
to give hostages, and besides 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence the army was conduct-
B ed into *Sardinia*, where passed some fortunat battels against the Ilians, a nation at this day not ful-
ly quieted & appeased. In this very yeer also were the hundred hostages rendred back again to the
Carthaginians; with whom the people of *Rome* made and maintained peace, as well for their own
part, as in the behalf of K. *Masinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession
of that territory which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing
to do. M. *Bæbius* was sent for to *Rome*, against the generall assembly for the election of magi-
strates: who created Consuls, A. *Posthumius Albinus Luscus*, and C. *Calpurnius Piso*. After this,
were elected Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, A. *Posthumius Albinus*, P. *Cornel. Mamercus*,
T. *Minutius Mollicubus*, A. *Hostilius Mancinus*, and C. *Manius*; and they all entred into their
magistracy upon the 15 day of *March*.

C In the beginning of that yeer wherein A. *Posthumius Albinus*, and C. *Calpurnius Piso* were
Consuls: A. *Posthumius* the Consul brought into the Senat those persons who were come from
Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hither province of *Spain*; to wit, L. *Minutius* his Lieutenant ge-
nerall, and the two colonels, T. *Manius* and L. *Massiliota*. These men after they had made report
of two field: fortunately fought against the Celtiberians, of their countrey yeelded and brought un-
der their subjection; and that the term of government in that province was expired, and no more
left to to be done there; so as there was no need either of the ordinary mony which was wont
to be sent for souldiers pay, or of corn to be caried unto the army for that yeer: requested of the
Senat first, in regard of their happy successe, to yeeld honor and praise to the immortall gods:
and then, that Q. *Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, and bring with
D him that army of his from thence, whose valiant service, both himself and also many Pretors be-
fore him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisit and
needfull in a manner to be done: forasmuch as the souldiers were so stiffnecked and obstinat, that
it seemed unpossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and
depart without licence, if they were not dimissed: or else break out into some dangerous fire
of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hand. The Senat gave
order that *Liguria* should be the province for both Consuls: which done, the Pretors also cast
lots for theirs. To A. *Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens: and to *Minutius* o-
ver the forreiners; P. *Cornelius* had the government of *Sicily*: C. *Manius* of *Sardinia*. Unto L.
Posthumius was allotted the farther part of *Spain*, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the hither. This *Sem-*
E *pronius* (because he was to succeed Q. *Fulvius*) fearing his province should be left naked and
disfurnished of the old souldiers, "I demand (qd. he) of you, O L. *Minutius*, since you bring word
"that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celtiberians
"will continue fast in their allesgeance for ever, so as, that province may be protected and held
"in obedience without any army at all? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and
"loyalty of these Barbarians & do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whe-
"ther you will give counsell to the Senat, for to send a supply into *Spain*, that they only should be
"cassed and discharged, who have served out their full yeers required by law, and so that new and
"raw souldiers be mingled with the rest of the old? or that the old legions should full and whole
"be removed out of the province, and new legions enroiled, and sent thither in their stead? con-
F "sidering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrained souldiers, were
"enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebel and
"make war again? Soon said it is, but not so easily done, to have made an end of all troubles in
"such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to war, and, prone ever and
"anon to make insurrections. Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which be-
"ing neer unto the souldiers lying in winter garrison, were by them held in aw and kept down,
"have yeelded and are become subject: but they that were farther off, be in arms still and have
"weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my LL) even now before hand, that I will per-
"form my service to the Commonweal, with the help of that army which is there already at this
G "present: but in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him: I will chuse those quarters which
"are in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my yong and new souldiers among them, to be pre-
"sented to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answer-
"ed to these demands in this maner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life, to
"divine and foredeem what was in the hearr of the Celtiberians now, and what they would
"mind and intend to do hereafter: and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was
"to send an army among these Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) be-

"cause as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being subjects. But whether H
"it be more expedient to employ new forces, as the old, it is for him to speak and set down, who
"upon his knowledg can say, how loyally the Celtiberians will carry themselves in time of peace,
"and is withall assured, that the souldiers will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained
"any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture and give a guesse what they think in
"their heart, either by their grumbling words secretly one to another; or their speeches uttered
"in the presence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick audi-
"ence: I tell you truly they have cryed out with open mouth, that either they will keep their Ge-
nerall with them in the province, or home they will with him into *Italy*. This debate between
the Pretor and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded be-
fore the Senat by the Consuls, who thought it meet and reasonable, that order should be taken for I
their own furniture and setting forth with men, mony, and munition to their provinces, before
any thing were spoken or treat of as touching the Pretor his army. So, ordained it was, that the
Coss. should have their entire army of new souldiers, to wit, each of them two legions of Rom.
citizens with their cavalry, together with the usuall and accustomed number at all other times
of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horse. And with this power they had in charge to
make war against the Ligurian Apuans. As for P. *Cornelius* and *M. Babius*, they continued still
in place of command: and were willed to hold their provinces, untill the Consuls were thither
come. Then they were commanded to discharge the army which they had, and so to return to
Rome. After this, speech there was concerning the army of *Tib. Sempronius*; and the Consuls had
warrant to enroll one new legion, consisting of five thousand and two hundred foot and 400 K
horse: over and besides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horse of Roman citizens. Likewise the Latine na-
tion was charged with a levy of 7000 foot and 300 horse. With which army it was thought good,
that *Tib. Sempronius* should go into the higher province of *Spain*. As for *Q. Fulvius*, he was per-
mitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all those souldiers, as well Romans as
allies, which had been transported over into *Spain* before the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumius* and
Q. Martius: and more then that (after a new supply was come) the surplusage in two legions a-
bove 1400 foot, and 600 horse, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latins, and six hundred
horsemen; and namely, those whose valorous servince *C. Fulvius* had tried and found in two bar-
tels against the Celtiberians. Moreover, solemn processions and thanksgiving were by authority
ordained, for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-weal: & then the rest of the Pre- L
tors were sent into their provinces, *Q. Fabius Buteo* had his commission renewed to govern *Gallia*
still. Thus it was agreed in the Senat-house, that there should be eight legions maintained and kept
in pay that yeer, over and above the old army in *Liguria*, which was in good hope shortly to be
dismissed. Howbeit even these forces (being no greater then they were) hardly could be made
full and compleat by reason of the pestilence which now three years had raigned, and dispeopled
the City of *Rome*; and all *Italy*. During which plague the Pretor *T. Minutius*, and not long after
him, the Consul *C. Calpurnius* died: with many other brave and famous persons of each degree
and quality. So, as at length these men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodigi-
ous token and strange wonder. Whereupon *C. Servilius* the Arch-bishop was charged, to search
out means for to appease the wrath and anger of the gods; and the Decemvirs likewise to peruse M
the books of *Sibylla*: the Cos. to vow certain presents and oblations, to *Dan Apollo*, *Æsculapius*
and Lady * *Salus*, and to set up their images garnished with gold: which he vowed and erected
accordingly. The Decemvirs proclamed supplications & praiers two daies together for the health
of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent resort and al-
sembly. All above twelve yeers of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flours upon their heads, & bare
branches of lawrell in their hands, whiles they were at their praiers & devotion. Moreover, there
was crept into mens heads a suspicion that some devilish and wicked hand might be the cause of
all this. Wherupon by an act of the Senat, a commission was granted out unto *C. Claudius* the Pre-
tor (who was substituted and chosen in the room of *T. Minutius*) to make search and diligent in-
quisition after all confections of poison, & the practisers therof, within the City, & for the compass N
of ten miles about it every way: In like maner, to *C. Manius*, for to sit in the enquiry therof (be-
fore he crossed over-sea into his province of *Sardinia*) in all the mart-towns and places of assem-
bly which were more then ten miles off, from *Rome*. Of all others, the Consul his death was most
suspected. For given out it was, that *Quarta Hostilia* his wife, had murdered him: but when he
was seen once, that her own son Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, was declared Consul in place of his father in
law and mothers husband, the death of *Piso* the Consul began to be more infamous and suspicious
a great deal then before. And witnesses there came forth ready to depose, that after *Albinus* and
Piso were pronounced Consuls (in which election the said *Flaccus* was rejected and suffered a re-
pulse) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his dish, that this was the third time
that he sued for the Consulship and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be rea- O
dy to stand for it again, for that she would work and bring it about, that within two months he
should be Consul. Among other testimonies and depositions making for the cause and tending to
the same, that speech of hers also, taking effect too truly and so just within the time, was thought
sufficient to condemn *Hostilia*.

In the beginning of this spring, whiles the levy of souldiers staied the new Consul at *Rome*,
whiles the death of the one and the choosing of the other into their place, caused all thing there to

A to go more slowly forward; in the mean time *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Babius* who had done nothing
worthy of the remembrance during the Consulship, led their armies against the Ligurian Apuans.
These Ligurians, who before the coming of the Consuls into the province looked for no war,
were surprized at unawares, and to the number of 12000 of them yeelded: whom *Cornelius* and
Babius resolved (upon advice had first with the Senat by letters) to transport from the mountains,
into plains and champian countrey from their own home; to the end they should have no more
hope to return, for otherwise they supposed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now
there was in the Samnits country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of *Rome*,
which sometimes had been in the tenure and possession of the Taurasins. In which place they be-
ing desirous to plant the Ligurian Apuans, published an edict, That they should descend down
B the mountains *Anidos*, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all
that ever they had. But the Ligurians sent their Embassadors oftentimes to intreat, that they might
not be forced to abandon their domesticall gods, the place of their nativity, and the sepul-
chres of their ancestors; and therewith promised to deliver up their armor, and to put in hostages.
Howbeit, seeing they could not prevail, and having not strength and power enough to wage war
again, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there was translated from thence at the pub-
lick charges of the City, to the number of four thousand persons free born, together with their
women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 150000 Sesterces, toward the
building of new houses. And for to distribute and divide land among them (the same men (to wit,
Cornelius and *Babius*) had commission; who also removed them into those parts. Howbeit at
C the request of these twain, there were Quinquevirs or five commissioners aiisitants granted unto
them by the Senat, by whose advice they might manage all. These affairs being finished, after they
had brought with them to *Rome* their old army, they obtained of the Senat a grant to triumph.
And these were the first that ever triumphed & made no war before. Only the enemies were led in
shew before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be caried or led in pomp;
neither was there ought to be seen in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the
souldiers.

The same yeer *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pretor in *Spain*, by occasion that his successor stayed long
ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintring camp, and
began to wast and spoil the farther parts and territories of *Celtiberia*: from whence the inhabi-
D tants came not in to submit and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather pro-
voked and angred the barbarous people, then terrified them: for when they had secretly gathered
together certain forces and companies, they beset and barred the passage *Manlianum*, by which
they were assured that the Roman army would passe. As *L. Posthumius Albinus* was upon his
journey into the nether province of *Spain*, *Gracchus* his colleague charged him to advertise *Quin-
tus Fabius* for to bring his army to *Tarracon*, for that he proposed there to discharge his old sol-
diers, to distribute the supply which he brought, & to range in order al his army by companies. No-
tice also was given to *Flaccus* of the very day (which was neer at hand) upon which his successor
would come. This new occurent caused *Flaccus* to lay aside those enterprises which he intended,
and in all hast to withdraw his forces out of *Celtiberia*. The barbarous people knowing not the
E cause hereof, but supposing that he had some inkling of their revolt, and how they had in secret ta-
ken arms, and that thereupon he was sore afraid, guarded and stopped the passage so much more
streightly. Now so soon as the Roman army was entred into the passe one morning betimes at
the break of day, the enemies arose suddainly at once out of two parts, and charged the Romans:
which when *Flaccus* perceived, he gave commandment by the ministery of the Ceturions, that
every man should keep his place and stand his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readi-
nesse; by which means he appeased the tumult and affright in his host. Then after he had
brought all his labouring beasts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattelled and put in array
all his bands and companies, partly by himself in person, and partly by his Lieutenants and colo-
nels, according as the ground and the time required, shewing no sign at all of fear, but putting
F his men in mind of the enemies, in these terms: "Ye have (quoth he) to do with those that
"twice already yeelded have yeelded unto us, who are inured and practised still in wickednes &
"perjury; not bettered in vertue and courage: those (I say) who are like to make our return home
"honorable and glorious, which otherwise would have been obscure and nothing memorable: so
"as we shall carry to *Rome* for a triumph, our swords all bloudy and newly bathed in the green
"wounds and fresh massacre of our enemies; and beare away the spoils of their bodies, all em-
"brued and still dropping with their bloud. Time would not permit him to say any more, for now
the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmost skirts of the army,
and anon the main battels encountred and joyned conflict. The fight was hot and cruell alike in all
G parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought valiantly, and the
two wings of either hand did their devoir as bravely. The auxiliary strangers had to deal with
enemies armed in deed at all points like to themselves, but better souldiers by ods then they were;
in such sort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Cel-
tiberians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranged battell and close hand-
fight, cast their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battaillon, for to pierce perforce and en-
ter upon their enemies: in which maner of fight they are so strong, that it is not possible to withstand
them, wheresoever they give their violent charge. And then the legions also were put in disarray,
and

and the whole main battel after a sort, was disbandoned and broken. Which disorder and fear-full trouble when *Flaccus* perceived he rode a gallop to the legionary men of arms: What? (qd. he unto them) is there no help at all in you? and shall this army here be thus defeated utterly and come to nought? Whereat they cryed on all hands to him to give direction and speak only the word what he would have done, & he should see how they would bestir themselves in the execution of his command. "Mary (quoth he) double your troops, you that are the horsemen of two "legions, and run your horses with full carrier against that wedge-formed battailon of the ene-"mies, wherewith they presse upon our men; and this shall you perform with the more violence of your horses, if you disbridle them and let them have full head, and so set spurs and rush in a-"mong them: which we have read in stories, that the Romans many a time have practised to "their great praise and honour. No sooner said, but done it was; pluckt were the bridles over their horse heads; twice they ran through the mids of them to and fro from one side to another, brake all their lances upon the enemies, overthrew them, and made foul work and slaughter among them. When this pointed battailon of the Celtiberians was once broken, (even the whole and only hope they had;) then they began to fear and tremble, then were they at the point to quit the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The extraordinary Cavalry in the out-wings (seeing so brave a service performed by the Roman horsmen) were enkindled and incensed by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any mans commandment, charged upon their enemies, thus disordered and in disarray already. Then the Celtiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General seeing them once turn back and shew their hin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equestris*, and to exhibit games in the honor of *Iup. Opt. Max.* The Celtiberians, thus disbandoned and scattered in the rout all over the length of the streight passage, were killed and cut in peeces. It is recorded that there died that day seventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prisoners alive more then three thousand, together with 27 field ensigns, and well neer eleven hundred horses. For that day, the victorious army lodged within no camp at all: yet was not this victory so cleer, but it cost them the losse of some souldiers: for of the Romans were slain four hundred seventy and two; of allies (and namely of Latins) 1019; and together with them, aidsouldiers three thousand. Thus the army having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to *Tarracon. Tib. Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius* in the way as he came, and shewed how he rejoyced on his behalf, for this good man ging and happy atchieving the affairs of the commonweal: which done, they agreed together with great accord as touching the souldiers, namely, whom to casse and send away, and whom to retain still in service. Then *Fulvius* having shipped the souldiers that were discharged, took his journey to *Rome*: and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into *Celtiberia*.

Both the Consuls led their forces into *Liguria*, and entred the countrey in two divers quarters. *Posthumius* with the first legion and the third, beset and invested the two mountains, *Balista* and *Suismontium*: and so streightly he kept the narrow passes of those parts with his garrisons, that he cut them off from all victuals, and tamed them with extream scarcity and want of all things. *Fulvius* with the second legion and the fourth, after he had assailed the Apuan Ligurians from the coast of *Pisa*, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river *Macra*; and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, he sent them over to *Naples*, coasting along the Tuscan sea. From whence they were brought into the Samnits countrey, and a certain territory assigned them to inhabit amongst the rest of thir countrymen. As for *A. Posthumius*, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the Ligurian mountainers, so long until they were driven by all maner of calamities following war, to come in and submit, yea, and to deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence *Posthumius* departed and took the sea, because he would visit the coasts of the Ligurian Ingaunes and Intemelians. Now, before that these Consuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at *Pisa*, it chanced *A. Posthumius* & *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, the brother of Q. *Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof. This *Fulvius* was a Colonell of the second legion, who during the time of those months, wherein by turn he had the command and charge thereof, dimissed that legion, having bound the Centurions by an oath, that they should make paiment back of their wage-mony well and truly to the Questors in the chamber and treasury of *Rome*. Notice hereof being given to *Au. Posthumius* at *Placentia*, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after those casted souldiers, and pursued them with a company of light horsemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Pisa*; of the rest he gave information to the Consul. Who put the matter to question, and after it had been debated in counsel, an act of the Senat passed against the said *M. Fulvius*, that he should be confined and sent into *Spain* beyond new *Carthage*. And letters he had given him to carry from the Consul to P. *Manlius* into the farther province of *Spain*. As for the souldiers, they were commanded to returne again to their colours, and for an ignominious disgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they should be content and take up with six months wages. And look what souldiers repaired not to the army accordingly, the Consul had warrant and commission to make sale of him and all that he had.

The same yeer L. *Duronius*, who was returned with ten ships to *Brundusium* from out of *Illyricum* (where he sat as Pretor the former yeer) leaving his ships there in the rode, came to *Rome*: where

A where, in discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and piracy at sea upon *Gentius* the King of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon the coast of the Adriatick sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to complain, but they could never find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Embassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Gentius*, who avouched, that when the Romans came for to parle with the King, he hapned to be sick in the most remote parts of his kingdome: and therfore *Gentius* their King and master requested the Senat, not to give credit to those false accusations and forged slanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But *Duronius* alledged moreover, that divers and sundry persons, as well citizens of *Rome* as Latine allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were staied and
B detained at *Corcyra*. Whereupon it was in councell thought good that they should be brought to *Rome*, and that C. *Claudius* the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before such time no answer would be given unto King *Gentius* or his Embassadors.

Among many others that the plague this yeer consumed, certain priests and prelats also died; and namely, L. *Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whole room was chosen Q. *Fabius Labeo*. Also P. *Manlius* one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whole stead Q. *Fulvius* the son of *Marcus* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very* young, and not out of his embrodered *Prætexta*. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of Cn. *Cornelius Dolobella*, there was debate between C. *Servilius* the Archbishop, and *Cornelius Dolabella* one of the Duumvirs for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that office, that he might consecrate and inaugurat him the King sacrificer, he refused so to do. For
C which cause the bishop set a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed to the people; and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paied? Now when most of the tribes called into the rails for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey the bishop, and awarded the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that office which he had, behold it lightned at the very instant from heaven, which is the only ominous sign that interrupteth the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledg of the bishops made scruple of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but they consecrated P. *Cœlius Siculus*, who had been elected in the second place. In the end of the year C. *Servilius Geminus* likewise the Archbishop himself departed this world, who also was one of the ten Decemvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledg of the bishops, elected bishop in his
D room. But *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was created the sovereign Pontifex, notwithstanding many noble persons made suit therfore. Likewise Q. *Marcius Philippus* a Decemvir for the holy mysteries, who chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased Sp. *Postumius* an Augur, in whole stead P. *Scipio* the son of *Africanus* was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the inhabitants of *Cumes*, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak Latine: as also to the publick criers, to make portsale of goods in the Latine tongue. The Senat gave thanks to the Pisans for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, Q. *Fabius Buteo*, *Marcus* and *Publius*, both named *Popilius*, and both surnamed *Lænas*. Letters were brought from *M. Mœnius* the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of *Sardinia*, had commission also to
E enquire after the practise of poysoning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of *Rome*) importing thus much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and th t the informations and presentments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still, and therfore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province *Sardinia*.

Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* with great honour for his acts there atchieved. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Consul with L. *Manlius Acidinus*, and within few daies after, rode triumphant into *Rome*, accompanied with his souldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumph a 120 * golden coronets. Moreover in gold 32 pound weight, besides 173200 peeces of coin in Oscan silver. He
F dealt to his souldiers fifty Denarii peeces out of the booty and pillage which he had gotten. To every Centurion he gave it double, and to the gentlemen of *Rome* that served on horseback, triple. The like he did by the Latin allies, and to all in general he paied double wages. This year was the law first proposed by L. *Iulius* a Trib. of the Com. as touching the yeer of the age requisit and meet for to sue for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that family was surnamed * *Annales*. Many yeers after there were created four Prefectors according to the law *Bæbia*, which provided that there should be each other year four chosen. And these were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, L. *Valerius Lævinus*, Q.
G and *M.* both named *Mutii*, and both surnamed *Scævola*.

Unto the Consuls Q. *Fulvius* and L. *Manlius* the government of the same provinces was ordained, which to those of the former years, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens as allies. In both provinces of *Spain*, *Tib. Sempronius* and L. *Posthumius* continued still to have the command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Romans, likewise five thousand foot of Latin allies and four hundred horse. P. *Mucius Scævola* by lot had the civil jurisdiction, within the City of *Rome*, and commission to enquire into the devillish art of poysoning both within the City, and within the compasse of ten miles, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* was lord chief justice in forrain pleas and causes, Q. *Mutius Scævola* was lord deputy of *Sicily*.

* *Prætextatus*; It appeareth that he was under 17. yeers of age, and so *Livy* useth this word in the end of the 12 book; for *Prætexta* was *Puerilis habitus Tacitus* 12.

Which were sent unto him from princes and Cities, to set his triumph these were called *Corona triumphales*, & hereof cometh the gold *Coronarium*.

The law it self called *Annaria* or *Annalis*, ordenara for the redresse of that disorder.

and

and *C. Valerius* in *Sardinia*. *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, before that he went in hand with any af- H
fairs of State, laid he would both diſcharge himſelf and alſo the City of the duty to Godward, in
performing the vowes which he had made. He declared that on that very day wherin he fought
his laſt battell with the Celtiberians, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honour of that
moſt mighty and gracious god *Jupiter*, and likewiſe to build a temple to *Fortuna equeſtris*: and
how thereto the Spaniards had contributed certain ſums of mony. So a decree paſſed, that thoſe
plaies ſhould be ſet forth: and two Duumvirs choſen, to give order and bargain for the edification
of the ſame temple. Likewiſe there was ſet down a certain ſtint of mony to be diſburſed for the
defraying of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that ſum in the ſolemnity of the plaies, which
was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when he exhibited the like ſports after the end of the Ætoli- I
an war. *Item*, that for theſe games he ſhould not ſeek or ſend for, gather and raiſe, receive or do
any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senat, which in the time of *L. Æmylius* and *Cn. Babius*
Conſuls was made as touching ſuch paſtimes. This decree the Senat ordeined, by occaſion of the
ſuperfluous and exceſſive expenſes employed about the plaies of *T. Sempronius* the Ædile; which
were very chargeable not only to *Italy* and the Latine allies, but alſo to forrain provinces. The
winter this year was very ſharp, by reaſon of ſnow, and all manner of tempeſtuous weather. The
trees that were tender and ſubject to froſt and cold, were all blaſted and killed; beſides the win-
ter ſeaſon continued much longer then ordinary in other yeers. And thereupon the feſtivall ſo-
lemnity of the Latine holidaies were ſo troubled and diſordered by a ſuddain and inſupportable
ſtorm and tempeſt upon the hill [*Alba*] that by an ordinance of the Biſhops, it was celebrated K
again the ſecond time. The ſame tempeſt caſt down certain images in the Capitol, and diſigu-
red very many places with thunderbolts and flaſhes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of Ju-
piter in *Tarracina*, the white temple at *Capua*: *Item*. the gate there called *Romana*, and the bat-
tlements of the wals in divers places. Among theſe wondrous prodigies it was reported alſo
from *Reate*, that a mule was foaled with three feet. For this cauſe the Decemvirs were com-
manded to go to the books of *Sibylla*: and out of that learning they ſhewed to what gods ſacrifice
ſhould be made, & what number of beaſts was to be killed. And becauſe many places were with
lightning defaced, they ordained that a ſolemn ſupplication ſhould be holden one whole day in the
temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the foreſaid games and plaies which *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul had
vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the
election of the Cenſors, wherein *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Arch-biſhop, and *M. Fulvius No-* L
bilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were created. Now between theſe two men, there
had been notorious enmity, oftentimes teſtified and ſhewed in many ſharp and bitter debates,
both the Senat, and alſo before the people. When this election was ended, the two Cenſors ac-
cording to the ancient uſe and cuſtome, ſat upon their ivory chairs of eſtate in *Mars* field, neer
the altar of *Mars*. To whom there ſoon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with
a troop beſides of citizens: and among the reſt, Q. *Cæcilius Metellus* made a ſpeech to this effect.

The Oration of *Metellus*, to the Cenſors.

"My maſters, you that are Cenſors, we have not forgotten that you ere-while were choſen by
"the univerſal body of the people of *Rome*, to be ſuperintendents and wardens over us for our man-
"ners and behavior: and that it becometh us to be taught, admoniſhed, & directed by you, and not M
"you by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what there is in you, that either is offenſive
"to all good men, or at leaſt wiſe which they wiſh were amended. When we behold and con-
"der you ſeverally part, either you, O M. *Æmylius*, or you *M. Fulvius*, we have not this day in the
"City of *Rome* any men, whom if were called to a new ſcrutiny for to paſſe our voices again, we
"would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we ſee you both together,
"we cannot chuſe but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and coupled as com-
"panions in government: & that the common-weal ſhall not receive ſo much good by this, That
"ye pleaſe and like us all ſo well; as ſuſtain harm in this, That you diſpleaſe and diſlike one ano-
"ther. Theſe many yeers together, there hath been great heart-burning and much malice be-
"tween you and the ſame muſt needs be grievous and hurtfull unto your ſelves: but now it is to N
"be feared that from this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudicial to us & the common-
"weal, then unto you. Vpon what motives and cauſe we are thus fearfull, much we could lay,
"but that peradventure your irreconcible anger is ſuch, as hath inared and poſſeſſed wholly your
"ſpirits and minds already. Theſe quarrels, jars, and grudges of yours, we all in generall would
"requeſt you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherin we are aſſembled: and
"ſince the people of *Rome* by their voices have conjoyned you in one office; ſuffer your ſelves
"by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect atonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart
"& counſel chuſe the Senat; review the Cavalry and Knighthood of *Rome*; number the citizens;
"aſſeſſe their goods; purge and cleanſe the City; & finally conſummate the ſolemnity of the cenſe
"with a ſacrifice. And whereas in all your praiers well-neer, ye ſhall uſe this ordinary form of
"words, *That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happily, to my ſelf and to my con-* O
"*league*, See that you wiſh the ſame truly, ſincerely and from the very heart, that whatſoever ye
"ſhall pray unto the gods for, we men may beleeve and all the world ſee, that you deſire the ſame
"to be effected indeed. *T. Tatius* & *Romulus* in this very City reigned together with great unity &
"concord, in the midſt whereof even in the very market place, they had encountred and joined
"battell together as mortal enemies with their cruell armies. What! not enmities only have an
"end, but wars alſo. And many a time moſt venemous and ſpiteful foes become faithfull allies,
yea,

A "yea, and otherwhiles neer neighbors and fellow citizens. The Albans after their ſubverſion and
"and utter ruin of their City, were brought over to inhabit *Rome*. The Latins & Sabins both, were
"endenizen'd Romans. An old ſaying it is, and not ſo old as true, and for the truth become a
"common proverb, that enmities ought to be tranſitory and ſoon die, whereas friendſhip ſhould
"continue & live for ever. At theſe words, there aroſe a confuſed bruit, among them there aſſem-
bled, in token of their conſent and approbation: and anon were heard the diſtinct voices of them
all in general, craving and requeſting of the Cenſors the ſame; which making one entire ſound,
brake off the ſpeech of *Metellus*. Then *Æmylius* among other matters complained that M. *Fulvius*
had twice put him beſides the Conſulſhip, which otherwiſe he was ſure of. And *Fulvius* on the
other ſide found himſelf grieved, that he evermore by *Æmylius* had been provoked, and that he
B had waged law by ſtipulation againſt him to his dihonor and diſgrace. Yet both of them made fair
and ſhewed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by
ſo many honorable perſonages of the City. So, at the inſtant requeſt of all them that were preſent,
they ſhook hands and thereby aſſured one another to forgive and forget all matters paſt, and truly
to make an end of maliee, and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commend-
ed by the whole aſſembly, and conducted by them into the Capitoll. Where the Senat approved
and highly praiſed, as well the careful induſtry of the principal citizens, in effecting this ſo weigh-
ty a matter, as alſo the good nature and flexibility of the two Cenſors. Who afterwards when
they required to have a certain ſum of of mony aſsigned unto them for to employ in the publick e-
difices and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one
whole yeer.

C The ſame yeer *L. Poſthumius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Pretors in *Spain* agreed ſo together
that *Albinus* ſhould make an expedition againſt the *Vaccei* through *Luſitania*, and ſo return from
thence into *Celtiberia*. But *Gracchus* went as far as the utmoſt quarter of *Celtiberia*, for that in
thoſe parts there was the greater war. And firſt he forced the City *Munda*, which he ſurpriſed
ſuddainly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hoſtages, and put a garriſon
there, he went forward aſſaulting forts and burning the villages, untill he came to another City of
exceeding ſtrength, which the Celtiberians call *Certima*: where, as he was about to approach
the wals with his engins of battery, there came unto him orators out of the City; who like good
plain men of the old world, made a ſpeech unto him, nothing diſſembling but that they would
war and be revenged, if their ſtrength and forces were ſufficient. For they requeſted leave to paſſe
D to the Celtiberian camp, there to receive aid and ſuccour: but if they could not ſpeed, then they
would conſult apart by themſelves what to do. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*; and ſome few
daies after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day,
and the firſt thing that they craved at the Pretor his hand was this, That he would make them to
drink before they parled. When they had once quaffed and carowſed round, they called again for
more: whereat, all that were preſent and ſtood about them, laughed heartily, to ſee them ſo rude
and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldeſt man of the com-
pany began in this wiſe: We are ſent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what aſſu-
red means hath ind uced you to levy war againſt us? To this demand *Gracchus* anſwered, That
he came with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army; which (if they were ſo deſi-
E rous) he would do them the favour to ſee, that they might be able to make more certain report to
their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and
knight marſhals, to put in arms and embattell all the bands and companies, as well foot as horſe;
and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battel. Theſe Embaſſadors
after they had once ſeen this fight, were ſent away: who went directly to the Celtiberians their
neighbors, and frighted them for ſending any ſuccour to the City beſieged. The townſmen within
having in vain ſet fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their turrets (which was the ſignal agreed
upon between them) and ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of the only hope they had of aid, yeeld-
ed by compoſition. So they were enjoined to make paiment of four and twenty hundred thouſand
Seſterces; and to deliver forty of their nobleſt gentlemen and beſt men of arms; not by way
F of hoſtages (for commanded they were to ſerve in the wars); and yet in truth, they ſtood for a
pawn of aſſurance for their fealty. From thence anon he marched to the City *Alco*, where the
Celtiberians lay encamped, and from whom of late the Embaſſadors aforeſaid came: whom, for
certain daies he provoked to fight, making ſmall skirmiſhes, by ſending out againſt their *corps de*
guard his light-armed vancurriers, to the end that ſcuffling together every day more then other
he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his
deſign had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliary ſouldiers, that after ſome
ſhort skirmiſh, they ſhould make ſemblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and ſo at
G once turn their backs, and flie as faſt as they could to their own camp: himſelf in the mean while
put his men in battell array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might ſee
his own bands and companies retiring back on ſet purpoſe, and running away, and after them
the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chaſe. Now had he his army embattel-
led for the purpoſe, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer ſtay then only
to ſuffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he ſet up a loud cry, and at
one inſtant iſſued forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected
violent charge: and ſo they that were come to aſſail the camp of others, could not ſo much as de-
fend

send their own: for presently they were discomfited and put to flight; and within a while driven for very fear into their hold, and in the end turned out of it also. That day 9000 of the enemies left their carkases in the field, 320 were taken prisoners, together with 112 horse, & 73 field ensigns. Of the Roman army there died not above 109. Presently after this battel, *Gracchus* marched with his legions to wast and spoil the country of *Celtiberia*: and so he made battel in all places as he went, with driving booties, & with harrying & carying all that ever he could come by; the Cities and States of the country, some submitted willingly of their own accord; others for constraint & fear received the yoke of subjection; so as in few daies space he became master of an 103 towns that yeelded unto him. A mighty rich pillage he gat in this expedition. After this, he marched back again towards the City *Alce* from whence he came, and began to besiege and assail the town. The inhabitants endured the first assault of the enemies, but afterwards seeing their town not only assailed by force of arms, but also shaken with engins and instruments of battery, distrusting the strength of the City, they retired all within their fortresses from whence also to the end, (having sent their Orators before-hand) they & all that ever they had, were at the devotion of the Romans. A great booty there was gotten, and many noble gentlemen taken prisoners amongst whom were two sons and one daughter of *Thurrus*. This *Thurrus* was a prince and great lord of those parts, and simply the mightiest potentat of all the Spaniards by many degrees, who being advertised of the hard hap and calamity fallen upon his children, sent unto *Gracchus* into the camp for a safe-conduct, and thither he came himself in person. And first he demanded, Whether he could grant unto him and his their lives? The Pretor answered, That they should live. Then he demanded again, if he might bear arms and serve under the Romans? and when *Gracchus* K permitted that also; Then will I follow you (quoth he) against mine old friends and allies, since they disdain to respect and regard me. From this time forward he took part with the Romans: and in many journies he bare himself loyally and valiantly in their wars, and much advanced the Roman State. After this, *Ergavica* (a noble, rich and mighty City) affrighted at the calamities of other neighbor towns and States about them, set the gates open for to receive the Romans. Some Authors have written, that these towns and Cities yeelded not *bona fide* and in sincerity of heart: but that so soon as he had withdrawn the legions out of any quarter, suddainly from that part they revolted also, that afterwards, he fought a cruell battel neer the mountain *Cauus* with the Celtiberians, from the break of day untill noon: in which conflict there were many slain both of the one side and the other: neither did the Romans any other great deed (as they suppose) at *Ergavica* that day to testifie their victory, but kept the field, and challenged them out of their camp to fight. Moreover, that the next morrow all the day long, they gathered up the spoils of the dead: & on the third day strook a second battel, which was greater than the other: & then at length, the Celtiberians without all doubt lost the field cleer; insomuch as their camp was ransacked. Furthermore, that there died of the enemies that day 22000, and not so few as 300 taken prisoners, and wel-neer as many horse, besides the winning of 72 military ensigns: and so the war came to a finall end, the Celtiberians made peace indeed, continued fast and firm therein with all loyalty, and were not so fickle & unconstant as before. They write moreover, that the same summer *L. Postumius* fought a brave battell with the *Vaccæi* in the father province of *Spain*, where he put M to the sword 35000 enemies, & forced their camp. But it foundeth more like a truth, that he came not timely enough into that province, for to perform any such exploits during that summer season.

The Censors made a review and new choice of Senators in good concord and faithfull unity: for the president of the Senat was chosen, *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Censor himself, who also was the high priest or Arch-bishop. Three Senators were cassed and deprived their places: but *Lepidus* held some in, whom the colleague over-passed and left out. Of that portion of money, which out of the main allowance was divided between them, they caused these works following to be made. *Lepidus* for his part raised the great causey or wharf at *Tarracina*, which was a peece of work nothing acceptable to the people, for that he had himself lands and possessions there of his own, and seemed to ease his privat expenses, under colour of doing a publick work with the Cities mony. He built a Theatre, a lore-stage or a vant-scaffold neer the temple of *Apollo*. He bargained with the Publicans or Undertakers for the polishing, blanching and whiting of the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, and likewise of the pillars about it. From these pillars he removed the Images and Statues, which seemed to have been unhandsomly set one against another, and out of all order. Likewise he took from thence, the targets and field-ensigns of all sorts, that were there set up and fastned. But *M. Fulvius* put forth to making more works in number, and those of better and greater use; To wit, a peer, and certain main piles within the river *Tyberis*; upon which piles, certain yeers after *P. Scipio Africanus* and *L. Mummius* being Censors, took order for arches to be founded and erected. *Item*, a stately hall or place behind the new shops of the banquers. *Item* A fish market, with others shops round about him, which he sold to particular persons. O *Item*, a market place, and a porch or gallery without the gate *Tergemina*, and another behind the arsenall, and neer the temple of *Hercules*. *Item*, neer *Tyber*, and behind the church of the goddesse *Hope*, he caused to be built the chappell of *Apollo* the Physitian. Now they had besides another stock of mony in common, which they employed in taking order for water to be conveighed into the City; and certain vaults to be made. But this work was impeached by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who would not suffer the water to passe through his ground. Over and besides these same Censors, instituted certain rents for portage, & pondage, & divers other imposts. Many chappels & publick places

A places in the tenure and occupation of privat persons, they took order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be set open for all comers. They changed the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundry quarters and divisions, having regard withall of the degrees of men, of their trades, mysteries and occupations. Also the one of the Censors *M. Æmylius* sued unto the Senat, that allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plaies at the dedication of the Temples of Queen *Juno* and *Diana*, which in the Ligurian war he had vowed eight years before; and assigned there was unto him twenty thousand Asses. So he dedicated both those Temples within the cirque or shew-place of *Flaminius*. Also he exhibited Stage plaies three daies together after the dedication of the Temple of *Juno*, and two daies after the other of *Diana*: and every of those daies within the cirque *Flaminius*.

B The same Censor dedicated in *Mars* field a Chappell to the sea-gods, vowed by *L. Æmylius Regillus*, eleven years before, in a navall battell at sea, against the Captains of K. *Antiochus*. Over the gates of which Chappel there was fixed a table with this title. [*For the appeasing and composing of a great war between two Kings, * the head, * to subdue * * for to make peace * *. This conflict, * when L. Æmylius Regillus the Prætor, the son of M. * under the charge, command, and government, happy fortune, and conduct of him between* Ephesus, Samos, *and* Chios, *the fleet of King* Antiochus *the eleventh daies before the Kalends of* February *was vanquished, discomfited, shaken, battered, and put to flight, and there upon the same day two and forty Gallies were taken, with all the mariners and servitors within them. After which fight King* Antiochus *and his Realm* * * * *. In consideration hereof vowed a Temple to the Sea-gods, assistants unto him in atchieving the navell victory.*] Another table likewise, C with the very same inscription, was set up and fastned over the gates of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll. Within two daies after that the Censors had chosen a new Senat, *Q. Fulvius* the Cos. made an expedition against the Ligurians: and after he had passed with his army over wilds and mountains, where no tracts led them, through straights and passes of forrests, he fought a pitcht battell with the enemies, and not only won the field, but also in one and the self-same day forced their camp. Whereupon three thousand and two hundred of the enemies, and all that quarter of *Liguria* yielded unto him. Then the Consul placed these that had surrendered, in the plains and champain country, and planted garrisons upon the mountains. Letters hereof with great speed came to *Rome*: whereupon there were ordained processions for three daies. During which time of procession, the Prætors celebrated sacrifices, and killed forty greater beasts. But the other Consul D *A. Manlius* did no exploit worth remembrance in *Liguria*. Three thousand Transalpine Frenchmen passed over the *Alps* into *Italy*, in peaceable manner marching without any hostility or harm doing, and requested of the Consul and the Senat a territory to inhabit, where they might remain quietly under the seignory of the Romans. But the Senat commanded them to avoid out of *Italy*; and gave the Consul *Q. Fulvius* in charge to make search and enquiry into this matter, yea, and to proceed against them who had been the captains and counsellers to perswade them to passe over the *Alps*.

Antiochus and *Enmenes*.

This place is defective in the Latine.

This very year died *Philip* King of the Macedonians, worn away to nothing, partly, for age, and partly, with grief of heart after the death of his son [*Demetrius*.] It fortuned that he kept his winter in *Demetrias*, tormented with anguish of mind for the loss and miss of his son, disquieted with E remorse and repentance for his cruelty against him, which stung and pricked his guilty conscience. Besides, he saw his other son (who now was the undoubted heir apparant of the Crown, as well in his own opinion as in the conceit of others) how all men turned their eyes and courted to him. He considered withall, how his old age was despised and forlorn; whiles some expected his death, others did not so much as look for it; which was the greatest grief and trouble of all other. And together with him, there was *Antigonus* the son of *Echecrates*, bearing the name of his uncle *Antigonus* by the fathers side, who had been guardian to *Philip*. This *Antigonus* the elder had been a man of princely port and regall majesty; renowned also for a brave conflict and noble battell against *Celomenes* the Lacedæmonian. And him the Greeks for distinction sake from other KK. of that name, surnamed * *Tutor*, His nephew or brothers son (I say) *Antigonus*, of all the honourable F friends that *Philip* had, was the only man that continued fast and firm unto him without all corruption. But this his loyall fidelity and truth caused *Perseus* to be no friend of his, but rather the most mortall enemy that he had in the world. This said *Antigonus* forecasting in his spirit, in what dangerous terms he should stand, when the inheritance of the kingdom were devolved upon *Perseus* waiting his first time and opportunity; when he perceived that the Kings mind was troubled, and that now and then he fetched deep sighs for sorrow that his son was dead; one while would give ear only to the Kings words, otherwhiles also would find some talk and minister occasion to speak of the act so rashly and unadvisedly committed. Oftentimes he followed and seconded him in his moans and complaints, and would be thought to lament with him for company. And (as *Truth* useth alwaies to give many signs and tokens of her self coming to light) he would enG force and help forward every small thing what he could, to the end that all might the sooner be discovered and break forth. The chief ministers and instruments of this villanous fact, were *Apelles* and *Philocles*, who were the Embassadors sent to *Rome*, and had brought those pernicious letters, under the name of *Flaminius*, which wrought the death of *Demetrius*. For commonly it was given out through all the Kings Court, that those were falsified letters, forged by his Secretary, and sealed with a counterfeit signet. But the thing being rather deeply suspected, than apparently detected, it chanced that *Antigonus* upon a time met with * *Xychus*, and laying hold upon him,

N * Guardian or Protector.

* This seemeth to be the Secretary.

arrested his body, and brought him into the Kings house; and when he had left him in the safe custody of certain persons, he went himself directly to *Philip*. "It should seem to me, & it it please "your grace (quoth he) by many words which I have observed, that you would spend a great "deal to know the whole truth as touching your two sons, and be resolved whether of them "twain it was that laid wait to take away the life of the other. Now the only man of all other "that can undo the knot and clear this doubt, is in your hands forth coming, and that is *Xychus*. Herewith he advised the King to call before him the said party, since that (as it fell out) he was already brought into the Court. Sent for he was and presented before the King; and being asked the question, he denied every thing at the first, but with such inconstancy, as it appeared evidently, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto him, he would be ready to bewray all: for the very sight of the tormentor and the scourges, he relented. Then he disclosed and shewed in order the whole proceeding and manner of this wicked practice and villany, how it was wrought as well as by the embassadors, as also by his own self their minister. Immediately there were some of purpose sent to apprehend the said embassadors. And *Philocles* who was present in the way, they surprised and took of a suddenas for *Apelles* (who had been sent to pursue one *Chareas*) being advertised how that *Xychus* had bewraied & told all, sailed over into *Italy*. As concerning *Philocles*, there is no certainty known. Some report, that at the beginning he denied the matter stoutly: but after that *Xychus* was brought to his face and confronted him, he stood no longer in it. Others say again, that being put to torture, he endured the pains, and continued still in the deniall. *Philips* sorrow and grief was by this means renewed and redoubled, reputing himself more unhappy in his sons, and his misery the greater, in that one of them was now dead and gone. *Perseus* being certified that all was discovered, took himself for a greater and mightier person, than to fear and think it needfull for him to flie upon it. And therefore he sought only to keep far enough out of the way, purposing to stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the flaming fire (as it were) of his burning choler. *Philip* seeing that he could not possibly come by his person for to execute justice, thought upon that which only remained to be done, and studied how *Perseus* besides impunity, should not be recompensed and rewarded also for that his wickedness. He called therefore *Antigonus* before him, unto whom he was bounden and beholden already, for bringing to light the unnaturall murder committed upon *Demetrius* his son; and of whom he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glory of his uncle *Antigonus*, that the Macedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had him for to be their K. I. And in this wise he brake with him: "Since my unhappy fortune is such (quoth he) O *Antigonus*, "that I ought (contrary to all other fathers) to wish my self childless, I have a mind and purpose "to make over unto you that kingdom, which I received at the hands of your uncle, which he "preserved and kept, yea, and augmented for my behoof during the time of my nonage, & where- "in (whiles I was under his guardianage) he bare himself not only valiant, but also true and faith- "full unto me. No man I have but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the Crown; and if I "knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both it and the Realm perished and were extinct for "ever, than *Perseus* should enjoy it as the guerdon of his ungracious & devillish fact. I shall imagine yet that *Demetrius* is risen from death to life, I shall think that I have the fruition of him "again, if I leave you in this place, you, I say, the only man of all others that wept for the death "of the poor innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy errour and unfortunat trespass. After this speech with *Antigonus*, he never ceased to entertain and grace him in the face of the world with all kind of honour that he could devise. For seeing that *Perseus* was in *Thrace*, *Philip* went in progress to every City of *Macedony*, and recommended *Antigonus* to all the Princes and and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had given him longer life but a little, he would have enstalled him in full possession of the kingdom. Well, to return again unto *Demetrius*, where he wintered (as before is said) he departed from thence, and so journed a long time in *Thessalonica*. From thence after he was come to *Amphipolis*, he was surprised with a grievous malady. Howbeit, certain it was and very apparant, that he was more sick in mind than body; and that ever and anon the remembrance and object, the apparition and ghost of his son, whom he caused (innocent as he was) to be put to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and grief, that he was out of all sleep, and could not lay his eyes together: yea, it drave him into raving, cursing, and execration of *Perseus* his other son; and so he ended his daies. But although *Philip* died somewhat with the soonest for *Antigonus*, yet he would have gone very near to have stept into his thron, if either the Kings death had immediatly been divulged abroad, or that *Antigonus* had then been about the Court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For *Calligenus* the Kings Physician, who had the cure of him, staid not untill the breath was fully out of the Kings body; but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperat, upon the first deadly signs that he observed, sent messengers post to *Perseus*, who were set of purpose in places convenient, according as it was complotted between them twain: but he concealed the Kings death from all them that were not of the houshold, untill he was come. By which means *Perseus* surprised them all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the King was departed, and thus he took the Crown upon him by policy, which he had purchased with mischief.

The death of *Philip* fell out very well to give some delay and respit, and to gather more force for the waging of war: for the nation of the *Bastarne*, having been a long time sollicited thereto, departed out of their own country, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this

A side the river * *Ister*. Now there were arrived before to advertise the King hereof, *Antigonus* and *Cotto*. This *Cotto* was a nobleman among the Bastarnians. And *Antigonus* was full against his will joyned in embassage & sent with *Cotto* to raise the Bastarnians. Howbeit, not far from *Amphipolis* they met with news (but very uncertain) of the Kings death: which occurrence troubled the whole course of their designs. For thus it was complotted, that *Philip* should give the *Bastarne* safe passage through *Thrace* and find them victuals: to the effecting and performing whereof, he had entertained the peers and principall States of those quarters with presents, and assured them upon his fidelity, that the Bastarnians should pass through their country peaceably without any harm-doing. Now his intent and full purpose was, to extinguish utterly the nation of the Dardanians, and to plant the Bastarnians in their country. Hereby he aimed at a twofold commodity: B the one was this; that the Dardanians (a people most malicious ever to the Macedonians, and who alwaies in time of the troubles and adversities of the K. took their vantage to annoy them) might be rooted out: the other, that the said *Bastarne* leaving their wives and children in *Dardania*, might be sent to waste and spoil *Italy*. Now were they to pass to the Adriatick sea and so to *Italy*, by the way of the Scordiscians (for other way there was none to lead an army) and soon would they, thought he, grant passage unto the Bastarnians: for they differed not at all, either in language, or manners & fashions: and more than that, they were like enough to joyn with them in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest and pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation. These designments were accommodated and fitted to what events soever should happen. For in case the Bastarnians should happen to be defeated by the Romans and put all to the sword; yet C this would be a comfort again; that the Dardanians were consumed from the face of the earth, that he should meet with a booty of that which the Bastarnians left behind them; and finally, have the possession free and entire to himself of all *Dardania*. But in case their fortune were to have the upper hand, then whiles the Romans were averted from him, and amused upon the war with the Bastarnians, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in *Greece*. These had been the designs projected by K. *Philip*. So they entred peaceably, and marched without hostility, under the word and promise of *Cotto* & *Antigonus*. But shortly after that news came of the death of *Philip*; neither were the Thracians so tractable and easie to be dealt withall in commerce and traffick: nor the Bastarnians could be content with that which they bought with their money, or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks & turn out of the di- D rect way. Hereupon they began to do wrong & injury on both sides one unto another: which encreasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the Thracians not able to endure the violence & multitudes of these enemies, leaving their villages in the plains beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountain, called *Donuca*. To which place, when the Bastarnians would have gone: behold notwithstanding they approached to the tops and ridge of the hils, they were surprised with a storm, much like to that wherewith the Gauls (as it is reported) perished at what time as they were a spoiling and pilling the Temple at *Delphi*. For they were not only drenched first with showers of rain pouring upon them, pelted afterwards with thick storms of haillstones, strucken with great cracks of thunder, and blasted with gleams of lightning that dazled their eye-sight: but also the lightning flashed so upon them on every side, that it seemed they E were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not only the common souldiers, but also the principal leaders and captains themselves were smitten down there with and overthrown. Whereupon when they were scattered & would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep rocks they tumbled down they knew not how with their heads forward. And albeit the Thracians pursued them thus scared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but That the gods forced them to run away, and that the sky fell upon them. Being thus disparkled with this tempestuous storm, and returned as it were out of a shipwrack into the camp from whence they set forth & most of them but half armed, they began to debate in councill what to do. Hereupon arose some dissention among them: whiles part were of opinion to return back into their own country, and part advised to follow the way still and pierce forward into *Dardania*. About 30000 F persons went through under the conduct of *Clondicus*: the rest of the multitude returned the same way they came into the parts beyond * *Danubius*. *Perseus* being possessed of the kingdom, commanded *Antigonus* to be put to death: and whiles he was setting the States in order, and establishing himself in his own seat, he sent embassadors to *Rome*, as well to renew the amity that his father had with the Romans, as also to request that he might be stiled with the name of King by the Senat of *Rome*. And these were the affairs in *Macedony* that year.

* *Danubius.*

* *Donaw.*

Q. Fulvius the other Cos. triumphed over the Ligurians: and known it was for certain, that this triumph was granted unto him more for favour, than for any great exploit of his that might deserve such honour. He carried in shew a mighty deal of the enemies armor; but little or no money at all. Howbeit he dealt among his souldiers thirty Asses apeece: to every Centurion he gave G twice as much, and to each Gentleman serving on horseback, the same threefold. There was nothing in this triumph more memorable and worthy the noting, than this, that as it fell out, he triumphed now the very same day that he had the year before upon his Prætorship. After his triumph, he published the general assembly for the election of Magistrats: wherein were created Cos. *M. Iunius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Volso*. This done, when there had been three of the Prætors elected a sudden tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The morrow after which was * four daies full before the Ides of *March*, the other three were chosen, namely, *Marcus Titinius*

* *Ante quar-tum Idus Martii*, i.e. the 11 of *March*.

Curvus, Titus Claudius Nero, and *T. Fonteius Capito.* The Roman games were exhibited again the H
second time, by the two Ædiles of the Chair *Cn. Servilius Capio,* and *Ap. Claudius Cento* by occasi-
on of certain prodigies that hapned: for there was an earthquake; and in the publike pavilions
and tabernacles, where the sacred beds of the gods were solemnly spread, the heads of the gods
which were laid in those beds, turned away of their own accord, and the wooll together with the
other coverlets which were laid before *Jupiter* fell down. It was taken also for a prodigious won-
der, that the mice and rats had gnawn and tasted before of the olives upon the table [of *Jupiter*:]
for the satisfaction and expiation of which prodigies, nothing else was done, but the solemnizing
of those games and plaies again, as is aforesaid.

I

The one and fortieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and fortieth Book.

THe fire in the Temple of Vesta went out. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus *The Pro-Consul, vanquished* K
the Celtiberians, and received their submission, and for a memoriall of the worthy deeds by him at-
chieved, he built a town in Spain *called* Gracchuris. Posthumius Albinus *the Pro-Consul, subdued the*
the Vacceans and Lusitans: and both of them triumphed. Antiochus, *the son of King* Antiochus, *whom*
his father had given in hostage to the Romans, after the death of his brother Seleucus, *who succeeded*
his father late deceased, was sent from Rome *into the Realm of* Syria. *The Censors held a review and*
numbring of the Citizens, and solemnly purged the City. There were enrolled in their books of Roman
Citizens 273244. Q. Voconius Saxa, *a Tribune of the Commons, published a Law, That no man should*
make a woman to be his full heir. M. Cato *was the man that perswaded and spoke for this Law, and his*
Oration is extant. Moreover, this book containeth the wars and exploits of many Captains against the
Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians: also the occasions and causes of the Macedonian war, L
which Perseus *the son of* Philip *began: for he had sent an embassage to the Carthaginians, which they*
gave audience unto in the night season. Other States also and Cities of Greece *he sollicited. This* Perse-
us setting religion aside (for many stately and magnificent Temples he built in divers places, and name-
ly, at Athens, *to* Jupiter Olympius: *and at* Antiochia, *to* Jup. Capitolinus) *was otherwise a King of*
most base demeanour and carriage.

The one and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

THe beginning of this book, and the greater part thereof immediatly ensuing, is lost. *Im-* M
primis, As touching the disposition of the Provinces by lot, as well of Consuls as Prætors;
and namely, how the government of *Gaul* fell to *A. Manlius,* and of *Liguria* to *M. Juni-*
us: and how of the Prætors *M. Titinius* was assigned to the hither Province of *Spain,* and
T. Fonteius to the farther; *Nero* to *Etruria, L. Ebutius* to *Sardinia. Item,* as concerning the fire of
Vesta, the exploits of *T. Gracchus* and *L. Albinus* in * *Biscai* and * *Portugal:* the survey and taxing
of the City of *Rome* holden by the Censors; the Law *Voconia,* as touching the inheritance of
women, mentioned in *Cicero* in *S. Augustine de Civitate Dei,* and others: finally, of the acts at-
chieved by *M. Junius* about *Genoway.* And thus it sheweth a prærupt and broken front as ye see.

* Celtiberia.
* Lusitania.

* * * \

labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; and willed the horsemen to take up behind them every one a young lusty footman; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion, for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second: and easily (say they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, whiles they are encumbred with the pillage, might be surprised at unawares, and be taken themselves, like as they overtook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the souldiers. Aloft were the ensigns born and advanced apace, neither staid the port-ensigns one whit for the souldiers. Howbeit the Cos. and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Atius* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not only encouraged the souldiers, but made remonstrance unto them, That if the Istrians these victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents: and afterwards have set a good *corps de guard*, at least wise before the rampier and the avenues thereof: but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzling wine they were dead asleep like beasts. And herewith he commanded *A. Baculonius* his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowess, to advance his banner forward. Mary, that I shall (quoth he) full soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp, he was the first himself that entred at the camp gate. On another part likewise *T.* and *C.* both *Ælii*, and Colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavalry: then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Cos. with his whole army. But of the Istrians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away; the rest were dead asleep indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Roman souldiers who were crazy and sick, and had been left in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier, found their hands again, caught up weapons, and made a great slaughter and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, surnamed *Sabellus*, a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome*, bare himself most bravely that day, who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Istrians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choler and despiteous indignation of the souldiers was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the K. of the Istrians, drunk as he was, had so good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men, and so fled away and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven souldiers: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their camp. Now it chanced so, that *Cn.* and *L.* both named *Gavilii*, new Coloners and inhabitants of *Aquileia* as they came with victuals, had like to have stumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken & possessed by the Istrians. They being retired back in great haste to *Aquileia*, leaving their carriage behind them, set all on a fright & uproar not only at *Aquileia* but also at *Rome* within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run, That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the army utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms, writs went forth for musters and levies of souldiers extraordinarily, not in the City only, but also throughout all *Italy*. Two legions of Roman Cirizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commanded to set out 10000 foot with 300 horse. *M. Junius* the Cos. had commandment to pass over into *Gallia*, and to levy of the Cities and states of that Province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withall, that *T. Claudius* the Prætor should make proclamation, that the souldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at *Pisa*; and that in the absence of the Cos. he should defend that Province: also that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint the *Rendezvouz* at *Ariminum*; that the first legion, and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then *Nero* took his journey clad in his rich coat of arms, toward *Pisa* his Province. And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum Catus Cessius* a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took musters at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Cos. passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul* and arrived at *Aquileia*, having levied aid-souldiers as he went, of all the Cities of *Gaul* and the Colonies, to be in readiness out of hand. There he was certified that the army was safe and sound: whereupon he dispatched his letters to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government. Great was the joy at *Rome*, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the souldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath, and the army visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was dismissed and sent home. The Istrians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Cos. his camp, after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army, disbanded and slipt every man away on all sides to their severall Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquileia*, there to winter.

When these troubles of *Istria* were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senat, That the Cos. should agree between themselves, whether of them twain was to return to *Rome* for

to hold the assembly for election of Magistrats. At what time as *A. Licinius Nerva*, and *C. Papirius Turdus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, inveighed bitterly against *Manlius* in his absence, and promulged a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of *March* (for the Cos. had their governments already prorogued for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place, to the end that so soon as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Ælius*, one of their Collegues, withstood this bill by them proposed, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Postumius Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, there to discourse of the acts by them atchieved, to demand their deserved honours, to the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendred to the immortall gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Ebutius* the Prætor, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*: Namely, that the Ilians, joyning unto them the strength of the *Balari*, had invaded the province standing in peaceable terms: neither was he able to make head against them with so feeble an army as he had; & the same wasted and consumed much with the pestilence. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the Sardinians, making humble suit to the Senat, to relieve and succour their Cities at least wise, for that their villages and country towns were already past help. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, put over to the new Magistrats; as pitifull an embassage also was presented unto them from the Lycians, who complained grievously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio*: "Indeed (say they) we lived sometime under the seignory of "K. *Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the K. compared to this present state and condi- "tion wherein we now are seemed unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now yoaked "and kept under publike authority in generall, by taxes, levies, and impositions, but every one in "particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yea, and our wives and "children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and sides they work upon "and discharge their humour of cruelty: in our good name (an indignity unsupportable) we are "distained, depraved, and defamed: yea, openly in the face of the world, they cease not to com- "mit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try masteries "upon us with extremity: to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt, that there is no "difference between us and slaves bought and sold for silver in open market. The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the Lycians, addressed their letters to the Rhodians to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: or that any other born free, should be enthralled by any person: but their will was, that the Lycians should in such terms live under the government and protection of the Rhodians, that both States, the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good associats under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome*.

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain*, one immediatly upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians: and the morrow after, *L. Postumius* [*Albinus*] over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in shew 40000 pound weight of silver: and *Albinus* twenty thousand, Both of them divided among their souldiers twenty five Denarii apeece, to each Centurion the same double, and trebble to every horseman. Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romans.

It fortuned about that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul, came out of *Istria* to *Rome*, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, *Papirius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senat baited and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affairs passed in *Istria*, they brought him forth also before the body of the people. "To which questions, after that the Consul had answered, how he had not been above 11 daies "in the Province: and as for the things that hapned in his absence, he knew no otherwise than "they did, only by the common bruit and report: then they went on urging him still, and asking "how it came to pass, that *A. Manlius* rather came not to *Rome*, to give account unto the State, "why he passed out of *Gaul* (which was his allotted Province) into *Istria*? and to shew, when it "was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to enterprise "that war? But haply it may be said (quoth he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own "head alone: yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policy and valour. Nay, I wis, but "for contrariwise: and hard it is to say, whether it were begun more lewdly, than managed inconsiderately. Two entire *corps de guards* were on a sudden at unawares surprized by the Istrians: the Roman camp was forced & taken, with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the rest scattered without arms, and the Cos. himself was the formost man that ran away to the sea side unto the ships: and surely he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a privat person again, since that he should not do it being Cos. This storm past, the generall assembly for the Magistrats election was holden: wherein were created Cos. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Prætors chosen: to wit, *P. Ælius Tubero* the second time, *C. Quintius Flamininus*, *C. Numisius*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Valerius Lævinus*. The civill jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tubero*, the forrain to *Quintius*. The government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Numisius*: of *Sardinia* to *Mummius*. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Cos. And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*:

but

but *Istria* to *Claudius* his Collegue. *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces; whereof *Scipio* by lot H
obtained one, and *Lavinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entred their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrats, and *L. Minutius Thermus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, entred into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to I
dwell: which if it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no souldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnits and Pelignians complained, that four thousand housholds were gone from them, and retired to *Fregellæ*; and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of souldiers in all their levies. Two cautelous means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left issue of their race behind them in their house, That they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, some did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for, both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen K
or other whom they liked of; with condition to manumise and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgesse and freedom of *Rome*, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practises, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an expres inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassall and villain, and so to alienat him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that whosoever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These L
petitions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Istria* and *Sardinia* which were in arms, to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousnd and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or galleaces, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenall. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Istria*. The Consuls also were enjoyned to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain*, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Crustumium*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Mars*: That in M
the territory of *Rome*, there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Puteoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. Whiles these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entred at the gate *Collina*, after much coursing and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chace, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Coss. killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appertained, the Coss. cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, befell *Istria*, to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*. N

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by vertue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies; and proclaimed. That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Marcus Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Prætor had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict abovesaid of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoyned, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that whosoever were manumised and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumised or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, for to ex- O
change the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumised. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

Whiles these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Aquileia*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontires of *Istria*. Where, as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the Istrians

A Istrians entred into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pilled and ransacked, than for any assured hope they had of their sufficience to make head against two armies. Having therefore railed a concourse of their able youth from all their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and tumultuary army, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage, than with perfittance of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand; the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at *Rome* of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consuls, *C. Claudius* the Consul fearing lest this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province and the conduct of the army, without to-
B lemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed suddenly in great haste (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no man privy thereto, but only his Collegue. His voyage thither was not so rash and inconsiderat, but his carriage there was more foolish and undiscreet: for being thither come, he assembled a generall audience; where after he had very unseasonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the souldiers, who were the first that fled;) and with opprobrious terms shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion: in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the souldiers made answer again and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commandment, when (according to the ancient custome of their fore-fathers) he had made his solemn vows within the Capitoll;
C and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his Ushers in their rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was so far enraged with anger, that he called upon the treasurers deputy belonging to *Manlius*, for chains and gyves, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to *Rome*. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole host round about him; who as they supported the cause of their Captains and Leaders, so they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion, the Consul being loaden and wearied with the contumelious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the scrumps and taunts of the multitude in generall (for they stuck not over and besides to mock him and make a laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to *Aquileia*, in the same ship wherein he came.
D From thence he wrote unto his Collegue by an Edict, to charge those new souldiers who were enrolled for *Istria*, to meet at *Aquileia*: to the end that no business should keep him at *Rome*, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content, and did all these things requisit full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the souldiers at the *Rendezvouz* abovenamed. But *Claudius* was at *Rome* well-near as soon as his letters; where, at his first coming, he made an Oration in the publike audience of the people, as touching the demeanor of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having staid no longer than three daies at *Rome*, he set out with his Lictors formally in their coat-armour, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitol, and so departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haste (if not more) as he
E came from thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to assault by all forcible means the town *Nesatium*, into which the principall persons of the Istrians, and *Æpulo* their King, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, presented himself before the town; and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to force it with mantlets and engins of battery. The course also of the river which ran along beside the walls, and not only empeached the assailants but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channell, and bestowed many daies work thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit, they never thought of peace for al this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children; and when they had so done (because they would
F present to the view of their enemies, so horrible a fact and fearfull spectacle) they massacred them upon the walls openly in their sight, and then threw them headlong down. Whiles the silly women and poor infants (amidst their pitious and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman souldiers mounted over their walls and entred into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the fearfull outcries of those who fled) that the town was lost; for fear he should be taken alive, stabbed himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this, two other towns, *Mutila* and *Faveria*, were won by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was bestowed every whit upon the souldiers. Five thousand six hundred and two and thirty persons were sold out-right in port-sale under the guirland. The Captains of this war were first scourged with
G rods and then beheaded. Thus *Istria* by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeased: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made submission, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The Istrians war was no sooner ended but the Ligurians began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Pro-Cos. (who the former year had been Prætor) was governour and commander at that time of *Pisæ* with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other

Consul

Consul was already passed over into *Sardinia*:) and withall, a decree was granted out to this effect, That considering he had performed his commission in *Istria*, so as there remained no more for him to do there, he should (if he thought so good) transport his army into *Liguria*. Moreover, upon the Consul his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits he had atchieved in *Istria*, there was ordained a solemn procession for two daies together. Semblably, the other Consul *Tib. Sempronius*, managed his affairs as happily in *Sardinia*: he entred with an army into the country of the Sardinian Ilians. Great aids were come from the Balarans to relieve and succour those Ilians: with both these nations he fought a battell in pitched field. The enemies were discomfited and put to flight, turned out of their camp, and 12000 armed men slain. The morrow after, the Consul commanded all their armor and weapons to be gathered together and laid on an heap; and this he burned as a sacrifice to the honour of *Vulcan*. Which done, he retired with his victorious army into the associat Cities, there to pass the winter.

C. Claudius likewise, upon receit of the letters of *T. Claudius*, and the commission directed from the Senat, marched with his legions out of *Istria* into *Liguria*: where, the enemies were come down into the plains, and lay encamped near the river *Scultenna*. In which place there was a battell fought: 15000 of them were put to the sword, and not so few as 700 taken prisoners, either in the conflict, or within the Camp; for that also was forced and won: besides, 51 ensigns they lost. The Ligurians, as many as escaped the execution, fled on all sides to the mountains for refuge: and notwithstanding that the Consul spoiled and wasted their champain country, there was not one man made shew of arms. Thus *Claudius* having in one year vanquished and subdued two nations, and in one Consulship (a rare felicity in any other man) reduced other two Provinces into quietness and peace, returned to *Rome*.

Certain prodigious and monstrous sights were that year reported, to wit, in the territory of *Crustumium*, a certain soul, called *Sangualis*, with her bill pierced into a sacred stone. In *Campain* a Beef spake: at *Syracusa* a bull that straied out of the fields from the herd, lept the brazen cow there in the City, and did his kind. In the territory of *Crustumium*, there was a supplication and procession holden one day long in the very place of the foresaid prodigious sign. In *Campain*, the beef or cow aforesaid, was put out to be kept and fed at the charges of the City. Last of all, the prodigy of *Syracusa*, was expiat by a purgatory sacrifice, by direction from the soothsaiers to what gods, supplications & sacrifice should be made. That year died *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Bishop, who had been Consul, and Censor. In his stead *M. Marcellus* his son was consecrated Bishop. Likewise in the same year, there was a Colony of 2000 Citizens of *Rome* planted at *Luca*. The Triumvirs or the Commissioners who had the conduct and placing of them, were *P. Ælius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*: one and fifty acres of land and an half was set out for them apiece to occupy, out of the territory late conquered from the Ligurians, and which had been sometime the possession of the Tuscans, before it was holden by the Ligurians.

Then came the Consul *C. Claudius* to the City of *Rome*, where after he had discoursed before the Senat, as touching the prosperous execution of his affairs, as well in *Istria* as *Liguria*, & thereupon demanded a triumph, he soon obtained that honour: and during his Magistracy triumphed at once over those two nations. In which solemnity of his triumph, he carried in shew 307000 Deniers and * 85702 Victoriats. He gave to every common [Roman] souldier fifteen Denarii apeece, a double proportion to the Centurions, and thrice as much to every horseman. But upon the allies he bestowed less by the one moity than to natural Citizens: and therefore as they followed his chariot, they were silent and said never a word: a man that had seen them would have said they were malecontent.

* *Victoriatus*, the same that *Quinarius*, i. e. half *Denarius*. It had the Image of *Victory* stamped upon it.

During the time of this triumph, the Ligurians perceiving that not only the Consul his army was brought home to *Rome*, but the legion also at *Pisa* discharged by *T. Claudius*: thinking now all fear past and overblown, secretly levied a power; and having passed over the cross frontiers, by traversing the ways through the mountains, descended into the downs, and wasted the demains of *Modena*, and by sudden assault surprised the very Colony. The news hereof was no sooner arrived at *Rome*, but the Senat commanded *C. Claudius* the Consul to hold the high Court for the solemn election, with all convenient speed: that so soon as new annuall Magistrates were created, he might return into his Province, and perforce recover this Colony out of their hands. So accoreing to the advice and ordinance of the Senat the said assembly was holden: wherein were elected Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*. Then were the Prætors afterwards chosen, to wit, *M. Popilius Lenas*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Papyrius Maso*, *M. Alburius*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. The Consul *C. Claudius* had his Patent sealed again for one year longer, to continue in command of the army, and government of the Province *Gallia*. And for fear lest the Illirians likewise should follow the example of the Ligurians, he had commission to send those allies of the Latine nation, whom he had brought out of his Province for to solemnize his triumph.

Upon that very day, on which the Consuls, *Cneus Cornelius* and *Quintus Petilius* entered their Magistracy, and sacrificed each of them an oxe as the manner was, in the honour of *Jupiter*: In that beast which *Q. Petilius* caused to be slain, the liver was found headless. When he had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoyned to sacrifice another beef for to appease the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senat house as concerning the Provinces, and a decree passed, that both Consuls should be sent to *Pisa*, and against the Ligurians: but order was given, that

that whether of them had the charge of *Pisa* allotted unto him, he should (when the time came) repair to *Rome* against the election of yearly Magistrats. Moreover, there was another branch of this decree, that either of them should enroll two new legions, and three hundred horsemen, and levy of the Latine allies ten thousand foot apiece, and six hundred horse. And *T. Claudius* continued still in full command, untill such time as the Consul was arrived in his Province. Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed in the Councill-House, *Cn. Cornelius* was called forth by a bailiff or Usher. And within a while after he was gone out of the Temple, he returned thither again with an heavy and dismaied countenance, and declared unto the LL. of the Senat, that the liver of that oxe which he also had killed for sacrifice, a beast of six years old and well liking, was consumed and come to nothing; and when he hardly beleeved the Minister attending upon the sacrifice, who told him hereof, that himself caused the water to be poured forth of the pot wherein the tripes and inwards were sodden, where he saw the rest of the tripes and entrales full and whole, but all the liver wasted away, after a wonderful and miraculous manner, not to be spoken. The LL. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object: and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Consul likewise related unto them, how in regard that in his sacrifice the liver wanted an head, he had killed three oxen more, one after another, and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senat commanded him still to sacrifice these greater beasts, untill such time as he had his desire, and the gods were pleased again. Now it is said, that all the other gods were well enough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeased, only the goddess * *Salus*, *Petilius* could not be reconciled unto, for all that ever he might do. Then the Consl, and Prætors committed the disposition of their Provinces to the arbitrement of the lots. *Pisa* fell to *Cornelius*, and *Liguria* to *Petilius*. As for the Prætors, *L. Papyrius Maso* was Lord chief Justice by lot appointed, within the City of all Citizens pleas, and *M. Aburius* had the jurisdiction over strangers: *M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis* had the charge to govern the lower *Spain*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*, *Sicily*. The two Prætors behind, requested earnestly that they might not be sent into their Provinces, and namely, *M. Popilius* into *Sardinia*: alledging, that *Gracchus* was able to quiet that Iland; and the rather, for that *T. Ebutius* the Prætor was by the Senat adjoyned to him for assistance: neither was it good to interrupt courses begun, the continuity whereof is the most effectuall means to exploit any great important affairs. For what with delivering up the sword by the old L. Deputy, and receiving it by the new successor (whom it were more meet first to be trained up in knowledge of the State, than to be put to the managing of State-matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of atchieving brave enterprises pass by and are lost. This excuse of *Popilius* was held for good, and so approved. Then comes *P. Licinius Crassus*, and he for his part made allegations why he might not go into his Province: namely, by occasion of the solemn sacrifice, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of *Spain* was allotted unto him. But commanded was he either to go into his Province, or else to take oath in a frequent and full assembly of the people, that the solemn sacrifice (as he pretended) was the thing that hindered him, and nothing else. This order being set down and thus passed in the behalf of P. *Licinius*: then steps me up *M. Cornelius*, and required them to take an oath of him likewise, that he might not go into the nether Province of *Spain*. So both these Prætors were sworn according to one and the same form of oath. Whereupon *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteius* were commanded to remain in quality and place of Pro-Consuls within *Spain*, and retain still the same authority and power of command: and order was granted, that for to supply their forces, there should be sent unto them three thousand Citizens of *Rome* with two hundred horse, and also five thousand Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen.

The solemnity of the Latine holydaies began the * third day before the Nones of *May*: wherein, because at the sacrificing of one beast the Magistrate of *Lanuvium* in his prayer left out these words [*Populi Romani Quiritium*] and prayed not for the good estate of the people of *Rome*, and the Quirits, it bred a scruple. The matter was moved in the Senat, and the Senat referred it over to the Colledge of the Bishops and Prelats of the Church. And they pronounced this award, That forasmuch as those Latine feasts were not solemnized as they ought, they should begin again anew: and that the Citizens of *Lanuvium*, by whose default they were thus to be renewed, should be at the charges of all the beasts for sacrifice. Moreover, to breed more fearfull scrupulosity in mens minds, it fortuned that *Cneus Cornelius* the Consul as he returned from that solemnity out of the Alban mountain, fell down in a fit of Apoplexy: which turned into an *Hemiplegia* or dead palsie all the one side of his body, and so he was conveyed to the bath and hot waters at *Cumes*: where, by occasion that his disease grew upon him still, he departed this life; from whence he was brought to *Rome*, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funerall obsequies, and right honourably interred. He had been Bishop also as well as Consul. *Q. Petelius* the other Consul, being commanded to hold an assembly for the surrogation of a Collegue unto him, (so soon as possibly he might be warranted by the auspices and approbation of the sacred birds) and withall, to proclaim and publish the Latine feasts and holydaies aforesaid; summoned the election against the * third day before the Nones of *Sextilis*: and the Latine solemnity, the third day likewise before the * Ides of the same month.

* 5. of May.

* 3. of August. * 11 of August.

Whiles mens minds were much possessed already with religion, and set upon their devotions, word was brought moreover of certain fearfull prodigies: to wit, that at *Tusculum* there was seen a burning flame in the sky: that at *Gabes*, the Temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens houses:

houses: likewise at *Graviſca* the town wall and one of the gates were ſmitten with thunderbolts. H
For the procuration whereof, the LL. of the Senat ordained that the Biſhops ſhould give order according to their diſcretion.

Whiles the Conſuls were thus ſtaid, firſt both, by their own ſcrupulous holineſs; then one of them by the death of the other; and afterwards by occaſion of the new election and the renewing of the Latine feſtivall ſolemnity: *C. Claudius* in the mean time approached with his army to *Modena*, which the Ligurians the year before had won. He had not continued the ſiege full three daies, but he forced the Colony: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he reſtored it again to the former inhabitants. Eight thouſand Ligurians died there within the walls upon the ſword: and immediatly he diſpatched his letters to *Rome*, wherein he not only declared the ſimple news, but glorified him and made his boaſt, That through his fortitude and fortune, I both the Romans had not an enemy that durſt ſhew his head on this ſide the *Alps*; and that he had conquered ſo much land as might ſerve for to be divided by the poll, among many thouſands. *Tib. Sempronius* likewiſe at the ſame time, fought many fortunat battels in *Sardinia*, and utterly tamed and ſubdued the Iſlanders: 15 00 enemies he there ſlew: all the States of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of *Rome*: the old tributaries had an impoſition and exaction laid upon them of a double tribute, which they ſurely paid: the reſt were put to a contribution of corn. After he had ſet the Province in quietneſs, and received out of the whole Iſland two hundred and thirty hoſtages, he ſent certain Lieutenants as meſſengers to make report at *Rome* of all his proceedings: who alſo in his behalf ſhould make ſuit unto the Senat, That in regard of the happy ſucceſs in thoſe exploits under the charge, conduct, and fortune K of *Tib. Sempronius*, firſt, due honour, praiſe, and thankſgiving might be rendred to the immortall gods; and then, that himſelf might be allowed at his departure out of the Province, to bring away his army with him. The Senat gave audience to the meſſengers aboveſaid within the Temple of *Apollo*: and upon their relation ordained a generall proceſſion for two daies: commanding the Coſſ. to ſacrifice 40 head of greater beaſts: and withall, enjoyned *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Conſul to continue that year with his army in that Province. Then the election which had been pub-

*The third of *Auguſt.* liſhed againſt the * third day before the Nones of *Sextilis* for the ſubſtitution of one of the Coſſ. was the ſame day accompliſhed. And *Q. Petilius* the Coſ. created for his Collegue, *M. Valerius Lævinus*, for to enter immediatly into his Magiſtracy. This *Lævinus* had been a long time deſirous to be employed in ſome Province or other: and fitly it fell out for his longing deſire, that letters L came, importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out again in arms. So after he once heard the contents of theſe letters, he made no longer ſtay, but upon the very * Nones of *Sextilis* all goodly to be ſeen in his warriors coat of arms, he commanded the third legion (by occaſion of this alarm) to go into *France*, to *C. Claudius* the Pro-Conſul: alſo the Duumvirs or two wardens for the ports and navy, to go to ſea, and with a fleet to make ſail for *Piſa*, & from thence to coaſt about all *Liguria*, and thus by hovering upon the ſeas, to terrifie the enemies that way alſo. *Q. Petilius* likewiſe the Coſ. had appointed a day for his army to meet in the ſame place. Moreover, *C. Claudius* the Pro-Conſul, adverſed of the Ligurians revolt, over and beſides thoſe forces which he had about him at *Parma*, levied in haſte a ſtrength of more ſouldiers; and ſo with his compleat army approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrivall of *C.* M *Claudius*, by whoſe conduct they well remembred how late they had been diſcomfited and put to flight near the river *Scultenna*, minding to ſeek for defence rather by the ſtrength of advantagious places than force of arms, againſt that power of his which to their coſt they had before tried, ſeized the two hils, * *Letus* and *Baliſta*, about which they raiſed a mure alſo for their better ſafe- * L'*Alpi del Pelegrino.* ty. But ſuch as lagged behind and quit the champain plaines and lower grounds with the lateſt, were ſurprized and cut ſhort, to the number of fifteen hundred. The reſt kept within the mountains: who albeit they were in fear and danger of their own parts, yet forgot not their inbred cruelty; but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at *Modena*, their poor priſoners whom they held captive, they pitiouſly mangled, and killed moſt villanouſly: as for the beaſts in the Temples every where, they rather hacked, hewed, and cut in peeces butcher-like, than ſacrifi- N ced in decent, ſeemly, and religious manner. Thus being ſatisfied with the bloud and maſſacre of living creatures, they took all their breathleſs things they had, and reared and ſtuck them upon the wals; and namely, implements of all ſorts, made rather for uſe and neceſſity than ornament and ſhew. *Q. Petilius* the Conſul, for fear leſt the war would be ended in his abſence, diſpatched his letters to *M. Claudius*, to haſte away with his army into *France*, for he would attend his coming upon the plains called *Macri*. Upon the receit of which letters, *Claudius* diſlodged out of *Liguria*, and delivered unto the Conſul his army at the ſaid plains called *Macri*. Few daies after came *Caius Valerius* the other Conſul thither alſo. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a ſurvey and review of their ſeverall armies. This done, they caſt lots into what quarters they ſhould either of them go; for that they O held it not good policy to charge the enemy both of them joyntly in one part. Now certain it is, that *Valerius* received his lot according to the auſpices, in that he was within the precinct of the Temple or proſpect by the Augur aſſigned. But *Petilius* herein made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards) and namely the error was herein, becauſe he being himſelf without the compaſs aforeſaid, had put the lot into the casket, which was carried afterwards within the circuit of the ſaid Temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: *Petilius* encamped affront that bank

A bank and riſing of the hill between *Baliſta* and *Letus*, which by a continual ridge uniteth and joyneth the one mountain to the other. There, as he was exhorting his ſouldiers in open audience, he let fall (by report) an ominous word, preſaging his own death, never thinking of the ambiguity and duple conſtruction thereof: ſaying, that he would that very day * *capere Letum*. In two ſeverall places at once he began to mount up the hills. That regiment wherein he was himſelf, advanced forward courageouſly: but the other was repulſed and beaten back by the enemies: whereupon the Conſul rode full gallop to help that ſide which went down: and in very truth reclaim his men he did from running away: but whiles without good regard of his own perſon he kept before the enſigns in the forefront, he chanced to be ſhot through with a dart, and ſo fell down dead in the place. The enemies were not aware of the Generals death: but ſome few of his own men who B law him fall, made haſt (as knowing well that in it conſiſted now the main victory) to cover his body. So the reſt of the multitude, as well cavalry as infantry, captainleſs as they were, diſleized the enemies and were maſters of the mountains. Of Ligurians there were ſlain 3000: of the Roman army not above two and fifty. Now beſides this evident iſſue and event which fell out upon ſo heavy and deadly a preſage by the * omen aforeſaid, the pulletier alſo was heard to ſay, that all was not well in the auſpices of the birds; neither was the Conſul himſelf ignorant thereof.

capere Letum, thus written with a capital *L*, ſignifieth, To gain the hill *Letus*: but with the litle *l*, (which the ear cannot diſtinguiſh) importeth, To take his death.

* *Valerius Maximus* reporting the ſame ſtory, calleth this *Omen* of his (which I commonly interpret [Oſſe] *fortuitum vocis factum*; When a man caſteth forth a word at a venture, and ſpeaketh more truly than he is aware. For want of a proper tearm to expreſs the Latine [*Omen*] all tranſlators hitherto, French, Italian, and Engliſh, have been put to their ſhifts, and help themſelves with [Preſage.] Which in mine opinion is not appropriat to the thing, but common: as comprizing other tokens; of birds, whether they be *auguria* or *auſpicia*; of beaſts inwards; of lightning and the reſt: or rather implying *ſignificationem*, i. the *fore-deeming* by thoſe ſigns; yea, and extendeth to the fore-giving of the mind. Where- C as that other word [Oſſe] is very ſignificant, and in analogie æquivalent to [*Omen*.] I marvel much therefore, why it is thought either ſtrange and new (ſeeing it is Engliſh, uſed no doubt commonly in times paſt, and at this day currant in the North parts, where the people haply are more obſervant of ſuch preſages) rather than many other forrain words, brought into our language, and ranged with the Engliſh: or why it ſhould be condemned as abſonant and not pleaſing to the ear, more than ſome in Greek, which commonly betokeneth (a voice) and more properly in *Plato* (as *Budæus* hath well obſerved) is taken for [*Omen*] like as *ὁσιάζειν* for *ominari*, & *ευσημος*, [*divinus*] as *Euſtathius* noteth upon *Homer*, Iliad. ζ. From whence, who ſeeth not that [Oſſe ne Offing both] are derived? The word then being not baſely born, but deſcended from the mother of all learning, the Greek tongue, and enfranchiſed in this Iland time out of mind (howſoever it hath been confined into the North) would not be exiled clean, but rather reduced and received for a free denizen, *quaſi poſtliminio*.

C. Valerius having heard * * * * * [The great clerks and deep This within theſe marks [] the Latine copies have not, but is partly ſupplied out of *Priſcian* in his 17 book. D divins, thoſe alſo were profoundly ſeen in the common law, gave it forth. That ſeeing the two ordinary Conſuls (*Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*) of that year, were both dead, the one by ſickneſs, the other by the ſword, it was not lawful for the other Conſul (*C. Valerius Lævinus*) ſubrogued in the place of the deceaſed, to hold the aſſembly general for the election of new Magiſtrats.] * * * * * * * * conducted. On this ſide the Apennine were the Garuls, Lapirins, and Hercatians: beyond the Apennine were the Briniats. Againſt them that had pilled and ranſacked *Piſa* and *Luna*, *Q. Mutius* made war within the compaſs of the River *Audena*: and when he had brought them in ſubjection, he took from them their arms. For which exploits atchieved in *France* and *Liguria*, under E the conduct and happy fortune of the two Conſuls, the Senate ordained that there ſhould be public proceſſion for three daies, and commanded to ſacrifice forty greater beaſts. And thus verily the tumultuous wars of the French and the Ligurians, which aroſe in the beginning of the year, were in ſhort time and without any great maſtry daſhed and appeaſed.

But now in lieu thereof, great care was taken for the Macedonian war, by occaſion that *Perſeus* ſowed the ſeeds of debate and quarrel between the Dardanians and the Baſtarnians. Beſides, the Roman Embaſſadors who were ſent into *Macedony*, to ſee in what terms things there ſtood, were now returned to *Rome*, and had brought word, That in *Dardania* they were up in arms. With them there came alſo from King *Perſeus* certain Orators to make excuſe in his behalf, and to cleer him in the action, namely, that the Baſtarnians neither were by him ſent for, nor entred into any execution by his motive. The Senat would neither acquit the King as unguilty, nor yet directly F accuſe him as culpable in that point. Only they required, that he ſhould be advertiſed and admoniſhed, to be very well adviſed and careful to keep that league and accord inviolable, which he would ſeem to entertain with the Romans.

The Dardanians ſeeing that the *Baſtarne* were ſo far off from departing out of their countrey (as they well hoped they would) that they endamaged and endangered them ſtill every day more than other, as bearing themſelves bold upon the ſuccours of the Thracians neer neighbours, and the *Scordiſci*: thought it their beſt courſe in policy, to adventure upon ſome hardy enterpriſe, although it were raſh and inconſiderate: whereupon they aſſembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their countrey ſhewed and advanced before the next Town, to the camp of the Baſtarnians. Winter time it was, a ſeaſon of the year which they made choice of, that the Thracians and the *Scordiſci* might be retired home into their own countries: which when they were advertiſed G of, and that there remained none but the *Baſtarne* alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head againſt them affront; with the other, to fetch a compaſs through by-waies and blind forreſts, and ſo to charge upon their backs. But before they could wheel about the enemies camp, the battail was begun: wherein the Dardanians had the overthrow, and were driven to put themſelves within their City, which was almoſt twelve miles diſtant from the camp of the *Baſtarne*. The conquerors followed the train of victory, and

and incontinently invested the Town, making full account, that the next day either the enemies would yeeld, or else they should be able to win the place by mere force. In the mean time, the other regiment abovesaid of the Dardanians, which cast about, knowing nothing at al of their fellows defeat, began to assail the camp of the Bastarnians, left without a sufficient guard for defence.

There wanteth the beginning of a discourse as touching the demeanor of K. *Perseus*.

* * * As the manner of the Kings was, he sate in a stately throne of Ivory, to hear pleas and decide controversies of the smallest and most trifling matters. So transported was he and caried away with an humor of levity and spirit of inconstancy, so distracted & wandering in all the course of his life, that he was never setled and well contented in any condition or state whatsoever: in such sort, as neither he knew his own self, nor any man else wist well what to make of him. He would not seem to speak unto his friends, and hardly was seen to laugh familiarly among those of his neerest acquaintance. He made a fool of himself, and mocked others likewise: such was his inordinate and irregular munificence. To men of honor standing highly upon their worth and reputation, his manner was to bestow childish trifles, as sugar-plums to eat or to play withal, toyes and gewgawes instead of great and pretious presents: others again that looked for nothing, those he enriched. And therefore some deemed that he knew not what he did: others gave it out, that he did all in plain mockage: and there were again that let not to say, how he was out of his right wits, and clean besides himself. Yet in two things, which were both great and laudable, he carried with him a Princely and Royal mind indeed; to wit, in adorning Cities with stately gifts, and honouring the Gods with divine worship. He promised the Megapolitans in *Arcadia*, to raise a wall about their City; and in truth the better part of the money to defray the charges thereof, he sent unto them. He went in hand to build a magnificent Theatre of marble at *Tegea*: at *Cizicum*, he gave freely to the *Prytaneum* (a fair hall by it self in the heart of the City, where, at the common charges, certain had their diet of free-cost) by way of honourable reward, a cupbord of golden plate sufficient for the furniture and service of one table. As for the Rhodians, I cannot say, what one special gift singular above the rest, he bestowed upon them; so liberally minded was he to them-ward, and his hand ever open to give them of all sorts whatsoever they needed or required. Now, his magnificence in honoring the Gods, what it was (if there were nothing else) the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius* begun by him in *Athens* (so answerable every way to the Majesty of that great God, that the like to it is not to be found again in the whole world) may testify sufficiently. Moreover, he beautified *Delos* with goodly sea-ensigns, and with a great number of statuts and images. Likewise he promised to edify at *Antiochia*, a stately Temple in the honor of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; not only arched above-head with a golden embowed roof, but seeled all over the wall sides with plates of gold: besides many other things in divers places, which by reason that he reigned but a very short time, he could not finish and perform. In magnificence also of playes, publick shews, and pageants of every sort, he over-went all the Kings his progenitors before him, as well in regard of Grecian actors and gamesters, whereof he had many about him, as of the rest who were acquainted with the fashions of his own countrey. He represented the fight of sword-players at the sharp with unrebated swords, after the custome of the Romans; with greater terror and fear at first, than pleasure and delight of men, who were not used to behold such sights: but afterwards by often exhibiting the same, in such manner, as sometime they drew blood one of another, yea, and otherwhiles gave not over so, but fought to the uttermost, even to death, he made it a familiar exercise & a pleasant spectacle to the eyes: and thereby set an edge upon the courage of many young gallants, and emboldned them to embrace chivalry and follow feats of arms. So as in proces of time, he that was wont at the beginning to send as far as *Rome* for these fensers, and to hire them for great wages and reward, now with his own * * * *L. Cornelius Scipio* (had the jurisdiction) over forrainers. To *M. Attilius* the Pretor, the government of *Sardinia* by lot was fallen, but he was enjoyned to pass over into *Corsica* with the new legion which the Consuls had enrolled, consisting of 5000 foot and 300 horse. And during the time that he should be employed there in the wars, *Cornelius* had commission to continue in his charge and place of command, within *Sardinia*. Unto *Cn. Servilius Capio* for low *Spain*, & *P. Furius Philus* for the higher, were assigned 3000 Roman footmen and an 150 horse; but of Latine allies, 5000 of the one and 300 of the other. As for *I. Claudius*, he was appointed to *Sicily* without any supply at all. Moreover, the Consuls had commandment to enrol two legions besides, with the full number as well of foot as horse, and to charge the [Latine] allies, with the setting out and maintenance of a 1000 footmen & 600 horse. This levy and taking of musters, the Consuls went through with, in more difficulty, by reason of a great mortality, which beginning the year before with a murrein of kine & oxen, turned this year into pestilent *epidemical* diseases of men. Look who fell sick once, lightly they died before the seventh day: and those that overlived and escaped that *crisis*, lay long sick by it, and commonly of the quartan ague. The most that went of this malady were slaves, whose breathless carkasses lay ordinarily along every street unburied: and more than that, * men were not able to inter so much as the dead bodies of free persons, they died so thick; in such sort, as they putrified and rotted above ground: for neither hungry dog nor greedy gripe, would once touch them. And for certain it was known and noted, that neither all that year nor in the former, during the mortality of man and beast, there was not a vultur or gripe any where to be seen. Divers Prelats and Priests of State dropt away of this plague, and namely, *Cn. Servilius Capio* a Bishop, the father of the Pretor: *Tib. Sempronius Longus* the son of *Titus* one of the Decemvirs for sacreed rites and divine service: *P. Ælius Petus* the Augur: *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *C. Atilius Æmylius* the chief superintendent of

* *Libitina non sufficiebat.*

of all the parish-priests, and *M. Semp. Tuditanus* a Bishop. These were substituted Bishops in place of the dead, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Galba* in stead of *Tuditanus*. * * For Augurs were subordained, *T. Veturius Crassus Sempronianus* in the room of *Gracchus*; *Q. Ælius Petus* for *P. Ælius*. Decemvirs over holy rites were elected, *C. Semp. Longus*; and *C. Scribonius* surnamed *Curio*, supplied the want of the grand superintendant aforesaid. Still continued the pestilence; whereupon the Senat ordained, That the Decemvirs should have recourse to the books of *Sibylla*: by whose order and direction, publick supplications held for one day long: and after a devout manner, the people conceived and made a solemn vow in the common place, according to that form of words which *Q. Martius Philippus* indited and prompted unto them to this effect: That if this malady and pestilent disease, were removed out of the territory of *Rome*, they would for two daies space solemnize a feast, go in procession and pour out their prayers with all devotion. In the Veientian countrey a man child was born with two heads; and another at *Sinuessa* but with one hand. At *Oximum* a maid child came into the world with teeth in the head: and over the Temple of *Saturn* (standing in the market place of *Rome*) there was seen in the skie a bow full bent all the day long, if the air were cleer and the weather fair: and at one time there shone out three suns. Also in one night, there evidently appeared many flaming lights and fire drakes shooting along in the air. The men of *Lanuvium* and *Cære* affirmed plainly, That within their Town they saw a Serpent with a creest and mane, yea, and the same marked all over with yellow spots like gold: and it was held for certain, that in the territory of *Capua* an oxe spake.

Now were the Embassadors returned out of Affrick by the * Nones of *June*, those I mean who went to *Carthage*, after they had been with King *Masinissa*, and spoken with him. But better & more certain intelligence they had by this King, than from the Carthaginians themselves as touching the affairs that had passed in *Carthage*. Howbeit, thus much they reported upon their assured knowledge, that Embassadors came from King *Perseus*, and had audience in the Senat secretly by night within the Temple of *Æsculapius*. Also both the King affirmed flatly, and the Carthaginians themselves but faintly denied, that Embassadors likewise had been sent from *Carthage* into *Macedony*. Whereupon the Senat was of advice and resolved to dispatch their Embass. also into *Macedony*. And these three were sent, to wit, *C. Lælius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *Sext. Digitius*.

During this time, *Perseus*, by occation that certain Dolopians obeied him not, and of some matters in controversy and difference referred the audience and decision to the Romans, and refused the arbitrement of the King led forth an army against them, and reduced the whole nation under his obedience and jurisdiction. From thence he passed over the Oetæan mountains, and upon certain religious motions arising in his mind he went up to *Delphos*, for to visit the Oracle. Being thus on a suddain seen in the very heart and midst of *Greece*, he struck a terror not only into the cities next adjoining, but also the bruit of this tumultuous alarm was blown as far as to K. *Eumenes*. After he had staied at *Delphi* not above 3 daies, he returned into his own realm, by the way of *Phthiotis*, *Achaia* and *Thessaly*, without any dammage done or wrong offered to the territories through which he passed. Neither thought he it sufficient thus only to win the love and favor of those Cities & states through which he was to journey, but he addressed either Embassadors or wrote his letters, praying them to bear no longer in mind the enmities which had been between them and his father, for asmuch as they were not so bitter and deadly but they might well enough, yea, and ought to end and die with him: as for himself, he saw no let or hindrance in the world to empeach them for entertaining a faithful amity with him. But above all others he sought means to be reconciled to the Achæans, and to reenter into grace and favor with them. This nation alone of all *Greece*, together with the City of *Athens*, were grown into those terms of despight and malice against the Macedonians, that they debarred them from once setting foot within their confines. And hereupon it came that when certain slaves fled out of *Achæa*, they retired into *Macedony* for refuge, and there remained: and because the Achæans had forbidden the Macedonians to come within their liberties, they durst not likewise for their parts enter into the marches and frontiers of his Kingdom to recover their bondmen. Which when *Perseus* perceived, he caused all those fugitive slaves to apprehended, and he dispatched his letters unto the Achæans, wherein he wrote, That he would right courteously send back their slaves home again, although they were run away from them unto him; advertising and advising them to beware and look well unto it, that there were no more any such escapes and runnings away of their bond servants hereafter. When these letters were read by *Xenarchus* their Pretor, who sought to curry some favor and to wind himself into grace with the King, most of them that were present judged the letters to have been written right graciously and with great government and moderation, but principally those persons, who beyond their hope were to recover and receive their slaves whom they had lost. But *Callicrates* one of them who were fully perswaded, that the safety of their whole estate depended upon the loiall observance and inviolable maintenance of the accord contracted with the Romans, spake thus or to this effect following. "It may seem to some here (qd. he) my masters of *Achæa* that we "are in question at this present of a small matter and of mean importance: but I for my part am "of opinion, that we are not now in hand to treat but have already debated, and after a sort concluded, one of the greatest affairs and of most consequence that we know. For we who have interdicted the KK. of *Macedony* and the Macedonians to come within our borders, and have decreed that this edict may stand firm and irrevocable, and that for this intent especially, Because "we would admit neither Embassadors nor messengers from the KK. for fear left by entercourse

The oration of *Callicrates* the Achæan.

"of them, the hearts of some among us might be solliсited and tempted to novelty and alterati-
"on: we how are content to hear the King, although absent in person, preaching in some sort to
"us, yea, and more than that (God send us good luck) approve and applaud his Oration. And
"whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid for a bait to de-
"ceive and hurt them, yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same: we, blind beetles that we
"are, suffer our selves to be caught and fed with the vain apparence and colorable shew of a little
"kindness, and for hope to recover some poor slaves (a matter of small worth & reckoning) suffer
"our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of subversion. For who seeth not, that the
"overture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the King, only to
"violate and break our association with the Romans, wherein standeth all our weal and welfare?
"Unless some man peradventure will make a question, whether the Romans must levy war against
"*Perseus* & no doubt thereof now after *Philip* is dead, which in his life time was expected, and by
"his death only interrupted? Two sons, ye know full well, K. *Philip* had, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*,
"For nobleness of parentage by the mothers side, for vertue, for wit, for the love and affection of
"the Macedonians, *Demetrius* far surpassed his brother. But for that the father intended ever &
"meant, that whether of his two sons hated the Romans, he should have the crown after him for
"recompence he caused *Demetrius* to be murdered: for no other crime in the world that could be
"laid to his charge, save only that he was entred into amity with the Romans: but *Perseus* he
"made the King, whom he knew that the people of *Rome* judged more worthy to suffer punish-
"ment than to inherit a Kingdom. And this *Perseus*, what other thing hath he done else after his
"fathers decease, but made preparation for war? First and formost, he procured the Bastarnians, to
"the terror of al the world for to invade * *Dardania*: who if they had settled there, *Greece* should
"have had more troublesome neighbors of them than *Asia* hath of the Galatians. And albeit he
"was disappointed of this hope yet he gave not over to design and plot for war; nay, if we will
"speak a truth, he hath already begun the war. *Dolopa* he hath subdued by force of arms & could
"not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debatable and liti-
"gious, should be referred to the award of the people of *Rome*. From thence having passed over
"the mountain *Oeta*, that all upon a suddain he might shew himself in the very centre of *Greece*,
"he ascended up to *Delphi*. And to what end, think ye, hath he taken this diswonted voiage and
"unaccustomed expedition? After this he made his progress all over *Thessaly*: And what if he an-
"noied and hurt none of them all, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me so much the more this
"manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them withal. Then forsooth, he sendeth his letters
"unto us, with a goodly shew of a bon-present, and willeth us to think of times how to prevent
"from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to
"annul and repeal that edict of ours, wherin the Macedonians are debarred from setting foot with-
"in * *Peloponnesus*? and to bring about, that we may have again the Kings Embassadors to come
"unto us, that we may entertain mutual hospitality between their Princes and ours? and anon
"after, see the Macedonian armies, yea, and the King also in person to cross from *Delphi* (for a small
"arm of the Sea lieth between) streight over into *Peloponnesus*? and finally, that we band and com-
"bine with the Macedonians, when they shall take arms against the Romans? As for me, this is
"mine advice, to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entire order, as they now
"stand until such time as we are come to some certain terms. Whether we have cause to be afraid,
"or fear only our own shadows? If the league shal continue firm and sure between the Romans &
"the Macedonians, then may we have entercourse of friendship, of commerce and traffick with
"them. But for this present to think & consider hereof in my simple judgment, is a nice and tick-
"lish point & besides, out of season untimely and some what with the soonest. When he had thus
"said, *Arco* brother to *Xenarchus* the Pretor discoursed in this manner following. "*Callicrates*,
"(qd. he) hath caused both me and all of us besides, who are of contrary opinion to him for to find
"the more difficulty in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whiles in maintenance
"of the association which we have with the Romans, he saith that it is disturbed and troubled,
"(albeit there be no man about either to disturb or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and
"contrived, that whosoever seemeth to gainsay him, may be thought to oppose and set himself a-
"gainst the Romans. In the first place, as if he had been a man, not conversing here among us, but
"one come from the Senat of *Rome* or some inward secretary and of the privy council to the KK.
"he knoweth forsooth, and uttereth all that in great secrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretelleth
"like a wise man, what would have ensued, in case *Philip* had lived longer: & namely, how it came
"about, that *Perseus* thus inherited the crown: what the Macedonian designs are: and what the
"Romans intend to do. But we, who know neither for what cause, nor in what manner *Demetrius*
"came by his death nor yet what *Philip* meant to have done if he had lived still, must accommo-
"date & frame our counsel to those occurrents which have openly passed in the view of the world.
"We take knowledge, that *Perseus*, after he was invested in his throne and crowned King, repair-
"ed to the Roman Embassadors; and we know likewise that he was intituled by the people of
"*Rome* with the style of (King *Perseus*.) We hear besides, that Roman Embassadors came to the
"King, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgment, these
"be all signs of peace and not of war neither can the Romans take offence, if, as we followed them
"when they bare arms so we follow them now likewise, as the authors of peace. And verily I see
"no reason why we alone of all other Greeks, should make so mortal and inexpiable war against
"the

* Servius, as some think.

* Morea.

The Oration of Archo.

"the realm of *Macedony*. What! is it because we are so neer unto the Macedonians, and by that
"vicinity exposed to all dangers from thence? or that we are the weakest of all the rest, and like to
"the Dolopians, whom *Perseus* of late hath subdued? Nay I wis, it is far otherwise and clean con-
"trary. Sure enough we are for any harm they can do us, in regard either of our own forces (which
"the Gods of their goodness have vouchsafed us) or of the distance of place so far remote. But
"set case we be as much subject as the Thessalians and Ætolians: Say, we are of no more credit and
"authority among the Romans (albeit we have been alwaies their associats and friends) than the
"Ætolians be, who were their open enemies but the other day: Then, what right, what privileg
"and commerce, the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, and in one word all *Greece* besides,
"have and use with the Macedonians, we also may have and hold the same. How is it then, that we
"alone like cursed and damned creatures, should thus practise to abandon the common law of
"men, and (as it were) renounce all human society. Be it, that *Philip* (when time was) did some-
"what, and gave us just cause, armed as he was and ever warring upon us, to pass this decree and
"edict against him: what hath *Perseus* deserved? *Perseus* (I say) the new King, a harmless Prince that
"never did us injury; nay, who is willing and seeketh by courtesies and good turns to cancel and
"raise out all former quarrels and enmities of his father? why are we the only enemies that he
"hath in the world? And yet, I might full well & truly say, that from the former Kings of *Macedony*
"we have received so great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof we should put up and for-
"get the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if haply he have done us any) at least wise now after he is dead:
"and his head laid. Indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of *Cenchrea*, and the
"Consul lay encamped with his army before *Elatia*, we sat in counsel three daies together, deba-
"ting and devising, Whether we should band with the Romans or side with *Philip*? And albeit the
"present fear of the Romans before our eies, might have made us in our opinions to encline
"somewhat and lean toward them: yet there was something in it doubtless, that it was so long ere
"we could resolve: and to say a truth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with
"the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings.
"Why then me thinks, those self same regards should be of some force and efficacy to move us if
"not to be their special and best friends, yet at least wise not to be their principal and greatest ene-
"mies. Let us not, *Callicrates*, make semblance and shew of that which we are not in hand with-
"all, and is no point of this present question. There is no motive made of a new society: there is
"no person about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance; wherein we should rashly enwrap
"and entangle our selves, and be tied to any inconvenience. Only let there be a mutual commerce
"between us, and an alternative intercourse of yeelding and demanding right to and fro, as ap-
"pertaineth: let us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffick within our coun-
"try, debar our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdom: that
"by this means our slaves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flie unto. And what preju-
"dice is this to the Roman confederacy? Wherfore make we thus of a small thing and evident, so
"great a matter and suspicions? Wherfore raise we such troubles of nothing? Wherfore seek we to
"draw others into jelousy and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of courting &
"flattering them? If there will be war, *Perseus* (ye may be sure) maketh no doubt but that we alto-
"gether will follow the Romans: yet so long as the peace holdeth, sure elte and suspend we in some
"sort our malice and hatred for the while; if ended for ever it may not be. When the same men
who had consented to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this propose, the
chief and principal persons among them took great indignation and disdain that *Perseus* should
seem to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the
sending an embassage. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree passed at this Session. Af-
terwards were Embassadors addressed unto them from the King at what time as a Diet was hol-
den in *Megalopolis*: but the side which was for the Romans, and feared to give them occasion of
displeasure and offence, did what they could to debar them of access and entrance into the Coun-
cel. And much about this time, by reason of these jars, the Ætolians grew enraged among them-
selves, and by discharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the
state to a final ruin and desolation. But being weary thereof, they in the end as well of the one side
as the other, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, and also laboured at home to have the quarre taken
up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was crossed by a new mischief
that came between, which also rubbed the former galls and fretted the old sores. For whereas cer-
tain Hypateans, exiled persons, and being of the faction of *Proxenus*, were promised liberty to re-
turn home again into their country, with safe conduct also granted by *Eupolemus* one of the chief &
principal men of the City: so it was, that fourscore of them, men of mark and quality, whom to
meet upon the way as they returned, *Eupolemus* himself went out with the multitude (after they
had been friendly received with courteous greetings, salutations, and shaking of hands) had no
sooner entred within the gate of the City, but they were massacred notwithstanding they pleaded
the faithful promise of protection, and called the Gods to witness, but all in vain. By this occasion
the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before, and torned in the end to a fight sire.
Now there arrived *C. Valerius Lævinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *C. Memmius*, *M. Popilius* and *L. Cæcu-
lius*, as sent from the Senat of *Rome*. Before these commissioners the Embassadors from both factions
appeared at *Delphi*, and debated the matter with great earnestnes and vehemency: where *Proxe-
nus* seemed to have the better hand as well in right of the cause, as through his eloquent tongue.

Proxenus (I say) who within few daies after, drank a cup of poison of his wives tempering, wherof H
he died: & she condemned therefore, departed into exile. The like madness haunted the Candiots
also & distracted them with intestine dissention. But upon the coming of *Q. Mutius* the Lieutenant
General, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of ten sail, to appease their debates, they fell to
some terms of peace and attonement. There had been a truce also before of six months, but after-
wards the war flamed out much more terrible. The Lycians likewise at the same time, were infested
& plagued with war by the Rhodians. But my meaning is not, neither is it any part of my purpose,
to describe the wars of forain nations, nor to discourse of the circumstances how to proceeded: for
enough I have to do, & more than I can wel discharge, to write the acts only of the people of *Rome*.

The Celtiberians in *Spain*, who being tamed by force of arms, had submitted to *T. Gracchus*, re-
mained quiet all the time that *M. Titinius* the Pretor continued there in government. But imme- I
diatly upon the arrival of *Ap. Claudius* they revolted: and began to shew themselves in open action
of rebellion, by giving a suddain assault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day,
when the sentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might discover enemies
coming a far off: and so they gave the alarm. *Ap. Claudius* having put out the signal of battail, & in
few words exhorted his souldiers to fight and play the men, led them forth at three gates at once.
The Celtiberians made head and opposed their forces as they issued forth. At the first the skurmish
was equal on both parts: for that by reason of the streights of the passage, all the Romans could
not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed still apace, they were all at
length gotten without the trench, so as they were able now to display their battailions & to con-
front their enemies from one point of their battail to the other, wherewith before they were en- K
vironed: and then they made so forcible a sally upon them, that the Celtiberians were not able to
endure their violence. For before the second hour of the day, they were discomfited: and 15000 of
them either died in the place, or yeelded their bodies prisoners: 32 military ensigns they lost: and
were turned out of the camp the same day: and here is an end of that war. For as many as escaped
the conflict gat them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That year were created Censors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* & *A. Posthumius Albinus*: who made a review
of Senators and chose new. For President of the Senat they elected *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Arch-
bishop. Nine they put out of the Senat-house. The principal persons noted and disgraced, were
these, *M. Corn. Maluginensis*, who two years before had been Pretor in *Spain*: *L. Corn. Scipio*, Pretor
for the time being, and L. chief Justice of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens: and L
L. Fulvius, who was whole brother to the Censor himself, & as *V. Antias* reporteth, equal in degree
of calling, and his fellow every way. The Consuls also after they had made their vows within the
Capitol, went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, M. *Æmylius*) had in charge
given him by the Senat, to appease the sedition of the Padoans in *Venice*, who as their Embassa-
dors made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civil war.

The Embassadors who were gone into *Æclia* for to pacify the like troubles, brought word back,
That it was not possible to bridle and refrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of
the Consul made all whole among the Padoans and cured the malady: who having nothing else
to do in the province, returned to *Rome*.

These Censors were the first that caused the streets of *Rome* to be paved with hard flint and M
pebble stone within the City: and the high waies and causeys without to be raised with gravel, &
the sides therof to be wel banked and kept in reparations: also bridges to be made in divers places:
a scaffold besides for the Ædiles and Pretors to behold the games & plaies. Moreover, the barriers
in the race, from whence the horses begin to run, and the Ovales to mark and score up the number
of courses * * * Over and besides the goles, beyond * * * the iron gates and cages * * * and
at the feasts in the mount Albane for the Consuls. They took order besides all this, for the paving
with flint of the cliff or descent from the Capitol, and from the gallery or porch before the temple
of *Saturn* looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called *Senaculum*, and the court *Hostilia* a-
bove it. Also the merchants Hall or burse without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with stone, and
fenced it about with strong stakes and posts of wood. The gallery also *Æmylia* they caused to be N
repaired; and made an ascent by stairs from the *Tyber* to the burse or merchants Hall aforesaid.
Without the same gate also, they paved with pebble stone the gallery or walking place into the
Aventine * * * from the Temple of *Venus*. The same Censors bargained for the making of walls
about *Calatia* and *Oxymum*: and having made sale of some publick edifices there, they employed
the mony raised therof, in making of shops & stalls round about both the market places. The one
of them, that is to say, *M. Fulvius*, (for *Posthumius* said plainly, that unless it were by vertue either
of an act of the Senat, or grant of the people of *Rome*, he would put forth no works to be made
with dispense of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Pisau-
rum* & at *Fundi*: also make a conduit, for water to be conveighed to *Pollentia*; and at *Pisaurum* for
a way to be paved, and *Sinuessa* * * * In these colonies, he caused also a sink or vault to be made O
about them, to carry away all filthiness into the river: also the market place to be enclosed with
porches, galleries, and shops: and three stately halls called *Jani*, with quarrefours or four through-
fares, and as many fronts. For these works, one of the Consuls disbursed the money, and bargained
with the Publicans and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of those colonies above-na-
med, gave him great thanks. These Censors were likewise severe and precise in exercising their of-
fice, for the redressing and reformation of mens maners: for many Gentlemen had their horses of A
service taken from them, which were allowed them by the City.

A little before the years end, there was a solemn procession holden one whole day for the happy A
atchievement of the affairs in *Spain*, under the conduct and good fortune of *Appius Claudius* the
Pro-consul; and twenty head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they
went in another procession with supplications, at the Temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that
there was reported from the Sabines countrey, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many
houses.

After that *Ap. Claudius* was returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, the Senat ordained, that he should
enter the City with the pomp of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of
new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of
competitors: but in the end, *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* were elected Consuls:
B which done, the Pretors also were created, to wit, *Cn. Fabius Buteo*, *M. Matienus*, *C. Cicereius*, *M.
Fur. Crassipes*, *A. Attilius Serranus*, & *C. Clwius Saxula*, these three last rehearsed, the second time.
This business and solemnity finished, *Ap. Claudius Cento* entring with Ovant pomp into the City
for his victory of the Celtiberians, brought into the common treasury 10000 pound weight of
silver, and 5000 of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was consecrated the Flamin of *Jupiter*.

The same year there was set up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddess *Matuta* with this
inscription, *Under the conduct and happy government* of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, *Consul, the legion
and army of the people of* Rome, *subdued* Sardinia. *In which Province, there were slain and taken pri-
soners* 80000 *enemies. Which* Gracchus (*after he had managed the affairs of state most fortunatly, de-
livered many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and customes to the Common-wel.*) I
C *brought home with him his army safe and sound, charged with an exceeding rich booty, and reentered
the City of* Rome, *in a second triumph. In memorial of which exploit, he caused this table to be set up
as a present in the honour of* Jupiter.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Iland *Sardinia*, and the picture also and resem-
blance of sundry battails. Moreover, in this year were represented to the people certain passimes
and shews of sword-players, whereof some were small and of no account: but one above the rest,
exhibited by *T. Flaminius*, surpassed. And this he did in honour of his father deceased: with a dole
of flesh among the people, a great publick feast besides, and stage-playes for four dayes together.
But the principal matter in this festival solemnity, was this. That in three daies space there fought
at utterance with unrebated swords, threescore and fourteen champions,

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The two and fortieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and fortieth Book.

E Fulvius Flaccus *the Censor uncovered the roof of the Church of* Juno Lacinia, *which was selated
with marble, and all to cover a Temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Se at he was
forced to bestow the selates there again.* Eumenes *the King of* Asia *complain.d in the Senat, of* Perseus
King of Macedony. *His iniuries done to the people of* Rome *are here reported: for the which, di fiance
was sent, and war proclaimed against him.* P. Licinius Crassus *the Consul, unto whom the Province of*
Macedony *was assigned, passed over thither, and in certain light expeditions. fought sundry bat els
with* Perseus *in* Thessaly, *all by horse-service, but with bad succes. The Senat appointed a day of hearing
between* Masanissa *and the Carthaginians, touching the territory in question. Emb assadors were sent to
friendship, by reason that the Rhodians stood in doubtful tearms. The Censors took a review and num bred
the citizens of* Rome, *wherein were enrolled in the subsidy book* 272231. *Moreover, this book con-
taineth the fortunat exploits against the Islanders of* Corsica *and the Ligurians.*

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* the Consuls had before all other
things proposed unto the Senat as touching the government of the Provinces & conduct
of the armies, ordained it was, that *Liguria* should be the charge as well of the one of
them as the other. Also that both of them should levy new legions, (and two a peece they
were allowed to have) therewith to defend the said province and keep it in obedience besides
10000 footmen and 600 horse of Latine allies. Moreover to enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horsmen
of Romans for a supply in *Spain*. Last of all, commanded they were to press 1500 footmen and a
100 horse of Roman citizens: with which strength, that Pretor unto whom *Sardinia* fell, should
past over into *Corsica*, there to war, and *M. Attilius* the old Pretor, in mean time to see unto the
government of *Sardinia*. This done, the Pretors went to cast lots for their provinces. *A. Attilius
Serranus* had the place of Lord chief justice within the City, and *C. Clwius Saxula* the jurisdiction
between

between citizens and forrainers. Unto *Cn. Fabius Buteo* fell the higher *Spain*, to *M. Marcius* the lower. *M. Furius Crassipes* was to govern *Sicily*, and *C. Cicereius Sardinia*.

Before that these Magistrats took their journey, the Senat was of advice, that *L. Postumius* the Consul should go into *Campain*, for to limit out the City-lands apart from the grounds of private persons: for that it was seen and known, that particular men letting out their bounds and encroaching by little and little upon the Commons, in proces of time held a great part of it in their own possession. This Consul was angry and offended with the Praenestins, for that upon a time when he went thither amongst them (in quality then of a private person) to offer sacrifice in the temple of *Fortune*, they did him no honor neither in publike nor private. Wherupon, before he departed now from *Rome*, he addressed his letters before him to *Praeneste*, that the chief Magistrate should come and meet him upon the way, provide him a lodging at their Cities charges, and at his departure from thence to see that there were sumpter horses and beasts of cariage ready for him. Now before this mans Consulship, the Magistrats of *Rome* had never been chargeable to their allies nor put them to cost for any thing whatsoever: and therefore allowed they were from the City their mules, let out they were with tents and pavilions, and all other furniture and provision for the wars, to the end that they should not lay upon the allies any such burden. Privat lodging they had in friends houses, which they entertained courteously & liberally with reciprocal hospitality. For at *Rome* likewise their homes were open to receive those hosts of theirs, with whom they were wont before to have kind usage and who had bidden them welcome. In like maner Embassadors (if they were sent by chance to any place of a suddain) imposed upon the town & cities through which they were to pass, one sumpter horse only: to farther expence were no allies put for any Roman Magistrats. This revenge of the Consul for a discourtesy offered, (due & just though it were) yet not to have been executed during his magistracy) and the silence of the Praenestins proceeding either of too much modesty or over-great fear, gave occasion to the magistrats ever since to take it for a privilege and custome to do the semblable, yea, and to charge their allies with more grievous impositions every day than other in the same kind, as if the precedent example had been approved.

In the beginning of this year, the Embassadors who had been sent into *Aetolia* and *Macedony*, made report, That they might not come to the speech of K. *Perseus*, for that some said he was absent: others, that he was sick: and the one as false, as the other was untrue: howbeit, they might evidently perceive and see, that preparation was made for war, and that he would delay no longer, but enter into arms. In like sort they related, that in *Aetolia* the civil distention and sedition grew daily more and more: neither could the captains of these factions discords be repressed and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

As the City of *Rome* was amused upon the continual expectancy of the Macedonian war, before any enterprise thereof begun, thought good it was and requisite, that order first should be taken for the expiation of prodigies and the pacification of the Gods by way of humbly praiers, such as were represented and delivered unto them out of the fatal books of *Sibylla*. For at *Lanuvium* were seen, as the common voice went, certain shews and resemblances of a mighty great navy. *Item*, At *Privernum* there grew black wooll out of the earth. Also in the Velentian territory, neer a Town called *Remens*, it rained stones. Moreover, all the country *Pomptinum* was overcast with clouds of Locusts, and within the Land of *Gallia*, there were seen certain fishes to leap from under the clots of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took stitch and made furrow. For these strange and fearful sights, the foresaid books were looked into and perused, and out of them the Decemvirs declared and pronounced both unto what Gods sacrifice should be offered, and what beasts were to be slain therefore: moreover, that the one supplication should be holden, as propitiatory for those prodigious tokens, as also the other, which the year before had been vowed for the health of the people, should now be performed, and holydaies kept therefore. So the sacrifices were accomplished according to the order and form set down in writing by the Decemvirs.

The very same year was the Church of *Juno Lacinia* uncovered, upon this occasion: *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Censor was building of a temple to *Fortuna equestris*, which he had vowed during the war against the Celtiberians, when he was Lord Pretor in *Spain*. His desire and earnest endevor was to strain himself, that there might not be in *Rome* a temple of more state and magnificence than this. And supposing that it would be a great beauty and ornament unto it, in case the roof were covered with tiles of marble, he went into the Brutians country, & there he was so bold with the Church aboue said of *Juno Lacinia*, as to untile the one half thereof, making full account, that so much would serve for to cover that temple which he was a building. Boats and Barges he had ready for to receive and carry away the said tiles or sclates, without being impeached or controlled for this sacriledge by the allies, whom he held in awe and frighted by his Censorian authority. Now after the Censor was returned to *Rome*, those marble sclates were disbarked out of the foresaid vessels and conveighed to the temple. And albeit no words were made from whence they came, yet concealed it could not be. And hereupon arose much muttering in the Senat, and from all parts thereof they called hard upon the Consuls to have the matter put to question and debated of. The Censor was sent for, who was no sooner entred into the Senat but both all in general, & also every one in particular had a fling at him: and much more sharply reproached him to his face in these terms That he could not be content to abuse and violate the most holy and stately Church in those parts, which neither *Pyrrhus* nor *Annibal* ever offered violence unto, unless he uncovered it also in foul

foul sort, and in manner laid it ruinat. The lantern thereof was taken away and gone, the roof left bare and naked, exposed and open to rain and foul weather, and thereby subject to rot: that he being chosen Censor for to reform the manners of other; to whom it appertained by his office to see that the Temples were close and covert; to call upon, that all publick places be kept windtight and water-tight, and in sufficient repair: that he (I say) of all others should range over the Cities of allies & confederat States pulling down their Temples as he goeth, & uncovering the roofs of the sacred edifices, and in demolishing the Churches of the immortal Gods, commit that, which if he did but practise upon the privat houses of allies, might seem an unworthy act and a great indignity: and finally, by rearing one Temple with the ruin of another, oblige the people of *Rome* with the very guilt of his own crimes, as if (I wis) the immortal Gods were not the same in all places, but that we must honor and adorn some of them with the spoil of others. Now as it was apparent (before the matter was put to the censure of the Senate) which way the LL. enclined in opinion: so immediatly upon the proponing thereof, they all opined and gave one sentence, That order should be taken with the publicans of the City works, for the carrying back again of the same sclates to the former Temple, and that certain propitiatory sacrifices should be offered for the pacification of *Juno*. As for all ceremonies requisit toward the divine service aforesaid, they were with all complements performed accordingly: but the farmers who had undertaken at a price to recary to recary those tiles, brought word that they had landed them in the church yard and there left them, because they might not meet with any workman, who could devise with all the skill and cunning he had, how to bestow them as they were laid and couched before.

Of those Pretors who were gone into their Provinces, *M. Fabius* as he was in his journey toward high *Spain* died at *Massilles* by the way: and therefore upon intelligence given thereof by the Massilian Embassadors, the Senat ordained that *P. Furius* and *Cn. Servilius* whom to succeed others were to be sent should cast lots between themselves, whether of them should continue still in government, and have the charge of high *Spain*. And the lot fell out very well and fit that the said *P. Furius* who had ruled the said province before, should there remain.

The same year, by occasion that a good part of the Ligurians and Gauls territory won by conquest lay void and was not as yet in the tenure and occupation of any man there passed an Act of the Senat, that it should be divided by the poll. So, *A. Attilius* the Chief justice of the City of *Rome*, by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senat, created ten Decemvirs or commissioners for that purpose, to wit, *M. Aemylius Lepidus*, *C. Cassius*, *T. Ebutius Parrus*, *C. Tremellius*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q.* and *L.* both named *Apuleius*, *M. Caecilius*, *C. Salonius*, and *C. Munatius*. To every Roman citizen they set out ten acres apeece: and to the Latine allies three.

About the same time that these affairs passed at *Rome*, there arrived thither Embassadors out of *Aetolia* about their own civil discords and seditions. Likewise there came others from *Thessaly* reporting what was a doing in *Macedony*. For *Perseus* (casting now in his mind how to compass that war which during his fathers life he devised and thought upon) endevoured to draw and win unto him not only all the nations but the cities of *Greece*, by sending his embassages among them, & promising liberally more than he performed. Howbeit the hearts of the most part were inclined to him and favoured his designs, yea, and much more affection at than to K. *Eumenes*: not withstanding that all the States of *Greece*, and most of the principal personages were obliged unto *Eumenes*, and in fee as it were with him, in regard of many courtesies and gracious favours received at his hands: & that he carried himself so in his own realm that the cities which were subject unto him, were not willing to change their condition with any of the free States whatsoever. Whereas contrarywise the bruit went, that *Perseus* after his fathers decease, killed his wife with his own hands: and likewise secretly murdered *Apelles* whose ministry and service in former time he had used in taking away the life of his brother *Demetrius*: for which cause he lived in exile, because *Philip* made search after him for to have him punished accordingly: him (I say) he murdered after he had sent for him upon his fathers death, and procured him to come unto him, with great promises to recompence him highly for the execution of the foresaid fact. Yet as infamous as he was with these domestical murders, and for no good part and worthy desert otherwise commendable; he was commonly better regarded of the States of the country than King *Eumenes*, a Prince so kind and good to his kinsfolk, so just and righteous to his subjects, so bounteous and respective to all men; whether it were that they, possessed aforehand with the fame and majesty of the Macedonian Kings, despised the rising of this new Kingdom: or that they were desirous of novelties and alterations: or lastly, that they wished and had a desire that he should make head against the Romans.

Now were not the Aetolians only together by the ears among themselves by reason they were divided so deep in debt, but the Thessalians also: and this pestilent malady as it were by catching and infection was spred as far as *Perrhaebia*. But after that the Senat was advertised that the Thessalians had taken arms, they sent *App. Claudius* as Embassador to see and appease those troubles: who having rebuked and chastised the Captains of both sides, eased and striken off a great part of the debt, which grew burdensome and grievous by excessive usury, and that with consent of the most of the creditors who had thus overcharged their debtors he parted the paiment of the due debt and principal, by even portions for certain years. The troblesom state of *Perrhaebia* likewise was reduced into good terms of quietness, by the self-same *Appius*, and after the same order. And at the very same instant *Marcellus* visited the Aetolians & took knowledge at *Delphi* of their troubles and commotions which proceeded from very hostile hearts & minds, enemy-like, & were pursued with

with civil war. And when he saw that they contended and strove much to surpass one another in rash courses and audacious; he would by his decree neither discharge nor disparage the one party more than the other: but he requested them indifferently on both sides to abstain from war, to make an end of discord and dissention, and bury all that was past in perpetual oblivion. Whereupon they were reconciled: and this their atonement was ratified with the assurance of pledges interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they should meet at *Corinth*, there to bestow their hostages. From *Delphi* and that general diet of *Aetolia*, *Marcellus* crossed the Seas into *Peloponnesus*, where he had appointed and published a solemn assembly and councel of the Achæans. Wherein he highly praised and commended the whole nation, for observing so stedfastly their old decrees, whereby they debarred and excluded the Macedonian Kings out of their confines. He declared evidently and presented to the view of all the world, what malice and hatred the Romans I bare to *Perseus*. And that it might break out the sooner into open wars, King *Eumenes* came to *Rome*, and brought with him a note or abstract of all the preparations for the war, which with diligent search and enquiry into particulars, he had gathered.

Much about the same time the five Embassadors sent unto K. *Perseus* for to see into the affairs of *Macedony*, were commanded to take a voyage as far as *Alexandria* for to renew the old amity with King *Ptolomæus*. The names of them were these, *C. Valerius*, *Cn. Butatius Cincu*, *Q. Bæbius Sulca*, *M. Cornelius Mammula*, and *M. Cæcilius Denter*. And even then of not much after, there came Embassadors from King *Antiochus*: and the chief and principal person among them, one *Apollonius* was admitted to come into the Senat, where he excused the King his master for many good and just reasons in that he had not sent his tribute & made paiment so soon as he ought by the day appointed: but now (he said) that he had brought it all, to the end that the King should be to them beholden for nothing but the respite of time only. And besides that they were come with a present of certain plate of gold, weighing 300 pound. That the King his petition was, That the society and friendship which had been contracted between his father and them, might be renued also with him: promising, that if the people of *Rome* would impose any thing upon him to be done, which were meet to be laid upon a good and faithful ally, he would not fail in his devoir to perform all offices whatsoever. For why, the Senat had so well deserved of him, at what time as he sojourned in *Rome*, and such courtesy he found among the flour of the Roman yong Gentlemen, that of all degrees and sorts of men, he was reputed and used more like a King indeed, than an hostage for the time. These Embassadors received a gracious answer: and withal, *A. Attilius* the Pretor of the City was enjoyned to renew the league with *Antiochus*, which had been concluded with his father. As for the tribute, the treasurers of the City received it: and the Censors took all the golden vessels aforesaid, who had the charge to bestow the same in what Temples they thought good. Unto the chief Embassador was sent a present in money, amounting to the sum of one 100000 Asses: who also was allowed an house to lodg in at his pleasure of free-cost: and all his charges were defrayed by the City, during the time that he made abode in *Italy*. The Embassadors who had been in *Syria*, gave this report of him. That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the King: and besides, singularly well affected to the people of *Rome*.

Now concerning the affairs of the provinces for that year, thus much as followeth.

C. *Cicereius* the Pretor fought in ranged battail with the enemies in *Corsica* wherein 7000 of the Islanders were slain: and 1700 and better taken prisoners. In that conflict the Pretor had vowed to build the Chappel of *Juno Moneta*. After this was peace granted to the Corsians at their own suit and seeking: but they were compelled two pay to hundred thousand weight of wax. *Cicereius* having thus subdued *Corsica*, passed from thence over into *Sardinia*. A field also was fought in *Liguria*, within the territory of the Statellats, neer the Town *Crixtus*: for thither assembled a great army of the Ligurians. At first upon the arrival of M. *Popilius* the Consul they kept close within the walls: but afterwards seeing the Romans at the point to give assault and to lay battery to the walls, they issued forth of the gates and embattailed themselves. The Consul for his part forslowed not to come to hand-fight, the only thing he sought for in threatning to give assault. The conflict continued above 3 hours, and the hope of victory hung in equal ballance: which when the Cos. perceived, namely, how the Ligurian ensigns removed not, and gave no ground; he commanded his Cavalry to mount on horseback, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three several places: many of these horsemen pierced quite through the midst of the battail, and passed so far, that they charged the enemies upon the back as they fought. Whereupon the Ligurians were much terrified and began to flie from all parts: very few retired back into the City, by reason that the horsemen made head against them that way most: besides many of the Ligurians were left dead in the place; such was their resolute persistance in fight: killed also they were every where as they fled. Ten thousand (by report) fell upon the edge of the sword, above seven hundred taken prisoners in one place or other, and 82 military ensigns were caried away. And yet was not this victory without effusion of Roman blood: for there died of them not so few as three thousand souldiers by reason that the foremost of both sides fought so manfully in the forefront and while they would not give ground one to the other, were striken down and slain without mercy. After this battail the Ligurians rallied themselves into one place, out of all parts where they were scattered in the rout: and seeing that more of their men were lost than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thousand) they yeelded simply without any composition: howbeit in good hope they were, that the Consul

A Consul would not deal worse by them nor in more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he disarmed them all, raised their Town, sold their bodies & all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of these exploits of his. Which when *A. Attilius* the Pretor had read in the Senat, (for the other Consul *Posthumius* was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the Lands in *Campania*) they thought it a very hard and cruel course, that the Statellats, who only of all the Ligurians had not born arms against the Romans, who were then assailed first, when as they began not of their own accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the Romans, should be thus rigorously intreated, thus torn, dismembred and consumed in most cruel manner: that so many thousands of frank condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercy of the Romans, should be thus sold out-right, (a most dangerous example,
B that never hereafter any one will venture to submit himself again:) and finally, that they should be distracted and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having been sometimes professed enemies of the Romans, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard hereof, there passed an areſt or act of the Senat, that *M. Popilius* the Consul should pay back the price unto the buyers, and restore the Ligurians to their former liberty; to take order also that their goods (as much as possibly might be recovered) should be rendred unto them: also that armour should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Consul so soon as he had reestablished the Ligurians (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the Province: forasmuch as the honour of victory consisted not in exercising cruelty upon the poor and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinat. But the Consul, as he bare himself proud and cruel against the Ligurians, so
C he shewed as great frowardness and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in *Pisa*, he returned to *Rome*, carrying a fell and angry stomack against the LL. and as spightful and malicious a mind to the Pretor: where immediatly he assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*, and ratled up the Pretor in broad and gross terms. For that he, whose part it had been to have moved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortal Gods, in regard of the happy atchievement of the wars, in stead thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies, for to put him by his victory and to give it away from him to the Ligurians: and finally, being no better than a Pretor, would have had the Consul yeelded in manner up into their
D hands. Whereupon he said that he would be so bold as set a fine on his head: and withal, he required the LL. of the Senat to command and ordain, That the areſt devised against him might be reversed: and to give order, that the processions which in his absence they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good success) might now be holden; in consideration first of the honour due to the immortal Gods, and then respectively in some measure for his own desert. But after he was checked by some of the Senators to his face, and that in no milder tearms than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his waies into his Province again, and obtained neither the one suit nor the other.

The other Consul *Posthumius* having spent the whole summer in surveying the Lands only, and never so much as seen his own Province, returned to *Rome* against the general assembly for election, and created Consuls *C. Popilius Lænas*. Consequently were Pretors elected, to wit, *C. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Iunius Pennus*, *Sp. Lucretius*, *Sp. Cluvius*, *Cn. Sicinius*, and *C. Memmius*, the second
E time. In that year was holden a review of the City and the number taken of citizens, (when as *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* were Censors:) wherein were found and enrolled of Roman citizens 269015. The number was somewhat the less, by reason that *L. Posthumius* the Consul had proclaimed in a publick audience, That no person of those Latine allies, who were to return into their own Cities (by vertue of an edict made when *C. Claudius* was Consul) should be enrolled into the subsidy book at *Rome*, but every man in his several City. This Censorship was
administred with concord and unity, yea and to the good and profit of the common-weal. What Senators soever they depoſed from their place and dignity, and so many Gentlemen of *Rome* as they took their Horses from, they made them all no better than contributaries to pay all scot and
F lot, yea, and displaced them out of their tribes. And look whomsoever the one of them noted with disgrace and ignominy, he was not relieved nor allowed again by the other. This *Fulvius* dedicated the Temple of * *Fortuna equestris*, now six years after he had vowed the same in a battail which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Pro-consul in *Spain*: likewise he exhibited the stage-plaies for four daies together, and one day in the cirque or shew-place. *Corn. Lentulus* (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that year died; in whose room was
G substituted *A. Posthumius Albinus*. There were such mighty drifts and clouds as it were of locusts, brought suddainly at once by a wind from the Sea into *Apulia*, that with their swarms they overspread all the fields far and neer. For the riddance of which noisome vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, *Cn. Sicinius*, Pretor elect, was sent with his full commission of command into *Apulia*, who assembled a mighty number of people for to gather them up, and employed much time thereabout.

* The fortune of horse-fight.

In the beginning of the year ensuing, wherein *C. Popilius* and *P. Ælius* were Consuls, the remnant of the debates which arose the year before, was set on foot again. The LL. of the Senat would have had the matter propoſed & debated again as touching the Ligurians, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalf renewed. But, as *Ælius* the one Consul put up a bil thereof, so *Popilius* the other was an earnest suiter, & besought both his collegue & also the Senat in the behalf of his brother: nay, he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decree

decree prejudicial unto him; he would crosse and revoke the same: by which countenance of his he H affrighted his colleague: but the LL. were offended so much the more and stormed against both the Consuls, yea, and persisted still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in counsel as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Coss. made means to be sent into *Macedony* (because the war of *Perseus* was so neer at hand) yet *Liguria* was assigned to both of them: for the LL. protested and said, That they would not pass a decree for the government of *Macedony*, unless the case of *Popilius* were propounded, and an act thereof entred. Afterwards, when they demanded a warrant to enrol new armies, or at least-wise to levy a supply for making up the old, both the one motion and the other was denied. The Prætors also, who required to have a supplement with them into *Spain*, had a nay: and namely, *M. Junius* into the hither province, and *P. Lucretius* into the farther. As for *C. Licinius Crassus*, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City over citizens, and I to *Cn. Sicinius* that other over forrainers. *C. Memmius* was allotted to *Sicily*, and *Sp. Clavius* to *Sardinia*. The Consuls for these causes being highly offended and angry with the Senat, caused the Latine feasts and holydaies to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with an intimation that they would go straight into their province, and not attend the managing of any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Consuls year, *Attalus* the brother of K. *Eumenes* came in embassage to *Rome*, to inform criminous matter against *Perseus*, and to give the particulars of the preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit than he) deliver unto us, that K. *Eumenes* presented himself in proper person: where he was received with such honor, as the people of *Rome* thought not only meet & agreeable for his deserts, K but also fit and furable to their own favours and benefits, which they had in ample manner conferred and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate, where he shewed the cause of his coming to *Rome* what it was: namely, "(besides a fervent de- The Oration of Eumenes. "sire that he had to see those gods and men, by whose grace favour he enjoyed so good estate, as "better he durst not wish) because he gladly would advertise the Senat by word of mouth, to "prevent and withstand the designs of *Perseus*. And beginning his speech with the platforms and "enterprises of *Philip*, he recounted withal, how it cost his son *Demetrius* his life, for that he "stood against the war with the Romans: moreover, how he had caused the whole nation of the "Bastarnians to quit their own countrey where they were born and bred, to the end that by their "aid he might pass over into *Italy*: but whiles (qd. he) these matters he projected and cast in his L "head, his time was come, and arrested he was by death: but he left his Kingdom to him, whom "he knew to be the most spiteful enemy that the Romans had. And therefore *Perseus* having re- "ceived this war (as a man would say) by way of inheritance left him by his father even toge- "ther with the crown and scepter, from the very first day of his raign, doth nought else but enter- "tain, foster, and promote the same by all the means and devices that possibly he can. Mighty and "puissant he is besides in number of yong, lusty, and able men for service, who during the time of "long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great potentate he "is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time of his age, which as it is accompanied "with the very strength and vigor of his body, so his spirit and mind is inured and hardned with "skilfull experience and long practise of martial feats. For from his very infancy nuzled hath he M "been in the field and camp, conversing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavillion of his fa- "ther, acquainted with the wars, not only waged against neighbour nations, but also against the "Romans; and that which more is, employed by his father in many and sundry expeditions and "executions of service. But since that himself entred upon the Kingdom, and swaied the regal scep- "ter in his own hand, he hath exploited & accomplished many things with marvellous felicity and "success, which his father *Philip* before him could never compass and effect, notwithstanding he "tried and assaied all means, as well of open force as secret fraud. To augment this greatness of his, "he hath purchased already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hardly in "continuance of long time, and by many favors and ample benefits attain unto: and namely, "throughout the States of *Greece* and *Asia*, all men reverence his majesty. For what good turns, N "for what pleasures done for what bounty of his they should thus do and honour him so much, "neither see I, neither can I say for certainty; whether it happen by a special gift and fortune that "he hath of his own, or that (which I am my self afraid to speak) it be the deep malice and hatred "which he hath conceived against the Romans, which is the cause that he is of that countenance "and so gracious among them. Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is high- "ly esteemed and of passing authority. The daughter of *Seleucus* he hath taken to wife, without "any suit of his own, but being earnestly woed and requested thereunto. And to *Prusias* he hath "given his own sister in marriage, after much seeking and instant intreaty. These two weddings "were solemnized with the exceeding joy and innumerable presents of infinite embassages: and "who should be present to celebrat the Auspices and complements, yea and give those spouses in O "marriage, but the noblest and most renowned States that were? The Bœotian nation had been "much sollicited by *Philip*, yet could never be induced to draw or pen any covenants of accord "and amity with him: but now there is to be seen a league engrossed, yea, and engraven in three "several conspicuous places, the one in *Thebes*, a second at *Sidenum*, within a most holy, sacred and "renowned Temple, and the third at *Delphi*. What should I speak of the general Councel of the "Achæans? wherein, had not the design been dashed by some there in place, who insinuated and "alledged

"alledged hard the seignory and empire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he A "should have set forth even within *Achaia*. But contrariwise I assure you my due and deserved "honors unto whom it is hard to say, whether they be more bounden and obliged for privat "pleasures or publick benefits) are either forlent through retchlesse disuse and negligence, or else "annulled and abolished of wilfull malice and hostile hatred. As for the Ætolians, who knoweth "not, that in his civil broils, and seditions they fought to *Perseus* for to reliefe and succour, and "not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such furni- "ture of his own, and made that preparation for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of "himself he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 5000 in horse. For ten years he is stored with corn "aforehand, so as for that kind of purveiance he may spare his own territories, and also forbear "his enemies. As for mony in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forces B "of naturall Macedonians, he wageth 10000 mercenary souldiers, and hath wherewith to make "pay for as many years, besides the yeerly customes & profits that arise out of their Kings mines. "Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arcenals and armories, sufficient to furnish "three such armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case "that *Macedony* failed him and were not able to find enough; all *Thrace* is subject unto him, from "whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running fountain and living spring. The rest of "his speech he knit up with a exhortation in this manner. "I relate not these things (qd. he) my "LL. of *Rome*, as blown abroad and vented by headlesse heartsay and doubtfull rumors; neither "have I been so ready to beleeve them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations "should be verified upon my enemy; but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own know- "ledg, as if I had been sent by you of special purpose to be a spie: and declared that and no more, C "which I had seen with mine eyes and not other wise. Neither would I have left mine own realm "wherein (by your meanes and goodnes) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warm enough, "for to sail over so large a sea as I have done and to carry vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to "crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these eies of mine have seen the most "renowned and nobleſt Cities of *Asia* and *Greece* discovering more and more from day to day, "what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they be let alone and permitted to run on as "they begin, would be engaged so far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves "by any repentance. Beheld I have *Perseus* (I say) how he containeth not within the realm of "*Macedony*, but one while seizeth upon this by force of arms, another while gaineth and getteth D "that by favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived "and considered well how unequall the match and condition is, whiles he upon you prepareth "war, and you again perform to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and so far as I "could see into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and "execution. For he chased *Abrupolis*, a confederat prince and friend of yours, forth of his King- "dom. And *Artetaurus* the Illyrian, another of your allociats and allies, he killed outright, be- "cause he found that he had written some letters unto you. As for *Eversa* & *Callicrates*, both The- "bans, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the "Bœotians, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would re- "pair into you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The Bizantines he suc- "coured against the order taken in the accord: upon *Dolopia* he levied war: *Thessaly* and *Doris* E "both he invaded and overran with his army, to the end, that in some intestine and civil war, by "the help of most parts he might afflict and plague the better. He shuffled all together, and made "a very confusion of the State in *Thessaly* and *Perrhabia*, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds "and crossing out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were "over deeply engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himself, he might depresse and "oppresse the great men and principall personages. Having wrought these practises uncontrolled, "whiles you sit still looking on and suffring all, he seeing you to let him do with *Greece* what he "list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he "be passed over into *Italy*. How safe this may be to you, nay, how this can stand with credit, see you F "to that and be advised. For my self, I assure you, I thought it meer shame and very villany, that "*Perseus* your enemy should enter into *Italy* to make war upon you, before that I your friend and "allie came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have "in this maner performed my devoir, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in "some measure acquit my self and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity; what re- "maineth behind for me to do, but to be your beadsman to all the gods & goddesses, to vouchsafe "you that grace, that you may provide for your own Commonweal, and also for us your friends and "allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came neer unto the LL. of the Senat. But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senat, so si- G lent were they all, & kept the councel-house close shut with secresie. But after the war was brought to an end, then came abroad, both what the K. spake, and what answer was returned to him again. Some few daies after, the Senat set to give audience unto the Embassadors of King *Perseus*: but having their minds and ears both, possessed aforehand by King *Eumenes*, all the defence that the Embassadors made, and all the entreaty they used, was rejected. Besides, the stoutnes used by *Harpasus* (the principall person of the embassie) moved their patience and exasperated their sto- macks. For he said, that indeed the KK. desire & endevour was, to be credited and beleeved in his

Apology and and defence, that he neither had said nor done any thing sounding to hostility: many H
"in case he perceived and saw, that they came upon him thus, and would needs pick quarrels and
"give occasion of war, he would stand upon his guard, and defend himself with a resolute and va-
"liant courage. For the hazard of the field was common, and the issue of war uncertain. Now,
all the Cities of *Greece* and *Asia* both, would rather then their lives have known what the Em-
"bassadors of *Perseus*, and what *Eumenes* had done in the Senat: for in regard of his coming, most
of the States (supposing verily that he would stir coales and make some work) had sent their Em-
bassadors to *Rome*, pretending colourably other matters in semblance, but indeed to listen after
news: and among the rest, was the Embassage of the Rhodians, and the chief thereof was one
Satyrus, who made no question nor doubt, but that *Eumenes* had done their errand, and put their
City and *Perseus* together in all their criminall matters laid to his charge. And therefore he made I
all the means that possibly he could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintance, to de-
bate the matter with King *Eumenes* before the body of the Senat: which when he had obtained,
his tongue walked at large, and overbold he was and too round with the King, in broad invectives
and intemperat termes; namely, that he had sollicited and stirred up the nation of the Lycians a-
gainst the Rhodians, and was an heavier friend unto *Asia* then *Antiochus* had been. Which speech
of his, as it was plausible enough and pleasing to the States of *Asia* (for they likewise by this time
inclined to affect and favour *Perseus*) so it was unsavory altogether and odious to the Senat, and
nothing profitable to themselves and their City. But contrariwise, this banding and conspiracy
against *Eumenes*, wan him the more grace and favor among the Romans; so as they did him all
they honour they could, gave him most rich and costly presents, and endowed him with a curule K
chair of estate, and a staffe or scepter, both of ivory.

After these embassages had their dispatch and were dismissed, *Harpalus* returned into *Macedony*
in all speed and hast possible, relating unto the King, how he had left the Romans not preparing
as yet for war; but so far out with him and so highly offended, that it appeared evidently it would
not be long ere they began. And *Perseus* again for his part, besides that he looked for no other,
was well enough pleased therwith, presuming upon the flour and strength of his forces. But above
all other he maliced *Eumenes* most: with whose bloud he laid the first foundation of the war: for
he suborned one *Evander* a Candiot and captain under him of certain auxiliary souldiers, and
three Macedonians besides (whose service and ministry he had used in the like feats) to
murder the King. He gave them letters addressed to one *Praxo* an hostesse of his, a jolly dame in L
Delphi, and of greatest credit and wealth among them. For assured he was, that *Eumenes* minded
to go up to *Delphi*, there to sacrifice unto *Apollo*. These traitors together with *Evander* let for-
ward; and to execute this their designed enterprise, they looked all about and sought for nothing
but the opportunity of some place or other. Now, as men ascend from *Cirrha* to the temple,
before they come to any place much peopled and frequented with houses, there stood a mound
or mud-wal on the left hand of the path or way, rising somewhat higher than the foundations and
ground-work; along which wall there was passage for one by one and no more; for on the right
hand the earth was broken down and fallen, and breach made of some a good depth. Behind that
mound aforesaid, these traitors had hidden themselves, and raised some steps like stairs; to the end
that from above, as from the top of a wal, they might discharge their shot upon K. *Eumenes* as he M
passed by. Before him there marched from the sea, at the first a sort of his friends and followers,
together with his guard intermingled one with another; but afterwards as the way grew more
streight and narrow, the train waxed thinner. But when they were one come to the place where
they could not go but by one at once, *Pantaleon* one of the States and princes of *Æolia*, with
whom the King had begun some communication, entred first into the narrow path aforesaid:
with that, the knaves that lay in wait behind, rose up and tolled down two huge stones, whereof
the one smote the King upon the head, the other astonished his shoulder. And verily all the rest of
his friends and followers, seeing him fall with the blow, fled some one way, some another: only
Pantaleon staid behind all, fearlesse, to protect and guard the King. The murderous villaines might
have fetched a short compass about the wall, and soon run to the King to make sure work and dis- N
patch him quites but they supposing they had done the deed already, fled to the pitch of the mount
Parnassus, and made such hast, that when one of the companie hindred and staied their running,
became he dragged behind and could not keep pace and follow them hard at heels through those
steep and blind waies, they made no more ado but killed him out-right, for fear lest if he were ta-
ken, he should bewray and disclose the whole treason. The body of the King lay along on the
ground: and first his friends came running about him, then his guard and houshold servants. When
they reared him up, they found him astonied with the stroke and altogether senseless in a trance:
howbeit, by some heat remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceived there was some
life, but little or no hope they had that he could escape and live. Some there were of his guard and
pensioners about him, that made pursuit after these murderers by their tracts: and when they had O
held on their chase as far as unto the crest of *Parnassus*, wearying themselves to no purpose,
they gave over and returned as wise as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an auda-
cious enterprise inconsiderately, so they left it undone as fearfully and without advice. Now by
this time was the King come again to himself. And the morrow after, his friends conveighed him
to his ship: from thence to *Corinth*; & from *Corinth* along the streights *Isthmus* they brought their
vessels, & crosed over to *Ægina*: where his cure was caried so close & secret, without admitting
any

A person to come unto him, that the rumor ran into *Asia* how he was dead. And *Attalus* his brother
(by your leave) gave good ear thereto, & beleeved the news sooner then was beseeming brotherly
love and unity. For he entred into such talk both with his brothers wife, and also with the cap-
tain of the castle, as if he had been the undoubted heir and assured inheritor of the crown. All this
Eumenes knew full well afterwards: who albeit he purposed to dissemble the matter, and to put
it up at last wise with silence; at their first encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but
reproved and reproached his brother, for being so forward and over-hasty to court and woo his
wife. The bruit also was blown to *Rome*, and a report there was of the death of K. *Eumenes*.

About the same time C. *Valerius* was returned out of *Greece*, who had been sent thither as Em-
bassador to look into the state of the countrey; to mark also and observe the plots and proceedings
B of *Perseus*. He reported all things suitable and agreeable to the intelligences given by King *Eume-*
nes, and withall, brought with him from *Delphi* dame *Proxo*, in whose house those villanous trai-
tors were lodged and harboured: also one *L. Rammus* a Brundusian, who informed moreover
and gave evidence as followeth. This *Rammius* was one of the principall citizens of *Brundusium*,
and used to lodg and entertain in his house, not only of the Roman captains when they came to
town, but also the Embassadors of forrein nations, such as were of greatest mark, and principally
those that were sent from any Kings. By this meanes, acquainted he grew with *Perseus*, albeit
they never had seen one anothers face. And being invited by the King his letters, wherein he was
promised great hope of some neer and inward friendship above others, and consequently of great
preferments thereby, he made a journey unto him. Within a short time he was wound into very
familiar acquaintance with the King, and drawn into privat conference and discourse of secrets,
C farther, I wis, then himself was willing or liked of. For the King dealt with him, yea, and impor-
tuned him with instant praiers and large behests of rich rewards, that forasmuch as the Romish
captains and Embassadors used to take his house for their Inne, he would cause as many of them
as he writ for, to be poisoned. Now for that he knew it was a right difficult and dangerous
matter to come by such a poison and compasse this project, especially if many were party and
privy to him: and besides, the event uncertain, either in the effect of the drug it self to be strong,
quick and foreible enough to do the feat: or in the secret working thereof, lest it should be
found and spied; he would therefore put into his hands such a poison, as neither in the giving,
nor after it was given, might be known by any sign whatsoever. *Rammius* fearing lest if he refused
& denied, he should be the first man to make assay and make experiment of the poison promised so
D to do, & then departed. But return to *Brundusium* he would not before he had spoken with C. *Va-*
lerius the Embassador, who then sojourned (as he heard say) about *Chalcis*. First unto him he
revealed this plot, and by his commandment came along with him to *Rome*: where being
brought into the Senat, after audience given, he told abroad in every point all that had passed. This
new matter, over and besides those which *Eumenes* had reported, was the cause that *Perseus*
was the sooner taken for an enemy, and so declared: the father because they saw him not only
about to make open war war of a princely and royall mind, but also to practise and execute pri-
vily all kind of mischief, by way of covert brigandage, theevish stealth, and secret poison. The ma-
naging of this war was put off and referred to the new Consuls: howbeit for the present ordai-
ned it was, that Cn. *Cicinius* the Pretor who had the jurisdiction between citizens and strangers,
E should levy and enroll souldiers who being conducted to *Brundusium*, should with all convenient
speed commit to sea, and sail over to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, for to seiz upon the maritime Cities:
to the end that the Consul unto whom the Province of *Macedonia* should be allotted, might ar-
rive there with his vessels in safety, and set his forces on land with ease.

Eumenes, after he had been kept a long while at *Ægina*, during the time of his hard and dan-
gerous cure, so soon as ever he might go safely abroad, went to *Pergamus*; where, over and be-
sides the old hatred settled in his breast, being pricked also with this fresh and bleeding villany
practised by *Perseus*, he prepared war with all his power to the uttermost: and thither repaired
unto him Embassadors from *Rome*, to testifie their joy for his evasion and escape out of so neer and
F great a danger.

When the Macedonian war was delaied and put off for one year, and the rest of the Pretors
gone already into their provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (unto whom befell the govern-
ment of *Spain*) after that they had importuned and wearied the Senat, in suing so long for one
thing, obtained at the length a commission for a supply of souldiers to make up the army; by
vertue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 150 horse for the legions: and levied 5000 foot and
three hundred horse for the army of the allies. These forces were transported into *Spain* with the
new Pretors.

The same year, after that a great part of the Campain territory, which privat persons here and
G there held in occupation without regard of lawful title & tenure, was (upon diligent survey made
by *Posthumius* the Consul) recovered again for the publick use of the City of *Rome*; *M. Lucre-*
tius a Tribune of the Com. preferred a law, that the Censors should let out to farm the Campain
lands to tenants for yeerly rent. A thing that had not been done for many yeers after the winning
of *Capua*, namely, that particular men should be so greedy as to encroach this beyond their bounds
upon the common wait.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet published and proclaimed, whiles
the Senat was in doubtful expectation what KK. would friend them, & who would side with *Perseus*:

there came to *Rome* Embassadors from *Ariarathes*, bringing with them the Kings son, a very H child. The speech they made was to this purpose, that the King their master had sent his son to *Rome*, thereto have his education; to the end that being thereby brought up, might from his infan- "cy be acquainted with their fashions, and converse with the people of *Rome*. His suit & request to "them was, that they would vouchsafe unto him not only the ordinary entertainment and pro- "tection that privat persons afford to their guests, but also to take the charge of publick tuition, "and as it were the guardianage of him. This embassage of the K. was well taken of the Senat & pleased them highly. Whereupon they ordained, that *C. Licinius* the Prætor should set out a man- sion house with all the furniture, wherein the young prince and his train might keep their residence.

The Thracian Embassadors likewise presented themselves before the Senat, to debate their own controversies in their hearing, and withall desired their friendship and amity. They obtained I their suit, and besides there was sent unto them by way of present, the sum of 200 Asses a peece. Glad were the LL. of the Senat that these States were received into their society, by reason *Thracia* lyeth hard on the back side of *Macedony*: but to the end that they might have perfect in- telligence and notice how all things went in *Asia* and the Ilands, they sent thither C. *Sandius Ne-* *ro*, and *M. Decimus* in embassage: whom they commanded also to visit *Crete* and *Rhodes*; and withall, both to renew the amity, and also spie and observe whether the hearts of those allies had been solicited and tempted by K. *Perseus*.

As the City was thus in doubtfull suspence and expectation of the event of this new war, be- hold in a tempest that rose in the night, a certain column or pillar, garnished and set out with the beak-heads of war ships (which had been erected in the Capitol during the first punick war by K *M. Æmylius* the Consul, who had for his companion in government *Serg. Fulvius*) was by a clap of thunder and lightning rent and cloven from the very base to the chapter. This was taken for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senat. The LL. gave order, that the Aruspices should be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewise they commanded the Decemvirs to look into their books of *Sibylla*. The Decemvirs for their part declared, that the Ci- ty should be purged and hallowed, publick supplications and praiers made to the gods, and greater beasts killed for sacrifice, as well at *Rome* in the Capitoll, as in Campain neer the promon- tory of *Minerva*. Also that with all convenient speed, there should be plaies solemnly exhibited for ten daies together, in the honour of most gracious *Jupiter*. All this was done with diligence accordingly: but the Aruspeces aforesaid, made answer out of their learning, that this prodigy L portended good and signified the advancement of their own territories: together with the destru- ction of their enemies; for that those beak heads which the storm overthrew, had been the spoils of ships won from the enemies. There hapned other occurrents besides to encrease the scrupulous religion & devotion of men: for reported it was, how at *Saturnia* within the town it rained blood three daies together. *Item*, at *Calatia* an asse was foled with three feet; and a bull together with five kine were strucken stark dead with one thunderbolt and flash of lighting: last of all, at *Oxi-* *mum* there was a showr of very earth and nothing else. In regard of these wonders also, sacrifices were celebrated, supplications made, and one day kept holiday and all shop-windows shut.

Yet were not the Consuls departed into their provinces, because they neither would obey and condescend unto the Senat in proposing the matter as touching *Popilius* at the counceltable; and M the LL. were as resolut for their parts to let no decree passe, before that were done. The spight and heart-burning they bare against *M. Popilius*, grew the more by occasion of his own letters, wherein he wrote and gave them to understand, that being Proconsul, he had now a second time fought with the Statellats in *Liguria*, and put ten thousand of them to the sword, by reason of which hard courses and extreamities of war, the other nations likewise of the Ligurians were entred into arms. At which news not only *Popilius* was blamed behind his back of making war against all law and equity upon them that had yeelded, and thereby provoking those who before were quiet, to go out and put themselves in action of rebellion; but the Consuls also were checked to their faces in the Senat, because they set not forward to their charge and government. *M. Martius Sermo* and *Quintius Martius Scylla*, two Tribunes of the Commons, seeing the LL. of the Senat thus N drawing all in a line, took heart unto them, and both menaced the Consuls to fine them, unless they made more haste unto their province; and also recited in the Senat a law which they had drawn and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the forsaid Ligurians who had submitted. The tenor whereof ran in this form, *That what person soever of* Statellæ *had yeelded himself and was not restored to Liberty and freedom before the calends of* Sextilis *next ensuing,* 1 of Augst. *the Senat upon their oath should ordain one special commissioner to make inquisition by whose fraud, covin, and notice he was in villenage and punish the party accordingly.* Then by authority and appro- bation of the Senat they published this for a law. Now before that the Consuls took their journey, The Senat assembled in the Temple of *Bellona* in regard and favour of C. *Cicereius* the Prætor of the former yeer. Where audience was given him: and after he had declared what exploits he had performed in *Corsica*, thereupon demanded triumph: which when he could not obtain, he made no more ado, but rode triumphant in the Albane hill: for now it was taken up and grown for a custome so to do, and aske the authority and the State no leave.

The forsaid law proposed by the *Martii* the commons with a generall consent by their voices granted

A question in the Senat, Whom they would have sit upon their inquisition according to the form of the said law. And the LL. ordained himself to be the inquisitor. Then at length and not afore, the Consuls put themselves in their way toward their province, and received the charge of the army from *M. Popilius*. This *Popilius* durst not yet return to *Rome*, for fear he should be called in que- stion and put to his answer before that Prætor and supreme judg, who had required the advice of the Senat as touching their enquest framed and drawn of purpose against him: knowing full well how the Senat was not well affected to him, and the people much more maliciously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with this flinching of his and absenting himself, by intimation of another act and law provided in that be- half, namely, that if he entered not into the City of *Rome* before the * Ides of *November* imme- 13. of Novem B diatly following, it should be lawfull for *C. Licinius* to proceed in judgment, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and haled him to *Rome* with a witnesse; and when he was returned and entred into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him such a welcome thither, as testified their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After he had been well baited and shaken up among them, an act of Senat was entred in this wise, that so many of the Ligurians as had not been enemies, after the time that Q. *Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* were Consuls, those the Prætors, *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Sicinius*, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom; and that the Consul *C. Popilius* should set them out lands to occupy and possesse beyond the *Po*. By vertue of this arrest, many a 100 were set free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river *Po*, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now *M. Popilius* upon the law *Martia* (pro- C mulged by the two *Martii*, Tribunes of the Com.) answered for himself judicially twice before *C. Licinius*. At the third time, the Pretor overcome with a respective grace and favour to the Cos. absent, and the earnest praiers of the whole name and house of the *Popilii*, adjourned the de- fendant to make appearance into the court upon the * Ides of *March*: on which day the new ma- 15. of March gistrats were ot enter into their offices: and this he did, because himself by that time should be a privat person again & therfore not to sit upon the bench as judg to hear pleas and to determine. Thus the aforesaid act as touching the *Ligurians*, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to just nothing.

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at *Rome*, with *Gulussa* the son of *Masanissa*; between whom hard hold and much debating there was in the Senat. The Carthaginians com- plained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners from D *Rome* before time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) *Masanissa* within the last two yeers and by force and arms possessed himself of more then threescore and ten towns and castles within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an easie matter was it for him to do, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were so tyed and obliged by their capitulations to the good-abearing, that they held their peace: for, inhibited they were to bear arms without their own countrey. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they dissiezed the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one expreis article of the accord, where they were debarr'd in plain terms, to wage against the absciats of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit, the Carthaginians could no longer endure this pride, E cruelty, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators that it might please them to grant one of these three requests: to wit, That either they might debate with in- different audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one and the other: or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawfull arms, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (if partiall favour swayed more with them then the truth of the cause) to set down at once what their pleasure was should be given away out of their own, to *Masanissa*. For they yet, would have some gage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas he himself had no stay, nor would ever see to make an end; so unsatiable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtain none of these points, and that there could be found any fault or trespas of theirs, committed since the peace granted unto them by *Scipio*; F then, that they rather then any other would chastise them. For rather they had to live in servi- tude under the sigenory of Romans with safety, then enjoy such a liberty as should be expoted to the injuries of *Masanissa*. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruell and bloudy butcher. At which words the teare trickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the the ground, as they moved pity and compassion to themselves, so they procured despight and ma- lice against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulussa*, what he had to an- swer as touching these matters? or else (if he had so rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to *Rome*. *Gulussa* made answer, that neither it was ea- G sie for him to deal in those points, wherof he had no commission from his father: nor for his father to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of what business they would treat; nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to *Rome*. This only was known, that there was a close councel holden for certain nights, by the principal States of *Carthage* within the Temple of *Æsculapius*, from whence Embassadors were dispatched to *Rome* with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to *Rome*, to beseech the Senat not to give credit to the slanderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause but

for that he had continued so constant in his fealty and allegeance to the people of *Rome*. The Senate having heard what they could say of both sides, fat in councell as touching the demands of the Carthaginians: and at length commanded this answer to be returned, how their advice and pleasure was, that *Gulussa* should presently depart and go into *Numidia*, and give his father to understand from them, that with all speed he send his Embassadors to the Senat, as concerning those complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: also to give intimation and knowledg unto the Carthaginians, that they repair likewise thither to debate their controversies & differences between them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honor of *Masanissa*, they would be as willing to do it hereafter, as they had been ready heretofore. Mary, to minister justice for favour and affection, that they would not do it in any wise. Willing they were that every man should know and hold his own, and keep him within compasse; neither minded they to set out new limits, but to observe the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both towns to inhabit, and territories to possesse; not to this end, that in time of peace they should pluck that away by wrong and outrage, which during the wars they could not take from them by martial law and force of arms. Thus was the yong prince, together with the Carthaginians, dismissed. Presents were given both to the one and the other, according to the order, and other courtesies of hospitality were friendly observed.

Much about the same time *Cn. Servilius Capio, App. Claudius Centho*, and *T. Annius Luscus*, Embassadors sent into *Macedony*, for to demand amends and restitution, and withall to disclaim and renounce the Kings amity, returned to *Rome*. Who having related in order what they had seen and heard, enflamed the Senat more against *Perseus*, who were already of themselves enkindled enough. They made report, "That through all the cities of *Macedony* they saw preparation "for war in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many dates they could "find no means of accesse to the speech of the King; and in the end, after they were departed "from thence homeward (as being past all hope of parley with him) then and not afore, they were "called back again out of their way, and so brought unto his presence: that the sum of their embassage and speech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league first contracted "with *Philip*, & afterwards renued with himself since the death of his father; wherein by expresse "words he was inhibited to bear arms without his own frontiers, and likwise debared to levy "war upon any confederat allies of the people of *Rome*: after this, that they had recounted and "laid abroad from point to point those specialties, which they themselves had lately heard King "*Eumenes* to declare and discourse, which were all apparent truths, upon his own assured knowledg. Moreover, that the King held a secret councel for many daies together, with the Embassages of the Cities of *Asia*: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it reason and equity that he should make satisfaction, yea, and restore back both to them and also to their "associats, whatsoever he held contrary to right, contained in the accord. That the King hereupon at the first fell into a fit of choler and indignation, and gave them hard terms, reproaching "at every other word the Romans for their covetousness and insolency. And as for their Embassadors that came unto him one after another, he said they were but spies, to listen and see what he did or said; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he should conform and frame himself in "all his words and deeds, according to their beck and commandment. At the last, when he had in this wise discharged his choler with high words & broad speeches for a long time, that he commanded them to repair again unto him the next morrow, for that he would give them their answer in writing: and then he delivered unto them a script to this effect as followeth. First, as touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all. If I suffered it to be renued, it was not for any liking or approbation therof, but because I being new come to the crown, and lately possessed of the Kingdome, I was to bear and endure all things whatsoever. But in case they will enter into a new league with me, requisit it is that a treaty and agreement passe first of the conditions. And if they could be content that a covenant were drawn with equall and indifferent capitulations, yet I will sleep upon it and be well advised what to do for the best, as I doubt not but they likewise will have a good regard to the profit of the Commonweal. And herewith, that he suddainly flung away from them, and we all began to avoid out of the pallace. Whereupon we proceeded according to our commission to abandon and disavow his amity and society. At which word of ours, he staied in great wrath and fury, and with a loud and shrill voice, warned us upon our own perils and hazard, to be gone out of the marches of his realm within three daies: finally, in this maner we departed and put our selves in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our first coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind farewell at our departure. When they had once done, the Thessalian and Ætolian Embassadors had audience.

The Senat, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonweal was to employ, thought good to write unto the Cos. that the one or other of them (who first might) should repair to *Rome* for the creation of new magistrats. And no great matter to speak of, as concerning the state, was that yeer done by the Cos. But more expedient it was thought for the commonweal, to suppresse and appease the Ligurians, whose blood was up and chafed against them, considering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectance.

Moreover, the Embassadors of *Issa* gave occasion, that *Genthius* also King of *Illyricum* was had in jealousie: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had wasted to their

their country: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian Kings were all one, and so great together, that with once consent and common counsel they prepared to war upon the Romans: finally, that the Illyrians were now at *Rome* in shew and semblance of embassage, but indeed and very truth, no better then spies, addressed on purpose by the motive and advice of *Perseus* to hearken and learn whereabout they went at *Rome*. These Illyrians were sent for into the Senat house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassage from King *Genthius*, to answer unto those accusations which it might be the Issians framed against him: it was again demanded of them, How it hapned that they went not directly nor shewed themselves in such sort to the magistrat, that according to the maner and custome, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinary allowance of the City, meet for them during their abode, that thereby knowledg might have been taken as well of their coming, as also of their businesse and errand? But being taken tripping and failing in their answer, they were commanded to void out of the Councel-chamber. For thought it was not meet, to give them their dispatch as Embassadors, since they made no means to present themselves unto the Senat: but rather they were of advice, to dispatch Embassadors of their own to the King, to signifie unto him, which of his associats had complained unto the Senat, how he had burnt their villages within their territories: yea, and to tell you it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his own allies. In this embassie were sent, *A. Terentius Varro*, *C. Plætorius*, and *C. Cicereius*.

Likewise those Embassadors, whose commission was visit the associat Kings, returned out of *Asia*, and reported that in the said *Asia* they had communication with *Eumenes*; in *Syria* with *Antiochus*, and in *Alexandria* with *Ptolomeus*: who all of them had been sollicited by sundry embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they persisted firm and fast in their professed fealty, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of *Rome* would command them. Also that they went to the confederat states, whom they found true and loiall enough, excepting the Rhodians only, whom they perceived to be floting & wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the counsel of *Perseus*.

Now were the Rhodian Embassadors come to answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their City: howbeit the Senat was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entred into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had in charge, out of the old Quinquiremes which were laid up in the docks and harbors, to repair as many as might serve at sea; to rig also and prepare a fleet of 50 sail. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then to write unto his colleague *C. Memmius* in *Sicily*, for to repair, calk and trim those ships which were in *Sicily*, that with all speed possible they might be sent to *Brundusium*. The said Pretor *C. Licinius* was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens (and those, Libertins, such as of bondmen born, had been enfanchised) for mariners and sailers, as many as might serve 25 ships: and *Cn. Licinius* had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships; also the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 8000 foot, and 400 horse. *A. Atilius Serranus*, who had been Pretor the yeer before, was chosen to receive these forces at *Brundusium*, and to conduct them over into *Macedony*: and *Cn. Sicinius* the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readiness for to be transported. As for *C. Licinius* the Pretor, he by authority from the Senat, wrote to *C. Popilius* the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longest employed in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienced souldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at *Brundusium* upon the * Ides of *February*. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiers, *Cn. Sicinius* was commanded to keep *Macedony*, untill one were appointed to succeed him; and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a yeer longer. All these directions of the Senat were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and forty Quinqueremes were set afloat out of their docks: and *L. Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to *Brundusium*: the other 12 were sent out of *Sicily*. Three Embassadors were dispatched into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to wit, *Sex. Digitius*, *T. Iuventius*, and *M. Cæcilius*, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army. Now when all things were provided and in readiness, *C. Sicinius* the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at *Brundusium*. About the end of the yeer *C. Popilius* the Consul returned to *Rome*, somewhat latter then the Senat had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withall speed to creat new magistrats, considering that so great a war approached so neer. And therefore when the Consull discoursed in the temple of *Bellona* as touching his exploits in *Liguria*, the LL. of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him: but in stead thereof, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father? The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of *March* according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Gracchus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Cassius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gallus*, *C. Cominius Rebutius*, and *L. Villius Annalis*. To these Pretors the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL. chief justices in *Rome* for civil jurisdiction: three other to have the government of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*: so as the first only should remain not allotted to any place, but to be employed whersoever the Senat would think good and ordein. The Consuls elect

* 13 of November.

were

were commanded by the Senat, upon the solemn day when they were to enter into their magi- H
stracy, after they had sacrificed greater beasts, as it appertained, to pray in this form, that the
gods would vouchsafe the war which the people of *Rome* intended now to enterpᴄonsul ſhould
well and come to happy iſſue. The ſame day the Senat decreed, that *C. Popilius* the
ſet out plaies for ten daies together in the honor of *Iup. Opt. Max.* and the offerings ſhouldbe
made at all the ſhrines and altars, it ſo be commonweal continued for ten yeers, in the ſame good
eſtate as now it ſtood. And as the Senat ordained, the Conſul vowed into the Capitoll, that the
ſaid plaies ſhould be exhibited, & offrings were preſented of as great value as it pleaſed them to ſet
down. This vow was pronounced by the Conſul in the preſence of no fewer then 150 Sena-
tors, and according to that form of words which *Lepidus* the high-prieſt or ſoveraign Biſhop
indited. That yeer died certain Prelats of State, to wit, *L. Æmilius Pappus* one of the Decem- I
virs or ſuperindents over the holy rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Biſhop, who the yeer before had
been Cenſor. This man had a ill end. It fortuned that news came unto him of his two ſons, who then
ſerved in the wars of *Illyricum*, how the one was departed out of this life, and the other lay ſick
of a grievous and dangerous malady. The ſorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, hap-
ning ſo juſt at one time, brake his heart and oppreſſed his ſpirits: inſomuch as the next morn-
ing, when his ſervants entred betimes in to his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord,
and ſtrangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never been his own man, ſince he was Cenſor,
and commonly it was ſpoken, that *Juno Lacinia* in wrathfull diſpleaſure againſt him for ſpoiling
her temple, bereft him of his right wits. In the room of *Æmilius*, *M. Valerius Maſſala* was
ſubſtituted Decemvir: and in ſtead of *Fulvius* there was elected Archbiſhop, *Cneus Domitius* K
Ænobarbus, who to ſay the truth was very yong to be made a prieſt.

In the yeer wherein *P. Licinius* and *C. Caſſius* were Conſuls, not only the City of *Rome*, and
the whole land of *Italy*, but all the Princes and States of *Europe* & *Aſia*, were amuſed reſpective-
ly upon the war between the Macedonians and Romans. *Eumenes* (King of *Aſia*) not only carried
an old cankred malice againſt *Philip*, but alſo was pricked forward with new deſpite and anger
upon a freſh occaſion, in that by the wicked practiſe of *Perſeus*, he had like to have been ſacrifi-
ced at *Delphi*. *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, was reſolved not to enter into arms, but attend the iſ-
ſue of the war. For he thought it not reaſon and ſeemly for him to take arms in the defence of the
Romans againſt his wives brother; and this account was made, that if *Perſeus* hapned to have
the better, he might ſoon obtain pardon at his hands by the mediation of his ſiſter. *Ariarates* King L
of the Cappadocians, over and beſides that he had promited aid to the Romans in his own name,
ever ſince that he had linked in affinity to *Eumenes*, drew the ſame way which he went, and
joyned with him in all his counſels both of war and peace. As for *Antiochus* [King of *Syria*] his
teeth watered verily at the Kingdome of Ægypt, as he, who deſpited as well the childhood of
the yong King in his nonage, as the weakneſſe and negligence of his guardians: and conſidering
there was ſome controverſie about the title of *Cœleſyria*, he ſuppoſed that he ſhould have good
occaſion to levy war, to manage alſo and exploit the ſame without empechment, whiles the Ro-
mans were buſied in the Macedonian war; howbeit as well by his own Embaſſadors ſent unto M
the Senat, as alſo unto theirs addreſſed unto him, he promiſed ſtoutly to be for them. *Ptolema-*
us [the yong King of *Ægypt*] being yet under age, was at the diſpoſition of others: his tutors and
protectors, as they prepared to wage war againſt *Antiochus* for the recovery of *Cœleſyria*, ſo they
promiſed the Romans withall to do their devoir in the Macedonian war. *Maſſaniſſa* [King of
the Numidians] was altogether for the Romans; he furniſhed them with coin, and intended to
ſend his ſon *Maſtagenes* with aids both of men and elephants in that ſervice. Howbeit he ſo diſ-
poſed of his deſigns, as might ſerve his turn which way ſoever the world went: for if the victory
fell to the Romans, he ordered that his affairs ſhould remain ſtill in the ſame ſtate; and better he
was not to look for, becauſe the Romans would not ſuffer any violence to be offered unto the
Carthaginians; but in caſe the Romans went down and had the overthrow (who then protected
the Carthaginians) then he made full reckoning of *Aſia* to be his own. *Gentius* [King of *Illyri-*
cum] had ſo demeaned himſelf, that he was ſuſpected of the Romans; yet was he not fully reſol- N
ved which ſide to take unto: and it ſeemed he would joyn to one or the other, more upon a fit as
it took him in the head, than with any diſcretion or advice. *Cotys* the Thracian, King of the O-
dryſians, took part evidently with the Macedonians. In theſe terms (I ſay) ſtood the KK. as touch-
ing this preſent war. As for the free Cities and States beſides, the common people every where
(as al waies lightly it is ſeen) enclined to the worſe part, and ran with the K. & the Macedonians:
but the principal perſons and men of quality, a man might perceive affected diverſly. Some
went with the Romans all upon the head, inſomuch as they greatly empaired their authority in
exceſsive favour to them: few of them were induced by the juſt and upright government of the
Romans, but the moſt part were carried away with the ſtrong conceit, that the more they em-
ploied themſelves for them, the greater men they ſhould be at home in their own Cities. Another
ſort there were of the Kings flattering favorits, who being deeply drenched in debt, and deſpair
of bettering their fortune (if the preſent ſtate held ſtill) abandoned and gave themſelves over to
entertain all changes and innovations. And ſome there were beſides, poſſeſſed with a vain humor
of their own, becauſe *Perſeus* ſeemed to have more favour of the common people. A third ſort
there were (and thoſe of the beſt and wiſeſt of all other) who if it had lyen in their hands to de-
termine

A they would have to be greater lord, wiſhed to have been under the Romans rather then the K.
Mary if they might have had their liberty to be chuſers ſimply of their fortune, by their good will
they would not have had the one part advanced by the depreſſion and ſubverſion of the other:
but that the forces and puiſſance of them both remaining entire and unfoiled, peace thereby might
be entertained: and ſo betweem them both, the ſtate of the Cities ſhould continue in the beſt caſe,
when as the one part might ever protect the weaker ſide from the injuries of the mightier. And
thoſe that ſtood affected thus, held them quiet & ſaid not a word; but being ſafe themſelves, beheld
the behaviour and deportments of thoſe that were the partakers and favourers of either ſide.

The Conſuls that day wherein they entred their government, when they ſacrificed (according
to the ordinance of the Senat) with greater beaſts in all the temples and chappels, wherein (for
B moſt part of the yeer) the ſacred beds and couches for the gods were prepared; and thereby had
preſaged by good tokens, that their praiers were acceptable to the immortall gods, made re-
port unto the Senat, That their ſacrifices were as they ought to be, as alſo their praiers, which they
conceived as touching the war. The Bowell-priers likewiſe by their learning declared, that if
they went about any new enterpriſe, they ſhould make ſpeed; for why? all did prognoſticate vi-
ctory, triumph, and enlargement of their ſeignory. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat commanded
the Conſuls to propoſe to the people the firſt day of the general aſſembly of the Centuries in this
manner: *In the name of God, and to the welfare and happineſſe of the Commonwealth: whereas* Perſe-
us the ſon of Philip K. *of* Macedony, *(againſt the accord and covenant concluded with his father firſt,*
and after his death renewed with him) hath levied war upon the allies of the people of Rome, *waſted*
their territories, ſeized their Cities, complotted to enter into arms againſt the people of Rome, *and to*
C *that end hath provided armor, ſouldiers and a fleet: unleſſe he make ſatisfaction, pleaſeth it*
you that war be enterpriſed and waged againſt him. This bill paſſed by all the ſuffrages of the peo-
ple. Then was there an act of the Senat likewiſe entered, that the Conſuls ſhould either agree
together, or elſe caſt lots for the provinces of *Italy* and *Macedony*: and look whoſe lot fell to *Ma-*
cedony, he ſhould perſecute with fire and ſword K. *Perſeus*, and all that ſect and faction which took
his part, unleſſe they made amends to the people of *Rome*. It was concluded alſo, that four legi-
ons ſhould be newly enrolled, for either Conſul tawain: with this preheminence and advantage
to the province of *Macedony*, that whereas to the legions of the other Conſul (according to the an-
cient cuſtome) there went but five thouſand foot and two hundred horſe apeece, there
D ſhould be enrolled for *Macedony* ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe equally to a le-
gion. Alſo for the one of the Conſuls in the army of the allies, the number was augmented, to as
beſides thoſe ſix hundred horſmen which *Cn. Sicinius* had conducted already, he ſhould of thoſe
allies tranſport over into *Macedony*, ſixteen thouſand footmen and eight hundred horſe. As for
Italy, twelve thouſand footmen of allies and ſix hundred horſe were thought ſufficient. Moreover
this prerogative had the Province of *Macedony*, that for Centurions and ſouldiers the Conſul might
enroll of the elder ſort whom he thought good as many as were not above fifty yeers of age. In
chooſing of Tribunes military and colonels, the old maner was this yeer changed, in regard of the
Macedonian war; to wit, that the Conſuls (by advice and authority of the Senat) ſhould move
unto the people, that the ſaid Tribunes might not that year be elected by voices of
the people, but that their elections ſhould be referred to the judgment and diſcretion of the
E Conſuls and Pretors. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth.
That Pretor whoſe lot fell to go whither it pleaſed the Senat to ſend, was aſsigned to take his
journey to the fleet at *Brunduſium*, and there to ſurvey and reviſe the ſea-tervitors, and look how
many he thought not meet for ſervice, them to diſcharge, & to make up the number with choſen
Libertines; and in any wiſe to order it ſo, that two third parts conſiſted of Roman naturall citi-
zens, and the other third of allies. Item, That proviſion of victuals for the navy and the army,
ſhould be brought out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. And the Pretors of thoſe two provinces had in
charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this grain to be conveighed in-
to *Macedony* for the army. Now *Sicily* fell to *C. Cauninus Rebulus*, *Sardinia* to *L. Furius Philus*,
F and *Spain* to *L. Canuleius*. *C. Sulpitius Galba* was L. chief juſtice for the citizens of *Rome*, and *L.*
Iunius Annalis for the ſtrangers: but *C. Lucretius Gallus* his lot was to go where the Senat would
employ him. Between the two Conſuls there was ſome jar and wrangling, rather then any great
debate about their province. *Caſſius* for his part ſaid, That he was by the right to war in *Mace-*
dony without any caſting of lots for the matter, foraſmuch as his colleague might not enter into
lot with him, and ſave his oath. For he being Pretor, had ſworn ſolemnly in a frequent aſſembly
of the people (becauſe he would ſhift off and not go into his province) that he had occaſion to
celebrate ſacrifices in a certain place and upon ſet daies, which could not be performed (as they
ought) if he were at ſea. And the ſame (as I take it) cannot be well done during his abſence now
G that he is Conſul no more then whiles he was Pretor. Howbeit, if the Senat be of opinion and
judg, that more conſideration is to be had to ſatisfie *Caius Licinius* his will now in the Conſul-
ſhip, then regard of the oath he took before in the Pretorſhip, yet will I notwithſtanding ac-
commodat my ſelf to the pleaſure of the Senat. The LL. were conſulted with hereabout, who
judging that it were a proud part to deny him the government of a province, unto whom the
people of *Rome* had granted the dignity of a Conſulſhip, commanded the Conſuls to caſt lots. Thus
Macedony fell to *P. Licinius*, and *Italy* to *C. Caſſius*. Then they put to lottery alſo the conduct

and

and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into H
Macedony, the second and fourth to remain in *Italy*. In the mustering and choise of soul-
diers, the Consul went more neerly and streightly to work by far, then customably they
used at other times. As for *Licinius*, he enrolled the elder sort also, as well for souldiers
as centurions; and in my there were who voluntarily entred their names, because they
saw how those thrived well and grew rich, who had served either in the former Macedonian
war, against *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now when as the marshal Colonels called forth the centurions
by name one after another, and the principall first, there hapned to be three and twenty centuri-
ons of them, who beforetime had been* *Primipilares*, had led in the chief and best place, and
when they were cited, they called unto the Trib. of the Com. for to be relieved by their lawfull
assistance. But two of that fellowship and society of Tribunes, namely, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and I
M. Fulvius Marcellus, referred them to the Consuls, alledging, that by right, the knowledg of
these matters pertaining to those who had plenary commission to take musters, and to manage
the war-affairs. But all the rest of the Tribunes avowed that they would assume it into their own
hands, and determine of that for which they were called unto as competent judges; yea, and if
injurie were offered to their fellow-citizens, they would not fail but help and succour them. All
this was debated in the Tribunes-court. Thither was *M. Popilius*, a Consular man, called to the
hearing of this matter, and thither repaired the centurions and the Consul also. And when the
Consul required that the case should be heard and decided in a generall assembly, thereupon the
people was summoned to meet in publick together. In which solemn congregation *M. Popilius* who
had been Consul two years before, spake in behalf of the centurions to this effect. "These martiall K
"men (quoth he) have accomplished their full time of service required by law; they carry about
"them bodies as well spent and crasie for age, as broken by continuall travels: howbeit refuse they
"will nothing, but are ready to do their devoir unto the Commonweal. This only they humbly
"crave and request, that they may not be assigned to baser places of command, then wherein they
"have been employed already when they bare arms. Then *P. Licinius* the Consul commanded,
the act of the Senat to be openly read: wherein it was ordeined first to levy war upon *Perseus*;
then to enroll as many as they could of the old experienced Centurions for that war; and last of all
exempt none from souldiery but such only as were above fifty years of age. "After this he ear-
"nestly besought them in this new war so neer to *Italy*, and against a Prince so puissant, neither to
"hinder the Colonels in levying souldiers, nor forbid the Consul but that he might appoint to each L
"man what place and degree was thought to stand most for the good of the Commonweal. And in
"case there arose any doubt and difficulty in this businesse, to submit the decision thereof to the Se-
"nat. After that the Consul had delivered his mind, *Sp. Ligustinus* one of them who had appea-
led to the Tribunes of the Commons, requested both the Consul and the Tribunes to give him
leave for to speak a few words unto the people: who having liberty granted with all their good
wils, made a speech unto them in this wise. "My masters, you Quirites, I *Spurius Ligustinus* of
the tribe *Crustumina*, am descended from the Sabins. My father left me an acre of land and a lit-
"tle cottage to it, wherein I was born, bred and brought up, and whereupon at this day I dwell.
"So soon as I was come to mans estate, my father gave me to wife my cousin german, his neece
"by the brother, who brought nothing with her former marriage-good, but freedom of birth, ho- M
"nestly of life, and therewith fruitfulnesse of womb, as much (I may say to you) as a rich man of
"some wealthy house may well maintain. Six sons God hath sent between us, and two daughters
"to them, both maidens marriageable. Four of our sons are men grown, and have put on their
"mans robe; two are boies still in their *Pretexta*, under seventeen years old. My self was prest
"to the wars, the year when P. *Sulpitius* and C. *Aurelius* were Consuls. In that army which
"passed over sea into *Macedony*, I served in quality of a common souldier for the space of two
"years against King *Philip*. In the third year *T. Quintius Flamininus*, in regard of my forward-
"nesse assigned me the tenth place of leading among the Hastati in the vanguard. After that *Phi-*
"*lip* and the Macedonians were vanquished, and we brought over again into *Italy* and discharged,
"I went immediatly as a voluntary servitor into *Spain* with *M. Porcius* the Consul. And there N
"is not a commander alive at this day, who saw farther into a souldier, and could judg better of
"vertue and valour then he: as they know full well, who by long warfare have had experience both
"of him and also of other leaders. He being my captain reputed me worthy to have the first place
"and leading of the formost century of the Hastati. A third time I became a voluntary again in
"the expedition against the Ætolians and K. *Antiochus*; and *M. Calius* advanced me to the Cap-
"tainship of the Principes, in the very first place of the formost centurie. When King *Antiochus*
"was chased and the Ætolians subdued, we were brought back again into *Italy*, and two years
"together I was in pay of the legions that received yearly wages and allowance. Twice after
"this, I bare arms and served in *Spain*, once under Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, a second time under *Tib.*
"*Sempronius Gracchus* the Pretor. By *Flaccus* I was brought home among others, whom for their
"valour and prowesse he thought good to have in train for the honour of his triumph: and at the
"request and entreaty of *Tib. Gracchus* I accompanied him into the Province. Where within few
"years space I had the leading of the first company of the Pilani or Triarii in the rereguard. Four
"and thirty times have I been rewarded with presents at my General hands, in token of vertue
"and prowesse. Six civick coronets have I received: two and thirty years full have I followed the
"wars & neither fifty years old I am. Now if neither I had served out all the years required by
law,

* The Centurions in the rereward over the Triarii who are called also Pilani. For to beside many other, witnesseth *Ovid.* 3 *Fast.* in these verses, *Inde pares centum dena sub ære crevit in ordine Romulus, Hastatos instituit totidem decem: Et totidem Pilanus habebat Cuspare legitimo quisque merebat equo.* And that it was the chiefest place of Centurions in the legion, appeareth by *Ligustinus* in his oration following.

The oration of *Sp. Ligustinus.*

A "law, nor might plead exemption and immunity by mine age, yet seeing I am able to shew four
"souldiers for one, my four sons [I say for my self alone] me thinks it were reason, O *P. Licis-*
"*nius*, that I were now freed and discharged. And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the be-
"hoof of my cause. Now as touching my person thus much, so long as any man who hath authoo-
"rity to enroll souldiers, shall judg me sufficient and able to bear arms, I will not go about to ex-
"cuse and shift it off. And look what place the Colonels and Marshals shall suppose me worthy
"of, it lyeth in his good will and pleasure to assigne me unto it: but to perform that no one per-
"son in the whole army surmount me in valor, that shall be my own indeavor; like as not only
"my captains, but those also who have served with me are able to testifie, That I ever had to care
"ried my self and performed as much. And you likewise my fellow souldiers, albeit you practise
B "and keep in ure the priviledg and benefit of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meet and reason it is,
"since in your youthfull daies ye never did ought in any place against the authority of the Senat
"and the Consuls, ye now also in your declining age be at the disposition of the Senat and the
"Consuls; yea, and to esteem all places worthipfull, wherein you shall defend and maintain the
"Common weal. When he had thus said, the Consuls highly commended him, and from before
the people brought him into the Senat. And there also by the advice and authority of that hono-
rable house, thanked he was, and the Marshal-Colonels, in regard of his vertue, appointed him
to be the principall Centurion of the Pilani in the first legion. So the rest of the Centurions re-
nouncing their appeal to the Tribunes, yeelded obedience in the muster and levy abovesaid.

To the end that the Magistrats and great commanders might go more timely into their govern-
ments, the Latine feasts and holydaies were published to be holden upon the Calends of *June*.
C Which solemnity being finished, *C. Lucretius* the Pretor took his journey to *Brundusium*, having
sent before all necessary furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides, those armies which the
Consuls levied, a commission was directed out to *C. Sulpitius Gala* the Pretor, to enroll four
legions of Roman citizens, with the ordinary full proportion of infantery and cavalry, and to chuse
out of the body of the Senat four Colonels to command them. Also to levy Latin allies 15000
foot, and 1200 horse, and to take order that his army should be ready to go whithersoever the Se-
nat thought good. *P. Licinius* the Cos. at his own instant request (that over and above the armies
of citizens and allies, he might have an addition of auxiliaries) obtained of Ligurians 2000 of Can-
diot archers an uncertain number, namely, as many as the Candiots upon request would send. More-
over, certain Numidian horsemen and elephants: for which purpose *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *Q.*
Terentius Culleo and *C. Aburius* were sent in embassage to *Masanissa* and the Carthaginians. Sem-
D blably it was thought good to send three Embassadors into *Crete*, to wit, *A. Posthumius Albinus*,
C. *Decimius*, and *A. Licinius Nerva*.

At the very same time there arrived Embassadors from King *Perseus*. But suffered they were not
to enter into the City; considering that both the Senat had ordained, and the people assented al-
ready to make war upon their King and the Macedonians. So, admitted they were into the Temple
of *Bellona* before the Senat, where they delivered their message in this manner: That King *Per-*
seus marvelled why there were armies transported over into *Macedony*? And if the Senat might
be intreated so much, as to recall them home, the King would make satisfaction for the wrongs
done unto their allies, in such sort as the Senat in their discretion would appoint. Now there was
E in the Senat-house at that time *Sp. Carvilius*, sent back for that very purpose out of *Greece* from
Cn. Sicinius. He made report and remonstrance, how *Perrhæbia* was forced by arms, and certain
Cities of *Thessaly* won: with other exploits that King *Perseus* had either performed, or else was in
hand to enterprise. To which challenges the Embassadors were commanded to make answer. But
after they were seen once to falter in their speech, saying they had no farther commission then that
they had delivered already; they were willed to relate unto the King their master, that *P. Licini-*
us the Consul would shortly be in *Macedony* with an army, unto whom the King might address
his Embassadors, if he minded to do as he said and to make amends. As for sending any more to
Rome, there was no need nor cause, for almuch as they would not suffer any of them to pass through
Italy. When they were dismissed with this short dispatch, P. *Licinius* the Consul had in charge, to
command them to go out of *Italy* within 11 daies, and to send *Spurius Carvilius* for to guard them
all the way to the sea-side until they were shipped. These occurrents passed in *Rome* before the
Consuls were gone into their provinces.

Now by this time *Cn. Sicinius* (who ere that he left his magistracy, was sent before as far as
to *Brundusium* to the fleet and the army) having put over into *Epirus* 5000 foot and 300 horse,
was encamped before *Nymphæum* in the territory of the Apollonians. From thence he sent certain
colonels with 2000 souldiers, to seize the forts and castles of the Dassaretians and Illyrians, by oc-
casion that they of their own accord made means and sent for garrisons, to the end they might be
better guarded & secured from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their
confines.

Some few daies after, *Q. Martius*, *A. Attilius*, P. and *Ser.* both *Cornelii* and *Lentuli*, together
with *L. Decimius*, who all had been sent in embassie into *Greece*, brought them to *Corcyra* one
thousand footmen: where they both parted between themselves their several quarters whither
they would go, and also their souldiers. *Decimius* was sent to *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, with
commandment, if he saw him any waies coming on and enclined to entertain amity with the Ro-
mans, to sound him and give the assay, yea, and to draw him into the negociation of this war.

The

The two *Lentuli* were sent into *Cephalenia*, from thence to traverse and crosse over into *Peloponnesus*, and before winter to fetch about and compasse the coast of the West-sea. *Martius* & *Atilius* were assigned to visit *Epirus*, *Ætolia* and *Thessalie*. From thence they were enjoyned to have an eye into *Beotia* and *Eubœa*, and so to sail into *Peloponnesus* where they appointed to meet with the *Lentuli*. But before that they departed from *Corcyra*, letters were brought from *Perseus*, wherin he demanded what reason the Romans had either to transport any forces into *Greece*, or to seiz upon the Cities? thought good it was to return him no answer by writting, but only by word of mouth thus much to say unto the messenger that brought the letters, That the Romans did it for the defence and safeguard of the said towns. The *Lentuli* as they rode their circuit visiting the Cities and towns of *Peloponnesus*, exhorting the States and commonalties thereof and fircently one as well as another. To aid the Romans at this present against *Perseus*, with semblable courage and like fidelty as they had stood with them first in the war against *Philip*; and afterwards in that with *Antiochus*; might here in their publick assemblies much muttering and grumbling thereat. The Achæans (who from the very beginning of the Macedonian war had been together for the Romans, and during the war against *Philip*, enemies to the Macedonians) took it in dildain that they were reputed in the same ranke with the Messenians and Eleans, and no better then they who had born arms against the people of *Rome*, for *Antiochus* their enemie: and who but the other day, being enrolled into the commonality and counsell of the Achæans, complained that they were delivered unto the victorious Achæans, as the recompence and guerdon of their conquest. *Martius* and *Atilius* as they went up to *Gitana* a town of *Epirus*, ten miles from the sea, in a general Councel holden there of al the *Epirots*, had audience with great contentment of them al. Four hundred of their yong and able lusty men they sent into the Cristians countrey to lie in garrison for defence of those Macedonians who by them were set at liberty. From thence they held on their progress into *Ætolia*; and after they had joined there some few daies (whiles a new Prætor was elected in the room of him that was deceased, and *Lyciscus* appointed the governor, a man known for certain to favour the Romans) they passed over into *Thessaly*. Thither repaired the Embassadors of the Acarnanians and the banished persons of *Ætolia*. The Acarnanians were enjoyned to utter and declare before them what they had committed and done against the people of *Rome*, being inveigled and deceived by the promises of the two Kings *Philip* and *Antiochus* during the wars against the one and the other; since occasion was now presented unto them, for to make amends and salve all that was amiss. For if upon their ill demerits towards the people of *Rome*, they had made triall and tasted of their clemency, they might now by good deserts prove their boundy another while. As for the Bœotians, they were reproved and upbraided for entring into association with *Perseus*: and when they seemed to lay the whole fault upon *Ismenias* a captain of one of the two factions, and certain Cities and States which being of a different opinion were drawn to the side; Say ye so? (quoth *Martius* again) and that shall soon appear, for we all permit every commonalty and City to answer apart and severally for themselves the best they can.

Now was the Diet of the Thessalians holden at *Larissa*: where, as the Thessalians took good occasion and found ample matter of thanksgiving the Romans, for the liberty which by their goodnes they had obtained: so as the Roman legats had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that first in the war with *Philip*, and afterwards of *Antiochus*; they had been so mightily aided by the Thessalian nation. Thus by this mutuall rehearsall of pleasures and good turns given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeal to decree and ordain whatsoever it pleased the Romans to desire. After this councell was dissolved, there came Embassadors from K. *Perseus* unto *Martius*, upon a speciall affiance of the privat friendship and hospitality which had passed between his father King *Philip*, and the said *Martius* [and his father.] These Embassadors began the speech with a commemoration of the said familiar and inward acquaintance, requesting him: to permit the K. for to have access unto him, and to communi together. *Martius* answered, that he also had heard his father speak of the amity and mutuall hospitality between him and K. *Philip*: in regard and remembrance of which neer bond of familiarity he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embassage and commition. As to the parly, he would not have deferred it at all, if he might commodiously have wrought it: & now for this present he promised (so soon as he possibly could) to send his courriers before to advertise the King, that they might come to the river *Penæus*, whereas the passage lieth from *Olimpus* over to *Dium*. And verily at that time, *Perseus* was retired from *Dium* into the inland quarters of his realm, and had gathered some prety gale of hope, in that *Martius* had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embassie. After some few daies they repaired to the place appointed. This King accompanied with a great train as well of his friends, as his courtiers and pensioners which guarded his person. The legats like wise were attended upon with no lesse a troop, by reason as well of many that followed them from *Larissa*, as also of divers embassages from the States which assembled at *Larissa*, and were desirous to carry home with them certain news of the sequel, which they should hear. Every man had an inward desire setled in his heart to see the maner of the meeting of this noble K. & these high commissioners from the soveraign state and mightiest people of the whole world. Being come to the enterview one of another, they stood still on either side of the river, which only parted them asunder. For a while there passed entercourriers between: whiles they made it strange on both parts; who should pass the river first; for the Macedonians stood somewhat upon the roiall majesty of a King; & the Romans were as respective

respective to the reputation of the people of *Rome*, considering withall, that *Perseus* sought the means & made first motion for this parley. Whereupon, to end this controversie, *Martius* cast out a merry word, What needs all this (qd. he) let the younger come to the elder without more ado, and the son to the father: this he spake, for that himself also was surnamed *Philip*. The K. soon condescended thereunto. But then arose another doubt and difference, namely, with what number he should pass over. The K. thought it meet & convenient to come with his whole train: but the legats would have had him either to bring over with him three persons, and no more; or else if he were minded to pass with so great a company, to put in hostages for assurance; that during the time of the parley no outrage should be committed. So *Perseus* sent as pledges, *Hippias* & *Pantanchus*, the principal and most especial friends that were about him, whom also he had employed in the embassage. Now were these hostages required, not so much for a gage & pawn of security, as that it might appear unto the allies there present, that the K. in meeting and communing with the Roman Commissioners, should not keep state comparable with him, but abate somewhat of of the port and majesty which they carried. Their mutual greeting and salutation was nothing strange, as between enemies; but kind and amiable, as among familiar friends. Which done, they sat them down upon their chairs set ready for them. After they had thus sitten a while in silence and said nothing, *Martius* began in this manner: "You expect (I suppose qd. he) that we should "answer to your letters which you sent to *Corcyra*, wherein you demand, Why we are come in "embassie and commission after this manner with armed souldiers, and plant garrisons as we do "in every City? To which question of yours not to answer at all, I fear me you would take it to "be pride in me; and again, to answer a truth, I doubt it will be too harsh and unpleasant to your "ears. But seeing that he who breaketh a covenant must be chastised either by word or sword, "(like as I had rather that any other but my self should have commission to make war upon "you); so I will be so bold (however it fall out) to speak rough and tart unto you as to my friend: "and herein will I follow the manner of Physicians, who for the health of their patients, other- "whiles minister bitter medicins and apply stinking corrosives. Since time that you first attained "unto the crown, the Senat thinketh you have done but one only thing of all that you ought to "have done, namely, that you sent your embassadors to *Rome* for to renew the league; and yet "they judge you had done better in not renewing it, than after it was renewed, to violate the "same. Chiefly you have out of the Realm * *Abrupolis*, a confederat and friend of the people of "*Rome*. The murderers of *Artetaras* you have received and entertained, yea, and given the world "thereby to understand, that you were well pleased (to say no worse) with his death: and killed "they have a Prince most fast and faithfull to the Romans, of all others in *Illyricum*. Thorough "*Thessaly* and the territory of *Malia*, you have marched with an army against the tenor of the "league, as fat as to *Delphi*: and more than that, contrary unto the said accord, sent you have aid "and succour to the Byzantins. With our allies the Bœotians, you have entred into a secret asso- "ciation and bound the same with an oath, which by right you ought not to have done. Who it "was that murdered the Theban embassadors *Eversa* and *Callicritus* who came directly from us, "I had rather enquire than charge any man and declare. The civill wars in *Ætolia* the massacres "of their Princes & States, unto whom may they be imputed in any likelihood, but to your people? As for the Dolopians, wasted they were by your self in person and by no other. It grieveth "me and goeth to my heart, to speak who it is that K. *Eumenes* challengeth and burdeneth with "this, That in his return from *Rome* into his own kingdom, he was like to have been killed as a "beast for sacrifice & that at *Delphi*, in a sacred and hallowed place, even before the altars. As for "the secret practices which your host of *Brundusium* hath disclosed and set abroad, I know right "well that not only you have received letters thereof from *Rome*, but your own embassadors also "have told you all by word of mouth. You might have soon avoided all this, and heard nothing "thereof from me, if you would have forborn only to ask & demand, Wherefore our forces were "transported over into *Macedony*, & why we sent garrisons into our confederat Cities? But since "you would needs put our such a question, more pride it had been in us to have held our peace, "than to utter the plain truth as we have done. Verily, for mine own part, in regard of the hospi- "tall and friendly curtesies that have passed between your father and us, I favour you, and will "gladly make the best of your cause: and would to God I had some good occasion ministred from "your self, to follicit and further your suit before the Senat.

To these challenges and imputations, the K. framed his answer in this wise: "Content I am to "plead my cause before you, the parties appellants and judges both, which would be found (I "doubt not) good, if it were debated and handled in the presence of indifferent and equall arbi- "trators. And first, as touching those matters which are objected against me, they are such as in "part, I wot not well whether I may not glory in them, or at least wise not blush in the confessing "and avowing thereof. As for the rest, as they are charged upon me in bare words, so plain words "may serve flatly and simply to deny them. For say, that this day I were subject unto your laws, "and by them to have my triall, what can either that promoter of *Brundusium*, or K. *Eumenes* in- "form against me, but it will appear, that they accuse me not so much with matter of truth, as ex- "hibit only slanderous and reproachfull terms? A like matter, I wis, it is, that neither *Eumenes* had "had any other enemy but me, (he, I say, who hath done such wrong and injury to so many both "in common and also in particular:) nor I could find a fitter person to serve my turn in the exe- "cution of my projects but this *Rammius*, a fellow that I never had seen before, nor was ever like

The Oration of *Martius* Philippus to King *Perseus*.

* *The King of the Sapeans.* σαπέων τῶν βασιλέα ἀφεστολεν. *Pausanias in Achaicis.*

The answer of King *Perseus*.

"to see again hereafter, I must (forsooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, H
"perished by shipwrack: as also for the murder of *Artetaeus*; and yet therein I am no deeper
"charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile & were shadowed within my realm.
"Now surely this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to undergo, in case
"you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and facts, for which they
"stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to *Rome* or into *Italy*: but in case
"both you and all other nations will disavow that, I also will be one among the rest. And in good
"faith, to speak uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one country, if he may
"not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (so soon as ever I
"found by advertisement from you that they were within *Macedony*) I for my part, made diligent I
"search untill I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea, and ex-
"pressely forbad them for ever setting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily
"concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar. Now let
"us argue and debate the rest, inforced and laid against me in quality of a King, namely, which
"concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words run in this sort
"and are thus written in the foresaid covenants of accord, That I may not be suffered to defend
"my self and my realm, no, not if any enemy of mine levy war against me; then I must confess
"indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my guard and defence by force of
"arms against *Abrupolis*, an associat of the people of *Rome*. But if it were lawfull for me so to do
"by warrant of the accord, and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repell force; what
"should I less, nay, what could I else have done I pray you? When *Abrupolis* had laid waste the K
"frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to *Amphipolis*, led into captivity many persons free-
"born, carried away a mighty number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of
"cattell; should I have sitten still and suffered him untill he had come armed to *Pella*, even unto
"my royall palace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly, in making head
"and pursuing him by force of arms; mary, vanquished he should not have been, neither ought he
"to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished. Why? if I have endured the for-
"tune therof, provoked as I was to war, how can he justly complain of tasting the like, being him-
"self the cause and first motive of all? I will not use the same manner of defence (O Romans) to
"this, that by force of arms I have represt the Dolopians: for if I have not done by them accor-
"ding to their demerits, yet I am sure I have dealt by the vertue of the right I have over them, be- L
"ing as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obeysance, and made subjects to my father even
"by a decree of your own drawing. And yet, were I to render a reason of my proceedings against
"them, I say, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any cruel com-
"mand so much as over bondslaves; can I be thought to have exercised more rigor against them,
"than equity and reason would bear? For, *Euphranor*, whom I deputed governor over them, they
"killed in such sort, that death is too good for them; and the least punishment of all others that
"they have deserved. And as I marched forward in my progress from thence to visit the Cities of
"*Larissa*, *Antron*, & *Pylleon*, I ascended up to *Delphi*, there for to sacrifice, to the end that I might
"discharge my conscience & pay those vows which I had of long time owed. Now, to aggravate
"matter in this also against me, it is said moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended M
"(no doubt) for to seiz Cities into my hands, and put garrisons into fortresses; for which at this
"present I complain of you. Call the States and Cities of *Greece* together to a generall assembly,
"through which I passed. Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the least harm done
"by any of my souldiers; then will I not refuse to be reputed for one who under pretence of di-
"vine sacrifice, went about another thing. We sent indeed garrisons to the Ætolians and Bizan-
"tins, yea, and with the Bœotians we contracted amity. But these things, in what sort, & for what
"purpose they were done, my embassadors have not only declared, but also excused oftentimes
"before your Senat: where I found some Umpires to hear and decide my cause, although not so
"indifferent and favourable to me-ward, as your self are, O *Martius*, my fathers old friend and fa-
"miliar. For as yet *Eumenes* my accuser was not come to *Rome*, who by false suggestions, wresting N
"at his pleasure every thing to the worst, to make all suspicious and odious unto you, went about
"to make you beleeve that *Greece* could not possibly be restored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit of
"your gracious benefit, so long as the kingdom of *Macedony* stood entire and upright. Well, the
"world you shall see, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remonstrance
"and prove, That to no purpose *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountains of
"*Taurus*; that *Eumenes* is become much more grievous and unsupportable to all *Asia* than *An-*
"*tiochus* ever was: and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as he keepeth
"his royal court in *Pergamus*, a Cittadel (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neigh-
"bour Cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O *Q. Martius*, and you *A. Attilius*, that
"whatsoever either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation, is O
"such as the ears and affections are of the hearers; neither what I have done, nor what mind and
"intention I have carried in mine actions will be so much regarded, as how you take every thing
"either done or intended. Mine own conscience beareth me witness, that willingly I have not
"faulted; now, if for want of knowledge and foresight I have been overseen and done somewhat
"amiss it may be corrected and amended by this present chastisement. This I am sure, my trespass
"is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you should deem worthy to be pursued
"by

A "by war & force of arms. And if ye do, then surely it is for nought, that there goeth this name a-
"broad throughout all nations of your clemency and gravity both, if I say for so slight occasions
"which hardly are worth the complaint and the reasoning about, you be ready to enter into arms
"and levy war upon your confederat Princes. *Martius* for that time accorded to his speech, and
moved him to address embassadors to *Rome*, being of advice and opinion himself to try all means
to the very last point, and to let slip nothing whereof some hope of good might arise. It remained
only to be debated in councill, how embassadors might pass in safety. And to this purpose, when
it was necessary for the K. to request a surcease of arms, albeit *Martius* himself was willing and de-
sirous thereof (for that his drift was to nothing else by all this conference and parley) yet he seemed
to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, and to do a speciall favour and pleasure unto *Perseus* in
B granting his petition. The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready, nor throughly appointed at
this present for the war; they had neither army puissant enough, nor captains sufficient: where-
as *Perseus* (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things
prepared and in readiness, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the best and most op-
portune season for himself, so the worst and unfittest of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abstinence of war assured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Com-
missioners were appointed and resolved to go into *Bœotia*, where there was begun already some
trouble and commotion, by reason that certain States of the Bœotians were departed from the
society of the common Councill, ever since it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made
answer that it should appear and be seen, what Cities they were indeed which took no pleasure
C to have any association with the King. And first, the embassadors from *Cheronea*: afterwards, from
Thebes encountred them upon the way, who assured them, that they were not present in that Di-
et and Councill, where this association was concluded. To these embassages no answer for this
time was made, but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to *Chalcis*.

At *Thebes* great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another strife and debate. In
their solemn assembly for the election of the Prætor of the Bœotians, that part which had the re-
pulse, in revenge of that injury and disgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at *Thebes*,
That the Bœotarches should not be received within their Cities: in such sort, as like banished
men they retired to *Thespium*: from whence (for received there they were incontinently without
any stay) being called again to *Thebes* upon better advisement and change of mind, they made
D an ordinance, That if to the number of twelve privat persons held any conventicle or publike
meeting together, they should be condemned to exile. After this, *Ismenias* the new Prætor, a no-
ble personage and of great puissance, by vertue of a decree adjudged them in their absence for to
lose their lives. To *Chalcis* they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at *Larissa* they went:
where they declared that *Ismenias* was the cause of their association with King *Perseus*. Upon that
foresaid difference, they grew to hot contention, yet embassadors from both parts came to the
Romans, as well the banished persons and accusers of *Ismenias*, as also *Ismenias* himself. But so
soon as the Roman Legats were come to *Chalcis*, the States and heads of other Cities (who eve-
ry one by a speciall decree of their own had renounced association with King *Perseus*) joyned
with the Romans: whereat they took exceeding great contentment and joy. *Ismenias* thought
E it meet and reason that the Bœotian nation should be committed to the protection of the Ro-
mans. Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray & but that he fled into the Tribunall of the Legats to
save himself, he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled persons, with the help
of their supports and favorits.

Also the City of *Thebes*, which is the capitall place of State within *Bœotia*, was in great trouble
and uproar; whiles some drew to the K. others enclined to the Romans. Besides, there was a mul-
titude of Coronæans and Haliartians gathered together to maintain the ordinance and decree as
touching the association with the K. But such was the resolute persistance of the principall and
chief men, who shewed by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, how great the forces, and
how happy the fortune was of the Roman empire, that the same multitude relented, and being
F overruled, passed a new decree, to reverse and cancell the former confederacy with the King; sent
those that were the motives and perswaders of contracting that amity to *Chalcis* for to satisfie
and content the Roman Legats; yea & to conclude, were of advice to recommend the City to the
faithfull patronage of the said Commissioners. *Martius* & *Attilius* took great pleasure to hear the
Thebans sing this note, they perswaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsell to send
embassadors to *Rome* for the renewing of this amity: but before all things they took order for the
restoring of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacy contracted with the K.
they by their own decree condemned. Having thus by this means infringed and made frustrat the
Diet of the Bœotians (the thing which above all they most desired) they took their journey to
Peloponnesus, together with *Ser. Cornelius*, whom they had sent for to *Chalcis*. For their sakes a
G Councill was holden at *Argos*, where they demanded nothing else of the Achæan nation, but on-
ly to furnish them with 1000 souldiers. This garrison was sent to the defence of *Chalcis*, untill
the Roman army were transported into *Greece*. *Martius* and *Attilius* having thus dispatched all
the affairs that they had to do in *Greece*, in the beginning of winter returned to *Rome*.

Then was there sent from thence about the same time an honourable embassie to the Isles in
Asia. These Embassadors or Legats were three in number, to wit, *T. Claudius*, *P. Posthumius*, and
M. Junius. They in their circuit and visitation exhorted all their allies to take arms against *Perseus*,

for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was, the more earnestly travelled they there; because the interior States were like to frame and sort themselves suitable to the ample and authority of the greater and superior. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of most import and consequence every way, for that they were able not only to favor with their countenance, but also aid and maintain with their forces this war: and by the perswasion of *Hergesilus* they had got together a fleet of forty sail. "This *Hergesilus* their soveraign Magistrate "(whom they call *Prytanis*) had by many reasons prevailed with the Rhodians, to abandon the "hope they had by entertaining these KK. (which they had found by often experience how vain "it was) and to hold themselves to the society and alliance of the Romans, the surest hold of all "others at that time in the world, as well for strength of forces as trusty assurance and fidelity. "There is intended war by them (qd. he) against *Perseus*, and no doubt the Romans will require "of us the same provision and furniture of ships and sea-forces, which they have seen in their war "lately against *Antiochus*, and before that, against King *Philip*: and then you will be to seek, and "forced in great haste to provide a fleet, when it were more time it should be set out and sent "forth, unless ye begin betimes to repair and rig your ships, unless, I say, you set in hand to furnish "the same with sailers and mariners. And with so much more endeavour ought ye thus to do, "that by your deed and effectuall employment, you may resute and disprove the false imputations "wherewith *Eumenes* hath charged you. By these remonstrances induced they were insomuch as at the arrival of the Roman Legats aforesaid, they were able to shew unto them an armado of 40 ships ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and see, they looked not for to be exhorted thereunto. And this embassage was of great moment and importance also to gain the hearts of the States in *Asia*. Only *Decimius* returned to *Rome* without any effect of his errand and commission, nay, he ran into an ill name and obloquy, upon suspition that he had received certain bribes of the Princes in *Illyricum*.

Perseus upon the conference and communication had with the Romans, retired into *Macedony* and sent his Embassadors to *Rome*, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Martius*: to other Embassadors also of his he gave his letters to carry to *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*: the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all: namely, That he had communed with the Roman Legats, but he had so placed and couched as well what he heard as what he spake, that it might seem he gave not one foot unto them, but gained the better hand in that dispute & debating with them. These Embassadors added moreover, and said unto the Rhodians, "That they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the motion and advice of "*Martius* and *Attilius* were addressed in embassie to *Rome*. Now if the Romans, say they, against "the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all "the credit and power they have, to reunite the peace again; but if with all their prayer and entreaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and labour this one point, That the "might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. "And as this imported and concerned all the rest, so the Rhodians especially, who surmounted "other States in dignity and wealth, both which should be obnoxious and enthralled, if there "were regard and respect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the King and words of the Embassadors, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they took none to change their setled minds: for now the authority of the better part began also to carry the greater sway. But this answer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians wished peace with all their hearts: but if it should come to war, their King and Master was neither to expect, nor yet to exact any thing at their hands, to disjoyn the ancient amity which they held with the Romans, and which they had acquired by many and great deserts, as well in war as in peace. In their return from *Rhodes*, they went to the Cities of *Bœotia*, and namely, to *Thebes*, *Coronea*, and *Haliartus*, from whom it seemed a thing extorted forcibly against their will, that they were distanded from the King & clave to the Romans. The Thebans stood firm and immoveable, although they were somewhat discontented with the Romans, both for condemning their chief and principall Citizens, and also for restoring the banished persons. But the Coronæans and Haliartians upon an inbred and setled favour by kind unto the Kings, sent Embassadors into *Macedonia*, requesting a garrison for their defence against the excessive pride of the Thebans. To this embassage the King thus answered. That a garrison he might not send, by reason of the truce made with the Romans: howbeit, he advertised them to maintain and guard themselves against the injuries of the Thebans all that ever they could: but yet so, as they gave the Romans no cause to be their heavy friends, and so to proceed in rigour against them.

Martius and *Attilius* being come to *Rome*, made report of their embassie within the Capitoll, in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving the K. by means of a cessation from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For so well appointed was he and furnished with all provision for war, and they contrariwise so unprovided every way, that he might easily have possessed himself of all places of opportunity and advantage, before that their army could pass over into *Greece*. But now having this respit and time of the truce, as the King would come nothing better provided, so the Romans might begin the war, more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they by their coming distracted and set a jar in the generall Council of the Bœotians, so as by no means any more hereafter they can be rejoyned to the Macedonians by consent and accord. The greater part of the Senat approved this service of theirs

A theirs as performed with singular discretion and dexterity: But the old Senators and those that held in remembrance the ancient manner and custome of the Romans, said plainly, "That in all "the course of that embassie, they could see no Roman practice and dealing at all. Our ancestors "(say they) were wont to war not by wait-laying and secret ambushes, nor by skirmishes in the "night-season, nor yet by false semblant of running away and sudden turning their face again at "unawares upon their unprovided enemies; neither sought they to glorifie themselves by subtill "slights more than by true vertue and valour: Their use and manner was, to intimate and publish "wars before they made any: yea, and to denounce and proclaim the same; otherwhiles also to "assign and appoint the very place where they went to strike a battell. According to this plain and "faithfull dealing, they detected and disclosed unto K. *Pyrrhus*, the Physician that would by poy-
B "son have taken away his life: by the same they delivered bound unto the Falisians the villanous "traitor that would have betraied the children of their K. These are the Romish fashions (say "they) not to use the cunning casts and slie shifts of the Carthaginians, nor the crasty policies of "Grecians, who ever reputed it more glorious and honourable by fraud to compass than by force "to surpass the enemy. Indeed otherwhiles for the present time, more good is done and greater "matters are effected by guile and policy, than by valour and vertue: but to say a truth, the cou-"rage of that enemy is for ever conquered, who is forced to confess, that he was vanquished not "by cunning nor by venture, but in just and lawfull war by main strength and close fight at hand-"gripes. Thus spake the ancients, who had no great liking to the new-found devices of these poli-"ticians. Howbeit, that side of the Senat which made more reckoning of profit than of honesty, car-
C "ried it away and imported so much, that not only the first embassie of *Martius* was approved, as well performed, but also himself was sent back again with certain Quinqueremes, with a mandat also & commission to deal in the rest according as he should think to stand with the good of the Common-weal. They dispatched likewise *Aul. Attilius* to seiz *Larissa* in *Thessaly*; for fear lest if the term of truce were expired, *Perseus* should send a garrison thither, and hold in his hand the capitall City of *Thessaly*. The said *Attilius* had a warrant to receive 2000 footmen of *Cn. Sicinius* for to effectuat that enterprise. Also *P. Lentulus* lately returned out of *Achæa* was allowed the conduct of 300 souldiers of the Italian nation, to the end that at *Thebes* he should endeavour to bring all *Bœotia* under the obedience of the Romans. When all things were set in this forwardness, albeit they were at a point and fully resolved to make war, yet thought good it was to give audi-
D ence unto the embassadors of *Perseus* in the Senat; who rehearsed and related in manner the same reasons which were delivered by the King in the late conference and parley. Much ado they made and laboured hard, to acquit the King of the imputation laid to his charge, for seeking the death of *Eumenes*; but with small probability or none at all: for the thing was too too apparant. In the end they fell to prayer and intreaty: howbeit, no ear was given unto them, with any such mind and heart, as could be either instructed or inclined. Instead thereof, warned straightly they were to depart immediatly forth of the liberties of *Rome*, and within thirty daies out of *Italy*.

After this, *P. Licinius* the Cos. who was charged with the Province of *Spain*, had commandment given him to assign unto the army the sooneft day that he could, for to meet in one certain place. *C. Lucretius* the Prætor who had the conduct of the fleet, took his leave of the City with forty
E Quinqueremes: for advised it was, that the rest of the ships which had been repaired, should be staid at home for to be employed otherwise about the City. And the Prætor sent his brother *Lucretius* before with one Galeace or Quinquereme & commission to receive of the allies that shipping which by covenant they were to find: and with them near the Island *Cephalenia*, to joyn with the rest of the armado: to wit, from the Rhegins one trireme gally, from the Locrians twain, from the Urits 4. With which he coasted along *Italy*, and having doubled the utmost point of *Calabria* within the * Ionian sea, he arrived at *Dyrrhachium*. There he found 19 galliots or barks of the Dyrrhachians, 12 of the Issæans, and 54 belonging to K *Gentius*: which he took all with him along, making semblance that he supposed they were provided of purpose for the service of the Romans: with this fleet by the third day he fell with the Isle *Corphu*: and so forward he made sail
F and arrived at *Cephalenia*, *C. Lucretius* the Prætor, having looked to sea from *Naples*, crossed the straights of *Sicily*, and on the fiftieth day out over likewise to *Cephalenia*. Then the fleet struck anchor, expecting as well the arrivall of the land-forces, as also that the hulks and vessels of carriage which were scattered upon the seas from the rest of their company, might overtake them.

* Adriatick.

It happed about this time, that *Pub. Licinius* the Cos. having conceived and solemnly made his vows within the Capitoll, departed in his coat of arms from the City. A solemnity at all times verily this is, done with much dignity and majesty: but especially with exceeding great pleasure and contentment of the beholders; when the Cos. is accompanied with a stately train at his first setting forth, to encounter some great and famous enemy, renowned as well for vertue as quality and
G fortune: for at such a time men assemble and gather together, not only in regard of duty to acquit themselves of their devoir, but also upon a desire they have of the very shew and sight presented unto their eyes; namely, to see their captain to whose conduct and counsell they have committed the managing and defence of the Common-weal. Moreover, they took occasion thereby to think of the hazard of war, how adventurous is the event, and how doubtfull the issue of battell in the field. They call to mind the alternative course of good fortune and bad; and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadvised rashness of leaders, many foils and overthrows have happned; and contrariwise by politick wisdom and hardy courage, great matters have been effected, and

happy victories atchieved. And what mortall man is he that knoweth, of what mind and carriage he is good or bad, how fortunat or unlucky the Cos. is, whom they send forth to war: whether he be like soon to be seen again, in triumphant wise with his victorious army mounting up the Capitoll unto those gods, of whom now he taketh his leave: or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoyce? As for *Perseus* the K. (against whom this expedition and journey is taken) a Prince he is, highly renowned both by the Macedonian nation (so famous for fears of arms,) and also by his father *Philip*) who among other fortunat atchievements of his was ennobled by his war against the Romans. Moreover, the very name of *Perseus* himself (since time that first the diadem was set upon his head) was in every mans mouth, and no talk continually but of him and the expectation of this war. With these and such like cogitations (I say) a mighty number of men of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Cos. at his departure. With him were sent two Colonels or knight-marshals above the rest, who had been Cos. namely, C. *Claudius* and Q. *Mutius*: also three brave and lusty young gallants, to wit, P. *Lentulus* and the two *Manlii*, both surnamed *Acidini*, the one son to * M. *Manlius*, and the other to L. *Manlius*. The Cos. thus accompanied, first went to *Brundusium* to the army, and from thence passed the seas to *Nymphæum*, and so encamped in the territory of *Apollonia*.

* This *M. Manlius* seemeth to be *plebeia gentis*: for that there passed an act long before, That no *Manlius Patritius* might be named *Marcus*: and that there were *Manlii utriusq; gentis*, *Fulvius Vrsinus* that learned Antiquary hath well collected out of *Cicero* in 1. *Philip.*

Perseus some few daies before, upon the return of his embassadors from *Rome*, who had clean put him out of all hope of peace, held a councill: wherein for a good while the matter was debated with great variety of sundry opinions. Some were of mind, that in case the Romans enjoyned them either to yield a tribute, or to forgo some of their lands; yea, if they imposed upon them some fine by way of amends and satisfaction: in brief, whatsoever else they set down and ordained, to do and suffer all for to redeem their peace, and not to refuse any condition were it never so hard, but to take heed and provide in any wise, that *Perseus* put not himself nor the realm upon the dangerous hazard of so great a jeopardy. For if he held still the main point and continued in quiet possession of his kingdom, in time and space much good might happen; by means whereof he should be able not only to lick himself whole and recover his losses, but also become hereafter dread and terrible even unto those of whom now he standeth in fear. But the far greater part carried with them a more couragious spirit and gave advice accordingly. For they affirmed, "That if *Perseus* parted with ought and yielded never so little, he must make account withall to "quit the free-hold of his whole kingdom soon after. For, it is neither money nor land (say they) "that the Romans want; but this they wot full well, That as all things else in the world, so espe- "cially great monarchies & empires are subject to many accidents and casualties: right well they "know also, how they have quelled and bruised the puissance of the Carthaginians, and for "to yoak their necks and hold them down, have ser up a mighty King to be their neighbour and "to command them; yea, and that *Antiochus* and all his race is removed and chased beyond the "mountain *Taurus*. There remaineth only now the realm of *Macedony*, which is both seated in a "near region, and also (if the fortune of the people of *Rome* should hap to fail) seemeth able to "give heart and courage to her Kings at this day, answerable to that of their noble progenitors "in former times. And therefore whiles the State standeth entire and unfoiled, *Perseus* ought to "resolve, whether he had rather by forgoing one thing after another, strip himself in the end of all "his goods and lands, & so turned clean out of his kingdom, be driven to request at the Romans "hand either *Samothracia* or some other such petty Ile, where, in quality of a privat person he "may survive his royall estate, and live to old age in base contempt and needy poverty: or else, to "take arms in the defence and maintenance of his royall place and dignity, like a Prince of valour "and courage; and either abide all hazards whatsoever the fortune of the field shall plunge him "into; or after victory atchieved deliver the whole world from the dominion and imperious "seignory of the Romans. And no greater wonder and miracle is it, to hunt the Romans out of "*Greece*, than it was to chase *Annibal* out of *Italy*: neither see we in good faith (say they) how by "any reason it can well stand, that he who resisted with all his might and main his own bro- "ther, that would have made himself K. against all right and law, should now to strangers and ali- "ens render the possession thereof, which he came so well and truly by, and wherein he is so right- "fully invested? Finally, in war and peace howsoever men make questions, disputing and argu- "ing to and fro, yet this conclusion they all grant and agree upon, That as there is nothing more "shamefull and dishonest, than to abandon and lose a kingdom without battell, so there is no- "thing more glorious and honourable than for the maintenance of Princely dignity and regal ma- "jesty to hazard all fortune whatsoever. This Councill was holden at *Pella*, the ancient Palace wherein the Macedonian KK. kept their royall court. Why then (qd. he) in Gods name, since you are of that mind and resolution, let us take arms & to the field: whereupon he sent his letters into all parts to his gallants and captains, and assembled & drew all his forces to *Citium*, a town of *Macedony*. Himself in person after he had performed a magnificent sacrifice (like a K. I so to say) of 100 head of beasts to the honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Alcida*, he departed accompanied with a number of his courtiers, pensioners, and yeomen of the guard to *Citium*. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliary strangers. He pitched his camp before the town and embattelled all his armed men in the plain. He was in all forty thousand strong: whereof one half well-near consisted of those whom they call Phalangitæ, and those were commanded by one *Hippias* of *Berrhæa*. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the flower of age and strength of body) selected out of the whole number of targettiers, called *Cetrati*. This regiment, them-

A themselves called by the name of The legion; and the same was under the conduct of *Leonatus* and *Thrasippus* both * *Eulyestanes*. The rest of the targettiers to the number of three thousand or very near, were led by *Antiphilus* of *Edessa*. The Pæonians, those also of *Pacoria* and *Pestritis*(places subject to the Thracian) and the Agrians, together with some inhabitants of *Thracia* intermingled among them, amounted also to the number of three thousand. *Didas* of *Pæonia* had levied and armed them, even the man that murdered young *Demetrius*. There were besides two thousand Frenchmen in arms under the leading of captain *Asclepiodorus*. From *Heraclea* likewise out of the Sintians country, there were three thousand Thracians, free-men born, under a leader of their own. The like number well-near of Cretenians followed their Commanders, *Susus* of *Phalasarna*, and *Syllus* of *Gnosos*: also *Leonides* the Lacedæmonian, had the charge of five hundred B out of *Greece*, but a mixt company they were of divers nations. This *Leonides* was said to have been of the blood royall, a banished person, condemned in a frequent assembly and Councill of the Achæans, for certain letters which he sent to *Perseus*, and were intercepted. The Ætolians and Bœotians, who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by *Lyco* an Achæan. These auxiliaries or aid-souldiers of so many states and nations mixt and blended together, grew fast upon the number of 12000 armed men. As for the Cavalry, he had levied out of all *Macedony* 3000 horse or thereabout. *Cotys* King of the Odrysians, the son of *Seuthes*, was thither come C with 1000 chosen men of arms, and almost as many footmen. In sum, the whole army arose to the number of 39000 foot, and 4000 horsemen. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raised by any King of *Macedony*, unless it were that again, with which *Alexander* the Great passed over into *Asia*. Twenty years now and six were come and gone, since time that peace was granted unto *Philip* at his own suit and request: during which space between, *Macedony* being in rest and quietness, had brought forth a goodly fry of fresh youth: a great part whereof was of sufficient age to bear arms; and by the continuall skirmishes which they maintained with the Thracians their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakned, and more enured than wearied; and, in one word, lived ever in practice of martiall feats: whereby it came to pass, that all things were preset and in readiness for the war, which *Philip* first, and *Perseus* afterwards projected to wage against the Romans.

This army stirred and advanced a little, not in manner of a full march as to a present battell; but only for this, that they would not be seen to have stood still in their arms: and thus armed as D the souldiers were, *Perseus* called them to an audience, intending to make an Oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunall, he stood there with his two sons about him, one of either hand, whereof the elder (named *Philip*) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother; but the younger (whom they called *Alexander*) was his own naturall son. Then and there he exhorted his souldiers to fight manfully, and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of *Rome* had done both to his father and also to himself. "As for my father (qd. *Perseus to his souldiers.* "he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into arms and begin war again; but in the "very preparation thereof, he was suddenly surprised and stricken with death. To my self at one "time were embassadors from them sent to treat of peace, and armed souldiers also for to seiz up- E "on the Cities of *Greece*: Afterwards, by a deceitful shew of a parley, under colour of reconcilia- "tion and peace making, we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter, to the end that "they might gain time to prepare for war. And now is the Cos. coming with two Roman legions, "having either of them some 300 horse besides, and with a proportionable number (and that is "the most) of allies, as well foot as horse. And say that the KK. both *Eumenes* & *Masanissa* joyn "with their aid-forces, yet can they not amount above the number of 7000. Now that ye have "heard what the strength is of the enemies, regard and compare your own army, namely how far F "both in number, as also in goodness and quality of souldiers, you surpass them; being your selves "from your childhood and infancy warriors trained in practice of arms and warfare, wrought, "framed, and hardned in so many battels: where as they be new & raw souldiers taken up in haste, "and enrolled now the first time against this present service. As for the auxiliaries o. the Romans, "what are they but Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians? but we to set against them, have to aid us "Thracians and Gauls, the most couragious nations under heaven. For harness and weapons, they "have no other than such as every poor souldier is able to provide for himself: but the Macedo- "nians are furnished out of the Kings royall armory and arcenal with such armors of proof, as my "father in many years caused to be made with great care, & to his no small expence. The Romans "be far from their provisions, and the same exposed to all the casualties of the sea: but we besides "the revenues and issues out of the mines of metal, have laid by both coin and corn sufficient to "serve for ten years. The Macedonians have store and plenty in great abundance of all things ne- "cessary, & be provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the careful diligence of a K. "It remaineth now that ye carry that mind and courage with you, which your noble progenitors "bare before you, those I say, who after they had conquered & subdued all *Europe* passed into *A-* "*sia*, and by force of arms made way & discovered that part of the world that was never heard of "before, and gave not over to win ground still and make more conquests, untill they were barred "by the red sea, & could find no more land to conquer. But now beleeve me, fortune hath denoun- "ced a triall by war, not for the purchase of the utmost bounds & marches of *India*, but for our free "hold and possession for our inheritance even of *Macedony*. These Romans, when they warred a- "gainst my father, pretended a goodly title, & made a glorious shew to the World, as though they

* Or, Elymeotis according to *Tarneb.* in *Adversariis.*

"would

"would deliver *Greece*, and establish it in freedom: but now in open and plain terms they shoot H
"at *Macedony*, intending to bring it into servitude; to the end there might be no K. near neigh-
"bor to the Roman seignory, nor any nation renowned for martiall prowess, permitted to bear
"arms and have weapon in hand. For these things and no less, forced shall be to part with, and
"deliver up these proud LL. together with King and kingdom, in case ye surcease war; and to do
"whatsoever they will command you. All the while that he delivered this speech, there might be
heard secret sucklamations oftentimes, sufficiently testifying the generall assent of them all: but at
these last words they list up their voices and cried out aloud part for anger & indignation, mena-
cing the enemy, part for courage and resolution, exhorting the King to be of good chear and take
a good heart; insomuch as he was constrained to give over, and make an end of his Oration: only
he commanded them to be ready for the remove, & to put themselves in the journey against the I
enemy: for by this time advertised he was that the Romans were dislodged from *Nympheum*. After this assembly was dismissed, he gave audience to the embassages from the States of *Macedony*: for, come they were to make promise and offer both of money & grain to maintain this war, every one according to their ability. Thanked they were each one, and released of all that charge, with this answer, that the Kings provision was sufficient. Only he commanded them to find wains and carts for carriages of the pieces of ordnance, the engins of battery, the darts, quarrels and other shot, whereof a mighty deal he had provided; and in sum, all the instruments & furniture of war. Then he set forward with his whole army marching toward *Eordea*, and near unto the lake which they call *Begarites*, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to *Elymea* upon the river *Haliacmon*. After this, having passed over the mountains named *Cambunii* through a straight and narrow K passage, he descended to those that inhabit *Axorus*, *Pythous*, and *Doliche*, which quarter is called *Tripolis*. These three towns staid some while in suspence, by reason that they had given their hostages to the Larissæans: but in the end, overcome with the fear presented before their eyes, were content to yield themselves into his hands. *Perseus* used gracious words to this people, making this account that the Perrhæbians would do the like: & in very deed he entred upon the City (which surrendered at his first arrival) without any doubt or stay at all made by the inhabitants within. As for the town *Cyretiæ*, he assaied to batter it, and the first day he was repulsed in a sharp skirmish at the very gates made by the townsmen that put on arms, drew to an head, and made resistance. But the morrow after, when he had assailed the City with all his forces, they submitted all to his mercy before night. The inhabitants of the next town to it, *Mylæ* presuming upon their fortifica- L tions, and standing upon this, That their City was impregnable, were so proud and lusty, that they could not be contented to shut the gates only against the King, but most rudely and malapertly spared not to cast out reproachfull taunts and gibing terms against his own person and the Macedonians. Which manner of dealing, as it envenomed the enemies and edged them the rather to enforce and follow the assault, so it kindled themselves the more (upon despair of all pardon & mercy) to maintain and make good their place & stand more resolutely in their own defence. Whereupon for three daies together the town was assailed by one part, and defended by the other with mighty courage right valiantly. The Macedonians were so many in number, that by turns they relieved the assault without any difficulty, and entred one in the place of another. But the townsmen who ever more day and night guarded the walls, without any change & new supply, were not only M overcharged with many wounds, but also wearied and enfeebled with continuall travell and want of sleep. The fourth day, when at one instant the scaling ladders were reared against the wals in e- very quarter, and the gate assailed with greater force and violence than before, the inhabitants being driven from the curtain and battlements ran all to ward the gate, and made a sudden sally upon the enemies: which proceeding more upon inconsiderat and blind anger, than any true and assured confidence of their own strength, caused them (few in number and wearied) to be discomfited & put to flight by the enemies fresh and in heart, who entred pell-mell with them into the said gate standing wide open. Thus was this City taken and ransacked. The bodies also of the free born persons, as many as remained after the bloudy execution, were sold in market. *Perseus* after he had rased, ruined, and burred a great part of the town, dislodged and departed from thence to N *Phalanna*, and the next day following went onward, and marched to *Gyrtone*. But being advertised that *T. Minutius Rufus* and *Hippias* the Prætor of *Thessaly* were entred thither with a garrison, he passed besides the the town, and never made offer of any assault. But he surprised *Elatia* and *Gonnus*, by reason that the townsmen were strucken with exceeding fear upon his sudden arrivall. These two towns are situat upon the very straight which leadeth to *Tempe*, but *Gonnus* especially. And therefore he left it guarded with a strong garrison both of foot and horse, as also fortified with a trebble trench and rampier. Himself in person went onward still to *Sycurium*, minding there to attend the coming of the enemy: and withall he commanded his army to forrage and purvey corn every way all over the territory of the enemies lying under him. For *Sycurium* is seated upon the hanging of an hill toward the very foot of the mountain *Ossa*, having upon the South side the O plain champian of *Thessaly* under it, but behind on the back *Macedony* and *Magnesia*. Over and above these commodities, the place is very healthfull and plentious of all good things, watered also with many quick and running springs round about.

The Roman Consul having his army on foot about that time marching toward *Thessaly*, at the first found good way and ready passage through *Epirus*: but afterwards, when he was passed over once into *Athamania*, he met with a rough country & rugged soil, & in manner insuperable: so

A so as with exceeding great difficulty and by short journeys he had much ado to reach unto *Gomphi*. And if at that time, whiles his men and horses were encumbred and tainted, the King had made head in battell arranged, taking the vantage of time and place against him, leading as he did an host composed but of rude and untrained novices, the Romans themselves cannot deny, but it would have gone very hard with them, and a great overthrow they must needs have received in that conflict. But when they were come once to *Gomphi* without any skirmish, besides the joy which they conceived, for that they had escaped and overcome that dangerous passage, they began also to contemn their enemies, for that they knew not their own good, and were so ignorant of the opportunities which they had. The Consul after he had duly sacrificed (as it appertained) and distributed the allowance of corn among his souldiers, to journed there some few daies
B for the rest and repose both of man and beast: where, hearing that the Macedonians ranged and over-ran the country of *Thessaly*, wasting and spoiling the territory of the Roman allies, he led his souldiers now sufficiently refreshed unto *Larissa*. And having marched from thence with in three miles of *Tripolis* (which they call *Scea*) he pitched his tents, and lodged upon the river *Peneus*.

At the same time *Eumenes* arrived by sea at *Chalcis* together with two of his brethren, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, leaving at *Pergamus* a third brother *Philetærus* for the defence of his Realm. From thence, accompanied with *Attalus* and a power of four thousand foot and a thousand horse he came to the Consul, and left at *Chalcis* two thousand footmen commanded by *Athenæus*. Thither also repaired other aids which came in to the Romans from all the States of *Greece*. but most of
C the particulars were so small as now they are grown out of remembrance, The Apolloniats sent 3 hundred horsemen, and a hundred footmen. From the Ætolians there came a Cornet of horsemen, even the whole Cavalry that the said nation could make. Likewise all the Cavalry of the Thessalians which exceeded not the number of three hundred that served in the Romain camp & quartered apart. The Achæans sent one thousand men of their youth armed for the most part after the Candiot manner. And much about this time *C. Lucretius* also the Prætor, who had the conduct of the ships that anchored in the rode of *Cephalonia*, after he had given charge to *M. Lu-*
cretius his brother, to make sail with his fleet beyond the Cape of *Malea*, & so to pass to *Chalcis*,
D himself went aboord unto a trireme galley, & sailed toward the gulph of *Corinth*, for to be seized first of the country of *Bœotia*, and to prevent all matters there. He made way but slow y because of the infirmity and weakness of his body. *M. Lucretius* being arrived at *Chalcis*, and advertised that *P. Lentulus* lay against the City of *Haliartus*, sent a messenger commanding him in the name of the Prætor to raise the siege and dislodge from thence. The lieutenant notwithstanding he had set into that service with the help of the youth of that part of *Bœotia* which took part with the Romans, retired from before the walls. The levying of this siege gave occasion of a new enterprise: for incontinently *M. Lucretius* besieged and infested *Haliartus* with his own sea-forces to the num-
E ber of 10000 fighting men, together with 2000 souldiers from K. *Eumenes*, whereof *Attalus* had the charge: and as they were now upon the point to give an assault, the Prætor came in unto them from *Crenæa*. And very near to that time there arrived also at *Chalcis* certain ships from the allies, namely, two Quinquereme galeaces of *Carthage*, two trireme gallies from *Heraclea in Pontus*, four from *Chalcedon*, as many from *Samos*, and five quadrireme gallies of *Rhodes*. All these vessels the Prætor sent back again to the allies, and eased them of that charge because there was no seaservice to be performed in any place. *Q. Martius* also came by sea to *Chalcis*, after he had won *Hæ-*
lops, and assaulted *Larissa* called *Cremaste*.

This was the State of *Bœotia*, when *Perseus* (as hath been said before) lay encamped at *Sycurium*: who after he had from every coast thereabout got together all the grain that he could come by, sent certain companies to give the waste unto the territory of the Phocæans supposing the Romans might be surprised, when they should be drawn far from their own camp to the succouring of their distressed associats. But perceiving that they stirred never the more for all that tumult: he dealt among his souldiers all the prey, but only of men and women: now the booty stood most
F upon cattell, wherewith they made good chear. After this, but near about one and the same time, the Cos. & K. *Perseus* both debated in their councill, how and where they should begin the war. The K. had taken great heart and courage by occasion that the enemy suffered him to make such havock and do his pleasure in the Pheræans territory. And therefore his resolution was to march directly against the Roman camp without giving more time and making any further delay. The Romans likewise for their parts were of opinion, that all slacking now would greatly prejudice their reputation among the confederats, who took it exceedingly to the heart, that they had not succoured the Pheræans. As they sate consulting what to do, (now *Eumenes* and *Attalus* both were present at this Councill,) there came a messenger in post haste with news that the enemy approached near at hand with a mighty army. Whereupon the Councill brake up, and presently the
G signall was given to arm. And advised it was in the mean while, that there should go forth 100 horse, and as many darters and foot out of King *Eumenes* his companies.

Perseus about the fourth hour of the day, being come within a mile and somewhat more of the Roman leaguer, commanded the ensigns of the footment to stand. Himself in person with the men of arms and light armed souldiers advanced forward, and so together with King *Cotys* and the Captains of the other auxiliaries, they two marched before. Now when they were within half a mile from the camp, they might discover the horsemen of their enemies. Two Cornets they were,

then

most part Gauls, under the conduct of *Cassignatus*; besides the loose and light armed forlorn hope, to the number well-near of a hundred and fifty, and those were partly Mysians and partly Cretensians. Hereat the King made a stand, not knowing well the number of the enemies: and anon out of the regiment that he had with him he drew two wings of Thracian horse, and as many Macedonians; likewise two Cohorts of Cretensian, and as many Thracian footmen. Hereupon ensued a skirmish: but forasmuch as they were marched even in number, and no succour came in to rescue from the one part or the other, it ended likewise in doubtfull ballance of victory. Of *Eumenes* his part there died about thirty: in which number *Cassignatus* the Commander of the Gauls was slain. So for that time *Perseus* retired his forces to *Sycurium*: but the next morrow the King marched with them again to the self-same place, and much about the foresaid hour. Certain carts and wains laden with water followed after: and by reason that for a dozen miles space, all the way was waterless, and full of dust withall, hardly bestead (as it should seem) they had been for very drought and thirst, in case they had been charged and put to skirmish, at the time when they were first in fight. But considering that the Romans kept quiet, yea, and had reduced their *corps de guard* within their rampier, *Perseus* likewise retired with his forces into his camp. This did the enemies for cerdain daies together, hoping ever that the Roman Cavalry would charge upon the tail of the rereguard in their retreat: and when by that occasion the skirmish was once begun and that they had trained and drawn them far from their camp; then they might with ease whersoever they were, turn upon them and make head, having the odds of them in horsemen and light armed souldiers. But the King seeing this would not speed, encamped nearer unto the Romans, and fortified the compass of half a mile. From whence betimes in the morning by the break of day, after he had embattelled his infantry in the usuall place, he led all his Cavalry and light-armed men toward the camp of his enemies. The Romans seeing a greater dust raised by more in number, and the same nearer than ordinary it had been, were mightily afraid within their camp. But at the first they would hardly beleeve the messenger that brought the news: for that continually all the former daies the enemy used not to be seen untill the fourth hour of the day, and now the sun was but newly risen. Howbeit, afterwards (I say) when about their gates there were thicker alarms given and more and more running from thence, and that now there was no doubt at all of the matter, there grew an exceeding trouble & hurliburly. The Marshals, Colonels, Captains, and Centurions, betook themselves into the quarter about the Prætors pavilion: and the souldiers ran every man to his own tent. *Perseus* had embattelled his men less than half a mile from the rampier about a little hill which they call *Calicinus*. King *Cotys* had the charge of the left wing, with all those of his own nation. The ranks of the cavalry stood marshalled asunder one from the other by reason that the light armed souldiers were bestowed between. In the right wing were placed the Macedonian horsemen, and the Cretensians likewise intermingled among them. *Milon* of *Berrhæa* led these light armed souldiers: but *Meno* of *Antigonia* commanded the horsemen, and the whole regiment of that part. Next to those wings the Cavalry of K. *Perseus* was arranged together with the selected aid-souldiers of many and sundry nations: and the same were conducted by *Patrocles* of *Antigonia*, and *Didas* the governour of *Peonia*. In the midst of all was the King himself: having about him a band called *Agema*, and certain cornets of horsemen named [*The sacred wings*] Before him he planted the slingers and darters, who both together amounted to the number of 400: and over them he appointed for to be their leader one *Ion* of *Thessalonica*, and *Timanor* the Dolopian. In this manner as is beforesaid, stood the Kings forces embattelled. The Cos, having put his Infantry in order of battell, sent out his Cavalry likewise with the light armed companies, who were set in array before the camp. *C. Lucinius Crassus* the Consuls brother had the leading of the right point, with all the Italian horsemen and the footmen lightly appointed intermingled among them. *M. Valerius Levinus* in the left, commanded the horsemen of the greek associats, together with the light armed souldiers of the same nation. *Q. Mutius* conducted the battaillon in the midst with certain extraordinary chosen men of arms. Before their Guidons, 200 horsemen of the Gauls stood in ordinance: and of the auxiliaries of K. *Eumenes*, 300 Cyrtians, and 400 Thessalian horse. Not far from thence were ranged, somewhat above the left point King *Eumenes* himself and his brother *Attalus*, with all their power were planted behind, even between the rereward and the trench. Thus stood both battels much after this manner arranged, and having of either side a like strength in manner of horsemen and light-armour, they encountred and charged one another; and then the conflict was begun by the forlorn hope of loose shot to wit, the slingers and darters that went before. And first of all others the Thracians, faring like wild and savage beasts, who had been long pent up within some grates and cages, with a mighty cry advanced forth and ran upon the Italian horsemen in the right wing, to the end that they might trouble and amaze them; being otherwise a nation fearless, as well by nature as for long experience and practise of war * * * The footmen with their swords affaied to cut off the heads of their pikes; and one whiles they hought their horses, and another whiles they ran them into their flanks. *Perseus* rode into the midst of the battell, and at the first shock forced the Greeks to turn side and give way: and when the enemy pressed moreover hard upon them behind, behold, the Thessalian horsemen who were placed in the rereguard for succour, and stood somewhat apart and severed from the left wing, who at first were beholders only of the fight (as keeping without the danger of the charge) afterwards stood them in very good stead, even as they were at the point to go down & have the worse. For as they retired leisurely without breaking

A breaking their ranks, after that they once joyned with the aids of *Eumenes*, they both yielded the opportunity to their allies who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safety within their ranks: and also espying their own vantage, when the enemies pursued not so thick in troops, they adventured to put themselves forward beyond, and so staid many of those their allies whom they encountred and received in their flight. Neither durst the Kings men, being now also disarraied and dispersed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joyn battell with those, continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firm and strong together: whereas the matter had been dispatched and the war brought to a finall end, in case the King who won the better in horse-fight, had never so little come in with help and succour. For as he encouraged his souldiers to fight, there came in place very fitly and in passing good time, the * *Phalanx*, which *Hippias* and *Leonatus* (because they would not be behind-hand in this hardy enterprise) brought of their own accord in great haste so soon as ever they heard of the winning-hand of the Cavalry. "And "whiles the K. wavered in doubtful suspence, between hope and fear of this so great an adventure, "*Evander* the Cretensian, whose service *Perseus* had used in the await laid for K. *Eumenes* at *Del-* "*phi*, seeing that main battell marching heavily armed under their ensigns, ran unto the King and "earnestly advertised him to take heed, lest that presuming too much and bearing himself over- "confident of this good speed of his, he brought not unadvisedly the main chance of all his estate, "into a needless and unnecessary hazard. For if (quoth he) you can be content with the happy "fortune of this fair day and so rest, either you shall have the means to make an honourable "peace, or else (if you had rather prosecute the war) to win exceeding many allies to bear arms C "with you in the field: who, no doubt, will follow the train of your good fortune. To this way stood the Kings mind ever, and thither he soon enclined. Therefore having commended *Evander* for his good advice, he commanded the ensigns to retire, and the footmen to return into the camp: likewise to sound the retreat unto the Guidons of the men of arms. In this battel 200 Roman horsemen that day lost their lives, and no fewer than 2000 footmen, and neer upon 200 of the Cavalry were taken prisoners. Of the Kings side there died not past 200 horsemen and forty of the other.

A strong battaillon of footmen.

After that the victorious enemies were upon their return into the camp, all were jocund & glad in general, but above the rest the Thracians shewed themselves in joy for this their victory, over insolent: for they returned singing full merrily, and carried the heads of their enemies fixed upon D their spear-points. But the Romans were not only sad and heavy for this unfortunat journey, but fearfull also lest the enemy should forthwith assail their camp. *Eumenes* gave counsell to dislodge and remove to the other side of the river *Peneus*, that it might serve them instead of a defence and bulwark, untill such time as the amated souldiers had recovered their spirits and taken heart again. The Cos, was ashamed and abashed to bewray his fear; howbeit, over-ruled with reason, he set his army over the river in the dead time of the night, and encamped on the farther bank. K. *Perseus* the morrow after advanced forward to bid the enemies battel, but perceiving they were lodged in safety beyond the river, he confessed that he had faulted indeed, for that he had not followed his victory the day before; but more overseen a good deal he was in lying still and taking repose that night: for without troubling any else of his own men, he might have sent out the light armed souldiers only to set upon the enemies as they passed over the river in haste and fright, and so defeated a great part of their forces. Now the Romans shook off their fear for the present, considering they were encamped in a sure place: but among other damages, the blot especially of their honour and name grieved and troubled them. And as they sate in Councill before the Consul, every man for his part laid all the blame upon the Ætolians, who first began to be affraid and run away: and whose example of fear the other allies of the Cities of *Greece* followed: for it was said, that five principall men of mark among the Ætolians, were seen and noted first of all other to have turned their backs. But the Thessalians were praised in a full assembly of the whole army; and their Captains for their vertue and valorous service were honoured with presents. The spoils of the enemies were brought before King *Perseus*; out of which he bestowed freely upon some, F brave and gorgeous armours; upon others goodly great horses; and finally, certain were rewarded with the prize of good prisoners. Targets there were above a thousand and five hundred, cuirasses and corslets not to sew as a thousand; besides, a far greater proportion of murrions swords, "and shot of all sorts. Great matters these were, considered in themselves; but much more amplified and set out by the King himself with a speech that he made in a frequent audience of his army assembled together, after this or the like manner, "You see already by this (quoth he) "what you may judge before-hand of the finall issue of this war: discomfited ye have the bet- "ter part of your enemies, to wit, the Roman Cavalry, wherein they took themselves to be in- "vincible. For their horsemen are the very gallants and bravest of their youth: their Gentlemen "of arms (I say) are the seminary and nurse-garden of their Senat. From them they chuse their G "Nobles and Peers to make Consuls of, yea, and Generals of the field another day. And the spoils "of these we have erewhiles divided among us. Neither is the victory less which ye have gai- "ned of the Infantry and legions, who although by night they made an escape from you, yet in "hasting to pass over the river, they resembled a sort that had suffered shipwrack at sea, and in "fearful haste for their lives have swom & overspread the river every where with their bodies. Soo- "ner shall we & with greater ease, I trow, get over *Peneus*, to chase them thus already overcome, "than they did, making such haste for fear: and being once set on the other side, we shall out of

"hand

"hand assail their camp, which we might have forced and won this day, but that they took them H
"to their heels and fled. But if they will come to a field and try the quarrel by the swords point,
"look ye for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with
"horsemen. These words, both the horsemen (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of their enemies lying slain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleasure and contentment, as measuring the hope of the future speed by the fortune passed; and also the footmen enflamed now with the glory of others (and namely, those that were of the Macedonian Phalanx) wished with all their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not only shew their valiant service before the K. but also win semblable glory of their enemies. Thus the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon *Mopselus*, which is an hill situat in the mid way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*. The Romans remo- I
ved their camp into a place of more security, howbeit, not far from the bank of *Peneus*. Thither repaired *Misagenes* the Numidian, with 1000 horse and as many foot, besides 22 Elephants. Now as K. *Perseus* during these daies, sat in Council what course to take as touching the main conduct of his affairs, when his courage was now well abated and not so lusty for his late victory, some of his friends were so hardy as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and compassing of some honourable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and engage himself and his whole state into some hazard & jeopardy, out of which he should not be able to recover and retire into safety. For to keep a mean and moderation in prosperity, and not over-confidently to trust upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (say they) of a wise man indeed and truly happy. And therefore the best course is, to send certain men of purpose unto the K
Cos. for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father *Philip* had accepted peace heretofore of *T. Quintius* the conqueror. For neither (say they) can the war be taken up with greater honour and reputation, than after so memorable a battel: nor ever will there be presented more firm and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion, which will work and mollifie the Romans as a man would have them, to condescend and assent to any accord, considering they are well tamed with the infortunity of this battell. But in case the Romans upon an inbred peevishness and engraffed pertinacity of theirs, should not hear reason but refuse an indifferent end, then both God and man shall be witness, as well of the moderation of *Perseus*, as of their pride & insolent frowardness. The K. was willing enough to give ear to this, and indeed never misliked such discourses; and therefore the advice was approved by the assent L
of the most part; whereupon embassadors were sent to the Cos. & in a frequent Council assembled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded, and promised that *Perseus* should pay unto the Romans as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for; and likewise quit the same Cities, coasts, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and surrendred. To this effect spake the embassadors; who being retired aside, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end Roman constancy imported and had the upper hand: for in those daies the manner and use was, in time of adversity to bear all out and set a good countenance, but in prosperity to hold an even hand and to use governance. So agreed it was to return this answer, That peace might be granted with this condition, That K. *Perseus* should permit full and free power to the Senat of *Rome*, for to dispose both of his person and the kingdom of *Macedony* at their good pleasure. When the Embassadors M
had made relation hereof, this constant resolution and invincible persistance of the Romans made them to wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of them forbad to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romans would be glad shortly to seek for that of their own accord, which now at this present they loathed & rejected when it was offered. But *Perseus* mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the confidence they had in their own forces; insomuch as he gave not over so, but assaied to tempt the Cos. if haply by augmenting the sum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning whatsoever. But seeing him nothing to come down, nor to alter one jot from the first answer; in despair now of all peace, he returned to *Sycurium* from whence he came, purposing once again to try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavalry was flown over all *Greece* N
and discovered the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Macedonians rejoyced to hear this news, but also very many of them who were obliged and beholden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands, and some likewise who had tasted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all, but only upon a foolish and perverse affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordinarily is carried away in the beholding of disports and triall of masteries, even to favour evermore the weaker and him that taketh the foil.

At the same time *Lucretius* the Prætor had with most forcible means assaulted the City of *Haliartus* in *Bœotia*: and albeit the besieged defendants within were relieved by no forrain aid, but only the youth of the Coronæans (who at the beginning of the siege entred the City) nor hoped O
for any to come; yet they stood out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with strength of hand: for they issued forth many times, and sallied upon the fabricks and engins of the enemy, yea & when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall thereupon a mighty weight and counterpoise of lead and so depressed and drave it down to the ground. And if haply the enemies who ran with the ram against the wall, avoided the device of theirs, laid battery, and shook it in some other place; the townsmen within, raised presently with great speed another mure, piling

A piling up hastily the stones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruins of the breaches. The Consul seeing this manner of service by way of ordnance and battery, to become slow and tedious, commanded to divide ladders amongst every company, and purposed to invest the City round about with the Escalado: supposing that the number which he had would be sufficient to exploit this enterprise, because on that side whereas the Town is enclosed with a marish, it was bootless (or rather unpossible) to assault it. Himself in person presented 2000 elect souldiers before that part, whereas two turrets, and all the wall between was beaten down and overthrown: to the end that in the very instant, whiles he assaied to enter at the breaches the townsmen should run all thither to repulse him, and in the mean while the walls void of defendants might in some part or other be scaled and won. But they within bestirred themselves lustily to
B give him the repulse. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of faggots made of drie vine cuttings and such small brush, they stood ready with flaming firebrands and burning links, threatning ever and anon to kindle the same and set all on fire, to the end that being defended from the enemy by the means of fire between, they might have time to oppose an inner countermure against them. But by mischance this device and enterprise of theirs was empeached. For there poured down on a suddain such a mighty shower of rain, that the fewel would not easily take fire, and look what was set a burning, it soon was quenched again. By which means
" not only the passage was made open between the smoking faggots drawn apart one from another here and there, but whiles they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were taken at one instant by ladders reared up against many and sundry parts thereof. In the first heat
C upon the winning of the City, old and yong, such as chanced to come in their way, without any respect at all of age were put to the sword. The armed souldiers fled into the Castle and the next day being past hope to make good the place, they yeelded and were all sold under the garland in port-sale, to them that would bid most, to the number of 2500 men or very neer. The ornaments and beauties of the City, as statues, images, painted tables and pictures, and what soever was found in the pillage to bear a better price, was caried to shipbord, and the Town it self rased from the very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to *Thebes*: which being won without any resistance he put into the hands of the banished persons, and those that took part and sided with the Romans: but those of the contrary faction, such as favoured the King and the Macedonians, he sold by whole families in open market to the best chapmen. Having
D performed these exploits in *Bœotia*, he retired himself to the Sea side to his ships.

Whiles these affairs passed thus in *Bœotia*, *Perseus* lodged for certain daies in camp at *Sycurium*. Where being advertised, that the Romans made great haste to inn the corn newly resped down, and to cary it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguer, and that every souldier before his tent cut and shred off the ears as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thrash and drive out the cleaner corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw throughout all parts of the camp, he supposed it was an easy matter to set all their tents and pavilions on fire. Whereupon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow besmeared with pitch and tar: thus provided and furnished, he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might put this device in execution without being descried before. But all came to nothing: for the for-
E most *corps de guard* although they were surprised with this suddain coming by their trouble and affright awakened and raised all the rest, and immediatly the alarm was given; so as at one instant the souldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and prest for to defend the camp. *Perseus* likewise incontinently turned about with his ensigns, putting his fardage and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after: himself with the cavalry and light-armors staied behind to fortify and guard the rereward, supposing (as it fell out indeed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the march. His light armed souldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorn hope and loose avant-courriers, but the horse and footmen both, retired without any impeachment into the camp. Thus when all the corn was cut down about those quarters, the Romans dislodged and removed into the terri-
F tory of *Crannon*, which as yet was not endammaged. Whiles they lay encamped in security and mistrusting nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the way between *Sycurium* and *Crannon* was so difficult for want of water;) behold all on a suddain early in the morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed souldiers shewed themselves upon the hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were from *Sycurium* at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind about the break of day upon the plain next thereto. For a while he stood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans might be trained forth to an horse-fight. But perceiving them not to stir at all, he sent one on horseback to command the footmen to retire again to *Sycurium*, and himself in person followed streight after. The Roman horsemen made after a piety distance off, if haply they could spie any
G vantage in one place or other to charge upon them, disbanded and straggling asunder. But when they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together following their guidons and keeping their ranks, they also returned into the camp. After this, the King weary of making so long journies dislodged and removed to *Mopsium*. The Romans for their part likewise having mowed down all the corn of *Crannon*, passed into the territory of *Phalannæum*. The King having intelligence by a renegate revolt, that the Romans were scattered all over the fields, and reaping the standing corn without any guard of armed men, made a rode with 1000 horse & 2000 Candiots & Thracians:

who marching with as great haſt as poſſibly they could, ſet upon the Romans at unawares all unprovided: where he took a thouſand carts or thereabouts, together with their teams, moſt of them laden, and upon 600 men beſides. The guard and convoy of this booty into the camp he committed to the charge of 300 Cretenſians. Himſelf having rallied his cavalry diſperſed here and there buſy in execution, and reunited with the reſt of the footmen led them to the next *corps de guard* or garriſon of the enemies, ſuppoſing that with little ado they might be ſurpriſed and vanquiſhed. *L. Pompeius* a Colonel had the command of them, who ſeeing his ſouldiers affrighted with this ſuddain coming of the enemies, retired with them to an hill neer at hand, for to defend himſelf by the vantage and ſtrength of the place, conſidering that otherwiſe in number and forces he was too weak. Where after he had caſt his men into a ring, for to ward againſt the ſhot of arrows and darts by a roof and fence of targets couched cloſe together over their heads: *Perſeus* having enironed the hill round about with armed men, commanded ſome to mount up and aſſay to win the place on all parts, if poſſibly they could, and then to fight cloſe hand to hand: others he charged to lance their darts and ſhoot their ſhafts thick at them a far off. The Romans were beſet with a double fear; for neither could they maintain skirmiſh and fight cloſe together becauſe of thoſe who laboured to climb the hill: and ſay they had broke any ranks with excurſions and outrodes upon them, yet were they expoſed and lay open to the ſhot of arrows and darts. Moſt hurt they had by certain weapons called *Ceſtroſphendonæ* [ſling-darts.] A new kind of dart this was and lately deviſed in the time of this very war. It had a ſharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the ſame ſet faſt in a ſteel which was half a cubit long, and about the thicknes of a mans finger: for to ſtie direct and ſtreight, three feathers it had about it in man of a ſhaft: the ſling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal ſize: now when as the ſlinger ſwung it about, as it lay even poiſed in the greater capacity of the leather thong out flew the dart and was driven with violence like a buller. Many of the ſouldiers being very ſore wounded as well with this weapon as all other ſorts of ſhot: ſo as now for wearines they were not able to bear their own armour: the King was earneſtly in hand with them to yeeld and ſubmit, aſſuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea, and otherwhiles promiſed them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whoſe heart enclined once thereto. Now as they ſtood thus ſtiff and reſolute to die there ſhone upon them a little comfort and ſome hope of occaſion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the forragers and corn purveiors, who happned to flie for refuge unto the camp, brought word unto the Conſul, that the *corps de guard* aforeſaid was beſieged round: wherupon being moved with the jeopardy wherein ſo many citizens ſtood (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of *Rome*) he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed ſouldiers, and unto them joyned certain new ſuccours of the Numidians as well horſe as foot, together with the Elephants: and gave commandment to the martial Colonels, that the enſigns of the legions ſhould follow after. Himſelf in perſon marched before toward the hill aforeſaid taking with him a certain number of skirmiſhers, for to ſtrengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes Attalus*, and *Maſſagenes* alſo the King of the Numidians, flanked the Conſul on either ſide. When as the beſieged Romans had a ſight once of the formoſt enſigns of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former extream deſpair. *Perſeus*, who had purpoſed in the firſt place not to ſpend any long time in laying ſiege to this *corps de guard* but to content himſelf with the fortunat ſucceſs which at a venture happned, in that he had taken and ſlain ſome of the forragers: ſecondly (when he was in ſome ſort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no ſtrength, to ſpeak of, about him: yet puffed up and caried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both ſtaid in perſon to attend the enemies coming, and alſo ſent out in all haſt for the [Macedonian] Phalanx. Which coming later than the preſent neceſſity required (albeit in great haſt they harried) it fell out ſo, that they were to encounter (troubled and diſordred as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the Conſul who had prevented them preſently welcomed them with battail. At the firſt, the Macedonians made reſiſtance; but afterwards being in no reſpect equal unto the enemies after they had loſt three hundred footmen with four and twenty of the moſt forward and braveſt horſemen out of that corner which they call *Sacra* (amongſt whom *Antimachus* alſo their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to paſs, was more troubleſome to ſpeak of, than the skirmiſh and battail it ſelf. The Phalanx being ſent unto by a meſſenger in haſt, and conducted as haſtily, encountred affront in a certain ſtreight a troop of priſoners, and likewiſe the waggons charged with corn. Who being laid at to give way, thereupon aroſe a great trouble as well of the one part as the other; whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed ſouldiers caſt down and overthrew the heaps of ſardage and baggage. for otherwiſe there could no way be made: and the draught-beaſts being pricked and provoked forward, raged and made foul work in the preſs and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they diſengaged and rid of this confuſed and diſordered company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horſemen diſcomfited. In which place, the noiſe which they made crying unto the Phalanx. Back again Back again made a fright among them as if there had been ſomething ready to fall upon their heads: in ſuch ſort as if their enemies durſt have entred into the ſtreight and purſued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Conſul contenting himſelf with a mean good hand, in that he had reſcued and recovered his *corps de guard* from off the

A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Some write that there was a great battail fought that day, and how 8000 enemies were ſlain; and among them *Sopater* and *Antipater* two of the Kings Captains. Alſo that there were taken priſoners about 2400: and military enſigns 27 caried away. Neither was the victory eaſily gotten but coſt blood, for not ſo few as 4300 were ſlain of the Conſul his army, and five guidons of the left wing loſt. This journey recomforted the Romans, but daunted and quailed *Perſeus* in ſuch ſort, as after he had ſtaid a few daies at *Moſchlam*, eſpecially about entering the bodies of his dead ſouldiers, and left a ſufficient garriſon at *Gonnos*, he retired his army into *Macedony*, leaving alſo at *Phila* one of his own Captains named *Timotheus*, with ſome ſmall forces, whom he commanded to aſſay the Magneſians and the borderers adjoyning. When he was come to *Pella*, he diſmiſſed his army out of the field, and ſent them to their
B wintring harbors, but himſelf together with King *Cotys* went to *Theſſalonica*.

Thither news came, that *Atteſbius* a petty King of the Thracians, and *Corragus* a Captain under King *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Cotys*, and were maſters of the country which they call *Mareno*. And therefore ſuppoſing that he muſt needs diſcharge *Cotys* to look to the defence of his own realm, he beſtowed rich preſents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for ſix months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purpoſed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Conſul after he heard that *Perſeus* was gone, approached with his army neer to *Gonnos*, and there lodged; if haply he might force and gain that alſo. Situat it was over againſt *Tempe*, at the very mouth and gullet of the ſtreights, and is the very frontier Town, yeelding both a moſt aſſured
C defence and ſtrength to all *Macedony*, and alſo a commodious paſſage for the Macedonians to enter into *Theſſaly*. And being a place impregnable, as well for the naturall ſite thereof, as the ſtrong garriſon therein planted, he gave over the enterpriſe. So turning and bending his way into *Perrhebia*, after he had forced *Mallæa* at the firſt aſſault and put it to the raniack; and received *Tripolis* with the reſt of *Perrhæbia*, yeelded by compoſition, he returned to *Ariſſa*. And then having ſent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home into their own country, and beſtowed *Maſſagenes* and the Numidians in divers Cities of *Theſſaly* neer at hand, to remain there for the winter time, and diſtributed part of his forces throughout all *Theſſaly*, in ſuch ſort, that not only they had all commodious wintring, but alſo ſerved inſtead of garriſons to the Cities. *Q. Mutius* his Lieutenant he ſent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard *Ambracia* and keep it in obedience. All the confederats of the
D Greek Cities, ſave only the Achæans he licenſed to depart. With one part of his army he went into *Theſſaly* in *Phthia*, where he raſed down to the ground *Pteleum* abandoned of the inhabitants. But *Antrona* he won with the good will of the Townſmen. Then afterward he approached before *Ariſſa* with his forces. The City was left deſolat, for all the people were retired into the formes, the which he began to aſſault: and firſt the Kings garriſon of Macedonians quit the place: of whom the Townſmen being forſaken and left to themſelves, ſubmitted incontinently. Then he ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould aſſail *Demetrias* firſt, or have an eye and look into the troubles and ſtate of *Bœotia*. For the men of *Thebes* being grievouſly moleſted and annoied by thoſe of *Coronia*, had ſent for him into *Bœotia*: at whoſe praiers, thither he conducted his army; and beſides, *Bœotia* was a country more commodious to winter in than *Magneſia*.

E

The three and fortieth Book

Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and fortieth Book.

F

DIvers *Pretors were judicially condemned, for demeaning themſelves with cruelty and avarice in the adminiſtration of their Provinces.* P. Licinius Craſſus *the Pro-conſul, won by force many Cities in Greece, and cruelly rifled them. For which rigour of his, the captives whom he had ſold under the garland in open market, were by an order directed out of the Senat, reſtored afterward to their former eſtate. The Admirals of the Roman fleets committed many outrages and enormities againſt their allies. Beſides, there are compriſed in this book, the proſperous affairs of King* Perſeus *in Thrace after he had vanquiſhed the Dardanians and ſubdued* Illyricum, *whereof* Gentius *was King. The troubles which began in* Spain *by means of* Olonicus, *were appeaſed by his death.* M. Æmylius Lepidus, *was by the Conſort created preſident of the Senat.*

G

The three and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

THe ſame ſummer, wherein the Romans won the victory with horſe-fight in *Theſſaly*, the Lieutenant being ſent into *Illyricum* from the Conſul, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld: unto which nevertheleſs he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitants of

Carnus, that ſtrong City. But when he ſaw that he could not conſtrain them to render, no more than force them by ſiege; becauſe his ſouldiers ſhould not ſeem to have been wearied for nought in the beſieging of two Towns, he ſell to riſle and ranſack that, which before he left untouched. The other Conſul *C. Caſſius* neither performed any memorable exploit in *Gaul*, which was his Province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through *Illyricum* into *Macedony*, all his deſignment came to no effect at all. That the Conſul was entred upon this journey, the Senat was certified by the Embaſſadors of the Aquileians: who complained that their colony newly erected was feeble, and not as yet well ſecured among thoſe fierce nations of Iſtrians and Illyrians: and withal they made ſuit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the ſaid colony might be fortified: and when the queſtion was put unto them, Whether they would be content that commiſſion ſhould be directed unto *C. Caſſius* in that behalf? they anſwered, That the ſaid *Caſſius*, having aſſembled his army at the *Rendez vous* in *Aquileia*, was departed through *Sclavonia* into *Macedony*. This at firſt was thought incredible, and every man ſuppoſed verily, that he had been gone to levy war upon the Carnians haply or the Iſtrians. The Aquileians were able to reply no farther, nor affirm more upon their knowledge than this, That allowance of corn was made for the ſouldiers to ſerve thirty daies, and that guids were ſought and brought out, who knew the waies out of *Italy* into *Macedony*. Hereat the Senate (ye may be ſure) took great ſnuff and was highly diſpleaſed, that the Conſul ſhould be ſo hardy as preſume to leave his own province for to paſs into that which belonged to another, and to lead his army an unknown and new way, and the ſame dangerous, through ſtrange and forrain countries, thereby to open paſſage as it were, for ſo many nations to come into *Italy*. Whereupon in a frequent aſſembly of the Senators, there paſſed a decree, That *C. Sulpitius* the Prætor ſhould nominat three Embaſſadors out of the body of the Senat, for to depart out of the City that preſent day, to make all the haſt they poſſibly could to overtake the Conſul whereſoever he was, and to give him warning to levy no war againſt any nation without direct warrant from the Senat. And theſe Embaſſadors went, namely, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *M. Fulvius*, and *P. Martius Rex*. The preſent fear as touching the Conſul and the army, was the occaſion that the care of fortifying *Aquileia* was deferred for that time.

After this, were the Embaſſadors of certain States in both Provinces of *Spain* admitted to come into the Senat: who complained of the covetouſnes and pride of the Roman Officers and Governors among them; humbly beſeeching the Senat upon their knees, Not to ſuffer them (being allies and confederats) to be more ſhamefully pilled and ſpoiled than the very enemies. Among other indignities for which they ſhewed themſelves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the ſaid Magiſtrats had taken bribes, yea, and uſed extortion in wringing mony from them. Whereupon a commiſſion was granted to *L. Canuleius* the Prætor (unto whom *Spain* by lot was faln) to ordain five judges or commiſſioners (and thoſe out of the rank and degree of Senators) for every perſon of whom the Spaniards claimed to recover ſuch monies; and likewiſe to permit the plaintifs to take unto them what Advocats and Counſel they would. Then, after thoſe Embaſſadors were called again into the Senat, this decree and act of the Senat was read unto them, and willed they were to nominat their Advocats: who named four, to wit, *M. Porcius Cato*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the ſon of *Cnius*, *L. Æmylius Paulus* the ſon of *Marcus*, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. And firſt they took commiſſioners to proceed againſt *M. Titinius*, who had been Prætor in the hither Province of *Spain*, when *Au. Manlius* and *M. Junius* were Conſuls. Twice was the cauſe of the accuſed party adjourned to a farther time, but at the third ſeſſion he was quit and found unguilty. Then aroſe ſome variance and diſſention between the Embaſſadors of thoſe two Provinces. The States of this higher *Spain*, took for their patrons and Advocats, *M. Cato* and *Scipio*: they of the farther and lower *Spain*, made choice of *L. Paulus* and *Gallus Sulpitius*. They of high *Spain* convented before the delegate judges, *P. Furius Philus*: the other of the baſe *Spain*, *M. Matienus*. *Philus* had been L. Deputy there three years paſt, when Sp. *Poſthumius* and *Q. Mutius* were Conſuls; but this *Matienus* two years before, during the Conſulſhip of *L. Poſthumius* and *M. Popilius*. Charged they were both of them with right grievous matters and imputations, and a farther day granted of a final judgment: but when they were to anſwer judicially again, they made default, and for excuſe it was alledged, that they were both out of the country; and ſo they departed into voluntary exile, *Furius* to *Præneſte*, and *Matienus* to *Tyber*. The voice went, that the patrons of the plaintifs would not ſuffer them to follow proceſs ſtill againſt ſuch noble and great perſonages: and the ſuſpition hereof was more pregnant, by reaſon that *Canuleius* the Prætor let this matter fall, and began to take muſters and levy ſouldiers for the war; and ſo forthwith directly went into the Province, to the end that no more men ſhould be brought into queſtion and trouble by theſe Spaniards. By this means, all former matters paſt were buried in ſilence and no more ſpeech made of them; but for future time, the Senat took order and provided for the Spaniards ſo well, that they obtained an immunity, That no Roman Magiſtrate ſhould have power and authority to ſet the price upon any grain, nor force the Spaniards to ſell the *Victuailes* at what rate he pleaſed to ſet down: alſo that there ſhould be no commiſſioners appointed within their Towns for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and mony iſſuing from thence. Beſides, there came another embaſſy of a ſort of people out of *Spain*, after a new and ſtrange manner: for there were above four hundred perſons, avouching themſelves the children of Roman ſouldiers and Spaniſh women not joyned in wedlock: who appeared before the Senat and beſought them, for to

allow them a City to inhabit. Whereupon ordained it was, That they ſhould enter their names and be matriculated before their Pretor *L. Canuleius*: and look whomſoever of them he affranchiſed and made free, thoſe they thought meet to be ſent to *Carteia* neer the Sea ſide, and there planted: alſo that thoſe Carteians, who were willing ſtill to keep home and remain there, ſhould be privileged as Coloners and ſo enrolled, and to enjoy beſides a portion of Lands aſſigned unto them. This was a Latine colony, and was called the Colony of the Libertins.

At the ſame time there came as Embaſſador out of *Africk*, *Guluſſa* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa*, and likewiſe the Carthaginian embaſſage. *Guluſſa* firſt was brought into the Senat: who declared what his father had ſent unto them againſt the Macedonian: promiſing withal, that if it pleaſed them to impoſe more upon him, he would be ready to perform the ſame in remembrance of the benefits received from the people of *Rome*: finally, he gave the LL. of the Senat a caveat by the way to take heed that the Carthaginians deceived them not in the end: for that reſolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navy, under pretence of ſending it to the Romans againſt the Macedonians; which if it were once ready rigged and furniſhed, it was in their choice then, to make whom they would either friends or foes. * * * * * * *

Being entred the camp and ſhewing the heads aloft, they ſtruck ſuch a fear, that if immediatly the army had come forward and advanced againſt them, the camp might have been won: and yet even then as it was, they fled amain: and ſome there were who gave their opinion, to ſend Embaſſadors to treat and with praiers to intreat for peace. Upon the news reported hereof, many Cities ſubmitted and were ſurrendred. Such as made excuſe, and laid the fault upon the folly of two perſons only, who had of their own accord offered themſelves to be puniſhed, obtained pardon of the Pretor. And then forthwith he went in expedition againſt other Cities; but finding them all ready to do whatſoever they were commanded, he paſſed quietly with his army through that countrey in peace, which but a while before was all up in arms and on a light fire. This lenity of the Pretor, which he uſed in taming and ſubduing this moſt fierce and proud nation without effuſion of blood, was by ſo much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senat and the whole body of the people, as the Conſul *Licinius* and the other Pretor *Lucretius* had warred in *Greece* with greater cruelty and avarice. As for *Lucretius*, the Tribuns of the Commons accuſed him daily in their ordinary Orations before the people for his abſence: Notwithſtanding his excuſe was alledged, that abſent he was, and employed about the affairs of the State. But in thoſe daies, ſo unknown were things done hard by, that even at that preſent he was at his farm within the territory of *Antium*, and buſy in conveighing a conduct of water out of the river *Coracina* to *Antium*: the charges whereof he defraied with the money raiſed out of the ſale of prizes taken from the enemies. Some ſay that he bargained to have that peece of work effected, for the ſum of a hundred and 13000 Aſſes. Moreover he embelliſhed and adorned the Temple of *Æſculapius*, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envy and ill will the obloquy alſo and diſhonor like to grow to *Lucretius*, turned upon his ſucceſſor *Hortenſius*, by occaſion of the Embaſſadors of *Abdera*, who in piteous wiſe complained with teares before the Senat, that their Town was by *Hortenſius* forced and ranſacked: How the cauſe of this ruin and deſtruction of their City was no more but this, that being enjoined by him to make paiment of a hundred thouſand Denarii, and allowance of fifty thouſand Modii of wheat, they requeſted ſome reſpit of time, wherein they might addreſs their Embaſſadors, as well to *Hoſtilius* the Conſul as unto *Rome*, concerning this impoſition. For ſcarcely were they come unto the ſaid Conſul, but they heard how their City was forced, the principal citizens there of beheaded, and all the reſt ſold in port-ſale under the garland. Theſe were grievous indignities in the ſight of the Senat, whereupon they paſſed the ſame ordinance in the behalf of the Abderits, that the year before had been directed in the like caſe as touching the Coronæans; and commanded the Pretor *Q. Manius* to publiſh the ſaid decree before the publick aſſembly of the people. In like manner two Commiſſioners were ſent, namely *C. Sempronius Bleſus*, and *L. Julius Cæſar* for to re-eſtabliſh the Abderits in their freedom: who alſo had in charge to ſignify from them both to the Conſul *Hoſtilius*, and alſo to the Pretor *Hortenſius*, That the Senate judged the hoſtility offered unto the Abderits injurious, and the war unlawful, and therefore that all ſuch as were brought into ſervitude, ſhould be ſought out and reſtored again to liberty.

At the ſame time preſentation was made unto the Senat of certain complaints againſt *C. Caſſius* who had been Conſul the year before, and at that time was employed in quality of a Colonel-marſhal together with *A. Hoſtilius* in *Macedony*. Likewiſe there arrived the Embaſſadors of *Cincibilus* a pety King of the Gauls, A brother of his having audience granted in the Senat made a ſpeech, wherein he complained, that *C. Caſſius* had given the waſt to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the *Alps* who were their allies and confederats, and from thence had led away into captivity many thouſand perſons. And much at one inſtant there came the Embaſſadors of the Carnians, Iſtrians and Japides with complaints againſt *Caſſius*. That firſt he had enjoined them to furniſh him with guids for to ſhew and direct him the beſt way to march with his army into *Macedony*, and ſo departed in peace from them, as if he had meant to war elſe-where: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey, he returned upon them, and in hoſtile manner overran their frontiers, robbing, ſpoiling & burning wheſoever he went: and to this day they cannot deviſe and know the reaſon wherefore the Conſul ſhould hold them for enemies and deal ſo cruelly by them. As well the Prince of the Gauls aforſaid being abſent as theſe Embaſſadors in place received

this answer, That as touching the outrages for which they shewed themselves grieved, the Senat H
neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the same,
since they were committed. But against all right and equity it were to condemn unheard in his
own defence, and absent, such a personage as he is, namely, a man who had been Consul; consi-
dering also that his employment about the C. W. is the occasion of his absence. When *C. Cassius* is
once returned out of *Macedony*, then if they would shew themselves and accuse him face to face,
the Senat would hear the cause and take knowledge accordingly, yea, and endeavour that they
should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was, that these nations should not
be dispatched only with this bare answer, but that Embassadors also should be sent: two unto the
foresaid King beyond the *Alps*: and other three to the people above named, for to acquaint them
with the resolution of the Lords of the Senat. And they gave order besides to send presents to I
each of the Embassadors to the value of two thousand Asses over and above, to the two Princes
that were brethren, these gifts following, to wit, two chains of gold weighing after they were
wrought five pound of gold: also five peeces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twenty
pound: two bard horses with their riders and lackies: likewise horsemens armour and their
cassocks: and liveries likewise for all those of their train, as well bond as free. These were the
things sent unto them. But at their own request granted it was besides, that they might for their
mony buy each of them ten horses, and be allowed to transport them out of *Italy*. The Embassa-
dors sent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were *C. Lælius* and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*: to the
other nations *C. Sicinius*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, and *T. Memmius*.

Moreover, there met together in *Rome* at once, the Embassadors of many States both of *Greece* K
and *Asia*. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senat, who related, That they had sent
unto the Consul *P. Licinius* and the Pretor *C. Lucretius*, what shipping they had, and all the fight-
ing men they were able to make: but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levy of a
hundred thousand Modii of corn. Which, albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very
husbandmen themselves lived of foreign corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to
do accordingly, because they would not seem to be wanting in any dutiful service: and willing
they were yet, and prest to perform whatsoever they would require. The Milesians for their part
said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offred themselves to be ready to accom-
plish all that the Senat should command them toward this war. The Alabandians shewed, That
they had built a * Temple to the City of *Rome*, and ordained besides, that in the honour of that L
goddess there should be a solemnity of games and plaies exhibited every year. Also, that they had
brought with them for a present, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to set it up in the Capi-
tol as a gift and offering to *Iup. Opt. Max.* and withal, three hundred horsmens shields, which they
were minded to bestow upon those, unto whom it pleased them to appoint and command. Their
petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their present in the Capitol, and there to sa-
crifice. The men of *Lampsacus* came with a golden crown weighing fourscore pound, protesting,
That they had quit and abandoned *Perseus*, so soon as ever the Roman army was arrived in *Ma-
cedony*, notwithstanding they owed allegeance unto *Perseus*, and were homagers to his father *Phi-
lip* before him. In which consideration, as also for that they had performed their devoir to their
full power to the Roman Generals, they requested no other favour to be gratified withal, but M
to be received into the amity of the people of *Rome*: and in case there should be peace concluded
with *Perseus*, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under
his obedience. The rest of the Embassadors had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for
the Lampsacens, order was given to *Q. Manius* the Pretor, to enter and enrol them in the num-
ber of allies. Every one of these Embassadors were rewarded with a present worth two thousand
Asses. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into *Macedony* their shields
aforesaid, and to deliver them unto *A. Hostilius* the Consul. Over and besides, the Carthaginian
Embassadors out of *Africk*, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thou-
sand Modii of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had on shipboard at the
sea-side, ready to cary the same wheresoever the Senat would appoint. This benevolence of theirs N
they accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that this gift and recognisance of
their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of *Rome*.
How beit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to do the part of thankful, faithful,
and trusty allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both states. In like sort the Em-
bassadors of *Masanissa* promised the same proportion of corn, with 1200 horse, and twelve Ele-
phants, assuring them in his name, to do whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be
thought needful; and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord.
Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the King, requested they were to trans-
port over into *Macedony* to the Consul *A. Hostilius*, those things which they had promised. To
the Embassadors were sent by way of presents, two thousand Asses apeece. The Cretensian Em- O
bassadors, related how they had sent into *Macedony* such a number of Archers, as the Consul *P.
Licinius* had imposed upon them: and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there
served more Archers of theirs under *Perseus* than with the Romans; this answer was made unto
them, That if the Cretensians would well and truly and in good earnest prefer the friendship of
the people of *Rome* before that of King *Perseus*, the Senat of *Rome* likewise would give them an-
swer as certain and assured allies: in the mean while, they should [illegible] ferry-men to under-
stand,

A stand, that it was the will and pleasure of the Senat, that the Cretensians should with all speed pos-
sible call home all those souldiers whom they had in any garrison of King *Perseus*. The Candiots
being dismissed with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very first sight
of them, it soon appeared upon what terms of necessity they were driven to send an embassage:
when *Miccion* the chief man among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his feet,
was brought into the Senat in a litter. In which extremity diseased as he was, there was no plea-
ding of any excuse by his infirmity, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had
all done. He began by way of preface and præamble, saying, "He had nothing left alive but his
"tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and first
"shewed what courtesies and good turns the State wherin he lived had performed to the Captains
B "General and armies of the Romans, both of old, and also of late in the war against *Perseus*. After
"this, he declared what parts of pride, covetousnes, and cruelty, first, *C. Lucretius* a Roman Pretor
"had exercised upon his country-men, and afterwards what *L. Hortensius* practised, at that time
"above all others: also how the Chalcidians were resolved to endure all calamities, were they
"more grievous than those which they presently suffred, rather than they would yeeld to *Perseus*.
"And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for
"their safety to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into their City. For such
"as had excluded them forth, as namely, they of *Emathia*, *Amphipolis*, *Maronea*, and *Ænus*, remain
"still entire and in good estate; but with us (say they) the Temples have been robbed of all their
"beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoiled by these sacriledgers, *C. Lucretius* hath carried all away
C "by water over to *Antium*, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the persons free born.
"So as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of *Rome*, both have been and daily are pil-
"led & rifled. For according to the use & fashion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortensius* likewise
"houseth his mariners as well in summer as winter, and our houses are ful of a rabble of these sailers
"and sea-men, in such sort as our wives and children be forced to converse among such grooms as
"make no account at all what either they say or do. Hereupon thought good it was, to send for
Lucretius into the Senat, that he might see his accuser, answer face to face, and purge himself of
these challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in presence, than had been
spoken against him in his absence. Over and besides, there shewed themselves and joined together
against him, two other more stout adversaries and bitter accusers, to wit, *M. Iuventius Talna* and
D *Cn. Anfidius*. And these two not only courted him before the Senat, but also having drawn him
perforce into the general assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproa-
ches, took out process also and arrested him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day
before the people. Then *Q. Manius* the Pretor, by order from the Senat, answered the Chalcidians
in this manner: Wheras ye alledge and say, That ye have well deserved of the people of *Rome* both
heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, and ac-
cepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances
and complaints for the lewd parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortensius* still
practiseth (both Pretors of *Rome*) the same neither have been nor are committed and done by the
will and allowance of the people of *Rome*. For who would not judge so of it, that knoweth how
E they levyed war upon King *Perseus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchise *Greece* and
set it at liberty; and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be intreated by their Ma-
gistrats and Governors sent from hence? Write therfore they would unto *L. Hortensius* the Pre-
tor, to let him understand, that the Senate is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the
Chalcidians complain of. Also if any free-born persons were become thrall and bound, that with
all convenient speed he should take order to seek them up and restore them again to their former
freedom. Last of all, that they deemed it meet and reason, that no sailer or mariner, but only the
masters of ships should be lodged and entertained in your houses. And these were the contents of
the letters written unto *Hortensius*, by commandment from the Senate. Unto the Embassadors
were gifts sent, to every one asmuch as came to 2000 Asses. As for *Miccion*, he was allowed his
F carriage in chariots at the charges of the City, and order given that he should with all ease ride in
them to *Brundusium*. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns com-
menced an action against him before the people, to be a fined at a million of Asses. And in a gene-
rall assembly and Session holden for this purpose, cast he was and condemned by the suffrages of all
the tribes, even thirty five and no fewer.

In *Liguria* no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entred into
arms, nor the Consul led his legions into their country; and when he was assured of peace for
that year, he discharged the souldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 daies after his first co-
ming into the Province. As for the army of the Latine allies, he brought it early into the Cities of
Luna and *Pisa* there to winter: and then himself with the cavalry visited most of the Cities in the
G Province of *Gaul*.

In no place was there any war but in *Macedony*: howbeit they had in suspition *Gentius* and the
King of the Illyrians. Therefore the Senate ordained to send from *Brundusium* eight ships ready
rigged and fully furnished, unto the Lieutenant *C. Furius* at * *Issa*, who was Governor of the Iland * Lissa.
with the guard and strength of two Issean Vessels; in which were put aboord and shipped 2000
souldiers, which *Q. Manius* the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senate, enrolled in that
quarter of *Italy* which lieth opposite to *Illyricum*. In like manner the Consul *Hostilius* sent

Appius

* Rome a goddess.

Appius Claudius into *Illyricum* with four thousand footmen, for to defend the people in those H
parts: who not content with those forces of his own which he had brought with him thither, demanded here and there aids and succours of the allies, until he had put in arms eight thousand men of divers and sundry nations. And after he had made his progress through all that region, he set him down and rested at *Lichnidum* a City of the Dassaretians. Not far from thence there stood a frontier Town called *Uscana*, and for the most part ranged under the obedience of *Perseus*. There were within it one thousand citizens, and a small garrison of Cretensians for their better safeguard and defence. From thence there came to *Claudius* secret courriers, advertising him, that if he would approach neerer with his army, there would be some ready at hand to betray the Town into his hands: and worth the adventure it was (say they) and would quit for all the pains: for able it was with pillage to enrich not himself and his friends only, but also all his souldiers. The I
hope of this cheat, sitting so well his covetous humour, so blinded his spirit and understanding, that he had not the sence to keep with him any one of those courriers that came unto him, nor the wisedom to demand hostages for assurance of his enterprise which was to be accomplished by stealth and fraud, nor yet the forecast to send out scouts and espies, or so much reason and mother-wit as to require their oath and bond of faithful promise. Only at the day appointed he departed from *Lychnidum*, and within twelve miles of that City toward which he went, he encamped. Then by night at the relief of the fourth watch, he removed and set forward, leaving behind him a regiment of a thousand, for the guard of the camp. At length, to the City they come, disordered in a long train, marching nothing close, but far asunder loosly one from another and scattered, by reason that in the night season they went many of them out of the way. This negligence of theirs K
was the more, when they saw no man appearing upon the walls: but so soon as they were approached within a darts cast, the inhabitants issued forth at once out of 2 gates and together with the shout of them that sallied forth, a mighty noise and outcry besides arose from the walls, of women howling, yelling, and ringing brasen basons and bells on every hand; besides, the confused multitude of the base people and bond-slaves together, set up most hideous and dissonant cries. These manifold terrors presented from all parts, were the cause that the Romans could not abide and stand out the first tempest and violent storm, as it were, of their sally and charge. Down they went therefore, and were slain more in flight than fight; and scarce 2000 men with the Lieutenant himself, escaped and recovered the camp: for the longer way they had thither, the more means and opportunity had the enemies to chase and overtake a great number of them, wearied L
upon the way. *Appius* stayed not so long in the camp, until he had rallied those that were dispersed in the rout, (which had been the only way to have saved those that were straggled in the fields) but immediatly retired with the broken reliques of his army after this overthrow, to *Lychnidum*. This inselicity and inch other like misfortunes hapning in *Macedony*, were made known at *Rome*, by occasion of *Scx. Digitius* a Colonel, who was returned home for to celebrate a solemn sacrifice. In regard whereof, the LL. of the Senat fearing to receive some greater ignominy and dishonour, addressed Embassadors into *Macedony*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus* and *M. Caninius Rebulus*, to make a true report upon their knowledg how the world went there. Also that *A. Hostilius* the Consul
* *Ad quintum calendas Septembris.* I doubt, that for [*Septembris*] it should be [*Februarii*.] and then is it the 28 of *Ianuari*: which considering the precedent message and the subsequent circumstances, suiteth better to the story.
* To the God of Bounds, *Terminus*. Solemnized it was toward the end of *February* the last month of the year, as appeareth by *Ovid. Fast. 2. Qui sequitur annum veteris fuit ultimus anni: Tu quoque sacrorum, Termine, finieras.*
should publish the assembly general for the election of Consuls, so as it might be holden in the month of *January*; and then repair himself with all convenient speed to the City. In the mean time, M
M. *Retius* the Pretor had in charge, by vertue of an edict, to call home into the City all Senators from every quarter of *Italy*, unless such as were absent about the affairs of the state: also to give streight warning to them who now were at *Rome*, not to absent themselves farther than a mile from the City. These things were done according to the advice of the Senat. So the grand assembly for the election of the Consuls, was holden the * 28 day of *August*; wherein were created Consuls, *Q. Martius Philippus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius Cœpio*. Three daies after, the Pretors also were chosen, namely, *Caius Decimius*, M. *Claudius Marcellus*, M. *Sulpitius Gallus*, C. *Martius Figulus*, Scr. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Fonteius Capito*. Unto these Pretors elect, besides the two charges within the City of civil jurisdiction, these four provinces and governments were assigned, to wit, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and the admiralty of the navy. N

At the very end of *February*, the Embassadors aforsaid returned out of *Macedony*: who reconted the acts atchieved fortunatly by *Perseus* the summer past, and in how great fear the allies of the people of *Rome* stood, after so many Cities reduced under the obeisance of the King. Moreover, that the Consul his army was disfurnished of men, by reason that so many of them made friends to be discharged, and so for favour had their pass-port and were dismissed: the fault herein, the Consul laid upon the military Tribuns or Colonels, and they again upon him. The LL. of the Senat perceived well that they made but light of the shameful foil received by the inconsiderate rashness of *Claudius*, in saying, That there were but very few souldiers lost of the Italian nation, and those for the most part taken up in hast and enrolled on a suddain. The Consuls elect so O
soon as they entred into their magistracy, were commanded to propound unto the Senat concerning the Province of *Macedony*, and to them were assigned the governments of *Italy* and *Macedony*. This year was leap-year, and the third day after the feast * *Terminalia*, was the day inserted between, which hapned upon the calends [of *March*.] Within the compass of that year certain Priests, to wit, *L. Flaminius*, and two Pontifies or Bishops, *L. Furius Philus*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, departed this life. The colledge of these Pontifies, elected *T. Manlius Torquatus* in stead of *Furius*, and *Marcius Servilius* in the room of *Livius*. 10

A In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Coss. *Q. Martius* and *Q. Servilius*, had moved in the Senat as touching their provinces, advised it was, That with all speed possible they should either agree between themselves, or else cast lots for the governments in *Italy* and in *Macedony*. And before that the lots determined this matter so doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards should be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and sufficient number of souldiers for the supplement of the armies in both Provinces: namely, for *Macedony* 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Latine allies; 250 horsemen Romans, and 300 allies: also to case the old souldiers, so as in every Roman legion there should not be above 6000 foot and 300 horse. As for the other Consul, he was not gaged with any certain stint of Roman citizens, to be levied for the full accomplishment of his legions.
B Only this was determinatly set down, That he should enrol two legions, and either of them to contain 5200 foot and 300 horse: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague; namely, 10000 foot and 600 horse. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occasion soever should fall out. The Marshal-Colonels of the army the Consuls might not be permitted to elect, but created they were by the people. The allies of the Latine nation were enjoined to set out sixteen thousand foot and a thousand horse. And this power was only to be in a readiness at an hours warning, for to be led forth as occasion should be offered. Their principal care was about *Macedony*. Ordained also it was, That for the service at Sea, there should be enrolled to serve the navy, of the Roman citizens (such as were libertins and newly enfranchised) out of all parts of C *Italy* one thousand, and as many out of *Sicily*. And unto whether of the Consuls the Province of *Macedony* fell, he should give order for their transporting thither, to the armado wheresoever it was. For *Spain* there were three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horsemen appointed to make up the decaied bands. There also, a certain number was set down for every legion, to wit, five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Moreover, that Consul whose lot was to govern in *Spain*, had commission to levy of the allies four thousand footmen, and three hundred horse.
D I am not ignorant, that from the same prophane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now adaies are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-signify nothing to come by signs and tokens; it proceedeth also, That no prodigies which happen, should any more, either be published and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of these acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not how, but me thinks I cary a mind, that is become (as it were) antique also; yea, and some scrupulous devotion ariseth in my spirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my histories, which those sage fathers and most prudent personages in old time thought meet to be considered of by the State, yea, and to require publick expiation. Well, to proceed, from *Anagnia* were two fearful sights reported that year, namely, That aburning and blazing flame was seen in the skie; and a cow known to speak, kept and nourished at the publick charges. At *Minturnæ* also much about those daies, the welkin seemed to be on a light fire. At *Reate* there fell a shower that rained stones. In the fortress at *Cumes* the image of *Apollo* wept three daies and three nights continually. In the E City of *Rome*, two sextons or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of *Fortune* there was a Serpent seen by many men, crested with a mane: the other, That about the chappel of * *Fortuna Primigenia*, which standeth upon the Capitol hill, there hapned two divers and different prodigious signs, namely, That in the Chappel-yard there sprung up a palm-tree; and all one day it rained blood. Two other strange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made; the first, because it chanced in a privat place; for T. *Martius Figulus* reported. That there grew up a palm or date-tree in his court-yard: the second, because it hapned in a forrain place: for spoken it was, That at *Fregelle* in the house of M. *Atreus*, a lance or spear which he had bought for his son a souldier, burned in the day time for two hours space and more, yet so, as the fire consumed nothing thereof. In regard of those publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourse F to the books of *Sibylla*: who out of them declared, That the Consuls should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, and they shewed also to what Gods. They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick procession, and that all the Magistrats at every shrine and upon every altar of the Gods should sacrifice greater beasts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers. All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs suggested and directed.

* *Cum primogenita favente* when she was good to the first born. *Barthius Marlianus.*

After this, the assembly was published for the chusing of Censors. In election there were for this dignity of Censorship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the City, *C. Valerius Lævinus*, *L. Postumius Albinus*, *P. Mucius Scævola*, *C. Junius Brutus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. These two last rehearsed the people of *Rome* chose for Censors. When as by occasion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of musters, than at other G times before, the Consuls found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senat, that the yong and able men for service being called, would not answer to their names. But *C. Sulpitius* and M. *Claudius* two Tribuns of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalf of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Consuls to levy souldiers: mary, for corrupt, affectionat and popular Consuls, it was not so easy a thing, and namely, such as would be sure to enrol no souldiers against their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to be a truth, they should see the Pretors (if the Senate were so

so content, and thought well thereof) whose power of command, and authority of government H was * less than the Consuls, to go through with the musters without impeachment. So that charge was committed to the Pretors with the great assent of the Senators, but not without some backbiting and detraction of the Consuls. And the Censors for to assist and set forward that affair, made it known, and protested in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish an act, as touching the review and estimat of every mans demeanour and liability, that besides the ordinary oath of all citizens, they should swear to these points in this form following: Art thou under six and forty years of age? then by vertue of the edict made by the Censors *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and shew thy self at the musters so often as there shall be any levy taken: and what Censors soever shall happen to be in place, thou shalt appear and be enrolled, in case thou wert not a prest souldier before. Moreover, because the voice went, that many souldiers I of the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large pasports without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the souldiers enrolled for *Macedony*, when *P. Ælius* and *C. Popilius* were Consuls, or any time after, That as many of them as remained within *Italy*, after they were enrolled and registred first under their hands, should within thirty daies repair again to their colours into the province: and whosoever of them were at the disposition of father or grand sire, their names should be presented and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their causes who were clean dismissed and cassed: and look whomsoever they judged to have obtained their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full time by law required, they would command them to be enrolled souldiers again. By vertue of this edict of the K Censors, as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporat Towns and places of resort for market and merchandise, there assembled together and came to *Rome* such a multitude of lusty, yong, and able men, that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumberous to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be sent and employed in supply of the old armies, four legions more were enrolled by *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor, and within eleven daies the musters were accomplished and ended.

* The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lictors, and the provincial abroad in forrain parts not above six apeece, whereupon *Polybius* calleth a Pretor ἑξαπέλεκυν, whereas each Consul had every where twelve.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civil causes which required their jurisdictions. The one over the citizens was falne to *C. Sulpitius*, the other over forrainers to *C. Decimius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of *Spain*, *Serg. Cornelius Lentulus* of *Sicily*, *P. Fonteius* L *Capito* ruled *Sardinia*, *C. Martius Figulus* had the conduct of the navy. And then, I say, to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of *Italy*, and to *Q. Martius* the other of *Macedony*. This *Martius* so soon as the Latine feasts were solemnised, departed toward his province immediatly. After this, upon the motion of *Capio* to the Senat to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new he should conduct into *Gaul*? the LL. ordained, That the Pretors *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consul, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Consul was thus subjected to the will of the Pretors: yet after the Senat was risen, he stood waiting at the Tribunal of the Pretors, and required them according to the order set down by the Senat, to assign him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choice thereof to the Consul himself. This done, the Censors took a review M of the Senat and chose new Senators: and *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was elected president of the Senat: and these were the third Senators that made choice of him consequently one after another. Seven were displaced and deposed from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the people, and in assessing them, they compelled to return into *Macedony* those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this assesment, they soon knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from souldery; and whose licence they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason those they forced to take the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censors, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of *Macedony*; and this shalt thou do to thy power without fraud or covin. In N making the review of them that served on horseback, their censure was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole estate of Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome*, they blew the coals and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, That none of them who in time that *Q. Fulvius* and *Au. Posthumius* the Censors had taken to farm the revenews, fruits and profits of the City, or undertaken at a price the publick works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their spear set up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no, nor to be partners, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicans and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senat: but when they could obtain no comfort from them; O to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Censors, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them and defend their cause; a man who upon a particular and private quarrel of his own was offended and bare a grudge against the Censors. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull down a wall standing in the street *Sacra* over against a publick edifice; pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called unto the

A the Tribuns for their lawful help and favour: but when as none of them all but only this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Censors sent to strain and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the body of the people intended an action against him, and set a grievous fine upon the head of that party aforesaid. By means I say of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans betook themselves for succour to this Tribune, presently there was a bill preferred and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form, That what publick revenews and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *T. Sempronius* had to farm let for a rent, or what publick works and provisions they had put out to be made and purveied at a price, the same leases and bargains should not stand for good but be cancelled, and new demises drawn and made. Also that it might be lawfull for all men indifferently B either to be farmers or undertakers of the premisses. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a general assembly and session, to have this bill to be cast by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Censors advanced and put themselves forward to dissuade and plead against the bill. So long as *Gracchus* spake, he was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius*, when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept a muttering, so as he was forced by an *oier* made by the crier to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that flang out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day he kept a great coil and made a foul stir: first, he interdicted the goods of *Tib. Gracchus* as condemned and accursed, for that in setting a fine, and streining gages of him, C who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: nay, he protested that he would indite both the Censors of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required of *Sulpitius* Pretor for the citizens, a day of affizes for their judicial tryal. The Censors refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this hainous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was affigned the * daies immediatly before the eight and seventh calends of *October*. Upon this, the Censors incontinently ascended up into the Porch of *Liberty*: where after they had made sure and sealed the publick Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices D of the Chancery, and discharged for the time the publick Clarks and proto-Notaries attending upon that Court, they protested that they would not go in hand with any publick affairs of state, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his own cause and spake for himself: and when of twelve Centuries that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Censor guilty and cast him, yea and many other centuries of the first *Classis*. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to be good unto the Censors. But that which most of all either staid or reversed the definitive doom against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himself the other Censor: for that when the commons cried from all parts, that there was E no danger growing toward *Gracchus*, he sware by express words, That if his colleague were condemned, he would (without attending the judgment of the people as touching himself) accompany him into banishment. How beit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this neer point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and moleſt *Gracchus*.

* *in ante diem* 8 & 7 *Calendas Octobris*, that is, the 23 and 24 of *September*.

This yeat at the earnest suit of the Aquileian Embassadors unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies encreased: a thousand and five hundred families (by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to *Aquileia*, were sent as Triumvirs or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annius Luscus*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same year *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Octavius* Embassadors, who had been sent into *Greece*, having first read and published at *Thebes* the arest and ordinance of the Senat, carried it afterwards throughout all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the wars, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrats, more than that which the Senat had set down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time that they should be eased of those charges and expenses, by which they were impoverished and wasted, whiles every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achæan general councel holden at *Argos*, they had audience given them and were heard in gracious sort: from whence leaving this most loyal and faithful nation in singular good hope of happy estate for the time to come, they passed into *Ætolia*. There was as yet no sedition broken out G there; but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of natural accusations: in regard of which jars and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into *Acarnania*. The Acarnanians granted unto these Embassadors a Diet to be holden at *Tyrrheum*: where some debate was between the partakers of divers factions. Some principal men of the States required that there should be garrisons received into their Cities, to bridle the wilfull folly of those that enclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainsaid this course, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and

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confederat Cities should be put to receive that disgrace and dishonor, which usually falleth upon known enemies and those that are conquered by force of arms. And this request was reputed just. Then the Embassadors returned to *Larissa* unto *Hostilius* the Pro-consul, for from him they were employed in embassage. *Octavius* he retained still with him: but *Popilius* together with a 1000 souldiers or very neer, he sent to *Ambracia*, there to lodge for the winter time.

Perseus in the beginning of winter durst not go forth of the frontiers of *Macedony*, for fear lest the Romans would invade with violence his realm in some place or other, if they found it void and disfurnished. But toward the mids of *December* about mid-winter, when by reason of the deep snow the mountains are unpassable and unsuperable from out of *Thessaly*, thinking he had then a fit season and opportunity to cut off the hopes and break the hearts of the neighbor-borderers, that when he should be averted another way and buried in the Roman war, he might be secured of danger from them: considering that from the parts of *Thracia* he had peace with *Cotys*; and likewise from *Epirus* side (by the means of *Cephalus*, who suddainly of late was revolted from the Romans:) moreover having newly vanquished the Dardanians in war; and seeing only that quarter to infest and annoy *Macedony*, which regardeth and affronteth *Illyricum*; and that those Illyrians also were not quiet and at peace, but ready to give entrance unto the Romans; but if he had subdued and tamed those Illyrians which were next unto him. then King *Gentius* also, who a long time hung between in doubtful terms, might be induced & drawn wholly into society with him: he resolved at length, and with ten thousand footmen heavily armed, whereof part were Phalangitæ, and other two thousand lightly appointed; and five hundred horse, he made a rode and presented his forces before *Stubera*: from whence after he had provided himself of corn to serve for many daies; and given order that the ordinance and engins of battery should follow after: at the third daies end he lodged neer *Uscana*, the head City of all that Land *Penestia*. But before that he offered any assault, he sent certain of purpose to sound and sollicit the affections, one while of the Captains of the garrison, and another while of the Townsmen. Now there lay within the City, together with the manhood and youth of the Illyrians, a garrison also of the Romans. And when he saw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he began to bend his forces against them, and assaid to invest them round about, and so to force the City. And albeit both night and day without any rest and intermission, they pressed upon the inhabitants, and evermore one succeeded another; whiles some reared ladders against the walls, others threw balls of fire against the gates, yet the defendants of the City held out and endured that furious and violent tempest: because they hoped that neither the Macedonians lying abroad were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter; nor the King on the other side could have so much release and relaxation from the Roman war, as to stay there and make his abode. But after they perceived once the mantilets approach, and the frames of turrets and fabricks erected their resistance was over-matched & they began to relent. For besides that in plain force they were the weaker and not able to resist, distressed also they were for want of corn, neither had they store of any other provision, as being taken on a suddain, and looking for nothing less than siege at such a time of the year. Therefore when they were past all hope to be able any longer to resist, *C. Cavilius Spoletinus* and *C. Afranius* were sent from the Roman garrison, to crave of *Perseus*, first that he would permit them to depart in their arms, and to carry with them their bag and baggage: secondly, if they might not obtain so much, that he would but give them assurance of life and liberty. The King was more free and liberal to promise, than fast and faithful to perform. For after he had commanded them to go forth and carry with them a lthat was their own: the first thing that he did was to disarme them and take away their weapons. * * *

They were not so soon departed out of the Town but both the company of the Illyrians, to the number of 500 men, and also the inhabitants of *Uscana* rendred themselves and their City. *Perseus* when he had put a garrison in *Uscana* led away the whole multitude of the yeelded Townsmen (and those were well-neer as many in number as his own army) and transported them to *Stubera*: where after he had sent the Romans (all besides their Captains) who were 4000 fighting men, into sundry cities to be kept in ward, and sold the Uscanians and Illyrians: he led his army back into *Penestia*, intending to be master of *Oeneum*. a Town seated otherwise commodiously, and withal it is the very key and highway that openeth passage into the country of the Labeates, within the realm of King *Gentius*, and where he kept his roial state. As he passed by a strong borough-Town well inhabited, named *Draudacum*, one about him that was well acquainted with the coasts of that country put into his head, that bootless it was and to no purpose to win *Oeneum*, unless he had *Draudace* also in his hands, as being a Town situate more commodiously in all respects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and so soon as ever he presented his army before it, incontinently all the inhabitants submitted and yeelded. Being much animated and encouraged with this surrender of theirs, which they made far sooner than he hoped or looked for; after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled army of his was, all the way as he marched he brought under his subjection eleven other Castles and strong holds, upon the like fear that they were put into. Violence he used against very few of them: the rest yeelded willingly: wherein were taken 1500 Roman souldiers, placed there in several garrisons. In great head and to very good use served *Cavilius Spoletinus* in all their parlies, who evermore gave it out that there had been no cruelty nor rigor exercised upon him and his fellows. At length the King came before *Oeneum*, which could not possibly be won without a set and full siege. For the Town had far more youth and able men

men within it then the rest, was fortified with a strong wall about it, and defended of the one side with the river called *Artatus*, and of the other with an exceeding high hill, and the same of hard and difficult acceesse. All these things considered, the townsmen were in good hope to be able for to make resistance. *Perseus*, having entrenched the town and cast a rampier round about it, began likewise to raise a terrace & mount from the upper part thereof, to that height as might surmount and over-top the wals. But during the time that this peece of work was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were consumed by divers and sundry adventures, whiles they skirmished oft and sallied forth, endeavouring both to defend their own wals, and also to empeach the fabricks and devises of their enemies. And those that remained alive, what with toilsome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were past all service and good for nothing. So soon as the terrace and mount aforesaid was raised close unto the wall, both the Kings cohort (whom they call *Nicatores*) mounted up into it, and also with ladders the assault was given unto the City in many places at once. All that were above fourteen years old he put to the sword: their wives and small children he cast into prison. The rest of the booty and pillage fell to the souldiers share. As he returned from thence with victory to *Stubera*, he sent as Embassadors unto *Gentius*, *Pleuratus* the Illyrian (a banished person who sojourned with him) and *Aputeus* a Macedonian of *Berrhæa*. Them he gave in charge to declare unto *Gentius*, what he had atchieved against the Romans and Dardanians the summer past, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withall to perswade the K. for to be knit in amity with him and the Macedonians. These Embassadors having transmounted the top of the hill *Scordus* and traversed the wilds and wolds of *Illyricum*, which the Macedonians of purpose had laid waste and desert, to the end, that the Dardanians might have no easie passage either into *Illyricum* or *Macedony*) after much pain and travell they arrived in the end at *Scodra*. Now was K. *Gentius* at *Lissus*, and thither were the Embassadors sent for, where they deliuered their message with gracious audience: but they went away with an answer to no effect; namely, that he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to war upon the Romans; but his coffers were empty, and he lacked money especially, to go in hand and enterprise that which he desired. This answer they related unto King *Perseus* at *Stubera*, at what time as he was most busie in selling of his captives taken in *Illyricum*. Then forthwith were the same Embassadors addressed again unto him, accompanied with *Glaucias* one of the Kings guard and squires of his body, without any mention made of money, and that was the only means to induce the bare and needy barbarous Prince to levy war. After this, *Perseus* ransacked the City *Ancyra*, and once again reduced his army into Penestines country, and having strengthned the garrisons in *Uscana*, and in all the forts and peeces about it, he returned into *Macedony*.

L. Celius a Roman lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of *Illyricum*, who durst not stir so long as King *Perseus* was in those quarters; but in the end after his departure, he endeavoured to recover *Uscana* in the Penestins country, but was repulsed from thence by the garrison of the Macedonians there, and caried away nothing but many a dry knock and bloudy wound, & so retired with his forces to *Lychnidum*: from whence, some few daies after he sent *M. Trebellius Fregellanus* into the Penestins country, with a strong power, for to receive hostages of those Cities who faithfully had persisted in amity & friendship. He commanded him also to go for ward to the Partins (for they likewise had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both these nations, the said hostages might be gotten without any stir and trouble. The hostages of the Penestins were sent to *Apollonia*, but those of the Partins to *Dyrrhachium*, which in those daies was more usually called by the Greeks *Epidamnus*.

App. Claudius, desirous to raise out the blemish and make amends for the dishonour received in *Illyricum*, set in hand to assault *Phanotes* a fort of *Epirus*, having brought thither with him the Athamans and Thesprotians (over and above the Roman army) to the number of 6000 men; but he got nothing there but travell for his paines, by reason that the place was valiantly defended by *Cleon*, left there with a strong garrison by K. *Perseus*. *Perseus* likewise made an expedition to *Elymea*, and after he had taken a solemn survey of his army about it, he conducted his power to *Stratus* at the request of the Epirots This *Stratus* then, was the strongest City of all *Ætolia*. Situate it is upon the gulf of *Ambracia*, neer the river *Achelous*. he advanced thither with 10000 foot & not above 300 horse: of them the took the fewer with him in number, by reason of the straight passages and rugged waies. Being come at the third daies end so far as to the mount *Citius*, after he had with much difficulty paised over it, the snow lay so deep, that hardly and with much ado could he find a convenient place to encamp in. From thence he removed, more for that he could not there abide and remain, then for any intolerable way and weather he met withall in his dismarch and journey forward: so with passing great travell and trouble, of his beasts especially, the second day he arrived at the temple of *Jupiter* called *Nicetus*, and there lodged. Then after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river *Arachthus*, being staied there by reason of the deep water: during which time, he made a bridg over and transported his forces; and when he was gone a daies journey onward, he encountred on the way *Archidamus* a principall person of the Ætolians, by whose means the City of *Stratus* was to be delivered up unto him. And that day he lodged upon the frontiers of *Ætolia*: from whence next morrow he journeyed as far as to *Stratus*, where having encamped neer the river *Achelous*, he looked that the Ætolians would run out unto him by heaps at all their gates, to yeeld themselves to his protection; but in-

stead thereof he found their gates shut & garisons of the Romans received into the City that very night when he came, together with the lieutenant *C. Popilius*. For the chief of the City (who induced and enforced by the authority of *Archidamus* whiles he was present in place, had sent for the K.) became more slack and negligent, by occasion that *Archidamus* was gone forth to meet with him, and thereby gave advantage and opportunity to the adverse faction, to send for *Popilius* with a 1000 footmen from *Ambracia*. In very fit time and to right good purpose came *Dinarchus* also a captain of the Ætolian Cavalry, accompanied with 600 foot and a 100 horse. Known it was for certain, that he marched toward *Stratus*, as intending to band and take part with *Perseus*; but changing his mind together with the turning of fortune, he joyned with the Romans, and banded against him for whom he set out at the first. Neither was *Popilius*, among these waverings and inconstant spirits, more secured then he should be; and therefore incontinently gat the keies of the gates into his hands, and possessed himself of the guard of the wals. And for *Dinarchus* and the Ætolians, together with the youth and able men of *Stratus*, he bestowed them all in the forresse, under a colour of guarding the same. *Perseus*, having assaied to parly with them from the hils which commanded the higher part of the City, finding them perverse and obstinat, and seeing them ready to set him farther off with shot of their darts, encamped five miles off from the City, beyond the river *Peneus*. There, he called a councell; in which, *Archidamus* together with the revolts and renegats of the Epirots, exhorted him there to sojourn and continue: but the captains of the Macedonians contrariwise were of advice that there was no striving with that troublesome and dangerous season of the yeer, considering their provisions were not ready; and the assailants were like sooner to feel the scacity and want thereof, then the defendants: in regard whereof, and especially for the enemies wintred not far from thence, he dislodged and removed to *Aperantia*. The Aperantians by reason of great credit of *Archidamus* among them, received him with a generall consent. And the same *Archidamus* was made captain there over a garrison of 800 souldiers. And so the King returned into *Macedony*, with lesse trouble both of his men and beasts, then he came thither. Howbeit the bruit blown abroad, that *Perseus* led his forces against *Stratus*, caused *Appius* to levy his siege from before *Phanotes*. And *Clevas* with a brave regiment of lusty men well appointed, followed hard after him, and at the foot of the hils which were almost unpassable slew well-neer a 1000 of them as they marched heavily armed, and took prisoners above 200. But after that *Appius* was passed through streights & come into the plain called *Eleon*, he lay encamped there some few daies: mean while *Clevas*, accompanied with *Philostratus* the chief commander of the Epirots, passed over into the territory of *Antigonea*. The Macedonians went about to rob and spoil: but *Philostratus* with his cohort set him down in a wait, under a covert and hidden place for the purpole. And when as those of *Antigonia* issued forth in arms & charged upon the forragers as they ranged over the fields, and dispersed in straggling-wise, pursuing them too eagerly in their flight, they chanced to engage themselves over far within the valley where the enemies lay in ambush: and there to the number of a 1000 of them lost their lives, and almost a 100 were taken prisoners. And so the enemies having sped well in all their enterprises, removed their camp close to that of *Appius*, to the end that the Roman army might do no violence and outrage upon their friends and allies. Thus *Appius* spending the time in these parts to no purpole, and doing no good, after he had discharged the companies of the Chonians, & as many of the Epirots as were with him, returned in *Illyricum* with his Italian souldiers: and when he had distributed them among the confederat Cities of the Partynians, there to winter, returned himself to *Rome* by occasion of a certain solemn sacrifice. *Perseus* sent to *Cassandrea* for to lie in garrison there, a 1000 foot and 200 horse, whom he had caused to come again out of the countrey of the Penestins. And they that returned from *Gentius* related still the same song from him, yet never rested he nor gave over to tempt and importune him, sending Embassadors after Embassadors unto him, knowing right-well, that in him rested great importance: yet could not by any meanes possible bring the man to expend ought and to be at any charge, in a matter every way of great consequence.

The four and fortieth Book *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and fortieth Book.

QUintus Martius Philippus passing through wilds and woods, entered into Macedony *and surprised many* Cities. *The Rhodians sent Embassadors to* Rome, *threatning to aid* Perseus, *unlesse the people of* Rome *would conclude peace and contract amity with him: whereat was taken great scorn and disdain. Now when the charge of this war was committed to* L. Æmylius Paulus *the Consul now the second time for the year following,* Paulus *before the publike assembly of the people prated unto the gods, that all infelicity and cursed fortune coming towards the people of* Rome, *might be a-*

verted from thence, and light upon his own house. And so having taken a voiage into Macedony, *vanquished* Perseus *and subdued all* Macedony. *A little before he should strike a battel,* C. Sulpitius Gallus *a Martial Colonel, fore-warned the army that they should not wonder & be troubled in mind at the eclipse of the moon which was to happen the next night following. In like sort* Gentius *the King, of the Illyrians having entered again into arms, was overcome in field by* Anicius *the Pretor: and having submitted himself to him, was with his wife, children and kindred, sent to* Rome. *From* Alexandria *there arrived the Embassadors of* Cleopatra *and* Ptolomeus *King and Queen of* Ægypt, *complaining of* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *for that he warred upon them.* Perseus *having solicited* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus, *and* Gentius *King of the Illyrians to aid him, was abandoned, for that he made not true paiment of mony according to his promise.*

The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

IN the beginning of that spring which immediatly followed the winter wherein these occurrents happed, *Q. Martius Philippus* the Consul came to *Brundusium* with five thousand men, whom he intended to transport over the seas for the supply of his legions. And M. *Popilius* (one who had been Consul) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as himself, followed after the Consul to be martial-Tribunes in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time *C. Martius Figulus* the Pretor, and Admirall of the navy, repaired to *Brundusium*. Who weighing anchor, loosed to sea from *Italy* together, and arrived the next day at *Corcyra*; but the morrow after that, they put within *Actium*, an haven of *Acarnania*. From thence the Consul set sail for *Ambracia*, where he disbarked and travelled by land to *Thessaly*. But the Pretor having doubled the point of *Leucas*, entered the gulf of *Corinth*; leaving his vessels at *Crissa*, journied likewise by land to *Chalcis* unto the naval forces, making such expedition that he crossed through the midst of *Beotia* in one day. At the same time *A. Hostilius* lay encamped in *Thessaly*, neer to *Palepharsalus*. Who albeit he had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his souldiers from all licentious loosenesses, wherewith they were corrupted, and ranged them within good order of discipline. Also by his faithfull corriage in governement, he had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong and injury. Now when he was advertised of the arrivall of his successor, he assembled with all diligence his forces both men and horse, & gathered together all armor, as well offensive as defensive; and so with a brave army right well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consul upon the way. As their first encounter and meeting was honourable, and befitting as well their own reputation as the greatestate of the Roman name, so for the managing of the affairs afterward [* it was very expedient to the Consul *Philip*. For the pro-consul turning to his own army, exhorted the souldiers to perform valiant service; and to when he had delivered it to the Consul, returned to *Rome*.] Some few daies after, the Consul made an oration in a solemn audience of all his souldiers: Wherein first he began with the parricide of *Perseus*, committed upon the person of his own brother, but projected against his very father. Then he proceeded forward and declared the wicked and divelish means whereby he attained to the crown, also his practises of poysoning, his bloody murderers, he laid await for King *Eumenes* his life by way of detestable brigandage and robbery: moreover, the injuries offered to the people of *Rome*, and facking of associat Cities against the covenants of accord. All which dealings of his he should find one day (quoth he) by the issue of his affairs, how odious and cursed they are in the sight also of the immortall gods. For the gods are evermore favourable and gracious to piety and fidelity, the only means whereby the people of *Rome* is mounted to that pitch and height of felicity. Then he compared the forces of that State which already compassed the round world, with the strength of *Macedony*; he set armies to armies, making remonstrances how far greater was the puissance of *Philip* and *Antiochus* before, and yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power then the Romans now were able to shew. Having thus enkindled and enflamed the courages of his souldiers by this maner of exhortation, he began to debate in counsel as touching the principal and main point of the whole war. And thither repaired unto him from *Chalcis*, the Pretor *C. Martius*, after he had taken the charge of the armado and sea-forces. Resolved it was and concluded to make no longer abode in *Thessaly*, and there to lose time, but pretently to dislodg and remove directly into *Macedony*: that the Pretor also should endevour and cast, how at one and the self same time he might infest and annoy the sea-coasts of the enemies. Now after that the Pretor was dismissed & sent away, the Consul commanded his souldiers to bring every man with him provision for a month: and to the tenth day after he had received the conduct of the army, he removed the camp and set forward. When he had gone a daies journey, he called together the guids, and after he had commanded them every one to declare before the Councel there assembled, which way each of them intended to direct the army, he caused them to go aside; and then debated it was in councel, which course to take above all others. Some were of opinon to lead by the way of *Pythium*; others advised to passe over the Cambunian mountains, like as the yeer before *Hostilius* the Consul conducted his army; and there were who gave advice to go neer to the moor of *Ascuris*. Now there remained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent still and common to all these places; and therefore their consultation of this point was put over to the time when they should encamp neer to the parting and division of the said wayes. So from thence he led the army to *Perrhæbia*, and sat him down between *Azorus* and *Doliche*, for to consult once again for all, which way to take.

* The place is here defective, but may be supplied, as *Sigonius* thinketh in this manner as you see between these markes [ ]

The same time *Perseus* knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beset all passages with strong guards. Whereupon he sent ten thousand yong and lusty men lightly armed, to the pitch of the Cambaunian hils, which the inhabitants themselves call *Volustana* under the conduct of captain *Asclepiodorus*. But he commanded *Hippias* with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to seiz the streights of a certain fortress upon the marsh *Ascuris*, and is called *Lapathus*. Himself in person accompanied with the rest of the forces, lodged first neer to *Dium*: but afterwards seeming as if he were unprovided of counsel and void of sense and understanding, he with his light horsmen made rodes and courses along the strand, one while toward *Heraclea*, and otherwhiles to *Phila*; and so backward again the same way to *Dium*. In this mean time the Consul resolved fully to lead his army by that pass where we said before that the army of King *Philip* encamped sometimes neer a place called *Ossa* and *Olympus*. Howbeit he thought good to send out before four thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be possessed first of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by M. *Claudius* and *Q. Martius*, the Consuls son; and incontinently all the forces in generall followed after. But the way was so steep and difficult, so rough, uneven and rugged, that in two daies space, they which were sent before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of any thing, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower *Eudierus*. From whence the morrow after they journied seven miles forward and seized a hill not far from the enemies camp: where they dispatched a courrier back to the Consul, to give intelligence, that they were come neer to the enemy, and lodged in a place of safety, commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him for to make all possible speed after, for to overtake them and join together. This messenger encountred the Consul at the Mear *Ascuris*, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was to enter himself, as also in regard of the danger of them whom in so few number he had sent before, even through the midst of the enemies *corps de guard*. Whereupon he took a better heart to himself; and having united all his forces, encamped upon the foresaid hill which his men already held, on that side which (considering the nature of the ground) was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eie, not only the enemies camp distant from thence a little above a mile, but also the whole countrey as far as to *Dium* and *Pidna* yea, and all the sea coast by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountain yeelded a prospect far and neer round about. And this was it that set on fire the souldiers hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies countrey so neer unto them. In which spirit of cheerfulness when they were earnest with the Consul, and exhorted him to advance directly against the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to rest after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Consul leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the rest against the enemy. Now had *Hippias* been lately sent from the King to keep and guard the passage, who since the time that first he espied the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battel, and so encountred the army of the Consul and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimbly appointed; and the enemies likewise were high ly armed, and by reason thereof most fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmish. So soon as they affronted and encountred one another, presently they fell to lancing of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their rash charging at random, and few of both sides were slain. Thus were their stomacks whetted and edged against the morrow; and then had they skirmishes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have served them to have displaied their battallions at large: but the top of the mountain was streight and arose to a sharp crest in form of a coin or wedg; and hardly afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men affront; and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the light armour of one part, they would run forth at the broken crags of the hill, and ever from the sides join battel with the like of the other part: yea, and find meanes to charge their enemie, were the place even or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that more that day also were wounded then killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Roman General was to seek and wist not what to do: for neither could he stay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things; and retire back from thence it was not possible, without dishonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might presse upon him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other meanes to amend that which was the audaciously enterprised, with as resolute & hardy persistance in execution; a thing that other whiles proveth well in the end, as it is proceeded from wise and deliberat counsel. And verily to this hard passe and difficult terms they were come, that if the Consul had been to deal with an enemy like to any of the Macedonian Kings in old time, he might soon have received a great foil and overthow. But K. *Perseus* as he coasted and ranged with his cavalry upon the strand neer *Dium* (albeit for the space of 12 miles wel-neer, he heard the cries and shouts of them that were in fight;) neither reenforced the companies by sending fresh souldiers in place of the wearied, not shewing himself in person at the battel: (which had been a thing I assure you of most importance) whereas the Roman General being above 60 yeers of age, corpulent besides, & unweldy, performed himself right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior; persisting in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun and enterprised so boldly: and

and having left *Popilius* for to guard the hill top, passed over places that had no tracts at all to direct them, by sending out before, certain men of purpose to scour and prepare to make a passage. As for *Attalus* and *Misagenes*, he commanded them both with the auxiliary souldiers of their own nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then he putting before him in the march the horsmen with baggage, came behind with the legionary footmen in the rereguard. No tongue is able to expresse what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the sumpter horses with their backs & carriages tumbled so down one with another: in so much as when they had scarcely gone four miles forward, they wished in their hearts nothing more, then to return the way they came, if it had been possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in maner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way, down they cast their riders and governors, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible braying that they made, affrighted their horses especially, untill such time as a device was found for their passage. They began first to make the head or entrance of the bridg at the very bow and edg of a steep downfall: this done, in the lower ground beneath, they set fast in the earth good strong and long posts of wood, two by two distant one from the other traverse, while little more then the largeness of one of their beasts. Upon which rested fast joined [with ten on a morteise] certain rafters like wal plats 30 foot in length, and those being couched with planks croise over in form of a bridg, had earth and mould cast thereupon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridg was made; and so a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the craggy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephant from the firm ground entred upon the first bridg aforesaid; but before he was gone as far as to the foot and end thereof, the posts abovenamed were cut in two underneath; to the end that the bridg might fall, and in the easie reeling therof the beast also gently slide, as it were, and he carried therewith as far as the head of the second bridg. Thus some of them glid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others rested upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and levell floor of another such like bridg, by the fall of it in maner aforesaid they were driven unto a third bridg beneath it, untill such time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could rid little more then seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went they upright on their feet, but were fain most-what to tumble and roll over and over with the armor and fardels about them: and thus they gat forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in such sort that he who induced them to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a smal power coming against them) might utterly have been defeated. By night they arrived at a pretty plain, but the place being enclosed on all sides, they had no space and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met with a firm peece of ground, whereas they might take sure footing; and there they were forced the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him: who also were exceedingly sore vexed and plagued with the roughnesse of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day, after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a passe, which the inhabitants call *Callipenee*. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more meanes to direct them, then the other before; but by use and experience there were grown more skilfull and better hope they had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached neer to the sea. When they were come once down into the plains between *Haracetus* and *Lebethrus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hils) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horsmen should quarter. As the King was bathing himself, it is said that word came, How the enemies were neer at hand: at which news he was so feared, that he leapt out of his bathing vessel, and in hast gat him out of the same, crying aloud, That he was vanquished without drawing sword and stroke given: neither wist he for fear which way to turn him, taking sundry counsels one of another, and commanding he knew not what, sometime this and sometime. In this perplexity he sent for *Asclepiodorus* (one of his two especial friends) out of the place where he lay in garrison, to go to *Pella* where all his money and treasure lay; and by this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Himself, after he had had in great hast bestowed and piled up in his ships, all the gilded images at *Dium*, to the end that the enemy should make no prize of them, caused with all speed possible to trusse up and to remove to *Pydna*; & hereby gave occasion, that the enterprise of the Consul which might have seemed rashness (in that he had engaged himself so far, that he could not possibly to retire again without leave of the enemy) proved in the end, no inconsiderat and unadvised designment. For now the Romans had the choice of two passages through which they might escape away, the one, by *Tempe* into *Thessaly*, the other into *Macedony*, by the way neer *Dium*: both which before were held by the Kings guards. So as if a resolute and fearless captain could have held out and endured but one ten daies the first apparence and shew of terror that approached, the Rom. could never have returned into *Thessaly* by *Tempe*, nor found way for conveiance of provision & victuals to the place where they were. For *Tempe* is of it self a difficult passage, even without any force of arms to make it dangerous. And why? besides the straight gullet five mils in length, yeelding a very narrow way, for one beast to go charged with burden; the rocks of either hands are so steep and upright, that hardly a man is able to look down from them, but his eyes will dazle, his brain turn, and his head be giddy withall. Moreover, the sound and noise, yea, and the depth of the river *Peneus* running di-

rectly through the midst of the valley, encreased the fear so much the more. This place so perilH lous of its own nature, had been holden and guarded with the Kings garrisons in four several & distant places. The one kept at the very first entrance, neer to *Connus*; the second at *Condylon*, a fort impregnable; the third about *Lapathus*, which also they call *Charax*; and the fourth was placed even upon the very avenue it self about the midst of the valley, where it is at the streightest, and which may easily be defended with ten men, if there were no more. In this maner (I say) the passage being stopped up by *Tempe*, as well for portage of provisions thither as for return from thence, the Romans must perforce have retired again up to the same mountains from whence they were descended. But as they come down and were not discovered, so being now descried, they could not possibly have gained them again in open view, considering that the enemies had possessed the tops of the mountains; and no doubt the difficulty thereof besides, which they had I tried already, would have cut off all hope of that adventure: so as, being waded thus far into this rash enterprise there remaineth no meanes else for them, but to have passed through the midst of the enemies, at *Dium*, for to to escape and passe into *Macedony*: an adventure no doubt, (if the gods had not bereft the King of his right wits) most difficult and dangerous unto them. For it being so, that from the foot of the mountain *Olympus* unto the sea, there is little above a mile space between: the one half whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river *Baphyrus*, which in this place spreadeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain, either the temple of *Jupiter* or the town it self occupieth: the rest besides, being but a very small place, might have been enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier: besides such store there was of stone ready at hand, and of timber out of the forrest, that they might either have raised a K mure, or framed turrets and such like fabricks in their way. But the K. (whose spirit and understanding was blinded with suddain fear) foreseeing none of all these things, but disfurnishing every sort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, and fled himself to *Pydna*. The Consul perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the tolly and negligence of his enemy, dispatched a currier back toward *Larissa* unto *Sp. Lucretius*, willing him to seiz those forts into his hands about *Tempe*, which were abandoned by the enemy: and after he had sent *Popilius* before in spiall to discover all the passages about *Dium*, and perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, he marched forwards himself, and the second journy came to *Dium*; where commanded to encamp under the very temple, to the end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himself in proper person entred into the City, which as L it was not great, so it was garnished with fair publick buildings, beautified with a number of goodly images, and passing well fortified besides: in so much as he could not well beleeve, that things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that there was some secret deceit and treachery lurking underneath. After he had staied there one full day, to espie and see that all coasts were cleer, he dislodged and marched on; & supposing verily that he should be provided of sufficient store of grain, he advanced forward that very day to the river named *Mytis*. The morrow after, he took possession of the City *Agassa*, which the inhabitants willingly rendred unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians, (contenting himself only with hostages) he promised to leave their City cleer without a garison, and to permit them to live under their own laws without paiment of any tribute. Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, he pitch- M ed down his tents fast upon the river *Ascordus*: but feeling and finding still (the farther he went from *Thessaly*, more and more want of all things, he retired back to *Dium*; and then all men saw plainly & made no doubt, to what streights he should be driven, in case he had been clean shut out from *Thessaly*, considering that it was not safe for him to remove far from thence where he was

Perseus having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captains into one place, checked and ratled up the captains of the garrisons and guards aforesaid over the passages: but above all he rebuked *Asclepiodorus* & *Hippias* most, saying, that those two had betraied unto the Romans the portgate to *Macedony*: whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed, for that than his own self.

The Consul after he had discovered a far off from sea a fleet of Roman ships, conceived good N hope that vessels were coming charged with provision of victuals (for now in his camp the dearth was great, and brought they were already to extream want and scarcity.) But he was advertised by them who were entred within the habor, that the hulks and ships of burden were left behind at *Magnesia*. Whereupon, being in great doubt what to do (so hard went all things with him for the present, that he had work enough to wrestle with that only difficulty, without being farther encumbred with any empeachment from the enemy) behold, in happy time, letters were brought unto him from Sp. *Lucretius*, importing thus much; That he was master of all the forts and holds planted upon *Tempe* and round about *Phila*, where he had found great plenty of corn and other necessaries. The Consul right joious for these good tidings, set his army on foot from *Dium* to *Phila*, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deal corn among his souldiers; which would have required a long time ere it could have been brought over to them at *Dium*. O

That departure & journey of his was nothing wel spoken of: for some gave out that the General retired from the enemy for very fear; because that if he had staied there still, he should have been forced to a battel: others said, that he had no skill in war, neither in those occurrents, which fortunes wheele turning about altered every day, offering one new thing or other; who when occasions and opportunities were presented unto him, let the same slip out of his hands, which soon after might not possibly be recovered again. And verily he had not so sooh quit the possession of

A of *Dium*, but he started and wakened the enemy, and put in his head now at length to regain those matters, which had been lost before through his own default. For hearing that the Consul was departed, he returned immediately to *Dium*: where he repaired whatsoever had been demolished and ruinat by the Romans: the battlements of the wals which were cast down he set up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this side *Enipeus*, intending that the river it self (which is very hard to be passed over, should serve instead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountain *Olympus*, and in summer season is small and shallow, but in winter it riseth high and spreadeth broad by reason of rain: running also with a forcible current and stream, it surmounteth great rocks, and among those stony crags and shelves maketh many B whirlpits: by occasion likewise, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the sea, store of earth, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reason that it hath eaten a hollow chanell in the mids, the banks of each side are very high and steep upright. *Perseus*, supposing that by the means of this river, the enemies were debarred from all passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive out the rest of the summer in that sort.

But the Consul in the mean while sent *Popilius* from *Phila* into *Heraclea* with 2000 armed fighting men. This *Heraclea* standeth about five miles from *Phila*, situat in the mid-way between *Dium* and *Tempe*, upon a rock that commandeth this river, *Popilius*, before that he caused his men to approach the wals, sent certain persons of purpose to perswade the magistrats and chief of the City, to make proof of the faithful protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*, rather C then to trie their rigor and violence. But this motive and advice availed not, because they might discern the fires out of the kings camp neer to *Enipeus*, whereupon both from the land and seaside (for the fleet also being arrived anchored neer the shore) as wel by force of arms as by fabricks and engins of battery, they began to assail the town. Moreover, certain yong and lusty Roman souldiers (making use now in war of exercise which they had practised in the games *Circenses*) gat over the wall where it was lowest. The maner was in those daies (before this wast prodigality came up of filling the whole cirque or shew-place with beasts fet out of all countries) to devise and seek sundry sorts of publick sights & spectacles to be hold; & not running one course with the chariot, and another on horseback, and so an end, to employ at both races the space of one full hour. Among others feats of activity exhibited, the masters and wardens of those exercises and D games brought into the race commonly 60 (and otherwhiles more) lusty yong men in arms well appointed. There training in part represented a shew and apparance of two armies encountring and encountring and charging one another, in part also the use and practise of a more gentle and elegant exercise then military profession, and coming neerer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of sword-fencers. These yong galiants, after they had performed other ordinary running courses, put themselves into a four-square squadron, with the bucklers or targets close couched and joined together over their heads, in this manner: they that were formost in the front stood bolt upright; the second rank stooped somewhat lower under the other; the third course more then they; and so the fourth untill the hindmost kneeled on their knees: and by this means they resembled a pavoisade rising up higher & higher, like the pent-house or roof of edifices. E This done, two men well armed, fetching their ran fifty foot or thereabout backward from thence, and seeming to defie and challenge one another, mounted the foresaid pavoisade, ran from the nether end up to the top upon those targets so jointly united and set close and thick together: and one while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, otherwhiles in the mids they seemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and steady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavoisade framed and brought close to that part of the wall: and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that stood upon the very ridg thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the walls who being once beaten back and turned down, two ensigns of souldiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavoisade and the other above described was this, that they on- F ly who stood in the front before and in the flanks, bare not their targets aloft above their own heads, because their sides and bodies should not be naked and exposed to hurt, but caried them before after the usuall manner of fighting men in a battell. By which means, neither the arrows and darts discharged from the wall hurt them affront, nor the shot that light upon their targetfence took any hold, but glanced and glid down-ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that shooteth from the ridg of an house, and runneth down the eves. The Consul likewise, now that *Heraclea* was won, advanced forwards with his army thither, pretending as though he marched toward *Dium*, and as it after he had chased and driven the King from thence, he minded to passed forward also into *Pieria*. But preparing now against winter, he commanded to make the wales fit and handsome, for the carriage of provision out of *Thessa*- G *ly*, and to chuse out commodious places for garners: also to build certain houses, wherein they that brought the provision, might lie in covert and lodg commodiously. *Perseus* in the end having taken heart again and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazed his spirits, wished then withall his heart, that his commandements had not been obeied, at what time as in a fearfull fit he gave expresse charge to cast the treasure into the sea at *Pella*, and to set on fire, the arsenall at *Thessalonica*. *Andronicus* being sent for to the same purpose to *Thessalonica* made no haft to execute his will, but rifled out the time for the nonce, leaving the King

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some respite to repent, as it fel out indeed. *Nicias* was not so provident and wel advised at *Pella*, H
in throwing away some part of the mony which he there found: howbeit he thought his fault
such, as might in some sort be remedied and amended, for that, all the said treasure in manner
was recovered by the means of certain dyvers that fished for it under water, and fetcht it up from
the bottom of the sea. But the King himself was so ashamed of this fooliſh fear, that in a melan-
cholly he commanded those poor dyvers to be secretly murdered, yea, and afterwards *Andronicus*
and *Nicias* also; the end that no person should remain alive that was privy to that sottish com-
mandment of his.

Amids these affairs, C. *Martius* having looſed to sea from *Heraclea*, and with his fleet sailed to
Theſſalonica, landed his armed souldiers in divers places of the shore, and made waſt in the terri-
tory all about: and when they made sallies out of the City and charged upon him, after some for- I
tunat skirmiſhes, he chaſed them back and beat them within the wals. So as at length he terrified
the town it self: but not only they who ranged up and down here and there, unadviſedly approa-
ched the wals, were wounded with shot diſcharged out of inſtruments of all sorts, plan-
ted upon the wals; but those also who were in the ships, were hurt with stones, weighed
and levelled from engins a far off. Upon which occaſion he commanded his souldiers to retire a
shipboord, and leaving the siege of *Theſſalonica*, they paſſed from thence to *Ænia*, a City fifteen
miles off, situate in a fertile soil just over-against *Pydna*. When they had spoiled the territory lying
to that City, they coasted along the shore and arrived at *Antigonia*. Where, being set a land, first
they spoiled the countrey in every quarter, and brought good store of prizes to their ships: but
afterwards, as they straggled out of order and diſbanded, the Macedonians, as well footmen as K
horſe, ran upon them, and chaſed them as they fled apace to the sea side; in which rout they slew
about 500 and took as many priſoners. And nothing else provoked the courage of the Romans
(in regard as well of utter despair otherwiſe to save themselves, as of the indignity it self, so to
hazard their honour) but only the extream neceſsity wherein they stood, having no means to re-
cover their ships in safety. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very
sea strand. They also who were a shipboord, surecoured and helped them. In which conflict, two
hundred Macedonians loſt their lives, and as many were taken priſoners. From *Antigonea* the
fleet weighed anchor, & made head toward the territory of *Pallene*, where the souldiers were set on
shore to spoil the countrey. The territory appertained to the confines of the Caſſandreans, the
moſt fruitfull tract of those parts which they had coasted and sailed by. There, King *Eumenes* be- L
ing departed from *Elea* with twenty war ships met with them, & likewise five other covert ships
were sent from King *Pruſias*. The Prætor seeing this good encreaſe and addition of his forces,
took a better heart unto him, even to beſiege * *Caſſandrea*. This City was built by King *Caſſander*, * *Cassandria*
in the very streight & gullet which joineth the territory of *Pallene* with the reſt of the Macedo-
nian countrey, enclosed of the one side with the Toronian sea, and on the other with the Mace-
donian. For there lyeth out a bank or shelf like a tongue into the sea, upon which the City stand-
eth, and beareth unto the deep, no leſſe in compaſſe and quantity then is the mountain *Athos*. It
butteth full against *Magneſia*, with two promontories of unequall bigneſs; of which the greater
is called *Poſideum*; the leſſe *Canaſtrium*. This town they began to aſsail in two divers parts. The
Roman (Prætor) drew his fortifications to a place called *Clita*, oppoſing certain strong forked M
stakes for to debar and shut up the way from the Macedonian sea to the Toronian. On the other
side there is an Euripe or arm of the sea, from which quarter *Eumenes* gave the aſsault. The moſt
trouble and toil that the Romans found, was in damming and filling up the trench, which *Perſeus*
had caſt against them a little before. And as the Prætor enquired where the earth was beſtowed
which was thrown out of the trench aforesaid, because he could see no heaps thereof any where,
there were shewed unto him certain vaults and arches within, which bewraied a new wall, not
built to the thickneſse of the old, but with perpend work, laid with one course of brick and no
more. Whereupon he resolved to pierce through the said wall, and so to make way into the City.
The which he thought to execute and perform without being diſcovered, in case he scaled the
wall in another quarter, and by making a shout and alarm there, withdrew all the defendants of N
the City to the guard of that one place. There lay in garriſon at *Caſſandrea* (being a sufficient num-
ber of serviceable yong men of the City) eight hundred Agrians, and two thousand Peneſtins of
Sclavony, sent from thence by *Pleuratus*: and both these nations are hardy warriors. Whiles
these defended the wals manfully, and the Romans endevoured with all their might to mount over,
the thin wals of the vaults and arches aforesaid were wrought and digged through in the turning
of an hand, and gave entrance into the City. Now if they who brake in, had been armed (as they
were but pioners) the town had been taken at that inſtant. But when as the souldiers heard news
that the said work was finiſhed, they suddainly set up a cheerfull shout for joy, being ready some
in one place and some in another to ruſh into the City. The enemies at the first wondred what the
meaning should be of that suddain cry: but the captains of the garriſon, *Pytho* and *Philippus Pro-* O
co being once advertised that the town lay open, supposing that herein conſiſteth the vantage, who
could first prevent the other and give the charge, sallied forth with a strong band of Agrians and
Illyrians: and whiles the Romans rallied themselves some from this place, and others from that,
and were called together for to enter the City with banner diſplaied, they set upon them unready
as they were, and not ranged in any good order, put them to flight and chaſed them as far as to the
trench, where they overthrew them one upon another by heaps: 600 or very neere there killed;
and

A and in maner whom they could reach between the wal & the trench were sore hurt. The Pre, thus
overtaken in his own enterpriſe, was not so hasty to project any new deſigns; neither sped *Eume-*
nes any better, albeit at one time he aſsaulted the City both by land and sea. Whereupon they acbor-
ded both, so set strong guards, for to impeach the paſsage of all garriſons out of *Macedony* thither-
and (since open force took no better effect) to aſsail the wals with fabricks & engins. As they were
buſie in preparation thereof, there arrived ten frigots of the Kings, sent from *Macedony* with cer-
tain select auxiliary Gauls. These when they perceived their enemies ships riding at anchor, sailed
in single range one after another, as close as poſsibly they could to the shore in the dark night, and
so entred the City. The bruit that went of this new succour and garriſon, forced as well the Ro-
mans as the King to give over the siege; so fetching a compaſse about the promontory, they
B arrived before *Torone*. And when they began to lie against it, after they perceived once that
there was a valiant company there to defend it, they abandoned their enterpriſe without effect,
& sailed to *Demetrias*. Being approached thither, and seeing the wals full of armed men, they paſ-
sed by and anchored at *Iolcos*: intending after they had spoiled the territory, to set upon *Deme-*
trias. Mean-while, they Conſul also, because he would not sit still doing nothing in the enemie's
countrey, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand souldiers to give the aſsault to the City *Melibœa*.
Seated it is at the foot of the mountain *Oſſa*, on that side which looketh to *Theſſaly*, and very fitly
for the purpole commandeth *Demetrias*. The first arrivall of the enemies put the inhabitants of
the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits danted with so unexpected
fear, they ran in arms to the gates, and up to the wals, where they doubled and suſpected any
C place like to give entrance, nd incontinently cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could poſ-
sibly be forced at the first aſsault. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, & began to make
fabricks and engins to batter the wals. *Perſeus* having intelligence, that in one inſtant both *Me-*
libœa was beleaguered by the Conſul, and also that the fleet anchored before *Iolcos*, to the intent
that from thence he might go in hand to aſsail *Demetrias*: sent *Ephranor* one of his captains,
with a chosen regiment of two thousand souldiers to *Melibœa*; with this charge and direction,
That if he could raiſe the siege from *Melibœa* and force the Romans to depart, he shou'd march
secretly to *Demetrias*, & put himself within the town, before the Romans could remove from *Iol-*
cos and advance before the City. The aſsailants of *Melibœa* diſcovering him with his forces all at
once upon the higher places, quit their fabricks and engins in fearful haſt, and set them all on fire;
D and thus they departed from before *Melibœa*. *Euphranor* having levied the siege from the one Ci-
ty, forthwith led his army to *Demetrias*. And then the citizens aſsured themselves, that they should
be able not only to defend the City against the siege, but also to save their territories from waſt
and spoil: and so they made sallies upon the forragers diſperſed loosly here and there, not with-
out drawing bloud of their enemies. Howbeit the Prætor and the King rode about the wals, and
viewed the situation of the town, if peradventure they could espie any one place which they were
like to force, either with battery of engins or fore: of arms. The voice went, that by the means
of *Cydas* the Cretenſian, and *Antiochus* governor of *Demetrias* there was a treaty of peace and
amity between *Philip* and *Eumenes*. But howsoever it was, this is certain, both *Eumenes* and the
Prætor departed from *Demetrias*. As for *Eumenes*, he sailed to the Conſul, and teſtified unto him
E the joy that he conceived for his safe and proſperous entrance into *Macedony*; and from thence
returned to *Pergamus* into his own realm. But *Martius Figulus* the Prætor, when he had sent
part of his fleet into the harbor of *Sciathus* there to winter, with the reſt of his ships went to *O-*
reum in *Bœotia*: supposing it a commodious City, from whence victuals and all provisions might
be sent to the armies that abode either in *Macedony* or *Theſſaly*. As touching *Eumenes*, sundry
authors have written diverſly. If a man should go by *Valerius Antias* and beleeve him, he report-
eth, that neither the Prætor had any help from him by his navy, notwithstanding that oftentimes
he had sent for him by his letters; nor took his leave of the Conſul in good terms with favour, at
what time as he was to depart into *Aſia*, as being highly diſpleased, that he was not permitted to
F quarter with him in one & the same camp; inſomuch as he could not poſsibly be entreated by him
to leave behind that Cavalry of Gauls which he had brought thither with him. As for *Attalus* his
brother, he remained still with the Conſul (as *Valerius* saith) and continued syncere and faithful un-
to him without any change and alteration; yea and performed right good ſervice in all that war.

During these wars in *Macedony*, there came Embaſsadors from beyond the *Alps* to *Rome* sent
from a pety K. of the Gauls (*Balanus* he had to name, but of what linage he was deſcended it is not
recorded) promiſing aid to the Macedonian war. Thanked they were from the Senat, and
preſents were sent unto them: to wit, a chain of gold weighing two pound; certain golden cups
of four pound weight, a brave courſer barbed and trapped, and an horſeman's armor. After these
Gauls were gone out of place, the Embaſsadors of *Pamphylia* brought with them into the Senat
a golden crown, valewed at 20000 *Philip*-peeces of gold: their requeſt was, that they might
G be permitted to set up the said preſent and oblation in the chappell of *Iup. Opt. Max.* and like-
wise to sacrifice within the Capitol. Their petition was granted: and when these Embaſsadors
were desious to renew the amity between them and the Romans, they received a gracious an-
swer, and had of them a reward sent of two thousand Asses. Then the Embaſsadors of King *Pru-*
ſias, and anon after, others from the Rhodians had audience; who of one and the same argument
diſcourſed diverſly; for both tended to one thing, namely, a treaty for reconcilement of peace be-
tween the Rom. & K. *Perſeus*. *Pruſias* seemed to intreat rather then to demand; proteſting that he

Baab

"had ever to that day ſtood with the Romans in that war; and willingly would friend them ſtil
"to the very end thereof: but ſince that there came Embaſſadors unto him from *Perſeus*, and
"dealt with him to make an end of the war between him and the Romans, and for that he pro-
"miſed them to be a mediator and interceſſor for him to the Romans; therefore his requeſt
"unto them was, (if they could ſo find in theirs hearts) to ſtint their anger, & ſo they ſhould uſe
"him in any ſervice, as one that would acknowledg himſelf beholden unto them for a favor, in
"effecting this atonement and reconciliation. In this maner (I ſay) ſpake the K. his Embaſſadors.
"But the Rhodians contrariwiſe, in a proud humour of theirs, reckoned up a beadroll of their
"demerits towards the people of *Rome*, attributing the greater part (beleeve me) of the victory of
"K. *Antiochus* to themſelves: moreover they added and ſaid, that when the Macedonians and
"Romans were at peace, they began to enter into league and amity with K. *Perſeus*: which they
"had interrupted and diſcontinued againſt their will; not upon any deſert or occaſion given of
"his part, but only becauſe it pleaſed the Romans to draw them into the aſſociation of the war.
"Three daies now already (ſay they) have we felt the ſmart of this war and lived by the loſſe: by
"reaſon that the ſeas are ſhut up from us, and our Iland is decaied and diſtreſſed for need and
"want, having loſt our tollage and cuſtoms iſſuing from the ſeas, which we are not able to en-
"dure any longer, have addreſſed Embaſſadors to *Perſeus* into *Macedony*, to intimate unto him,
"that the Rhodians will and pleaſure was, that he ſhould grow to a comp oſition and be at
"peace with the Romans. Our ſelves alſo are ſent to *Rome* to declare the ſame: and likewiſe to
"denounce, that whoſoever ſhall impeach and hinder this courſe tending to pacification, the
"Rhodians wil conſider of them accordingly. & bethink how they are to proceed againſt them.
I am verily perſwaded, that there is no man at this day, who can hear or read this, but his ſto-
mack will riſe thereat with indignation; gueſſe then thereby how the LL. of the Senat of *Rome*
were affected and touched as then, at the hearing thereof. *Claudius* mine author ſaith that there
was no anſwer at all given unto them. Only an areſt or decree of the Senat was read before them,
importing thus much, that by order from the people of *Rome*, the Carians & Lycians were made
free: and preſently were letters diſpatched to both nations to ſignifie ſo much unto them. Which
when the principal perſons of the embaſſage once heard, even he, whoſe big and brave words a
little before, the whole Senat-houſe was hardly able to contain, fell down flat before them in a
ſwoon and extaſie. Other Hiſtorians write, that this anſwer was returned, "That the people of
"*Rome* at the very beginning of this war, knew aſſuredly (by intelligence given from perſons of
"right good credit) how the Rhodians had ſecretly complotted with *Perſeus* againſt the ſtate of
"*Rome*: and if there had been ſome doubt thereof before, yet the words of the Embaſſadors ere-
"while delivered, made all cleer and put it paſt peradventure: and no marvell, ſince that for the
"moſt part it falleth out, that ſuch cautelous practiſes, howſoever at the firſt they are covertly &
"cleanly caried, yet one time or other are bewraied and diſcovered. Let the Rhodians ſend their
"meſſengers over the world and ſpare not; let them make themſelves judges to determine of
"war and peace at their pleaſure: as for the Romans they will take arms in hand, and lay them
"down again at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in
"deed, if we muſt have the gods no more to be witneſſes of our accords, but the Rhodians for-
"ſooth. And muſt the Romans (I would not elſe) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces
"out of *Macedony*? They will conſider and adviſe themſelves how to proceed againſt us! How
"ſhall we do then? What the Rhodians will ſee to, well may they perhaps themſelves know:
"but the people of *Rome* (that is certain) well conſider indeed and reſolve after that *Perſeus* is
"vanquiſhed (which they hope will not be long firſt) to recompence and requite every City and
"ſtate according as they have deſerved in the ſervice of this war. As ſharp as this anſwer was, yet
they ſent a reward to theſe Embaſſ. to every one of them 2000 aſses; but none would they receive.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Marcius* the Conſul, conteining thus much namely,
How he had paſſed over the ſtreights of the forreſt, and was come into *Macedony*, where he had
proviſion of victuals which the Prætor had given order for out of other places to ſerve for win-
ter: and beſides had taken up of the Epirots twenty thouſand Modii of wheat and ten thouſand
of barley, for which corn they ſhould make mony ready at *Rome* to content their Embaſſadors.
Alſo that they muſt ſend from *Rome* ſouldiers liveries and other apparel; and need he had beſides
of 200 horſe or thereabout; eſpecially of *Numidians* for in thoſe parts he had no plenty of any thing.
Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat, That all theſe things ſhould be done according to
the tenor of the Conſul his letters. So *C. Sulpitius* the Prætor bargained for the tranſporting over
into *Macedony* of 600 ſide caſſocks and 3000 ſhort coats or jackets together with horſes for
to be diſpoſed and diſtributed at the diſcretion of the Conſul: and beſides paid the Embaſſadors
of the Epirots good mony for their grain. He brought alſo into the Senat *Onaſimus* the ſon of
Pytho a noble perſonage of *Macedony*. This man was evermore of counſel with the K. perſwading
him to peace: and admoniſhed him as his father *Philip* before him obſerved an order even to the
time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the inſtrument of the accord & cove-
nants between him and the Romans; ſo he alſo would take up that good cuſtome and practiſe
the ſame. if not ſo continually yet at leaſt wiſe many a time and often. But when he could by no
meanes ſcare him nor avert his mind from war, he began at firſt to withdraw and abſent him-
ſelf, alledging for his excuſe one while this occaſion, and otherwhiles that, becauſe he would
not be preſent at the debating of thoſe matters which he approved not: and in the end perceiving
that

that he was had in ſome jealouſie, & otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegeance
revolted to the Rom. and ſerved the Conſul in right good ſtead. This *Onaſimus* being brought into
the Senat houſe, related all theſe premiſſes: whereupon the Senat ordained, that he ſhould be en-
rolled formally in the number of allies: alſo, that he ſhould be provided of a lodging, and his or-
dinary expences for the time allowed at the Cities charge. Moreover, 200 acres of land in the teri-
tory of *Tarentum*, which was confiſcat to the people of *Rome*, ſhould be ſet out for him; and a
meſſuage in *Tarentum* bought for his habitation. To ſee all this performed, C. *Decimus* the Prætor
had in charge.

The Cenſors upon the * thirteenth of *December*, took a ſurvey of the number of citizens and
an eſtimat of their goods, more ſtreightly then aforetime. Many were unknighted and had their
horſes taken from them; and P. *Rutilius* among the reſt, who when he was Tribune of the Com.
had been their accuſer and called them ſo violently to reckoning; degraded he was beſides and
diſplaced out of his own tribe, & made no better then a very labourer in the Cities works. Where-
as the one moity of the Cities renewes and profits for that yeer, was ſet by and allowed unto them
by the treaſurers (according to an ordinance of the Senat) Tib. *Sempronius* out of the mony aſsig-
ned unto him, purchaſed the houſe of *P. Africanus* on the back ſide of the old *Curia* neer the
image of *Fortunus*: the ſhops alſo wherein they ſold wooll and the other adjoining thereto, all to
the uſe of the City. He cauſed likewiſe the ſtately palace to be built, which afterwards was called
Sempronia Baſilica.

Now was the yeer come about and well neer at an end, when by reaſon of the great care prin-
cipally about the Macedonian war, men began to talk, whom they were to create for Conſuls a-
gainſt the next yeer, to atchieve and end the ſaid war? Whereupon there paſſed a decree of the Se-
nat, that *Cn. Servilius* with all ſpeed poſsible, ſhould make haſt to *Rome* for to hold a general aſſem-
bly of election. This decree *Sulpitius* the Prætor within few daies after read to the Conſ. to the end
that he ſhould repair home into the City before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Conſ. haſtned:
& the ſaid election was alſo furniſhed by the day appointed. Conſ. theſe were created, *L. Æmylius
Paulus* the ſecond time (even 14 yeers after his former Conſulſhip) with *C. Licinius Craſſus*.
The day following were the Prætors alſo choſen, to wit, *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*, *L. Anicius Gal-
lus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *P. Fonteius Balbus*, *Mar. Ebutius Helva*, and C. *Papyrius Carbo*. The careſull
regard of the Macedonian war cauſed every thing to be done with great ſolemnitie and ſumptuous
expedition. And there-
fore it was thought meet, that theſe new elect magiſtrats ſhould caſt lots out of hand for their pro-
vinces, that it might be known to whether Conſ. *Macedony*, and to which Prætor the conduct of the
navy ſhould fall; that thereupon they might preſently conſider and provide for all things requiſit
to the war, & require thead vice of the Senat as need required. Oſtentation it was when the Conſuls
were entred into their office, to ſolemnize the Latine feſtivall holidaies as ſoon as they might con-
veniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Conſul whoſe lot
fell to go into *Macedony*, were not deteined behind upon any occaſion. After theſe ordinances,
Italy and *Macedony*, were nominated for the provinces of the two Conſuls; and for the Prætors, the
two civill juriſdictions within the City of *Rome*, the navy, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. In fine,
Macedony fell to *Æmylius* the Conſul, and *Italy* to *Lucin us*. Of Prætors, *Cn. Babius* was lord chief
juſtice of the pleas of citizens, and L. *Anicius* of aliens. And if the Senat thought good to ſend
the navy any whither, *Cn. Octavius* had the the charge thereof as L. admirall. P. *Fonteius* was ap-
pointed by lot L. Deputy of *Spain*, *M. Ebutius* of *Sicily*, and C. *Papyrius* of *Sardinia*.

All men ſoon ſaw, that *L. Æmylius* intended not to go coldly about the managing of that war;
both for that he was not an ordinary man, but ſingular above all other, and alſo becauſe that night
and day he muſed and ſtudied upon nothing elſe, but that which was requiſit and pertinent there-
unto. The firſt thing of all where with he went in hand was this; a requeſt to the Senat for to
diſpatch certain elegat commiſsioners into *Macedony*, to viſit the armies there and the armado;
to make true report upon their certain knowledg, what was needfull to be done for the ſupply of
the forces as well by land as ſea; alſo to lie in eſpiall, & eſtimat as much as poſsibly they could, the
Kings power; moreover, what quarter of the province were taken by our men, and which the
the enemies kept; whether the Romans lay encamped ſtill within the forreſt, or if they were paſ-
ſed beyond the ſtreights and come into the even ground; who continued truſty allies, who were
ſuſpected, who hung in doubtfull terms, as whoſe faith depended upon fortune: who ſeemed to
be profeſſed enemies: how great the proviſions were of victuals; from whence they were conveigh-
ed by land; from what places tranſported by water; & laſtly, what exploits had been done the ſumi-
mer paſt both by land and ſea: ſuppoſing, that for a light given and certain intelligence delivered
of theſe things, he might be ſurely directed in the caſting and laying of future plots & deſignments.
So the Senat granted out a commiſsion to *Cn. Servilius* the Conſ. for to ſend the delegats into *Ma-
cedony*, ſuch as *L. Æmylius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, *Cn. Domi-
tius Ænobarbus* and *A. Licinius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commiſsioners. News
came in the latter end of this yeer, that it rained ſtones twice, namely in the territory of *Rome*,
and likewiſe about *Veii*: and therefore a novendiall ſacrifice was celebrated. This yeer there di-
ed certain prieſts, namely, *Pub. Quintilius Varus*, a flamin of *Mars*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* a
Decemvir, in whoſe room was ſubſtituted *Cneus Octavius*. And now noted it was, that the mag-
nificence and port of the people of *Rome* encreaſed, for that in the plaies called *Circenſes* ex-
hibited by *Publius Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and *Publius Læntulus* Ædiles Curule, threeſcore and

three

* *Idibus Decem-
bris.*

* *Pure Virtutes.*

3 wild beasts out of *Africk*, with 40 bears, & elephants, were baited to make sport to the people. H

When *L. Æmylius Paulus* and P. *Licinius* entred their Consulship upon the fifteenth of *March*, which was the beginning of the yeer following, the LL. of the Senat were in great expectancy, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the Macedonian war, which was his proper province. But *Paulus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to councel, seeing that the Delegats aforesaid were not returned. And at *Brundusium* (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voiage upon the sea been driven back by tempest and cast upon *Dyrrhachium*. But so soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledg of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within very few daies. Now to the end that nothing may stay and hinder his journey he told them, that the even before the Ides of *April*, was appointed for the solemnity of the Latine festival holydaies. And after sacrifice duly performed [upon the Albane hill] the Senat should no sooner ordein, but he and *Cn. Octavius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his colleague, his charge should be in his abience to provide and send all things requisit and needfull for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embaisies of forrain nations may have audience given. So when he had sacrificed as the maner was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of *Alexandria*, from King *Ptolomeus* and queen *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown: and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entred into the Senat, and fell groveling and prostrat upon the floor. Their habit and apparel was not so simple and mournful, their look and countenance not so heavy and sorrowfull, but their speech was more piteous and lamentable. *Antiochus* now I King of *Syria*, and who had sometime been hostage at *Rome* under a colourable pretence of honestly and equity to restore *Ptolomæus* the elder to his Kingdom, made hot war upon his yonger brother, who then held *Alexandria*: and after a victory obtained in sea-fight neer *Pelusium* he made a bridg of hasty work upon the river *Nilus*, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to *Alexandria*: so as by all likelyhood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthy Kingdome. In which regard, these Embassadors made pitifull moan and grievous complaint, "beseeching withall the Senat, of their aid and succour to that realm and those "Kings, who were such friends to their seignory and dominion. For perswaded they were that "the people of *Rome* had done so much for *Antiochus* in particular, & were of that account & au- "thority with all other Kings and nations, that if they would but send their Embassadors to inti- L "mate thus much, that the Senat was not well pleased with waging war upon confederat Kings, "he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the wals of *Alexandria*, and withdraw his "army clean away into *Syria*. But if they protracted the time long and delaied thus to do, then "should *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come "to *Rome*, with some shamefull spot of dishonour to the people of *Rome*, in that they had not set "their helping hand in that extream danger of all their fortunes. The LL. of the Senat moved with compassion at the praiers of these Alexandrians, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius* as Embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had first to go unto *Ptolomæus*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So these M three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three daies & departed. Then the forsaid Delegats returned from out of *Macedony*, the last day of the festivall games to *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, and not before they were welcome; for so looked for they were, had it not been eventide when they came, the Consuls would immediatly have called the Senat together. But the morrow after the Senat sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, that with more danger then profit ensuing, the army entred into *Macedony* over those passes and streights, where was no way nor passage at all. Item, that the King kept the countrey of *Pieria*, into which the Roman armie was now advanced, and were so neer encamped one to the other, that nothing but the river *Exipeus* between kept them asunder; that neither the N K. made offer of battel, nor the Rom. were of sufficient strength to challenge & force him to fight: moreover, that the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the souldiers were nuzled and nourished in idleness, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve no longer then six daies; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that Ap. *Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, he might be able to trouble the K. and put him to his trumps in a battel; but now both *Appius* and the garrison with him, are themselves in extream jeopardy, unless with speed either a complete army be sent thither, or else they draw from thence where they are, into *Macedony*. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of sickness, others, and namely, those of *Sicily* above the rest were gone home again to their own houses, insomuch as there were not men enow to serve the ships; & O those that remained, had neither their wages paid & mony to put in their purse, nor liveries & apparel to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenes* & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other errand or cause else) were come and gone again; and it seemed the mind of that K. was not well setled and resolved. But as they reported al of *Eumenes* suspiciously & in doubtful terms, so they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of *Attilus* his

A his brother. When these Legats had spoke, then said *L. Æmylius*, Let us debate now in councill what is to be done as concerning the said war. So the Senat ordained, that for eight legions, the Consuls and the people should elect an equall number of martiall Tribunes or Colonels, the one as many as the other; and that none should be created and advanced to that place for that year, but such as had born some honourable dignity: then, out of all those Tribunes thus elected, that *L. Æmylius* should make choise for those two legions which were to go into *Macedony*, of whom he would himself: also, that after the solemnity of the Latine feasts performed, *L. Æmylius* the Consul, and *C. Octavius* the Prætor and Admirall of the fleet, should depart into their Province: A third was joyned in commission with them, to wit, *L. Anicius* the Prætor and L. chief Justice for strangers. And ordained it was, that he should pass into *Illyricum* about *Lychnidum*, for to succeed B *Ap. Claudius*. The charge of taking musters was put upon *C. Licinius* the Consul. He had commandment to enroll seven thousand [foot] Citizens of *Rome*, and two hundred horsemen, and to charge the Latine allies with a levy of seven thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Also to send letters unto *Cn. Servilius*, who governed the Province of *Gaul*, to enroll six hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to send with all convenient speed to his Collegue into *Macedony*, so as in that Province there should not be above two legions, and the same full and compleat, containing six thousand foot, and three hundred horse apeece. As for the surcreasse, as well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they should be disposed and bestowed in sundry garrisons. And all such as were unmeet for service, were to be cassed and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put to set out and find 10000 foot, and 800 horse. And those were to serve in garrison under *Anicius*, over and above the two legions (which he was commanded to lead into *Macedony*) consisting C of 5200 foot, and 300 horsemen either of them. Also for the navy were enrolled 5000 mariners and rowers. *Licinius* the Cos. was appointed to defend and kep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take besides of allies ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the Senat were accomplished, *L. Æmylius* the Cos. went forth of the Senat house into the common place before the assembly of the people; where he made a speech unto them in this wise following: "Me thinks I perceive and see, my good friends and Citizens The Oration "of *Rome*, that ye have shewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalf, for that of *L. Æmylius* "the Province of *Macedony* is faln to my lot; than either at the time that I was declared and sa- to the people "luted Cos. or that day whereupon I first entred into government: & for no other reason in the D "world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath "so long continued, may be brought by my means to such an end as beseemeth the greatness and "majesty of the people of *Rome*. And for mine own self I have good hope, that as the gods in favour have directed this sortilege, so they will be present and propitious unto me in performing "the service. In these matters, I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But "this one thing I am assured of; yea and I dare affirm and promise on my own head, that I will "endeavour my self and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be "in vain conceived. As for all things necessary and requisite to this war, both the Senat hath ordained; & also, for that they have thought good I should depart immediatly (for which my self "am well pleased and contented, neither in me there shall be any delay) my Collegue *C. Licinius*, E "a singular man, and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himself "had the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, see that whatsoever I shall write either to the Senat, or to you, ye beleeve for true: as for running rumours which have no certain "author, give no ear and belief thereto; neither feed them with your foolish credulity. For now "adaies verily, (a thing that I have observed to fall out ordinarily in this war) there is no man set- "teth so little by the common bruits that are blazed abroad, but his spirit and courage may be "thereby quailed and danted. In all meetings now, yea, and at every boord (I would not else) ye "shall have them, that in their table talk will lead your armies into *Macedony*: that know where F "they are to lodge and encamp; what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garri- "sons; at what time and through which pass the entry must be made into *Macedony*; where the "garners and storehouses for corn should be built and set; which way by land and sea both, the "provisions of victuals ought to be brought; when the time serveth to encounter and fight with "the enemy, and when to sit still and rest. Neither are they content to set down and pronounce, "what is to be done for the better: but if ought hap to be managed otherwise than they have "judged expedient, they are so bold as to controll the Cos. yea, and ready to commence process a- "gainst him judicially. These are shrowd hindrances, I may tell you, to warriors & men of action. "For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancy to neglect the speech and talk of men, "as sometimes *Fabius* had, who chose rather to have his authority & command diminished and "impaired by the folly and vanity of lewd people, than with their favourable applause and good "opinion to manage his affairs but untowardly. Yet take me not so, as if I were a man that would G "have no captains to be admonished and advised by others: nay contrariwise, of this judgment "I am, That he who worketh all by his self-wit & followeth only his own head is self-willed and "proud, and nothing sage & wise. What is then to be done? First, in mine opinion, Generals and "Commanders of armies are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men; by such as are skilful "by profession in feats of arms and military science; by those also that by long practise are "throughly experienced: nay more than that, they are to be taught and counselled by them, that "are usually present and conversant in the execution of affairs, who daily see the advantage of

"places, mark the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of times: those (I say) H
"who as passengers in one ship, are partakers of the same danger. If there be any man therefore,
"who is verily perswaded of himself, that he is able to direct me and give me any counsell (in the
"conduct of this war which I have in charge) for the good of the Common-weal, let him come
"forth, and not deny his helping hand to the weal publike, and go along with me into *Macedony*.
"Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with tent-room, with conduct-money, and all things
"necessary for his voyage. If any be loath so to do, and had rather sit warm at home, preferring the
"ease and repose of the City before the travel and pain of warfare, let him not here on the land
"take upon him to play the pilot and steersman at sea. Matter he shall find enough within the Ci-
"ty to talk of, and seek no farther; let him hold him there & keep his babble and prattle to him-
"self: know he (whosoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own counsell about us I
* The last of February. "in the camp. And this oration ended, and the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the *ca-
"lends of *March*, together with the sacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount: the Cos.
and the Prætor *Cn. Octavius* departed incontinently into *Macedony*. It is recorded in the Chroni-
cles that the Cos. was honoured with a greater frequency that accompanied him, than usually had
been known: and that men presaged in manner assuredly, the end of the Macedonian war: how
the Cos should have a speedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

During these occurrents in *Italy*, *Perseus* who (because he was to be at the charges of disbursing
money) never thought of it, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to ad-
joyn unto him *Gentius* King of the Illyrians: so soon as he perceived that the Romans were en-
tred the straights, and the war come now to this extremity of hazard: thought good now to make K
that sure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted & promised by his Em-
bassador *Hippias* three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages
should be put in of both parties interchangeably: he sent *Pantaucus* one of his most trusty friends
to dispatch and make an end of this affair. This *Pantaucus* met the Illyrian King at *Medeon* in the
Country of *Labeatis*: where he both took an oath of the King, and also received his hostages.
Gentius likewise sent his embassador, named *Olympio*, to demand the semblable oath of *Perseus*, and
require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent of purpose to receive the money,
who also by the advice of the said *Pantaucus* were to go in embassie with the Macedonians to
Rhodes: and the men hereto appointed were *Parmenio* and *Morcus*. But they had in charge and
commission after the oath taken, after hostages & money received, to go to *Rhodes*, & not before. L
Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be sollicited and induced to take arms a-
gainst the Romans, by using the name of these two KK. at once: and this account they made, that
if this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for sea-service, would once
combine and band with them, they should leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or sea.
When these Illyrians arrived, *Perseus* departed with all his Cavalry from before the river *Enipeus*
where he was encamped, and encountred them near *Dium*. There were all the complements per-
formed according to the covenants, in the fight and midst of the Cavalry, whom the K. of purpose
would needs have to be present at this accord of association made between him and K. *Gentius*,
supposing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hostages were given and ta-
ken in the presence of them all. They also who were to receive the money were sent to *Pella* M
where the K. his treasure lay: and those that should go to *Rhodes* with the Illyrian embassadors
had cómandment to embark at *Thessalonica*. Now was *Metrodorus* there, lately come from *Rhodes*
who assured them by the means of *Dyon* & *Polyaratus*, two principall personages of that City, that
the Rhodians were prest and ready to war. Whereupon the said *Metrodorus* was appointed the
chief in this embassage of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the same time likewise was ad-
dressed and imparted both unto *Eumenes* & also unto *Antiochus*, such advice and counsel in com-
mon, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minister & afford argument: name-
ly, "That a free City and a K. were two; by nature, enemies that possibly could not sort together:
"That the people of *Rome* went in hand with them severally one after another: & (that which was
"a greater indignity: & unsupportable) used the force of KK. to overthrow the state of KK. For so, N
"by the aid of *Attalus* they had brought his father *Philip* to ruin: by the help likewise of *Eumenes*,
"& partly also of his father *Philip*, *Antiochus* was defeated; & even now against himself both *Eu-*
"*menes* and *Prusias* were put in arms. If the kingdom of *Macedony* were once subverted have at
"*Asia* next; which the Romans have in some part seized already for their own under a colour
"of enfranchizing Cities, & setting them free: & then they will not leave untill they have *Syria*
"too. For now is *Prusias* preferred in honour before *Eumenes*; & *Antiochus* for all his conquest is
"chased & debarred out of *Ægypt*, which ought to have been the recompence of the war by him
"enterprised & atchieved. In these regards *Perseus* advertised [illegible] them to consider & provide
therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him, [illegible] hold them for the com-
mon enemies of all KK. in case they persisted still in so unjust a [illegible] mission that the em- O
bassadors had to *Antiochus* was apert & open: but unto *Eumenes* [illegible] was sent under a
pretence of ransoming certain captives: but practised there were under hand more secret complots;
which caused *Eumenes* even then to be suspected & odious unto the Romans, yea, & charged after-
ward with more grievous matters, although untruly. For he was reputed little better than a traitor
& a professed enemy to their state, whereas indeed both he & *Perseus* strove who could compass
surprize, & overtake one another better in fraud & avarice. Now there was one *Cydas* a Cretensian,

A an inward & most secret friend to *Eumenes*: this man had communed first at *Amphipolis* with
one *Chimarus* a countryman of his, who served under *Perseus* in the wars; and afterwards at *De-*
metrias conferred with another named *Menecrates*, also with a certain third person, called *Antio-*
chus, all captains to K. *Perseus*, even under the very wals of the foresaid City. Over and besides, *E-*
ropon, who at this time was sent, had beforetime been employed in two severall embassies to the
same *Eumenes*. These secret communications and embassages were badly spoken of; but no man
knew what was concluded between the two KK. Howbeit, thus the case stood; *Eumenes* as he had
no mind nor intention to war upon *Perseus*, so he was not desirous in his heart that he should
have the victory of the Romans; not so much for the old enmity which had been between both
their fathers, as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themselves. For this concurrence & emu-
B lation there was between these two Princes, that *Eumenes* could never abide to see *Perseus* for to
purchase so great wealth, & so much honour, as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Ro-
mans: he saw moreover, that *Perseus* from the first beginning of this war sought by all means possi-
ble for peace, & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than other;
employing his whole study & care about nothing else. He perceived also that among the Romans,
because the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the
Senat were well enough content and very desirous to see an end once of so troublesome, hurtfull,
and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties, he enclined & fra-
med to that which of it self as he thought might fall out, where the stronger was weary and the
weaker in fear: and therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & pur-
C chase favour of both parts. For he entred into bargain with *Perseus* for a sum of money, one while
not to aid the Romans either by land or sea; another whiles to be a means for peace and to treat
with the Romans thereabout, and not to meddle at all in the war, but to sit still: he capitulared (I
say) for 1500 talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the
other, ready he was not only to swear, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages. *Perseus* was
the willingest man in the world to set in hand with this, as being driven thereto by the exigent of
fear: and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be re-
ceived: and in fine concluded it was, that they should upon their delivery and receit be sent into
Crete. But when they came once to talk of the money aforesaid, he hasted and stuck at that: and
to say a truth, either of these two sums (between Princes of so great name and honour) was but a
D base and dishoneſt consideration; a thing much unfitting (I wis) the giver, and more the receiver.
Perseus verily for his part, in hope to purchase peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be
at the expence of so much money: mary, he said that he would make paiment thereof when the
thing was done and accomplished: & in the mean time lay it up safe for that purpose within the
temple of *Samothracia*. *Eumenes* again, considering that the said Island was an appurtenance to the
dominion of *Perseus*, could not see but that it was all one for it to lie there and in *Pella*: and there-
fore was earnest to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying
in the wind for the vantage, who could over-reach the other: & what was gained in the end but
infamy and discredit? As for *Perseus*, he not only let fall this design and lost this opportunity, (and
that by his nigardice only) when by the means of *Eumenes* he might have had either his money
E sure enough, or peace for it, (which indeed he should have bought, if it had cost him the one half of
his kingdom,) and being once received into grace & favour [of the people of *Rome*] he might have
defamed and brought into obloquy and danger his concurrent, by charging him to have received
a piece of money for a bribe, and so justly have set the Romans upon his top: but also the associa-
tion with King *Gentius* which now was at the point of a contract, was neglected; yea, and a migh-
ty army of Gauls spread at that time all over *Illyricum* and presented unto him, was even then re-
fused and discharged by this pinching and saving of his money. For there came and offered their
service ten thousand horsemen, and as many foot, and those so well practised and so good of foot-
manship, that they were able to hold out & keep pace with horses, yea, and run by their sides; such
(I say) as when the riders were unhorsed and faln, could vault & mount on the empty horse backs
F ready to fight in their turns. These had bargained to have for pay every horseman ten * *Philip*
pieces [of gold] paid down aforehand, and a footman five, and their Captain a thousand. *Perseus*
departed from his leaguer lying near the river *Enipeus*, and with the one half of his own forces
met these coming upon the way, and caused proclamation to be made in all towns and villages
near the high waies, To made ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that
there were plenty of corn, of wine, and cattel. Himself brought with him horses and trappings,
and fine souldiers cassocks, to bestow as presents upon the chief of them, with some little sprink-
ling of gold to deal among a few of them; supposing that all the rest besides of common souldiers,
might be drawn on and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the City of *Alamana*, and
encamped upon the bank of the river *Axius*. But the army of these Galatians were lodged about
G *Desudaba* in the country of *Mædica*, and rested there expecting the paiment of the money afore-
said, according to covenant. But *Perseus* sent unto them *Antigonus* one of his gallants and coun-
sellers, to will and command the multitude of the army to dislodge and remove to *Bylazora*, a place
so called in *Paronia*, and a good sort of their chief to repair unto him. Now were they three-
score and fifteen miles from the river *Axius* and the Kings camp. And when *Antigonus* had de-
livered unto them this mandat as he had in charge, and added besides, with what care and dili-
gence the King had laid his provisions by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

* *Philippus* summus, was somewhat lesse than our sovereign, or 22 s. or 3 ducats.

with what gifts of apparell, silver, and horses, he purposed to receive and entertain their Captains H
at their first coming unto him: as for that (say they) we shall take knowledge thereof when we
are in presence personally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether ye have brought with
you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the souldiers, as well
horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereto, but was set *nonplus*; then the said
Clondicus their Prince, Go your wayes then (qd. he) and tell your King and Master, that the Gauls
unless they may receive the gold, and hostages besides for their security, will not stir one foot for-
ward. Relation being made hereof unto the K. he called his Council: and when it was soon seen
what they all would advise him to do: himself, who could skill better to keep his money together,
than hold the royall estate of his kingdom, began to enter into a discourse of a disloyalty and sa-
vage nature of these Gauls; making remonstrance, how he had experience by the calamities and I
losses of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them within
Macedony, for fear the Gauls would be found worse neighbors than the Romans were enemies.
Five thousand horsemen are sufficient (qd. he) and so many well we may have good use of in wars,
and need not be afraid of them for their number. But every man saw well enough, that it was the
waging of such a number that he feared, and nothing else: but when no man durst give him coun-
sell, albeit he seemed to ask their advice, *Antigonus* was sent again with a message unto the Gauls,
That the King stood in need of five thousand horsemen and no more; as for all the rest, he weigh-
ed them not. When these Barbarians heard that, all the rest began to mutter and grumble; yea, and
to take great scorn and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native coun-
try for nothing: but *Clondicus* redemanded, Whether he would make present pay to those five K
thousand, according to covenant, yea, or nay? but seeing that he was to seek, and made shifts to a-
void a direct answer, he let this deceitfull messenger go his waies, and did no harm unto his per-
son (a thing that *Antigonus* himself would scarcely have thought could possibly have been:) And
so after they had given the waste unto those parts of *Thracia* which lay near to their way, they re-
turned back again to the river *Ister*. Which power of men, it it had passed the straights of *Perrhe-
bia* into *Thessaly* against the Romans (although *Perseus* had not stirred at all; but sitten still at *E-
nipeus*) might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and empeached the Ro-
mans for expecting any victuals there, but also destroyed the towns utterly, whiles *Perseus* held
the Romans play at *Enipeus* that they could not relieve and succour the Cities of their allies and
confederats. Nay, the very Romans should have enough to do to look unto themselves, conside- L
ring, that there was no tarrying for them, after that *Thessaly* was lost, which nourished and main-
tained their army: and pass forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian camp to af-
front them. But *Perseus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, so he quailed not
a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectancy of their
aid. By the same miserable pinching of his, he estranged also the heart of K. *Gentius* from him. For
when as at *Pella* he had paid 300 talents unto those that were sent of purpose from *Gentius* to re-
ceive the same, well content he was that they should seal up that money. Afterwards he sent unto
Pantaucus ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the same to the K. in person: as for the rest
signed up with the seal of the Illyrians, he commanded his own men who had the convoy thereof,
in going with it to take small journies, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of *Ma-* M
cedony, there to rest and attend the messengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received as earnest
that small portion of the whole sum aforesaid, being called upon continually by *Pantaucus* and set
on to provoke the Romans by some hostility or other, made no more ado, but committed to pri-
son *M. Perpenna* and *L. Petilius*, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embassage. Which
when *Perseus* once heard, he had enough, and thought verily that *Gentius* had done that, whereby
of necessity he must be forced to wage war with the Romans; and thereupon sent out presently to
call those back who had the carriage of the foresaid talents; as if he had studied and sought for
nothing more, than to reserve as great a booty as possibly he could, for the Romans to enjoy, after
that they had vanquished and subdued him, *Eropon* returned likewise from *Eumenes*, and wist not
what had been contrived secretly between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, N
they themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise *Eumenes* advertised the Consul so much,
for avoiding of all suspition.

Perseus after the return of *Eropon* from *Eumenes*, was much dismaied and cast down. Whereup-
on, he sent *Antenor* & *Callippus* (admirals of his navy) to *Tenedos*, with forty pinnaces, unto which
number five Gallions were adjoyned; who from that coast dispersing themselves all about the
Islands *Cyclades*, might wast and guard the lighters and hoies charged with corn, as they sailed to
Macedony. These ships were put to sea at *Cassandrea*, and first they sell with the havens that lie un-
der the foot of the mountain *Athos*, and from thence passed to *Tenedos* with pleasure in calm sea:
where finding certain Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spake courteously to *Enda-
mus* their Admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards up- O
on knowledge, that fifty hulks of theirs on another side were shut up and pent in by the war-ships
of K. *Eumenes*, (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by *Damius*) he turned
about in all haste & dispersed the enemies ships with a sudden terrour that he put them in, & sent
the said hulks & vessels of burden into *Macedony*, with a convoy of ten brigantines to wast them
over, with this charge, That after they had conducted them past all danger into place of safety,
they should return again to *Tenedos*. After nine daies they retired toward the fleet anchoring then in

A in the rode of *Sigeum*. From whence they crossed over to *Subota*, an Island lying between *Elea*
and *Athos*. It fortuned that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at *Subota*, five and thirty ships
which they call *Hippagogæ* [serving for the transporting of horses] which came from *Elea*, having
aboord certain horsemen of *Gaul* and their horses, made head toward *Phane*, a cape or promonto-
ry of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into *Macedony*. And these were sent from *Eu-
menes* to *Attalus*. *Antenor* being advertised by a signall given him from a watch-tower, that those
ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, loosed from *Subota*; and between the cape of *E-
rythræa* and *Chios*, where the sea is most narrow, he encountred them. The admirals of K. *Eumenes*
thought nothing less, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagined
one while they were Romans, other whiles, that it was *Attalus* or some sent back from *Attalus*,
B who from out of the Roman camp were sailing toward *Pergamus*. But as they approached nearer,
they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaces who they were, by their hasty
rowing also and making head full against them, they were out of all doubt that their enemies were
at hand. Then were they mightily afraid, as having no hope to resist and withstand them, conside-
ring the ships were unweildy and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brook the ve-
ry sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were nearer to the firm land sa-
ved themselves by swimming to *Erythræa*; others set up their sails, and being cast upon the Island
Chios, forsook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the barks dis-
charged their armed souldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where
the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them; some in the way, as they fled, others before
C the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing
either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred *Gallogreeks, or
very near, lost their lives and were hewn in peeces, and 200 taken alive. As for the horses, part
perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians haught and cut the
stings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best
and faireſt horses, together with the prisoners, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which
he had sent before, should transport to *Thessalonica*, and return again with all speed to the fleet for
that he would expect their coming at *Phane*. The fleet staid about three daies under the City
side, but afterwards went forward to *Phane*: and when the ten pinnaces aforesaid were returned
sooner than they looked for, they set up sail in the Ægean sea for *Delos*.

* Note that Gauls, Gala-tians, and Gal-lo-greeks be all one, in this book; al-though *Livy* reron them co-ly, *Gallos*.

D In this while the Roman Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from
Chalcis, and arrived with three Quinqueremes galeaces at *Delos*, where they found forty Macedo-
nian pinnaces, and five royall Quinqueremes galleaces of K. *Eumenes*. The holiness of the Temple
and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor vio-
lence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romans as Macedonians, and besides;
the sailers and mariners of K. *Eumenes* conversed together, intermingled one with another in the
Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them truce and surcease of hostility.
Antenor the admirall of K. *Perseus*, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that
certain ships of burden were seen a far off in the sea, set sail & made after them himself with part
of his pinnaces, and part of them he bestowed in wait among the *Cyclades*, and saving those that
E directed their course toward *Macedony*, he either drowned or spoiled them all. *Popilius* did the
best he could, and *Eumenes* with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who sai-
led by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, deceived them, and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Illyrian Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, who
carried the greater authority and credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the coming of
their brigantins, which sailed to and fro ranging over the Ægean sea, and among the *Cyclades*, but
also by the conjunction and affociation of the two KK. *Perseus* and *Gentius*, together with a rumor
that ran of the Gauls, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now
both *Dion* and *Polybius*, who took part with *Perseus*, took more courage and heart unto them:
by whose means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also pronoun-
F ced openly it was, that by their authority they would make an end of the war: in regard whereof,
the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were arrived into their Provin-
ces: *Æmylius* the Consul into *Macedony*; *Octavius* to the navy at *Oreum*; and *Anicius* into *Illyri-
cum*, whose commission was to levy war against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the son of *Pleuratus* K.
of the Illyrians, and *Euridica* was his mother: two brethren he had, to wit, *Plator* of the whole
blood by father and mother both, and *Caravantius* only by the mothers side. This half brother he-
less suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father; but as for *Plator* he murdered, to-
gether with two especiall friends of his *Etritius* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end
that he might raign in more safety and security. The voice goeth that he carried an envious eye to
G that brother of his, for that he had espoused *Etuta* the daughter of *Honunus* the Prince of the
Dardanians; as if by this marriage he meant to make himself strong and combine with the Darda-
nian nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it after he married the damosell indeed.
When he had made away *Plator*, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother,
he began to molest and oppress his own naturall subjects: and as he was by nature given to vio-
lence, so that indisposition of his he set on fire with untemperat drinking of wine. But as we said
before, being moved and incited to war against the Romans, he assembled all his forces together,

unto *Lissus*, to the number of 15000 armed men, and sent his brother from thence with 1000 H foot and 50 horse against the Cavians, for to subdue that nation either by force or fear, whiles himself led his army five miles against the City *Bassania* from *Lissus*. Now were the Bassianians confederat allies of the Romans: and therefore when they were first sollicited by messengers to yield, they resolved rather to endure a siege than do so. As for *Caravantius* he was peaceably and friendly received at his first coming into *Durium*, a town of the Cavians: but *Caravantius* another City, made the gates fast against him: and as he gave the waste to the territory about it, certain of his souldiers straging here and there, were by the peasants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own army, the auxiliaries of the Bullians, Apolloniats, and Dyrrhachians, dislodged out of the place where I he had wintered, and encamped near the river *Genusus*. For hearing of the alliance made between *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and incensed besides with the outrage committed upon the Roman embassadors, whom *Gentius* put in prison, he resolved certainly to war upon him. *Anicius* the Prætor being at that time at *Apollonia*, and advertised in what terms the affairs stood in *Illyricum*, dispatched letters beforehand to *Appius*, willing him to attend at *Genusus* for his coming: and so within three daies after came himself to the camp there; and to those aids which he had of his own he took with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, drawn out of the youth and flower of the Partins. Of the Infantry *Epicadus* had the conduct, and *Agathus* commanded the Cavalry. With this power he prepared to go into *Illyricum*, principally for to levy the siege before *Bassania*: but this design projected by him, was empeached by a brut that was blown of certain K pinnaces which wasted and spoiled the sea-coasts. A fleet they were together of eighty sail, sent from *Gentius* by the instigation of *Pantauchus*, to forrage the territories of *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*. Then the fleet * * * * Which being surrendred, they submitted also and yielded themselves. And so consequently other Cities of that country one after another did the semblable: and the inclination & disposition of mens minds that way, was much set forward by the clemency and justice of the Roman Prætor which he used toward all. Then they marched to *Scodra*, the capital place and seat-town of the war: not only for that *Gentius* had seized upon it for his own self, as the chief strength and fortress of all his realm, but also because it was the strongest peece of all the Labeats nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: to wit, *Clausula* which runneth along the East side of the City, and *Barbana* on the L West, arising out of the marsh *Labeatis*. These two rivers joyn in one, and are discharged together into the great river *Oriundes*: which springing from the mountain *Scodrus*, and encreased still with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, falleth at length into the Adriatick sea. This *Scodrus* is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarters: on the east it hath *Dardania* under it, on the South *Macedony*, and *Illyricum* on the West. Albeit, this town was strongly situat, by the naturall site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the Illyrians and the King himself in person: yet the Roman Prætor (encouraged with the good success he had at the first, and supposing the fortune of the totall war would be answerable to so happy beginnings, and that a sudden terrour also would serve him in much stead and prevaile) approached the wals of the town with his army ready embattelled, and displaied his banners against it. Now if they had M shut their gates, and defended their wals and turrets over the gates, with armed guards bestowed accordingly surely they had repulsed the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their enterprise clean: but they issued forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with more animosity and courage than they maintained it with persistance. For being discomfited and driven back, and in the chase hudled by heaps together as they fled, after 200 & above were slain in the very straight entrance of the gate, they put the rest within in such a fright, that *Gentius* incontinently sent unto the Prætor as Orators, *Teuticus* and *Bellus* the principall persons of that nation to treat and intreat for a surcease of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in counsell and be advised as touching the main estate of his affairs. And when for this purpose he had obtained a grant for three daies, and the Romans lay encamped from the City half a mile; *Gentius* took a barge, and sailing along the river *Bartana*, passed into the lake or mear of the Labeats, as if he had sought some secret by-place to consult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was moved upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Caravantius* his coming: who was said to be near at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent. But when this rumour was over-blown & vanished to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to *Scodra*, and sent courriers before him to the Prætor, requiring leave to parley & commune with him; which being granted, he entred into the camp. First, he began his speech with accusing and condemning his own folly: in the end his last refuge was to pour out prayers and shed tears: and so humbling himself at the Prætor his feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Prætor at the first bad him take O a good heart unto him and be of good chear, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his own people into the City, where he was honorably feasted that day by the Prætor. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Cassius*, a martiall Colonell: and thus received he of K. *Perseus* only ten talents (a mean reward and hardly sufficient to content a simple sword-plaier) to engage himself into a world of danger; and being a K. as he was, to fall into this extream calamity and misery. *Anicius* having entred upon *Scodra*, first before all other things took order that

A that the two Embassadors aforesaid, *Petilius* and *Perpenna* should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their pristine estate and reputation, he sent *Perpenna* presently to apprehend the friends and kinsfolk of the King: who took his way directly to *Medeo*, a City of the Labeats, and brought with him into the camp at *Scodra Ellevа* the Kings wife, with her two sons *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*, together with *Caravantius* the K. his brother. Thus *Anicius* having ended the Illyrian war within the compass of thirty daies, sent *Perpenna* to *Rome* with tidings of this victory; and within few daies *Gentius* himself after him together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother, and other LL. of the Illyrians. This was the only war atchieved and brought to an end, before they heard at *Rome* that it was begun.

During the management of these affairs, *Perseus* also was in great fear and affright, by reason B of the comming of *L. Æmylius* a new Consul (who as the voice went, marched against him with great menaces) together with *Octavius* the Prætor. Neither was he less terrified with the Roman navy and the danger of the sea coasts. *Eumenes* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and command of *Thessalonica* with a small garrison of two thousand targettiers. Thither he sent Captain *Androcles* also, with commandment to encamp close to the very harbor where the ships lay in rode. Unto *Ænia* he sent one thousand horsemen under the leading of *Antigonus*, to guard the sea-coast, to the end that in what part soever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinently advance to the succour of the peasants and country people. Five thousand Macedonians were likewise sent to lie in garrison at *Pythoum* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Histiaius*, *Theagenes* and *Midon*. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river *Enipeus*: because it was passable over the very channell on dry foot. And to the end that all the multitude should be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoyning, to bring victuals into the camp. The souldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by * * * * Finally, the water-bearers in leather bits or bottels, were commanded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they stood to dig pits, some in one place, and some in another, a pretty distance asunder. The exceeding high hils all about put * him in good hope (& the rather because they sent out from them no rivers to be seen in open view) that they contained within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intermingled with the sea-water. They had scarcely sunk through the uppermost course of sand above, when they might see small sources to boil up, at the first troubled, but afterD ward they began to yield shier and clear water in great abundance: by a special gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrent also encreased the name and reputation of the Captain with his souldiers. Then after he had commanded his men to make ready their armour, himself with the martiall Tribunes and the principall formost ranks, marched to recognise and view the passages; and to see where the armed men might descend with ease, and where they might with least trouble mount up the bank on the farther side. When he had taken a sufficient survey hereof, he forecast & gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble and tumultuous noise, even at the very beck and commandment of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to all at once, it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing; and so receiving an uncertain signall and commandment, some put more of their E own head to that which was commanded, and others do less again for it: and so there arise from all parts dissonant cries, and by this means the enemies know sooner whereabout they go, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he ordained that every martiall Colonell should give a secret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion, and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and so forth every one should deliver unto each Centurion as he is next in rank and place, what was to be executed: whether it were that the commandment was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the rereguard behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and custome, forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets to their sentinels: for that the watchman went not out to fight, whereby he he needed any armour, but to keep watch; that when he descried the enemies coming, he might F retire himself, and raise others to take arms. *Item*, he ordained that the helmettiers or morioners should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: and when they were weary, to lean and bear upon their javelins, and resting their head upon the edge of their shields so to take a nap and sleep; to the end that their glittering armour might be discovered afar off by the enemy, whereas himself could not see far before him. The manner also of warding in the day time, and of the *corps de guard* he altered clean. For whereas they were wont to stand all the day long armed, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled; it fell out so, that in summer daies when ordinarily the sun is extream and scorching hot, both horse and man became weary and languished again with abiding so many hours in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being fresh, although they were but few in number, set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. Here- G upon he commanded that the morning guard should break up at noon, and others succeed in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this means the enemy fresh and in heart could never take them weary and so charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publike assembly gathered together that his will was that these orders should be observed accordingly, he delivered unto them a speech, much resembling the former Oration which he used before to the people within the City of *Rome*. Namely, "That the Generall of an army ought only to foresee and provide for "all that is meet to be done, sometime by himself, otherwhiles with those whom he hath joyned

"assistants

* He speaketh of *L. Paulus Æmylius*.

"assistants unto him: as for such as are not called to be of his counsell, they ought neither in pub- H
"like nor in privat to shoot their bolts and give their advice. Three things indeed the souldier
"was to care and provide for: namely, to have a body most strong and nimble withall; his armor
"and weapons decent and fit; and thirdly, a spirit prompt and ready at all assaies to execute any
"commandment on a sudden. For all things else he ought to know, that the gods immortall and
"his Generall will take care: forasmuch, as in that army wherein the souldiers, the Consul, and
"chief commander, suffer themselves to be carried away with rumours and bruits of the common
"sort, it is not possible for any thing to go well forward & come to good effect. For his own part
"(according to the duty and devoir of a captain General) he would endeavour and provide to
"give them the occasion and opportunity of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire
"after any future thing; but so soon as the signall is given, then every man to perform the service I
"of a doubty souldier and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dismis-
sed the assembly: and the old souldiers themselves confessed commonly in plain terms, that they
had taken forth a lesson that day as young and raw novices, yea, and learned in military profession
that, which they never knew before: neither shewed they only by these and such like words, with
what consent and general liking they heard the Cos. his speech, but also testified the same by pre-
sent deed and visible effect. For immediatly, you should not have seen over all the camp, one man
idle and doing nothing: some fell to whet and sharpen their swords; others furbished their head-
pieces, buffs, and beavers: some scoured their shields and bucklers; others their cuirasces and cors-
lets; some fitted and buckled their harneis to their bodies, and tried how they could beset their
limbs and rule their joynts under it: some shook their pikes and couched their javelins; others K
brandished their swords and lookt that they were sharp at point: So as a man might easily per-
ceive by them, that upon the first occasion presented of encounter with the enemy, they would
enter into conflict, either to atchieve a brave victory, or to die an honourable death.

Perseus also on the other side, perceiving that upon the arrivall of the Consul and the beginning
of the spring together, the Roman camp resounded and rung again with their stirring and rustling
of armour, as if there had been some new war towards: that they were dislodged from *Phylla*
and encamped upon the bank just over against him: and that now their leader and commander
rode up and down to view and behold his fortifications and works, to spie (no doubt) some way
or other for passage * * * * * * * This * encouraged the Ro- L
mans hearts, and danted not a little the Macedonians and their King. At the first, *Perseus* endea-
voured to suppress secretly and stop the bruit and fame thereof, by tending out certain of purpose
to *Pantaucus* (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the camp. But by
this time were certain children seen brought by their own parents among the Illyrian hostages:
and look how much more caresull order was taken to conceal all, so much the sooner was every
thing set abroad and blurted out by the prattle and babble of the Kings servitors attending about
his person.

* Namely, the news that K. *Gentius* was vanquished, and that he and his kingdom was at the devotion of the Romans.

About the same time the Rhodian Embassadors came into the Rhodian camp, with the very
same charge and commission as touching peace, which at *Rome* had set the LL. of the Senat in ex-
ceeding heat & choler; but far worse audience had they in the councill of the camp, & with grea-
ter discontentment. And therefore when some advised, that they should be thrust out by head and M
shoulders without any answer at all; the Cos. pronounced, That he would shape them an answer
after fifteen daies, and not before. Mean while, that it might appear what a goodly reckoning was
made of these Rhodian peace-makers who came about a pacification) he began instead thereof
to debate in Councill as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion
(and principally the elders and ancients) to give the assault. and force the munitions and defences
planted upon the bank of the river *Enipeus*; for that the Macedonians were never able to resist,
if they came upon them lustily and charged them by thick troops: for why? no longer ago (say
they) than the year before, dissieized they had been of so many holds both higher and better forti-
fied and the same holden with strong garrisons. Others were of mind, that *Octavius* the Admiral
should with the fleet sail to *Thessalonica* & by laying waste the maritime coasts, to cut off & wea-
ken the kings forces; to the end, that upon another war shewed from behind at their backs, the K.
might be withdrawn & trained about to defend the heart of his realm, and thereby forced in some
sort to open & lay naked the passage over the river *Enipeus*. And *Octavius* himself was of this judg-
ment, that the bank as well by the naturall site thereof, as for the sconces made upon it by mans
hand, was insuperable and not to be gained: & besides the engins planted every where thereupon,
he heard say, that the enemies had the slight and skill to discharge all kind of shot far better and
shoot more dead sure: but the intention of the General *Æmylius* was wholly bent another way:
and after he had dissolved the assembly of his Councill, he called unto him the Merchants of the
Perrhæbians namely, *Sclæmus* and *Menophilus* (men of approved fidelity and wisdom) and of them
in great secret enquired, What kind of passages there were over into *Perrhæbia*? when they an- O
swered, That the waies were nothing difficult and dangerous, but only that they were kept and
beset by the Kings guards: he conceived some hope that if he assailed them by night with a valiant
company, and took them suddenly at unawares before they looked for him, he might chase those
garrisons from their holds: for darts, arrows, and all other shot, served to little or no purpose in
the dark, when a man cannot see his mark afar off before him; but close sword-fight, hand to
hand pell mell, was it that must do the deed: wherein the Roman souldier had no fellow. Minding
therefore

A therefore to use those two as guides, he sent for *Octavius* the Prætor: and when he had declared
unto him the effect of his designment, he commanded him to sail with his fleet to *Heraclea*, and
to have with him victuals baked and dressed to serve a thousand souldiers ten daies. Himself sent
out *P. Scipio Nasica* and *Q. Fadius Maximus* his own son, with five thousand select souldiers to
Heraclea (as if they were to be embarked) for to waste the maritime coast of *Macedony*, lying far
within the country, according as it had been before debated in Councill: & secretly under-hand
they were given to wit, that there were victuals in the fleet prepared for them, to the
end that nothing should stay their expedition. Then the guides, who were to conduct them in
their way, had commandment, so to cast their gists and journeys, that by three of the clock in the
morning the third day, they might assail *Pythium*. Himself in his own person the next morrow,
B with intent to amuse the K. and keep him from all regard of other enterprises, early by the break
of day began to skirmish with the enemies guards in the very midst of the chanell and place of the
current. The light armour and forlorn hopes as well of the one side as the other, maintained the
fight: for it was not possible for souldiers heavily armed at all peeces, to skirmish in the chanell,
so uneven as it was. The descent from the banks on either hand to the forelaid chanell, contained
C fought better afar off by the means of their darts and other shot. The Romans were more firm
and steady, yea, and better defended with their round bucklers or Ligurian shields. About noon-
tide the Consul commanded to sound the the retreat unto his men; and so for that day the fray
war parted, not without much bloudshed on both sides. The next morrow by sun-rising they fell
to it again, and sought more eagerly by reason that their bloud was up, and their stomacks sharp-
ned the day before: but the Romans received hurt not only by them with whom they entred in-
to fight, but much more also from a number of those who stood in turrets and petry sconces erec-
ted here and there: who discharged at them all kind of darts and shot, but hurled stones especi-
ally. And when they approached once near to the bank where the enemies were, their bullets le-
velled out of engins, commanded and reached even them that were outmost and farthest off;
D The Consul having lost that day more men by many than before, caused them to retire somewhat
later than the former day. The third day he forbare to fight, but turned aside toward the nether
quarter of the camp, as if he minded to assay passage by an arm of the river that bended to the
sea. *Perseus* having before his eyes * * * * * * *

" time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience H
" of many adventures and asaultaries in war, to know, when it is good time to fight, and when it is
" better to forbear and sit still. For this present needless it is and boot less (standing as we do now
" arranged in order of battel) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to think it better
" to be quiet and not to stir this day: another time demand the reasons thereof: and rest conten-
"ted I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
young man was blank and said not a word: persuaded he was doubtless, that the Cos. saw some
impediments to stay the battel, which to himself appeared not. *Paulus*, when he perceived that the
camp was set and quartered out, & the carriages bestowed accordingly, drew first out of the rere-
guard the *Triarii*; then afterwards the *Principes*, whiles the *Hastati* or pikes kept their standing
still in the vanguard (if haply the enemies should offer battel;) at the last he withdrew them al- I
so, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the souldiers from every ensign one
after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the
horsemen together with the light armour opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
main battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavalry called back from these stations where-
in they were placed, untill the fore-front of the rampier and trench was fully finished. The K. like-
wise, who without any refusall of battel had stood ready that day to fight, contenting himself with
this, that he knew the stay thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a martiall Colonel
of the second legion, who had been Prætor the year before, by permission of the Consul called the
souldiers to a generall audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night K
following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night untill
the fourth: and this he did, because no man should wonder thereat, as if it were a prodigious to-
ken. Also he made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
because it is a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature. For like as they
nothing marvelled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at set hours, nor to see the
moon sometimes shine bright out at the full, otherwhiles in the wain, giving light only with the
small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous matter of it,
that she should be dark, when as her body is hidden by the shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
* *Septemb.* 4. was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, overnight before the eaven of the Nones of *Sep-*
tember: by occasion whereof, the Roman souldiers held *Gallus* for a deeply learned sage, and a di- L
vine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the Macedonians were troubled with the sight thereof, as an
heavy prodigy, portending and presaging the ruin of that realm and the utter destruction of the
whole nation. And surely the howling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while,
untill the moon recovered her full light again, was a very prognostication and prediction of no
less. The morrow after both the armies were so hot set and greedy of fight, that both K. and Cos.
were blamed by some of their own souldiers, for that they went out of the field the day before,
and struck not battell. As for the K. he had his excuse and defence ready not only because the ene-
my refused the fight first, in open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his camp, but also
in that he had pitcht and ranged his ensigns in such a place, unto which the Macedonian battell,
called Phalanx, could not advance, considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground, M
there is no use at all thereof. The Cos. for his part, as the day before he seemed to have preter-mit-
ted and lost the opportunity of a combat, yea, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in
the night-season (if he had so list) so now also he trifled out the time, making semblance of sacri-
fice, whereas the signall of battell at the point of day was put forth for the souldiers to enter into
the field. Well, at the last, when the sacrifice was duly performed, about the third hour of the day,
he assembled his Councill about him; where, some there were that thought he prolonged the
time on set purpose, with his discourses and unseasonable consultations, and spent that opportuni-
ty so, which should be employed better in fight and execution of some worthy exploit. Howbeit,
The Oration of *L. Æmylius* unto his army. after some speeches passed, the Cos. made an Oration unto his souldiers in this wise. "*Pub. Nasica*
" (qd. he) a right valiant young gentleman, of all those that advised to give battell yesterday, was N
" the only man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsell; yet afterwards, even
" he held his peace and kept silence, in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
" my mind in the end. Some others there be that have taken a several course by themselves, and
" thought it better to carp at their General behind his back than to admonish him to his face. As
" for me I will not think much nor make it dainty, to render a reason both to you, O *P. Nasica*,
" & to them also who have thought the same that you did (although they carried it more secret-
" ly) why I made such stay and deferred battel. For, so far off am I of repenting for our yesterdaies
" repose, that I am of this belief rather, how by that means and policy alone I saved the whole ar-
" my. And because none of you may think that I have taken such a pitch, and hold that opinion
" of mine without just cause, let him consider & discourse together with me (if he think so good) O
" what advantages the enemies had, & how many things made against us. First and formost, how
" far they surpass us in number, assured I am that none of you either was ignorant before, or
" could chuse but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how it was thrust and thronged
" together. And of that small number which we are, the fourth part of our fighting men was left
" behind to guard the carriage, & wel ye wot, that we set not the most cowards to the keeping of
" our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then? think we, I pray you, that
" we

A " we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have rested one whole night;
" to go either this day or to morrow at the farthest, with the leave and power of the gods, into
" the field, if you shall so think good? Skilleth it not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a souldier
" take arms, whom neither the travel of this daies journey, nor toil of laborious work hath
" tainted and wearied, but is at quiet, yea and fresh within his tent & so to bring him forth into
" the field for a battel lusty and strong, full of bodily vigour of heart? or to offer and expose unto
" the enemy who is hearty and fresh, who hath taken his rest and ease, & hath brought with him
" to a fight, his strength entire and whole, not foiled or spent upon any occasion: to present, I say,
" unto such an enemy, a souldier tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carry-
" ing his burden, all molten to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat scorched for thirst, his
B " face and eyes full of dust, and all his body roasted against the noon-sun? now tell me, by the
" ye ow to the gods, what is he that being in this so good a plight, were he the veriest beast and
" coward otherwise in a country) could not foil and beat out of the field the hardiest & most vail-
" ant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how materiall & important this also was that our
" enemies had marshalled their battaillons with great leisure after long time of rest: that they had
" repaired and refreshed their own strength, & stood ranged every man orderly in his own rank;
" whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattel and set our men in array, yea, and also
" to fall to skirmish pell mell without all order? But may some men say, True it is, our battel in-
" deed we should have had much out of square and shusled in great confusion: yet our camp was
" well fortified; we had forecast and provided for good watering, the passage thereto was good
C " & safe by reason of strong guards placed every way; & all coasts were cleared about us by our
" espials. Nay, I wis, but contrariwise, nothing (to say truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain
" field where we were to fight. Your ancestors in times past, esteemed a camp fortified with ram-
" piers and trenches, as good as a port and harbor of sure refuge, for an army against all chances
" and misfortunes whatsoever: from thence to issue forth, & thither to retire for safety, after they
" had been tossed and beaten with the tempest of a battel. And therefore when it was empaled
" round about with good defences, they had a care also to re-enforce & strengthen it with strong
" guards; forasmuch as he that hath lost his camp & is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanqui-
" shed, notwithstanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The hold of a camp serveth
" for a place of retreat to the conqueror; & of refuge to the conquered. How many armies could
D " I reckon, which having sped but badly in the battel, were driven to take their leaguer; yea after-
" wards seeing their time, and spying their vantage, otherwhiles sallied forth & in the turning of
" an hand repulsed and discomfited the enemy for all his former victory? This seat and retreat of
" souldiers in time of war, resembleth as a man would say, another native country of theirs; the
" rampier serveth instead of walls, the tent and pavilion is, to every souldier his house and home.
" And should we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of mansion wherunto we
" might betake our selves after victory? But against these difficulties and empeachments of giving
" battel, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say some) had gone his waies last night
" between; what a foul deal of trouble & sorrow should we have endured again in pursuing him
" as far as to the heart, nay, to the farthest frontiers of *Macedony*? But I for my part verily hold this
E " for certain, that if he had ever meant to have started from hence, he would never have staid thus
" here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more easie was it
" for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are ready to tread
" upon his heels, and go over his back? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip, but we
" should have been aware of his dislodging, either by day or night. But, say he had gone his waies,
" what could we have wished more at the gods hands, than to set upon the back part of the ene-
" mies in the open plain ground, departing in disarray disbanded one from another, as they aban-
" doning their fort and strong hold, and whose camp stuat most sure upon an exceeding high and
" steep bank of a river, fortified also with a rampier, and many a sconce and turret beside, we gave
" the venture to assault? Lo, what the causes were, why the battel was put off from yesterday to
F " this present. For I must tell you, I am as willing my self to try the fortune of a field as any other:
" and to that end (because the advenues to the enemy over the river *Enipeus* were stopped up a-
" gainst us) I have found a new way through another pass and straight, by disseizing the guards of
" the enemies there left; and never will I give over untill I have defeated him quite, and brought
" this war to an end. After this oration all kept silence, partly, for that many of them were wont to
his opinion: and partly, because they feared to find fault to no purpose & so to give offence, which
a thing how soever once past, cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither, was there
battell fought, for any great desire that the Consul or King had thereto. The King wished it not;
because he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor trou-
bled about their embattelling in such sort & hardly at the last brought into order. The Consul a-
Gain had no great stomack thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of fe-
well nor forrage brought in and laid up already: and for the purveyance thereof, out of the villa-
ges and fields near at hand, many of the souldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus
when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chance and fortune (which is more po-
werfull than all the counsel and policy of man) made means and gave occasion of a battell. There
was a river not very great, near to the enemies camp, whereat both Romans and Macedoni-
ans watered: and on either bank side certain guards kept their st tions, for the safety and security

as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were for the Romans of Marrucines and Pelignians, footmen; two troops or cornets besides of Samnit horsemen; all commanded by *M. Sergius Sylus* a lieutenant. Over and besides, another standing *corps de guard* quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely, of Firmian, Vestine, and Cremonian footmen, together with two troops of Placentine and Esternian horsemen, all conducted by lieutenant *Clusius*. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no side provoked or challenged other; it fortuned that a sumpter horse [of the Romans] about the fourth hour of the day brake from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of such, took the river and made toward the bank of the farther side: & when three souldiers followed after cross the water almost knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the jade from the midst of the river to their bank side: but after one of them was slain, the Romans recovered the beast again & retired to their own guard. Now there was a strong *corps de guard* of 800 Thracians upon the bank which the enemies kept, from whence some few at first, taking it to the heart that a countriman of theirs should thus be killed before their face, traversed over the river in pursuit of those that had slain him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard

* * * * *

leadeth to the battel. Men were moved with a reverence of the majesty of his place, as he was L. General; also with respect of the honour and glory of the man otherwise; and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about threescore years old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greatest travell and danger. That void space which was between the light targettiers, called *Cetrati*, and the thick battaillons named Phalanges, the legion took up clean, and broke within the battell of the enemies. Behind the *Cetrati* was this legion, and had afront them the Pavoisers called *Aglaspides*, with resplendent or shining shields. *L. Attilius*, who had been Consul before time, was commanded to lead against the battaillon of other Pavoisers called *Leucaspides* with white shields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Against the right flank from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederat horsemen, and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men, carry some shew in apparance of words when they are first spoken of; but come to practise and try them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any use and service at all. That violence of the Elephants (such as it was) the Latine allies seconded immediately, and forced the left flank to retire. Then the second legion was put forth, and in the midst entred upon the Phalanx and put it to flight; neither was there any cause of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the first troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards discomfited it. True it is, that to abide the force thereof it is unpossible, so long as it keepeth close united together, & putteth forth their sharp pointed pikes bent thick couched together breast-high: but if a man by charging the same here and there, force them once to turn about those pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are unwieldy and hard to guide, they soon are intangled and catch one within another untowardly: but in case it fall out so, that there be any tumult made either aflank or behind, then there ensueth a generall trouble and confusion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down: like as it hapned then, when as against the Romans, who assailed them by troops in sundry parts, they were driven to break their battaillon into many pieces, as it were, and so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans espied where there was a breach made and lane left between, and there they would insinuat and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had run upon the front of the Phalanx close ranged altogether with their whole battaillon, they had enwrapped and entangled themselves within their pikes: of which in the beginning of the conflict hapned to the *Peligni*, as they unadvisedly dealt with the targettiers, called *Cetrati*) and had never been able to sustain that battaillon united thick and couched together. But as there was a cruell slaughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place, save only those that flung away their weapons and fled; so the souldiers of the Cavalry departed in manner safe and sound out of the conflict. The K. himself was the first man that fled: and now by this time was escaped beyond *Pydna*, and with his cornets of horsemen which they call, *Sacred* made haste to *Pella*. Anon after followed *Costacus*, and the Cavalry of the Odrysians: consequently, other troops and companies of Macedonian horsemen departed and kept their arraies unbroken: for that the Phalanx or battaillon of the footmen between which kept the conquerours occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to pursue the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this Phalanx afront, aflank & behind. In the end, they who escaped the hands of the enemies, & fled without weapons to the sea; some took the water, and stretching forth their hands to them that were aboord in the ships, most humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockboats making apace on all hands toward them from the ships, they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yea, and some swimmed forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boats slain in all hostile manner like enemies, as many as could, swam back again to land: where they met with a fouler mischief, and were worse plagued than before: for the Elephants (driven by their governours to the shore) trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, That never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 20000 men were

A were there slain, and to the number of 6000 (who fled to *Pydna* out of the battail) came alive into the enemies hands; 5000 besides were taken prisoners, as they fled scattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by far of Pelignians; but a greater number somewhat, were hurt and wounded. And if the battail had begun sooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chase upon their enemies, all their forces had been utterly defeated and deavoured by the sword: but now the night coming upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romans not to be so hasty and forward in pursuit; considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the countrey. *Perseus* fled to the forrest *Pieria* by the port rode way, with a great number of horsmen and his royal train about him. So soon as he was entred the forest where the way divided into
B sundry and divers parts, seeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaten way with very few of his most loyal and faithful friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and left destitute of their leader, slipt some one way and some another home into their own Cities: certain of them (but very few) recovered *Pella* before *Perseus* himself, because they rode a direct and ready way. The K. was much troubled and vexed until midnight almost, what with fear and what with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to *Pella*, *Eucles* the Governour thereof, and the Kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him service: but contrary-wise, of all those friends who escaped safe out of the battail and chanced by variable adventures to come into *Pella*, there would not one come at him, notwithstanding they were oftentimes sent for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, *Evander* of *Crete*, *Neon*
C a Bœotian, and *Archidamus* the Ætolian. Fearing therefore lest they who refused to come unto him, would soon after enterprise some greater matter against him; with those three he fled still forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 500 Cretensians. Toward *Amphipolis* he went; but he departed in the night from *Pella*, making all the haste he could to pass over the river *Axius* before day-light, supposing that the Romans would give over the chase there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous foord.

The Consul being returned into the camp with victory, (because he should not have the fruition of sincere and perfect joy) was greatly disquieted and troubled about his yonger son, and that was *P. Scipio*, surnamed also afterwards *Africanus*, because he raised the City of *Carthage*: the natural son he was of the Consul *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grand-child of *Africanus*: he
D was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) whiles he followed in chase the enemies upon the spur, was carried by the press a contrary way, in such sort, as it was late ere he returned: and then the Consul having recovered him again safe and sound, felt the joy of so great a victory, and not before.

When the bruit and news of this battail was arrived at *Amphipolis*, and that the dames and wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Tauropolos*, to beseech and call for her aid, *Diodorus* the chief Governor of the City, fearing the Thracians (who were 2000 in garrison) left in that tumult and garboil they would spoil and rifle the City: craftily suborned a fellow on set purpose in guise and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in
E the mids of the market place: wherein it was written, That the Roman fleet was arrived in *Emathia*, and that the territories all about were pitifully wasted by them; and therfore the rulers and captains of *Emathia* requested him to send a garison to succour them against these foragers. When he had read these counterfeit letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into *Emathia* for to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering the Romans were loosly straggling and scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a foul havock and slaughter of them, and besides raise and bring away with them a great booty: withall, he forgat not to elevate & smuch as he could, the fame of the forsaid unhappy field fought, saying, That if all had been true, there would have been messengers coming thick one after another upon their flight, to bring fresh tidings still therof. Under this pretence he sent away the Thracians; and so soon as he saw they were passed over the river *Strymon*, incontinently he shut the
F gates. The third day after the battail fought, came *Perseus* to *Amphipolis*, and from thence he sent Orators to *Paulus* with an herald of peace. Mean-while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantaucus* the Kings principal friends, went themselves to the Consul, and surrendred unto the Romans *Berrhœa* whither they had retired and fled immediatly out of the field. Other Cities also strucken with fear one after another, prepared to do the like.

The Consul, after he had sent to *Rome* with tidings and letters of this victory, *Q. Fabius* his own son together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the spoil of the enemies army thus lying defeated, unto his souldiers: but the horsemen he allowed the booty of all the territory round about, with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then, he removed neerer unto the sea, and lodged about *Pydna*. First, *Berrhœa* (as is beforesaid) yeelded, then
G *Thessalonica* and *Pella*, and consequently, all *Macedony* wel-neer within two daies was surrendred. But the Pydneans who were next unto him, as yet were behind with sending their Embassadors: the reason was, for that the confused confluence thither of many nations, and the disordered multitudes of those that fled out of the field, and were all met there together, hindred the counsel and consone of the whole City: so as the gates were not only shut but also mured up. Now were *Midon* and *Pantaucus* sent to parl under the walls with *Solon*, who lay there with a garison: by whose means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was sent away, the City rendred up and the pillage given to the souldiers.

Perseus, whose only hope was in the aid of the Bisaltes whom he had assaied and sollicited, and H for which purpose he had sent his Embassadors (although in vain) held a publick assembly, and bringing his son *Philip* with him, came forth before the people; to the end that he might by some exhortation confirm and strengthen the hearts, as well of the Amphipolitans as the companies of foot and horse, who either at all times continually had followed him, or were retired thither by flight for refuge. But ever as he was about to make a speech unto the audience (which he oft began to do) he could not proceed for tears. Now for that himself was not able to speak, he came down from the pulpit, and imparted unto *Evander* the Cretensian those points, which his will was to be delivered and proposed unto the congregation there assembled. The multitude, as they lamented and wept again to see the King so piteously shed tears: so they regarded not the speech of *Evander*: nay, some of them were so bold as to cry out aloud from the midst of the assembly, A- I way, away, and get ye gone from hence that the final remnant of us here perish not for your sakes. The stout resolution of these men stopped *Evander* his mouth, that he could not say a word and reply again. The King by this time was gotten to his lodging, and having conveighed into certain bottoms upon the river *Strymon* all his money, gold, and silver, went also in person down to the water side. The Thracians durst not go aboord and commit to sea, but stunk every man away to his own home; and so did all the sort of souldiers besides. The Cretensians only (for greedy hope of gain) accompanied the King, who because in sharing & dealing money among them, he should incur more offence than win thanks laid out fifty talents among them upon the river side to scamble for. When they had made quick riddance and a clean hand with it, they went aboord in a great hurry so as one barge overcharged with a multitude of passengers was cast away and sunk in the K mouth of the river. That very day they arrived at *Galipsus*, and the morrow after at *Samothrace*, the very place that they intended; and thither (by report) were conveighed 2000 talents. *Paulus* after he had sent presidents to govern every City surrendred, to the end that no injury should be offered in this new peace to the conquered, and detaining with him still the Kings heralds and Orators, not knowing any thing of the Kings flight and departure, sent *P. Nasica* to *Amphipolis* with a mean regiment of foot and horse, to ruinat and destroy at once *Sintica*, and also to empeach all the designments and enterprises of the Romans.

In this time *Melibœa* was forced and ransacked by *Cn. Octavius*: but at *Æginium* (to the siege whereof *Cn. Anicius* the Lieutenant was sent) 200 men were lost by a sally made out of the town, for that the Æginians heard not the news of the late defeat. L

The Consul departed from *Pydna* with his whole army, and the morrow after came before *Pella*. Where having encamped within a mile of the City, he made abode there for certain daies to view on all sides the situation of the City, which he perceived and marked full well, to have been chosen not without good cause, for the imperial seat of the Macedonian Kings. Situat it is upon an hill that lieth to the Southwest enclosed round with mears so deep as they cannot possibly be waded and passed though: and these marishes are bred and fed both winter and summer by waters overflowing out of certain lakes. Within the very marish next unto the City side, there standeth a strong Tower by it self, bearing up above the rest, as it were an Island raised upon a terrace made with exceeding labor of mans hand, which terrace both sustaineth a wall, and is not hurt with the moisture of the marish round about it; and a far off seemeth close joined to the City wall. How- M beit, divided it is by a river between it and the wall, and yet united to the City by a bridg over it: so as, whosoever assaileth the same without, can have no access any way to it neither, if the King be disposed to shut and enclose any man within, can he possibly make an escape and get forth but over the said bridg; which a few men may keep and guard with ease. In this place the Kings treasure used to lie, but at that time there was no more found but the 300 talents which were sent to King *Gentius* first, and afterward staid and detained. During the time that the Consul remained about *Pella* in his standing camp many embassages had audience given them, who repaired thither out of *Thessaly* especially to congratulate with him, testifying their own joy and wishing his. But the Consul after that he had intelligence that *Perseus* had crossed over to *Samothracia*, departed from *Pella*, and at the fourth gist and journey that he made, came to *Amphipolis*. The whole mul- N titude went forth of the City in great numbers to meet him, which gave testimony to every man, that neither a good nor just King * * * * * *

The five and fortieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and fortieth Book.

PErseus *was taken prisoner by* Æmylius Paulus *in* Samothracia. *When* Antiochus *King of* Syria *besieged* Ptolomæus *and* Cleopatra, *King and Queen of* Ægypt, *Embassadors were sent from the Senat of* Rome, *willing* Antiochus *to give over, and besiege no more an associat King unto them: but when*

A *when he made answer to this their message delivered, that he would consider better what he had to do. Popilius one of the said Embassadors with his rod that he had in his hand drew a circle about the King, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which rude, rough, and blunt behavior, he forced Antiochus to lay away arms and furcease war. Divers Embassies of States and Kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senat. As for that of the Rhodians, because in the late war they stood out, and took part against the Romans, it was excluded. The morrow after, when it was debated in council about making war upon the Rhodians, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their countrey in the Senat: so as they neither had a friendly dispatch and farewel, as allied associats, nor yet were sent away as professed enemies. Macedony was now reduced into the form of a Province. Æmy-*
B *lius Paulus triumphed, notwithstanding the contradiction of his own souldiers, discontented for that they were pinched & cut short in the pillage, & although Ser. Sulpitius Galba interposed himself & gainsaid it. He led before his chariot Perseus with his three sons. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, he missed foully it was with the death of his two sons: the one died before the other after the triumph of their father. The Censors took a review of the City, in which were assessed and enrolled in their subsidy books 312805 citizens. Prusias King of* Bithynia *repaired to* Rome, *to rejoyce with the Senat in their behalf for the victory and conquest of* Macedony, *where her commended unto the Senat his son* Nicomedes. *This base minded King, made all of flattery, named himself the enfranchised vassal of the people of* Rome.

C

The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Quintus Fabius, L. Lentulus, and *Q. Metellus*, the messengers of the late victory, albeit they made all the hast that possibly they could, and came speedily to *Rome*, yet found the joy therof to have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battail fought with the King, even as the playes and games were exhibited in the shew-place, there was heard suddainly at first, a confused humming noise, which spred over all the companies of the spectators, That a field was fought in *Macedony* and *Perseus* vanquished: afterwards arose a more cleer and evident voice, which grew at length to an open shout and clapping of hands, as if certain news had been brought of the said victory. The magistrats wondred hereat, and made search after the author of D this so suddain gladness, but none would be found: and then verily it passed away as the momentany joy of some vain and uncertain occurrence: howbeit a joyful presage of some good luck settled in mens hearts and remained behind. But after that this was confirmed by the true report and relation of *Fabius, Lentulus*, and *Metellus*, which they made at their coming, all men rejoyced as well at the fore-giving of their minds, as for the victory it self. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the shew-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no less probability and likelihood of truth, in this manner: Upon the * 22 of *September* (which was the second day of the so- * *ad decimum quintum calendas Octobris.*
lemnity of Romans games) as the Consul was going up to the lists for to set out the running of the chariots, a post, by report, (who said he was come out of *Macedony*) presented letters unto him decked with lawrel. The Consul then, so soon as he had set on foot the race, presently mounted up E into his own chariot: and as he rode through the shew-place toward the common scaffolds, he shewed unto the people the said laureat letters: which being once seen, the people presently (forgetting all their sports and sights) ran out into the mids of the cirque, & thither the Cos. assembled the Senat: unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advice and allowance of the LL. even before the publick stages and scaffolds, he published the contents therof to all the people in this manner, That *L. Æmylius* his colleague had sought a set field with K. *Perseus*, That the army of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight, That the King himself was fled with some few of F his train, and that all the Cities of *Macedony* were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of *Rome*. These tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, in so much as many men there, lest the sight of these disports, and carried these joyful news home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battail given in *Macedony*. The morrow after the Senat assembled in *Curia* (*Hostilia*) and ordained it was that publick processions should be solemnized: an Act also passed, that the Consul *Æmylius* should dismiss all those that had taken the military oath, excepting only the sea-souldiers and mariners: and as for the discharging of those souldiers, agreed it was, that it should be moved in the Councel-chamber, when the Lieutenants were arrived and come from *L. Æmylius* the Consul, for they had dispatched a courrier with letters before them. Now these messengers aforesaid entred the City the * 25th of * *ad. Sept. Octobris.*
September about the second hour of the day, and drew after them a mighty train of those who encountring them upon the way wheresoever they went, accompanied them to *Rome*, and so directly went to the marker-place and tribunal seat. In fortuned that the Senators sat then in the ordinary G *Curia* or Councel-house, and thither the Consul brought the Embassadors. Where they were received and held so long only as they might declare these points. How great the Kings forces were, as well in foot as horse: how many thousand were slain, how many taken prisoners: what small loss of Roman souldiers that great defeat of enemies cost: how few they were in number that the King fled with: that it was supposed he would pass into *Samothracia*: that the fleet was in readines to make way after them in chase; and that it was not possible for him to escape either by Land or Sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the general assembly of the people, where

they made relation of the same. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by their Consul, That all the sacred temples and churches should be set open: and that every man should depart out of the assembly to render thanks unto the Gods in such sort, that all the temples of the Gods throughout the whole City were replenished with mighty multitudes and congregations not of men only, but also of women. Then the Senat met again in the ordinary *Curia* and ordained that publick processions and thanks should be made for five daies together in all Churches and Chappels and at every Altar for the happy and fortunat success of *L. Æmylius*, and that greater head of beasts should be killed for sacrifice. Also that the ships which rid ready rigged and well appointed in the river *Tyberis* for to be sent into *Macedony*, (in case it had so fain out that the King had been able to have resisted) should be retired and drawn to land, and so laid up dry in their docks and arsenals: also that the mariners should be cassed, after the receit of a whole years pay, I and together with all those who had sworn to serve the Consul, should have their conge and pasport to be gone. *Item*, that all the souldiers in *Corcyra*, *Brundusium*, about the Adriatick sea, or in the territory of the Latinats (for in all these there was an army set in readiness, wherwith *C. Licinius* if need required should have succoured his colleague) should have their discharge. Also processions were published in the full assembly of the people, to begin * from the tenth day of *October*, and so to hold on five daies after.

* 12 a.d. quint. Id. Octob.

Out of *Illyricum* also two Lieutenants or messengers, to wit, *L. Licinius Nerva* and *P. Decius*, brought word that the army of the Illyrians was defeated: that King *Gentius* was taken prisoner, & that all *Illyricum* was reduced under the obeisance of the people of *Rome*. For which exploits atchieved by the leading and conduct of *L. Anicius* the Prætor, the Senat decreed a solemn procession K to be holden for three daies, like as also the Latine feast & holy-daies were proclamed by the Consul, for to be holden the * ninth, tenth, and eleventh daies of *November*. Some have recorded that the Rhodian Embassadors had not yet their dispatch, nor were sent away, but after the news of this victory were called into the Senat in mockery and scorn of that foolish insolence and pride of their own. And then *Agepolis* the principal person of them spake in this manner, "That the Rho- "dians had sent them in deed as Embassadors to treat about an accord & to make peace between "the Romans and King *Perseus*, for that this war as it was grievous and prejudicial to all *Greece*, "so it could not chuse but be chargeable and hurtful to the Romans themselves. But sith out it is "passing well through the goodness of fortune, that the war is ended otherwise: and hath given "them so good an occasion and opportunity, to rejoyce and testify their joy in the behalf of the L "Romans, for the atchievance of so brave and notable a victory. Thus much spake the Rhodian. And then the Senat made answer again, "That the Rhodians had sent that embassy not regarding "the good and profit of *Greece*, nor yet for any care they had of the expenses defraied by the Ro- "mans, but only in love and favor of King *Perseus*. For if they had been respective unto them (as "they would make semblance and have the world to think) they should have addressed their Em- "bassadors when as *Perseus* invaded *Thessaly* with an army, & for two years space perfected and "plagued the cities of *Greece*, besieging some, & frighting others with menaces of war: yet all that "while, not a word with the Rhodians as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the "Romans were mounted over the streights and passed through into *Macedony*: that King *Perseus* "was shut up and enclosed sure enough for starting any way, then and not before, they could send M an embassage for no other reason in the world but to rid and deliver *Perseus* out of that imminent "danger which threatned him so neer hand. With which answer the Embass. were sent away.

* in a quart. ter. pri. Idus Novembr.

About the very same time M. *Marcellus* being departed out of his government in the province of *Spain*, after he had forced and won *Marcolica* a renowned and famous City in those parts, brought home with him and bestowed in the publick treasury ten pound weight of gold, and * about a million of Sesterces in silver coin.

* Ad summam fer v iam decies.

Paulus Æmylius the Consul lying encamped (as is aforesaid) neer *Syra* in the Odomantidian territory, when he saw the letters from King *Perseus* brought unto him by three Embassadors of base condition, wept (by report) himself, to consider the frailty of this world, and the fickle state of mans life: to see (I say) that he who erewhile could not rest content with the roialty of *Macedony*, N but would needs war upon the Dardanians and Illyrians, and levy the aid of the Bastarnians, was now after the loss of his army, as one exiled out of his own Kingdom, driven into a small land, where, like a poor suppliant he remained in surety, not by means of his own forces, but through the religious protection of a sanctuary & priviledged place. But when he read the superscription of the letter with this stile, *King* Perseus *to the Consul* Paulus, *greeting*, he could no more pity him, for thinking of his blockish folly, in that he had no sence and feeling of the calamity and misery wherin he stood. And therfore albeit the contents of the letter otherwise were praiers so demiss and abject as litle savoured of a princely mind, yet was that embassage dismissed without answer and without letters. *Perseus* soon perceived what title it was that he must lay down and forget now that he was vanquished: wherupon he addressed other letters in quality of a privat person without any other addition at all: and by those as he craved, so obtained he likewise, that certain agents should be sent unto him, with whom he might parley and commune as touching the state and condition of his present fortune. So three delegat Embassadors were sent unto him, namely, *P. Lentulus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus* and *A. Antonius*. But nothing was effected in this agency or Embassage: whiles *Perseus* stuck hard and laboured all he could to hold still and keep the roial name of King, and *Paulus* endeavoured contrary-wise, that he should submit himself and all that he had to

A to the protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*. During these debates and affaires between them, the fleet of *Cn. Octavius* was arrived at *Samothrace*, who also presenting before their eyes fearfull objects of terror, went about to force him as well by threats and menaces, as to win him by hope of fair intreaty and good usage to yeeld and submit; and herein he found some help by means of an occurrent, either hapning by chance and meer adventure, or contrived by mans device of set purpose. *L. Attilius* a noble yong Gentleman, perceiving that the people of the Samothracians were met in a general assembly, requested of the Magistrats that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then he began in this wise; "My "masters and friends of *Samothracia*, I would gladly know, whether it be a false fable or a true tale "which we have heard, That this is a sacred Iland, and the soil therof holy and altogether inviol- B "able? When they all accorded in one consent, that the Iland was as holy and sacred as it was re- "ported: How is it then (qd. he) that a murtherer hath violated and polluted it with the blood "of King *Eumenes*? And considering that in all preambles and prefaces of sacred and divine service "premised, they are commanded precisely to avant from the ministery thereof who have not pure "and innocent hands: will you suffer in deed your most secret sanctuaries and devout tabernacles "to be stained with the bloody body of a thief and fellon? Now was it a rife report and common bruit in every City of *Greece*, That K. *Eumenes* had like to have been murdred at *Delphos* by *Evander*. The Samothracians, besides that they saw their whole Iland and the said Temple to be in the power and puissance of the Romans, took these reproofs and reproaches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: whereupon they sent *Theondas*, the soveraign magistrate (whom they call C their K.) unto King *Perseus*, giving him to understand, "That *Evander* the Cretensian was charged "with murder: also that by custom and tradition from their ancestors, they had full power and "authority to proceed by order of law, against all those that were presented and endited for en- "tring within the liberties and sacred precincts of the Temple, with unclean and unpure hands. "Now it *Evander* stand upon his innocency, and know eth himself cleer and unguilty of the capital "crime laid to his charge, let him come to his answer and plead his cause for his own defence, and "he shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the judicial tryal of the issue, retire he and depart, "that he pollute not the temple; let him shift for himself and escape away. *Perseus* called forth *Evander* unto him, willing him in no case to try the process of justice if so neither would his cause justify him nor any favour bear him out. He much feared with al, lest being cast and condemned, D he would bewray *Perseus* himself and appeach him for the setter and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. *Evander* gainsaid nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that he had rather dye by a cup of poison than upon the swords point, sought secret means to flie and be gone. The King upon advertisement hereof, fearing lest the Samothracians would discharge their anger upon him, as if he had wrought his evasion to avoid due punishment, commanded *Evander* to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without al advisement, he be thought himself, & considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same spot of guilt that *Evander* was noted with: namely, that as *Eumenes* was by *Evander* wounded at *Delphos*, so *Evander* by him was murdered in *Samothracia*; and so the two most holy and religious temples in the world were stained E and polluted with mans blood: and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foul fact of his, was by the corruption of *Theondas* quite averted another way; and he for a sum of money bare the people in hand, that *Evander* was his own hangman. But *Perseus* by this lewd and detestable act, committed upon the person of the only friend whom he had alive, (so well approved and tried by him in so many adventures, and now betraied for his labour by him, unto whom he refused to be a traitor) estranged clean the hearts and affections of all men from him: so as now every man ranged with the Romans. Thus abandoned as he was and left to himself, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him *Oroandes* the Cretensian, a man that knew well the coasts of *Thrace*, (because he had negotiated and traded in those parts;) and with him he dealt to embark him in some small foist, and F so to conduct him into *Cotys*. Now there was a certain bay under a promontory of *Thrace*, wherein a pinnace stood in readiness: thither, after sun-setting were all things brought for necessary use; and money withal, as much as closely cold be conveighed. The King himself at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privy to this his flight) went out at a postern or back dore of the house, into a garden neer his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambred over a mud wall, passed to the water side. Now was *Oroandes* already loosed from the foresaid creek, for so soon as the money was once brought thither into the vessel, he lanched into the deep, and set his course for *Candy*. *Perseus*, after that the bark was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandred a good while along the strand: and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardy as to adventure back again to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple close G unto a blind corner and nook thereof. Among the Macedonians, they called those the Kings pages who were the Princes and noble mens sons, chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the King. That company yet followed after the K. in his flight, and as hard as the world went, departed not from him until such time as by the commandment of *Cn. Octavius*, the publick cryer pronounced with a loud voice, That the Kings pages and all other Macedonians besides in *Samothracia*, if they would turn to the Romans, should enjoy with safety of life their estate entire, their liberty free, and all that ever they either had about them, or was left in *Macedony*. At which proclamation once

once publiſhed, they all immediatly revolted to the Romans, and entred their names with C. *Poſthumius*, a martial colonel. Likewiſe *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, delivered into the hands of *Octavius* the yong infants of the King, and not one of them all was left with *Perſeus*, but *Philip* his eldeſt ſon: and then he yeelded both himſelf and that ſon into the hands of *Octavius*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whoſe Temple they were, for that he received no aid and ſuccour from them, notwithſtanding he humbly craved and beſought the ſame. Then commandment was given, that he ſhould be embarked in the admirals ſhip: and thither alſo was brought aboord all the money that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to *Amphipolis*: from whence *Octavius* ſent the King to the camp unto the conſul, but firſt he had diſpatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was ſure enough under his hand, and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. *Paulus*, reputing this for a ſecond victory, (as it was no leſs indeed to be eſteemed) presently upon the receit of the meſſage, killed beaſts for ſacrifice: and when he had called his councel about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he ſent Q. *Ælius Tubero* to meet the K. upon the way, and commanded the reſt in good frequency to remain in his capital pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there ſeen before, ſo great a multitude to run out for to ſee any ſolemn ſight or pageant. In their fathers daies King *Syphax* was taken priſoner and brought into the Roman camp; who beſides that there was no compariſon between him and *Perſeus*, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then alſo but an acceſſary as it were to the Punick war, like as *Gentius* now to the Macedonian. *Perſeus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandſire only (whom he neerly touched in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the reſplendent glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the ſoveraign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perſeus* entred the camp arrayed in a black cloak, without any one of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his miſery, might cauſe more compaſſion to be had of him. The affluence of the people was ſo great who went out to ſee him, that for the very preſſe he could not march forward, untill ſuch time as the conſul ſent his ſergeants and huiſhers to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the conſul his pavillion. The conſul aroſe, and (giving commandment to the reſt for to ſit ſtill) advanced forward a little, and raught out his hand to the King as he entred into the pavillion; and when he bowed and debaſed himſelf to his very feet, he took him up again and would not ſuffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and cauſed him to ſit down right over-againſt thoſe whom he called thither to councel. The firſt queſtion that he demanded of him was this; "What wrong he had "ſuſtained at the hands of the people of *Rome*, that he ſhould be conſtrained to enterpriſe and be-"gin the war againſt them with ſo malicious a mind as he did, and ſo tohazard himſelf, his whole "ſtate and Kingdom, in ſuch extremity of danger? And when every man attended what anſwer he would make, he ſtaied a good while without utterance of one word caſting his eyes wiſtly upon the ground, and ſhedding tears withal. "Then ſpake the conſul again: If you had been but "yong (qd. he) when you came to the crown, I would verily for my part marvail the leſs, that you "ſhould be ſo ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of *Rome* either "for a friend or an enemy: but now, ſince you both had your hand in that war which your father "waged againſt us, and alſo could not chuſe but remember the peace afterwards made with him, "and which we obſerved moſt faithfully, What policy was it for you to entertain war rather "than peace, with them, whoſe force you had tried in war and whoſe fidelity you had found in peace? Whenas he would yet make no anſwer at all either to queſtion or accuſation, the conſul went on and ſaid: "Well, howſoever theſe things are thus ſaln out and come to paſs, be it through "the error and frailty of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal neceſſity of the deſti-"nies, be of good cheer yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of "the people of *Rome*, well known and proved in the miſfortunes of many Princes and States, af-"foord unto you not only hope, but certain aſſurance of ſafety. Thus much ſpake he to *Perſeus* in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own aſſiſtants and company about him, he directed his ſpeech to them in Latine as followeth. "A notable example and rare mirrour you ſee (qd. he) of "the changeable variety of this world: to you I ſpeak eſpecially, my maſters here that are freſh "and youthful gallants in the heat of your yong blood. And therefore let no man in time of his "proſperity, carry himſelf proud and violent againſt another, nor yet confidently to truſt upon "the preſent ſtate wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap once yet before midnight? But "him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whoſe heart neither the gentle gale of this "fawning and flattering world is able to liſt aloft, nor yet the bluſtering blaſts of frowning fortune "caſt down or daſh upon the rocks. After the conſul was riſen and departed, he committed the charge and cuſtody of keeping the King to *Quintus Ælius*. But for that day *Perſeus* was not only invited courteouſly to ſup with the conſul, but reſpected alſo in all kind of honor, as poſſibly might be done unto him in that ſtate and condition of his.

After this the army was divided here and there into garriſons for the winter time. The greateſt part thereof was received into *Amphipolis*, and the other cities neer adjoining entertained the reſt. This was the end of the war between *Perſeus* and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of the greateſt part of *Europe* and of all *Aſia*. *Perſeus* was counted the twentieth King after *Caranus*, who was the firſt that raigned there. This *Perſeus* began his raign that year wherein Q. *Fabius* and

A and *L. Manlius* were Conſuls. In the time of *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius* Conſuls of *Rome*, the Senat entituled and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his raign continued. The name of theſe Macedonians was very obſcure and baſe, untill the daies of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*. From that time and by his means it began to grow and wax great: howbeit, contained it was within the compaſs and precincts of *Europe*, comprehending all *Greece*, and part of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. Afterwards it ſpread into *Aſia*, and in thirteen years ſpace, during the raign of *Alexander*, it ſubdued and brought under ſubjection, firſt all thoſe parts whereunto the empire of the Perſians extended, which was an infinit dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to *Arabia* and *India*, even to the end of the earth, bounding and confining all about upon the red ſea. At that
B time was the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greateſt in the whole world, but upon the death of *Alexander*, diſtracted it was and divided into many and ſundry Kingdoms. And whiles each one endeavoured & ſtrove by force to draw unto him more and more puiſſance, they diſmembred and rent the whole: & ſo from the higheſt top & pitch of proſperity, brought it down to a moſt baſe and low condition, after it had continued in good eſtate a hundred and fifty years.

When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to *Aſia*, *Antenor* who with a fleet of barks and pinnaces rid in the harbour of *Phanæ*, ſailed from thence to *Caſſandrea*. *C. Popilius*, who was in *Delos* to guard and waſt thoſe ſhips which were bound for *Macedony*, after he heard ſay that the war in *Macedony* was brought to an end, and the enemies veſſels removed out of their rode, diſmiſſed alſo for his part the Athenian ſhips, intending to go forward in his voiage
C for *Ægypt*, to accompliſh that embaſſage which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter *Antiochus*, before he approached the walls of *Alexandria*. As theſe Embaſſadors coaſted along the river of *Aſia*, and were arrived at *Loryma* (a port ſomewhat more than twenty miles diſtant from *Rhodes*, and ſituat juſt over againſt the city) the principal States of *Rhodes*, met him in the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victory flown ſo far) requeſting him to ſet ſail thither and there to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and was expedient for their good and ſafety, that they ſhould be made acquainted with all that either had been done or was now in hand at *Rhodes*, and ſo to make report thereof at *Rome* upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refuſed a long time, but in the end they were ſo importuned, that content they were to ſail a little farther, and ſpend
D ſome ſmall time for to gratify and benefit a city aſſociat unto them. When they were come to *Rhodes*, the ſame principal citizens aforeſaid urged them inſtantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general aſſembly of the people. The arrival of thoſe Embaſſadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For *Popilius* made rehearſal there in open audience, of all which had been done or ſpoken (ſounding any way to hoſtility) either in particular or in general by them, during the late war. And being as he was, a grim ſir, tough and fierce by nature, he aggravated all that he ſpake, with his four viſage and ſharp language, like an accuſer at the bar: inſomuch as they might well conjecture and gueſſe, how the whole body of the Senate ſtood affected unto them, by the bitterneſs of one only Senator, who otherwiſe for himſelf had no occaſion of particular ill will and malice againſt the city. But the ſpeech of *Decimius* was more temperat, who ſaid,
E that the blame of thoſe imputations for the moſt part which were objected by *Popilius*, was not to be laid upon the people, but upon a few perſons, who had ſollicited and ſtirred the multitude: for thoſe having their tongue at hire, and uſing to ſpeak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to pleaſe the King, and ſent ſuch embaſſages, as the Rhodians at all times were no leſs aſhamed than repented of. All which practiſes of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faulty, in caſe the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great aſſent and applauſe: not more for elevating the fault and treſpaſs of the common people, than for laying the weight upon thoſe that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chief men among them made anſwer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuſe and ſalve in
F ſome ſort as well as they could the articles objected by *Popilius*, were not ſo well taken, as their ſpeech who accorded to *Decimius*, in delivering the guilty perſons and offenders to be puniſhed according to their demerits. Whereupon there paſſed preſently a decree, That all thoſe who might be convicted of any deed done or word ſpoken in favour of *Perſeus* againſt the Romans, ſhould be condemned and have ſentence to loſe their heads. Some of theſe perſons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themſelves. Theſe Embaſſadors or delegats having ſojourned no longer than five daies at *Rhodes*, departed and made ſail for *Alexandria*. And notwithſtanding their abſence, the execution of judicial proceeding was no leſs
H otly followed at *Rhodes*, according to the decree made in their preſence. For the moderation and gentle cariage of *Decimius* was the very cauſe that they perſiſted reſolute, and gave not over untill they had gone through with it, and diſpatched all.

G Whiles theſe affairs were thus managed, *Antiochus* after he had aſſaied in vain to force the walls of *Alexandria*, was departed from before the city, & having poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Ægypt* beſides, and left the elder *Ptolomæus* at *Memphis*, (for whoſe behoof he pretended by his own forces to reconquer the Kingdom, to the end that ſoon after the conqueſt obtained he might ſet upon him likewiſe) withdrew his army away into *Syria*. *Ptolomæus* for his part was nothing ignorant of his deſignment and intention, making full account, that whiles he kept his yonger brother affrighted with the fear of ſiege, by the help of his ſiſter he might be received into *Alexandria*: conſidering withal, that his brothers friends were not oppoſed againſt him, firſt he ſent unto his ſiſter,

after-

afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and send, before he had concluded and eſtabliſhed a peace with them. The thing that made him to ſuſpect *Antiochus* was this, for that when he had made over all the reſt of * *Ægypt* unto him, he left yet a ſtrong gariſon behind at *Peluſium*: and well he knew, that he held ſtill the frontier Towns as the very keies of *Ægypt*, to the end that he might with an army enter and invade again, whenſoever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the iſſue of the civil and domeſtical war between brethren, That the victor wearied with war, ſhould not be able to make head againſt *Antiochus*. Theſe things wiſely forecaſt and ſeen by the elder brother, were received with aſſent of the younger and thoſe that were aſſiſtant about him: and the ſiſter between ſtood in very good ſtead, not by her good advice and counſel only, but alſo by her effectual praiers. And therefore by a general accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder *Ptolomæus* received into *Alexandria*, without any gainſaying or reſiſtance at all ſo much as of the very multitude; notwithſtanding that during the war they were much decaied and weakned (not only by the ſiege, but alſo after it was raiſed and the army gone from *Alexandria*) for want of all things, by reaſon that no proviſions were brought thither from out of *Ægypt*. Now, where as *Antiochus* ſhould have taken great contentment and rejoyced much for this, in caſe he had brought his forces into *Ægypt* for to reſtore *Ptolomeus* into his own eſtate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable ſhew that he made to all the States of *Aſia* and *Greece*, when he received their embaſſages, or ſent forth his letters into all parts) ſo it fell out, that he was ſo highly offended and diſpleaſed hereat, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now againſt them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before againſt one alone. Preſently he rigged and ſent out his navy at ſea to *Cyprus*; himſelf in perſon at the beginning of the ſpring minding to invade *Ægypt*, marched forward with his army as far as into *Cœle-Syria*. The Embaſſadors of *Ptolomæus* encountred him in his journey about * *Rhinocolura*, and gave him thanks in behalf of their K. and maſter, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requeſting withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deal by ſword in hand and force of arms, and not of a friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His anſwer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unleſs he quit unto his uſe as well the whole Iſle of *Cyprus*, as the City * *Peluſium*, together with the territory about the mouth of *Nilus*, called * *Peluſiacum Oſtium*. And therewith he ſet him down a day, before which he expected to receive his anſwer as touching the accompliſhment of the ſaid conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was paſt, as they ſailed in the mouth of *Nilus* neer *Peluſium*, the ſtates along the deſerts of *Arabia* yeelded. Then, being received of them that inhabite about *Memphis*, and the reſt of the Ægyptians, partly with favor and good will and partly for feat and conſtraint: by ſmall journies he deſcended toward *Alexandria*. When he was paſſed over the river at *Leuſine* (a place about 4 miles diſtant from *Alexandria*) the Roman Embaſſadors met him upon the way. After greetings and ſalutations at their firſt coming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*: but he delivered unto him a ſcroll written, and willed him before he did any thing elſe to read that ſcript. After he had read the writing through, he anſwered that he would devile with his friends and conſider what was beſt to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinary blunt manner of ſpeech which he had by nature made a circle about the King with the rod that he had in his hand, and withal, "Make me an anſwer (qd. he) I adviſe you ſuch as I may report to the Senate, before you paſs the compaſs of this circle. The King aſtonied at this ſo rude and violent a commandment, after he had ſtaied and pauſed a while: I will be content (qd. he) to do what ſoever the Senat ſhall ordain. Then and not before. *Popilius* gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of *Ægypt* by the day prefixed, the ſaid Embaſſadors or delegats having by their authority eſtabliſhed concord alſo between the two brethren (who as yet were not throughly agreed) ſome of them ſailed to *Cyprus*, and from thence they ſent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battail to the Ægyptian ſhips. This was a noble embaſſage and much renowned among thoſe nations, for that thereby *Ægypt* was undoubtedly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as poſſeſſed thereof already, and the inheritance of the Kingdom reſtored again to the race of *Ptolomeus*.

Of the two Conſuls that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, ſo the other was little or nothing ſpoken of, by reaſon he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And firſt of all when he was aſſigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entred into the temple without the lucky approbation of the auſpices. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therin, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the ſaid day. In his voiage for *France* he kept his ſtanding leaguer for the ſummer time about the mountains *Sicimina* and *Papinus* neer the plains called * *Macri*. And afterwards he wintred about the ſame places with the allies of the Latine nation. For the Roman legions becauſe the day was not rightly appointed for the aſſembly of the forces at the *Rendes-vous*, remained behind at *Rome*. Alſo the Pretors, ſave only *C. Papyr. Carbo*, unto whoſe lot *Sardinia* was falo, went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civill juriſdiction at *Rome* between citizens and forrainers. *Popilius* likewiſe, that embaſſage which was ſent to *Antiochus* returned to *Rome*: where he made relation that the controverſies between the two Kings were decided & the army of *Antiochus* retired out of *Ægypt* into *Syria*. After this, came the Embaſſ. alſo of the Kings themſelves. Thoſe of *Antiochus* made report that the King their maſter

* For *Peluſium* is called *Clavia Ægypti*, as *Ortelius* noteth out of *Suidas*.

* *Pharamica.*

* *Silbaia.*
* *Carabei.*

* *Valle di Mon itrone.*

maſter eſteemed more of the peace approved by the Senat, than of any victory whatſoever: and obeied the orders ſet down by the Roman Embaſſadors, no leſs than the very meſſengers coming with commandments directly from the Gods: and finally they teſtified their own contentment, and wiſhed them great joy of their victory obtained, ſaying that the King himſelf would have been with all his power at the atchieving thereof, in caſe he had been enjoined to perform any ſervice. The Embaſſadors of *Ptolomeus* in the name jointly of their King and of *Cleopatra*, rendred thanks unto them, acknowledging themſelves more bound & beholden to the Senat and people of *Rome*, than to their own parents, yea & more than to the immortal Gods; for by their good means they were firſt delivered from the moſt lamentable miſeries of a ſiege, and had recovered their fathers Kingdom, which they were at the point to have loſt for ever. The Senat returned this anſwer again, That whereas *Antiochus* had been ruled by the Embaſſadors, therin he did well and as it beſeemed him, and in ſo doing, he highly contented and pleaſed the Senat and people of *Rome*. Again, if *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* the King and Queen of *Ægypt*, had found any goodneſs and commodity by them, the Senat was very glad therfore and rejoyced thereat and would endevour and work it ſo, that they might be perſwaded that the greateſt aſſurance and ſafeguard of their realm reſted at all times moſt in the faithful protection of the people of *Rome*. This ſaid, the Pretor *C. Papyrius* had in charge to ſee that preſents and gifts were ſent to theſe Embaſſadors according to the ancient cuſtome. Then were letters brought out of *Macedony* to redouble the joy of the victory, importing that *Perſeus* was ſure enough in the hands of the Conſul.

When thoſe Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed and gone, much debate and argument there was between the Embaſſadors of the Piſans and Lunenſes. They of *Piſa* complained that they were diſſeized & driven out of their territory by the Roman coloners: contrary wife thoſe of *Luna* plainly averred, that the Land in controverſy had been ſet out and aſſigned for them by the Triumvirs. The Senat hereupon ſent five men as commiſſioners to make inquiſition into the limits of the ſaid territory and to determine accordingly, and thoſe were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blaſio*, *T. Sempronius Muſca*, *L. Nævius Balbus*, and *C. Apuleius Saturninus*. There came likewiſe a ſolemn embaſſage ſent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Aſpendius*, all three brethren, to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Romans victory. Moreover, *L. Manlius* the treaſurer was ready at *Puteoli* to receive and welcome *Maſgaba* the ſon of K. *Maſaniſſa*, as he ſhou'd diſbark and ſet on land: for ſent he was of purpoſe with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct him alſo and bring him to *Rome* at the cities charges. He was no ſooner come, but immediatly audience was given him in the Senat. "This yong Prince ſpake in ſuch ſort, as the things which of "themſelves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by "his good words. He rehearſed what forces of foot and horſe both, how many Elephants, what "quantity of corn for that four years ſpace (during the war) his father had ſent over into *Mace-* "*dony*. But two things there were for which he was diſmaied and could not chuſe but bluſh: the "one, that the Senat by their Embaſſ. had made requeſt unto him, and not commanded father to "furniſh them with neceſſaries for the war: the other, that they had ſent them money to pay for "their corn. For *Maſaniſſa* was not forgetful, but bare well in mind, that he held his Kingdom as "firſt conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the peo- "ple of *Rome*: and for his own part, he could content himſelf with the uſe and occupation therof, "as a tenant in fee-farm, acknowledging the propriety and poſſeſſion thereof to be in them, who "as Lords of the fee feoffed him therein. Good reaſon therefore and meet it was that they alſo "ſhould be bold with their own, to take and not to aſk, to have and not to crave, much leſs then "to buy the commodities & fruits iſſuing out of the lands by them demiſed, given & granted. As "for *Maſaniſſa*, ſufficed he was, and evermore would reſt contented with that overplus which the "people of *Rome* might leave and ſpare for him. Thus much (qd. he) I had in charge and commiſ- "ſion from my fathers own mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards "certain horſmen riding poſt overtook me, to let me underſtand that *Macedony* was ſubdued; and "to charge me, that after I had ſignified our joy in your behalf, I ſhould ſhew unto the Senat, that "my father took ſuch contentment therin, that he would gladly come to *Rome*, to offer ſacrifice "and render thanks to *Iup. opt. Max.* in the Capitol: which to do he requeſted leave of the Senat, "ſo it might ſtand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this "anſwer from the Senat That his father *Maſaniſſa* did as beſeemed a good man and thankful per- "ſon ſo to do, in giving ſuch a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required. More- "over, that the people of *Rome* acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the "Punick war by his valiant and loial ſervice; as well as he obtained his Kingdom through the fa- "vour of the people of *Rome*, yea, and afterwards according to equity and juſtice, had born himſelf "right worthily in all ſorts of devoirs and duties during the wars of three Kings one after ano- "ther. Neither was it any marvel at all that he rejoiced at the victory of the people of *Rome*, be- "ing a King who had engaged, hazarded and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole eſtate "of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rendring thanks to the Gods for the victory of "the people of *Rome*, let him do that himſelf in his own houſe at home; for it ſhould ſuffice, that "his ſon for him performed that duty at *Rome*. That he and his father both had ſufficiently for "their parts teſtified their joy. As for *Maſaniſſa* in proper perſon to leave his realm and depart out "of *Africk*, over and beſides that it was in no wiſe profitable to himſelf, the Senate deemed it "not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of *Rome*. *Maſgaba* further-more requeſted;

that

that *Hanno* the son of *Amilcar* should be sent hostage in place of another Carthaginian (whose name is not known): but the Senat answered, That they thought it not meet to demand hostages at the pleasure of *Masanissa*. The treasurer was commanded by order from the Senat, to buy certain presents for to bestow upon this young Prince, namely, as much plate as might arise out of fifty pound weight of silver: also to accompany him as far as *Brundusium*, to defray all his charges during his abode within *Italy*, and to hire two ships for to transport and conduct him to his princely train into *Afrike*. To all his retinue as well bond as free, there was allowance made of apparel. Not long after, were letters brought as from *Micipsa* the son of *Masanissa*, who after that *Paulus* had vanquished *Perseus*, was sent home by the said *Paulus* into *Afrike* with his Cavalry: but as he sailed, was driven (sick as he was) upon *Brundusium* with three ships only, for that the rest of the fleet was dispersed in the Adriatick Sea. *Scerdilaidas* the treasurer was sent to him at *Brundusium*, with the like gifts as were bestowed upon his brother at *Rome*, and a charge to see to his lodging.

By vertue of an act granted out of the Senat, the LL. of the [illegible] free men were enrolled into the four tribes of the City, all save those who had a son above five years old, with express commandment, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next ensuing their goods also should be valued, and they accordingly entred into the subsidy book; namely, That as many of them as possessed any manor or manors in the countrey, esteemed better worth than 30000 Sesterces, should be enrolled and assessed. This ordinance being thus observed, *Claudius* denied flatly, that the Censor had authority to * take from any particular Persons, and much less from a whole State and degree of men, the right and liberty of suffrages, without the warrant and ordinance of the people for to say, that he have power to cast a man out of his tribe, (which is nothing else but to command him to change his tribe) it followeth not thereby, that he may dispossess and displace him out of all the 35 tribes, which is as much as to strike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and burgeoisie: and is not (I say) to limit and set down in what rank he shall be enrolled, but to exclude him full and wholly out of all enrolment. This dispute and debate passed between them; until at last they grew to this point, that of the four City tribes, they should cast lots openly in the Hall and Cloister of *Liberius* for one tribe, in which all they should be registred and comprised, who had been villains sometimes and were enfranchised. Now this lot fell to the tribe *Exquilina*. Then *Tib. Gracchus* pronounced, That ordained it was to enrol in it all the Libertins. Great honour and reputation with the Senat gained the Censors by this act: *Semprohius* likewise won much thanks therefore, because he had persisted constantly in that good enterprise so well commenced: and *Claudius* went not without his due thank, for that he was no hindrance to this proceeding. In this review and survey taken by the Censors, more Senators were removed and put out of the counsel, yea, and more Gentlemen commanded to sell their horses of service, than by other Censors in former time. And all those by both of them joynly were not only displaced out of their tribes, and made no better than *Ærarii* (i. to lose their voice) but also to pay all taxes whatsoever to the utmost. And look who was noted and disgraced by the one, had no relief nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when these Censors demanded, That according to a custome and order they might be allowed a years space and two months, to look into the reparations of the publick edifices, that they were maintained wind-tight and water-tight: as also to see whether they who had undertaken to finish certain works at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: *Cn. Tremellius* a Tribune interposed himself and denied this demand, for anger that he was not chosen and taken into the Senat. The same year *C. Cicereius* dedicated a chappel in the Albane mount, which he had vowed five years before. Also that year was *L. Posthumius Albinus* enstalled a Flamine of *Mars*. The Consuls *Q. Ælius* and *M. Junius* propounded in the Senate, as touching the government of their Provinces: and the LL. ordained, That *Spain* should be divided again into two Provinces, which had been united in one during the Macedonian war: also that the same *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* should defend and keep in obedience as before, *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, until such time as they by the advice of certain deputed commissioners, had both composed all matters and affairs disordered and troubled by the wars: and also reformed the estate of that realm, by indicing it into a new form. The Provinces assigned unto the Consuls were *Pisa* and *Gaul*, and they had the command of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horsemen apeece. The Prætors had their lots for government as followeth: The civil jurisdiction over citizens fell to *Q. Cossius*, and over strangers to *M. Juvencius Talna*: *Tib. Claudius Nero* was L. deputy of *Sicily*. *Cn. Fulvius* of the hither *Spain*, and *C. Licinius Nerva* of the farther: last of all, *A. Manlius Torquatus* was appointed to the government of *Sardinia*; but into his province he could not go, by occasion that he was detained at home by vertue of an act of the Senat, to make inquisition into certain sellonious and capital crimes. After this, consultation there was in the Senat as touching the prodigies which were reported. The chappel of the *Penates* (protectors of the City) in *Velia* was smitten with thunder and lightning. Also in the Town *Minervium* two gates and a good part of the wall felt the like harm. At *Anagnia* it had rained earth, and in *Lanuvium* there appeared in the skie a burning flame. Moreover, *M. Valerius* a citizen of *Rome* gave knowledge, that in *Tarsia* within the publick territory of that City, for the space of three dayes and two nights together, blood gushed out in his chimney hearth where he kept fire: and for this strange sight above all the rest, the Decemvirs were commanded to have recourse unto the books of *Sibylla*: who pro-

* This hath respect to some other act, which is not extant.

A proclaimed a publick supplication of the people for one day, and sacrificed fifty goats in the common market place of the City. Also in regard of the other prodigies, a supplication was holden another day, and men did their devotions at every altar of the Gods; greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, and the City was solemnly cleansed and purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortal Gods, the Senat ordained, that forasmuch as the two Kings *Perseus* & *Gentius* their enemies were overcome, and now at the devotion of the people of *Rome*, together with *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, *Q. Cassius* and *M. Juventius* the Prætors should give order for as great oblations to be offred unto the Gods at every shrine and altar, as had been heretofore (when *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls) for the defeat of King *Antiochus*. Then they ordained certain delegats, by whose advice *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* the two Generals, might set all affairs in
B order, namely, ten into *Macedony*, and five into *Illyricum*. For *Macedony* were nominated *A. Postumius Luscus* and *C. Claudius*, (who both had been Censors) *C. Licinius Crassus* late companion to *Paulus* in the Consulship, and who at that present had the government of *Gaul* continued him. To these delegats above-named, men of Consular dignity all by their calling, were adjoined in commission *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Ser. Cornelius Sylla*, *L. Junius*, *C. Antistius Labeo*, *T. Numisius Tarquiniensis*, and *Aulus Terentius Varro*. For *Illyricum* were these named, *P. Ælius Ligus*, one that had been Consul, *C. Cicereius* and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* (this *Babius* had been Prætor
but the former year, and *Cicereius* many years past) *P. Terentius Tuscivicanus*, and *P. Marilius*. Then the Consuls being advertised by the LL. of the Senat, that (forasmuch as one of them must succeed *C. Licinius* in *Gaul*, who was nominated one of the delegats) they should part their Pro-
C vinces between them either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of lottery. So *Pisa* fell to *M. Junius* (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the Senat, those embassies which from all parts were come to *Rome* for to declare their joy in the behalf of the people of *Rome*) and *Gaul* to *Q. Ælius*.

Albeit such personages were sent, as by whose sage counsel good hope there was, that the chief commanders of the Roman armies would pass no decree unbeseeming either the clemency or Majesty of the people of *Rome*, yet debated it was in the Senat about the sum and principal points of all their counsels and designs; to the end that the said Legats might carry unto the Generals all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the City. In the first place ordained it was, That the Macedonians and Illyrians remain free and enjoy their liberties, that all nations of
D the earth might see, that the drift of the Roman armies and forces was not to bring free States into servitude, but contrary wise to reduce those that were in bondage to liberty, to the end that those nations which now enjoied freedom, might be secured under their safeguard and protection both of surety and of perpetuity, and such as lived in subjection under the Kings, might both for the present time find their government more mild and righteous for that respect which the Kings have of the people of *Rome*: and also, if it fortuned hereafter, that there should be war between the people of *Rome* and their Kings, they might be assured that the issue of those wars would bring victory to the Romans, and procure liberty to themselves. Also agreed it was that there should be no more farming out of the metal mines in *Macedony*, albeit they yeelded a great revenue; nor
E yet of publick lands and possessions in the countrey: for possible it was not that these matters should be practised and followed without publicans: and where those intermeddle & have ought to do, then it must needs follow, that either the publick right and prerogative of the State be annulled, or the liberty of allies come to nothing. Neither were the Macedonians themselves able to exercise the same: for look where the ministers and managers of any thing see a booty presented before their eyes, there, occasions of sedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, concluded it was, that there should be no common and general counsel of the whole nation, for
F fear lest at any time the lewd vulgar people having by the Senat liberty granted unto them tending unto a good and wholsome moderation and equality of the State should abuse the same and draw it to a mischievous and pestilent licentiousness. But they thought it good policy to divide *Macedony* into four quarters and counties, that each one might have their several counsel? likewise it was supposed to stand with good reason and equity, that they should pay the one moity of that tribute which they were wont to yeeld unto their KK. Semblable commission and like directions they had for *Illyricum*. As for all other matters, referred they were to the discretion of the Generals and the Delegat commissioners, who might be better able to determine more certainly of particulars, according to the occurrents presented unto them in the managing of their affairs.

Among many and sundry Embassadors of Kings, nations, and States, *Attalus* the brother of K. *Eumenes* most of all others amused mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him: for by them who had born arms together with him in that war, welcomed he was much more heartily, and received with greater courtesy than if *Eumenes* the K. himself had come. Two occasions there were outwardly pretended, and those carrying a good shew of honesty and credit, which brought him to
G *Rome*: the one, a gratulation or testimony of joy (as meet it was) for that victory wherein himself lent his helping hand: the other, a complaint of French tumultuous wars and the bloody hostility of *Adoorta* their King, by which means his brothers Kingdom was in great jeopardy. But there lay another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and secret hope that he conceived of honors and rewards from the Senat, which hardly he could seem to aim & reach unto, without some unkindness and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For some there were even of the Romans also, who did him no good, but gave him bad counsel, drew on his appetite with fair

hopes,

hopes, and set him a longing, feeding him with these and such like conceits, That in *Rome* this H
was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend fast and
sure to the Romans; the other an ally, sound and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Per-*
seus: and therefore hard it were to set down and say, Whether of the twain would be more easily
obtained at the Senats hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his preferment, or a demand
of some hard course against his brother: so bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *At-*
talus, and to deny every thing to *Eumenes*. *Attalus* (as the sequel and proof shewed) was pliant
to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promiseth, had not the sage admonition of
one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with
the amiable aspect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time
one *Stratius* a Physician, sent by *Eumenes* (who rested not secure of his brothers loyalty) to *Rome*, I
of purpose for to lie in espial and observe all that *Attalus* did: and to advise him faithfully, if he saw
him tread awry and practise ought against his duty and allegeance. When he came unto him, he
found his ears already possessed, and his spirit tempted and sollicited beforehand: howbeit taking
his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to work and stuck to it close, until he had
set all up again which was at the point to run on end, and fall to the ground. He alledged and laid
these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, " That Kingdoms have grown mighty, some by one
" means, some by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no strength
" of ancient foundations, it stood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren, in
" that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon
" his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (qd. he) who are the eldest K
" brother save one, who is it that repuleth you for less than a King, not only for that he feeth you
" so mighty at this present, but also the next heir apparant, and without all doubt like shortly to
" reign indeed? consid'ring the feeble body and crasy age of *Eumenes*, who hath besides no issue of
" children to succeed him in the roial throne? (for as yet he took no knowledg of him that reign-
" ed afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, and to force that which of its one ac-
" cord will shortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempest and
" storm is risen of French wars, threatning peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you
" Princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if to
" forra'n war abroad, there should arise a domestical and civil dissention between you at home,
" what remedy then, but utter ruin and destruction? Neither shall you (*Attalus*) purchase any good L
" but this, first to prevent that your brother be not King, and then to dilable and disappoint your
" self of that neer and assured hope you have to be K. But say, that to preserve a Kingdom for a
" brother, and to wrest a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the
" one and the other; yet surely, of the twain, to have saved a Kingdom deserveth greater commen-
" dation and praise, in that it sorteth so well with piety and kindness. And certainly, seeing the o-
" ther is a cursed and detestable part even next neighbor to parricide; what scruple and doubt re-
" maineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beseech you, is it one parcel
" of the Kingdom that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only, then
" upon the dismembring and distraction of your puissance, you shall be both twain much weak-
" ned and exposed to the danger of all injuries: if you would have all, what shall become of your M
" brother? Would you wish him being your elder, to live a privat person? or so far stept in years as
" he is, a banished man: and namely, with those infirmities of body which he carrieth about him?
" or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly
" to say nothing of the unhappy and miserable issue of such graceless and wicked brethren delive-
" red unto us in fained fables, you see what a goodly fair end *Perseus* is come unto, who being in
" the Temple of *Samothracia*, was constrained lying prostrat upon the ground to prostrate himself
" at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came unjustly by, even
" with the unnatural murder of his own brother: as if the Gods in heaven had been there present,
" to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in no
" friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have put N
" these designs into your head, and prick you on to execute the same: even they. I say, will praise
" your kindness, your piety and constancy, in case you persevere true and trusty to your brother, to
" the very end. These and such like important persuasions prevailed with *Attalus* and settled deep-
ly in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senat, after he had wished joy unto them, and
protested his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own demerits and good
service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and last of all, the re-
volt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Se-
nate was, for to send their Embassadors unto them, by whose countenance and authority they
might be reclaimed, and so lay arms aside. Having declared this message which concerned the pro-
fit in general of the realm; he made a special suit for himself, and demanded to have *Ænus* and O
Maronea given unto him. And thus, when he had put them besides their hope, who thought veri-
ly, that after he had accused his brother, he would have required the kingdom to be divided piece-
meal & dismembred, he departed out of the Councel house. Seldom had been known at any time
before any man whatsoever, King or subject, to have had the like audience with so great favour
and applause of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & pre-
sents of all sorts whiles he was at *Rome*, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.

Among

A Among many Embassies of *Asia* and *Greece*, the Rhodian Embassadors were most marked and
looked upon throughout all the City: for whereas at first they were all trim and goodly to be seen
in their white and bright apparel, as decent it was for them that would seem to congratulate for
the victory (for if they had worn black or been poorly arraied, it might have been construed, that
they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of *Perseus*) after that *M. Junius* the Consul brake
with the LL. of the Senat (and all that while the said Embassadors stood without in the common
place *Comitium*) to consider and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents, and give au-
dience in the Senat unto them: they resolved and were of opinion to observe no rights not cu-
stomes of hospitality with them. Then went the Consul out of the Senat: unto whom when the
Rhodians said that they were come to rejoyce in their behalf for the late victory, and withal to
B answer in the name of their City to certain crimes wherewith they were charged, requesting that
they might speak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Consul pronounced aloud
unto them, That the custome indeed of the Romans was, to entreat their allies and friends graci-
ously, and among other matters of courtesy and hospitality which they afforded unto them, to
grant them also a day of hearing in the Senat; but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves du-
ring the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and associats. At the hearing
of these words they cast themselves all prostrat on the ground, beseeching the Consul and all those
that were present not to suffer that false imputations of late surmised should against all reason pre-
judice the Rhodians more, than their good deserts of old (whereof themselves were sufficient
witnesses) stand them in stead. And presently after they had put on simple apparel and mourning
C weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the City, humbly be-
seeching them with tears, to hear their cause before they were condemned. *M. Juventius Talna*
the Pretor or L. chief justice for the pleas between citizens and strangers, was the only agent that
provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay, he had promulged and published a
bill to this effect, That war might be denounced against the Rhodians; also, that out of the Ma-
gistrats for that year they would make choice of some one to be sent as Admiral with a fleet for
the managing of that war: hoping that himself should be the man. But this action and procee-
ding of his was crossed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribuns of the commons. Other
and besides, the Pretor, to say a truth, had broached this matter after a new and strange fashion,
and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head
D alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Consuls acquainted therewith: and
that in this manner and form. Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed against
the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in question of war, the Senats advice was first taken;
and then the thing was proposed unto the people. Likewise the Tribuns o' the commons for their
part, did more than they might, and athing not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a custom
and tradition observed ever of old, that no person should interpose his negative to cross any bill,
before that privat men in particular had their course and turn granted, both to perswade or dis-
swade the same: by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never professed nor
meant to oppose themselves, being moved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to
dissuade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step between and
E dash all: yea, and contrarywise such as came of purpose to cross and nip the same being convinced
by the authority and born down by the important arguments alledged by those that enforced the
said bill, would desist and surcease. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns strove much who should do
every thing more unseasonably than others. The Tribuns impeached and staid the hastines of the
Pretor, interposing their negative before the time, and deferring the matter until the coming of
the L. General.

* * * * * * * "Whether we have "transgressed and offended yea, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but sure we are of this, that "we suffer all punishments and shameful ignominies already that can be devised. Heretofore, "when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when *Philip* when *Antiochus* was overthrown we "came to *Rome*: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City we presen- F "ted our selves (my LL.) into your Councel-house, to testify our great contentment for your con- "quests: from the Council-house we went directly to the capitol, carrying with us presents and "oblations to the honor of your gods. But now we the same Rhodians are come unto your Senat "clothed in this poor habit and array as you see, from out of a base hostelry and common inne, "where hardly we could have lodging for our money; being commanded in manner of enemies "to make our abode without the City walls: we Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye feoffed "with the grant of two Provinces *Lycia* and *Caria*, and whom ye graced with a kind of honors, "and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordain as we hear say, that the Macedo- "nians and Illyrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they levied "war against you. Neither speak we this in envy & repine for any mans welfare and good estate; G "nay we acknowledg therein the rare clemency of the people of *Rome*: ") and will ye then make "the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but sit and meddle with nei- "ther part? Now surely ye Romans are the men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that your "wars have good success and speed well; because they be just and righteous: neither do you glory "so much in the event and issue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the be- "ginning and first enterprises, in that ye undertake them not without good cause. The besieging "of *Messana* in *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, was the cause what the people of *Rome* repulsed them

* The begin-ning of this Oration of the Rhodians to the LL. of the Senat is lost.

"enemies. The assailing of *Athens* by *Philip*, his intent and purpose to bring *Greece* into servitude, H
"his relieving of *Annibal* with men and money, caused him likewise to be holden for their ene-
"my. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his own head the *Roman* war, for that he being sollicited
"by the Ætolians your enemies came willingly out of *Asia*, and with a fleet sailed over to *Greece*:
"and when he had seized upon *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the streights of *Thermopyla*, went about
"to dispossess you of the empire. And last of all, *Perseus* by levying arms against your allies, by
"killing some of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief persons of sundry nati-
"ons and cities, gave you just occasion to make war upon him. But what colourable cause can
"there be pretended of our calamity, if needs we must miscarry and perish? All this while I
"make no difference between our cities case and that of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even
"those persons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For suppose that the cause I
"were all one, and that we Rhodians were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be
"for which we are touched in this war? We favoured *Perseus* and that side (you will say) and
"like as in the war of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, we stood with you against those kings, so now we
"took part with the K. against you. Was that all? well, In what sort we are wont to aid our asso-
"ciats, and how lustily to enterprise wars, do but ask of *C. Livius* and *L. Æmylius Regillus*, the
"Admirals of your fleets in *Asia*. Your ships never fought at sea without us: yet we with our Ar-
"mado alone fought a battail once before *Samos*, and a second time in *Pamphylia* against General
"*Anniba*: which victory there atchieved was unto us by so much more honorable and glorious,
"for that after we had in an unfortunat fight neer *Samos* lost many of our ships & the very choise
"and flour of our youth, we nothing terrified and dismaied with so great an overthrow durst turn K
"again to make head, yea, and were so hardy as to encounter the Kings roial navy coming out of
"*Syria*. And all this have I related not by way of boast & to glorify our selves (for we are not now
"in case to stand upon those terms) but to give you a taste by the way and put you in mind, in what
"maner the Rhodians have used evermore to succour their confederats. And for the better proof
"therof, after the defeat, of *Philip* and *Antiochus* we received at your hands right great rewards
"& recompence for our service. In case the fortune of *Perseus* had been so happy as yours is at this
"present (praised be the Gods for their grace and goodnes & thanked be your own valour withal)
"and we had come into *Macedony* to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards,
"what could we alledge therfore? Might we say that he had bin maintained by our mony, or relie-
"ved with our corn? with land forces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held L
"with a garrison for his use? were we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his
"Captains or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters
"our souldiers kept? in what coast our ships lay in guard for his defence, what could we answer?
"Peradventure we might plead our cause & excuse our selves in the presence of him, supposed con-
"queror, like as we now do before you here in place. For by sending our Embassadors to and fro
"unto you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in stead
"of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy displeasure of the one; being thus
"charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good LL. and honorable Senators of
"*Rome*, *Perseus* might truly object that to us, which you in no wise can, namely, that we in the be-
"ginning of the war sent Embassadours to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was M
"needful thereunto: also that we would be ready at all assaies to furnish you with ships strongly
"rigged and with our youth well appointed, like as in the wars afortime. That we performed not
"these promises of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatsoever the cause was)
"refused our offred service & rejected al our succours. Well then, neither have we attempted ought
"as enemenies, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies: but impeached have we been by
"you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may some man say: Hath there been no-
"thing done or said in your City (O ye Rhodians) that you wish unsaid or undone, & whereat
"the people of *Rome* may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to
"justify and make good whatsoever hath been done, I will not; neither have I so little wit I to
"but sever I will the publick cause of the whole state, from the privat offences committed by par- N
"ticular persons: for no City is there under the sun, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughty
"citizens some or other, and evermore a rude and sottish multitude. I have heard say, that even
"amongst you here at *Rome*, some have sought to advance and set themselves aloft by currying fa-
"vor and flattering the common people: and that the time was, when the commons rose and de-
"parted from among you, so as the rule of the common-weal and people of *Rome* was out of your
"hands, as in a very Anarchy. If such a thing as this might chance in this your City (so well quali-
"fied & ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder, that among us there have been some,
"who (affecting and seeking for the amity and friendship of the K.) might haply corrupt and se-
"duce our commons with their naughty counsel? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more
"than thus, that we sat still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-pass in this O
"place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other wherewith our City is charged during
"this war, and that is this. At one and the same time we sent Embass. both to you and *Perseus* a-
"bout a peace. This designment so untoward and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainsick orator
"and agent of ours (as afterwards we understood) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain
"known) framed his language in that maner, as if he had been *C. Popilius* the Roman Embassador,
"whom ye sent to the two KK, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomæus*, to warn them both to lay down arms &
"surcease

A "surcease war. But that behaviour of his, (cal it what you wil, either pride or folly) was no worse
"before you than it was to K. *Perseus*. Every City hath their conditions and qualities by them-
"selves, like as particular and several persons: and semblably it is in whole nations; some are testy
"and cholerick, bold and audacious: others again be fearful and timerous: some are given to wine
"and drunkennes, others to women and wantonnes. The people of *Athens* (by report) are too
"hasty, hot, and forward to enterprise any thing even beyond their power. The Lacedæmonians
"again, be as slow and backward, casting many doubts & difficulties to enter upon the very things
"which they are assured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of *Asia* in general breedeth
"many a mad brain and vain spirit: and I will not say, but that our people are jolly fellows of their
"tongue and can speak big, for that we seem (among other cities and states bordering upon us)
B "to excel and surpass; and that no so much in the confidence we have of our own forces, as for the
"honorable regard ye have had of us, and the great testimonies and judgments ye have given out
"of us. But that fooliish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient;
"being sent away (as it was) with so heavy an answer of yours: and if we were not then disgraced
"and shamed enough, now surely this present embassage so humble and pitiful were able to make
"full satisfaction for a more insolent embassy than it was. All pride (and arrogancy of words espe-
"cially) cholerick persons indeed hate, wise men deride, and namely, from an inferior to his bet-
"ter; but no man ever judged it a mortal sin and worthy of death: mary, here was all the danger,
"lest haply the Rhodians might seem therby to despise the Romans. How then be there not some
"also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be railing & uttering blasphemous words against the
C "Gods; yet we never heard of any that have been therefore smitten dead with a thunderbolt.
"What remaineth then for us wherein we should purge and cleer our selves, if we neither can be
"charged in fact with hostility; and if our Embass. hath used some proud and presumptuous words
"more than became him, which deserve not the total ruin of our City, but some sharp checks and
"hard rebukes on both sides of our ears? But I hear (my good LL.) that in your ordinary talk a-
"mong your selves when ye are together, we are censured for our inward affection only & secret
"thoughts, and condemned no less than for some deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the K.
"and wished him rather than you to obtain the victory; and therfore they deem us worthy to be
"persecuted with fire and sword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
"we stood affected, howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies: for that
D "it standeth not with the custom or law of any City in the world, That if a man wish a mischief
"to his enemy, he should be straightwaies condemned therfore to die; so long as he hath not en-
"tred into any action tending thereto. And verily these men we have to thank, who free & quit
"us yet from punishment, although they cleer us not of guilt: howbeit this sentence we pass a-
"gainst our own selves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and disposed in
"affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all go under one, heart and hand, will and
"deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it and feel the smart. But if of the great
"men and chief among us, some affected you & others the King; we require not, that for the love
"of us who sided with you, the Kings supposts should fare the better and escape cleer: but we re-
"quest and beseech rather, that for their sakes we perish not and be quit undone. And certainly,
E "your own selves are not worse affected and more set against them than our very City is: which
"they knowing well enough, most of them either fled away, or else killed themselves: others of
"them (such as we have condemned and passed judgement against) shall be at your pleasure (my
"LL.) to do with them what you will. All the rest of us Rhodians, as thanks we have merited none
"in this war, so we have deserved as little punishment. Lay the over-deal and surpluiage of our
"former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now, and let the heap of the one make up
"the scant measure of the other. With three Kings of late years ye have maintained war; let not
"our slackness and sitting still in this one, endammage and hurt us more, than our devoir and em-
"ploiment in the other twain may seem to satisfy and countervail. Set *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Per-*
"*seus*, for three verdicts and sentences as it were passed upon us: two of them acquit us cleer: the
F "third is doubtful whether it wil go against us or no. Indeed if they themselves were to sit upon
"us, we should no doubt be cast and condemned: but you (my good LL.) that are our competent
"judges, determin now at once, Whether there shall be a City of *Rhodes* remaining upon the face
"of the earth, or be rased utterly & destroyed from the very foundation for ever: for you are not
"to debate in councel about making war upon us: which wel you may begin and go in hand with
"at your pleasure: but follow and manage you never shal, because there is not a Rhodian that wil
"take arms and come into the field against you. Will you not be pacified but persist still in your
"choler and anger? then will we crave at your hands some respit of time, whiles we may go home
"and report there how we have sped in this lamentable embassage of ours. And then, all of us in
"*Rhodes* frank-born and of free condition, every one, I say, man and woman, with all our wealth
G "and substance will embark our selves: forsake we will our privat houses and publick edifices: and
"to *Rome* straight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall,
"and at the porch and enteir of your councel-house, whatsoever gold and silver we have either
"in privat purse or common chist: commit we will to your devotion and mercy our own persons,
"together with the bodies of our wives and children; and never wil we go further but even here
"in this place will we suffer and abide that, which we have to undergo and endure. Let our City
"then be sacked, rifled and burned, so it be far enough out of our eye that we see it not. The Ro-

"mans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies; yet you will give us leave to pass in H
"some sort a doom of our own, That we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such,
"nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremity
"that can be suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they fell down again all prostrat,
and as humble suppliant estoons put forth and shook their branches of the olive, until at length
they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senat. Then began the LL. within, to
give their opinions and pass their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously
bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the war of *Macedony*, as Consuls, Pre-
tors, or Lieutenants but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported
their cause right earnestly; a man otherwise by nature sowre and severe, but as then he shewed him-
self a mild and gracious Senator. I will not insert here the lively portraiture and resemblance of I
that copious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which he then delivered: his very
oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth book of his *Origenes*. In fine, the Rhodians
received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, nor yet remained in the nature
and quality of friends. The principal persons of this their embassage, were *Philocrates* and *Asty-
medes*. Ordered it was & agreed between them, That *Philocrates* (with some of his fellows) should
report this answer at *Rhodes*; and that *Astymedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at *Rome*, to
to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their
citizens at home. For that present, the LL. of the Senat gave them in charge, to remove their Cap-
tains and Governours by a certain day out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These news related at *Rhodes*, im-
porting matter (in it self considered) of grief & heaviness, turned into joy, in regard that they were K
eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted sore that they should have had hot war.
And therfore presently they ordained for the Romans a crown amounting to the value of 20000
pieces of gold, and with this present they sent *Theodotus* the Admiral of their navy in embassage.
A will and desire they had to make suit unto the Romans for association: but so, as no act and or-
dinance of the people should be entred therof, nor any instrument engrossed as touching it. And
this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominy of repulse, if haply they missed of their
purpose, and could not obtain. The Admiral alone had this priviledg, and was permitted to treat
of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many
years before they had continued in amity with the Romans in such sort, as they never linked and
tied themselves unto them by any formal deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other L
reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the wings off from all hope of their aid,
if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disable themselves of the possibility they had to
reap some fruit & receive good of their bounty and prosperity. But surely at this time (me thinks)
they ought to have sought sadly and in good earnest for their society, not so much for safety and
security against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspi-
tion and jealousy which the Romans had of them. About the same time the Caunians also revol-
ted from them, and they of *Mylasa* took certain Towns of the Euromestians. Now were the
hearts of these Rhodians within the City not so much broken or abated, but they saw well e-
nough that it the Romans took from them *Lycia* and *Caria* all the rest would either by way of re-
volt put themselves in liberty and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or else be surprised and M
seized by the neighbour nations bordering upon them: and that then they should be pent up and
shut within the compass of a small Isle and the strands of a barren soil, not able to nourish and
maintain the inhabitants of so great and populous a City. Therefore with all speed they dispatch-
ed and sent forth their youth, and not only forced the Caunians (notwithstanding they had joined
unto them the aid of the Cybirats) to their obeisance, but also in battel neer *Orthosia* overcome,
the Mylasseans and Alabandians; who having disseized the Euronensians of their province, ad-
vanced jointly with their united armies against them.

Whiles these affairs thus passed there, whiles some occurrents fell out in *Macedony*, and others
likewise at *Rome*, *L. Anicius* having subdued King *Gentius* (as is before said) and brought him under
his own hand, placed a garrison in *Scodra* the Kings roial seat, and appointed *Cabinius* the Cap- N
tain thereof: but in *Rhizon* and *Olcinia* two commodious cities of good importance, he ordained
C. Licinius the Governor. Having thus made over the rule of *Illyricum* unto these twain, himself
with the rest of the army went into *Epirus*. Where the Town *Phanota* was the first that yeelded
unto him and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their inlules in
token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this place also, he passed over into the countrey
of *Molossis*, where he received the surrender of all the Towns thereof, excepting *Passaron*, *Tegmon*,
Phylacum, and *Horreum*. And then he led his army first against *Passaron*. The principal men and
rulers of that City were *Antinous* and *Theodotus*, men of mark and name, as well for the favor they
bare to *Perseus*, as the hatred they caried to the Romans: the only persons who had counselled
and perswaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These two having guilty consciences O
within them for their privat trespass, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut
the gates of the City, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and be over-
whelmed with the total ruin of their own country: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to
prefer present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst once open his mouth to contra-
dict these so great and mighty persons. At length a certain noble yong Gentleman, named also
Theodotus, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame the

A the less fear of the rulers at home. "What ail ye my masters (qd. he) and fellow citizens, what rage
"and madness haunteth you, to enwrap and interess the whole City in the fault and folly of these
"two persons? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their countrey have willingly lost
"their lives, but to think it meet, that their countrey should perish for them, these are the first
"that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and submit our selves to that empire,
"into which the whole world besides is subject. As he spake these words, the multitude followed
him toward the gates: which when *Antinous* & *Theodotus* saw, they made no more ado, but brake
upon the first *corps de guard* of the enemies which they came unto, and expoing their bodies to the
swords point, were soon killed, and the Town was yeelded into the hands of the Romans. *Tegmon*
also, upon the like willsull obstinacy of Prince *Cephalo*, had shut their gates, but after that he was
B slain, the Town was taken by surrender. And neither *Phylace* nor *Horreum* would abide the assault.
Having thus quieted *Epirus*, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in diverse commodious Towns
for the winter time, he returned into *Illyricum*: where he held a general assembly at *Scodra*, to
which he had summoned the principal States of the whole nation, and whither also there were ar-
rived five delegates from *Rome*. And there in this frequent and solemn session he pronounced from
the Tribunal seat, by the advice of the counsel assistant unto him, That the Senate and people of
Rome ordained the Illyrians to live free and enjoy liberty, and that himself would withdraw the
garrisons out of their Towns, Fortresses and Castles. As for the Isseans, Taulantians, Tiristians in
the Dassaretians countrey, Rhizonits and Olcianats (for that whiles *Gentius* his fortune stood up-
right, they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but also exempt and pri-
C viledged from all tributs. The Doarsians also, for leaving *Caravantius*, and passing with their ar-
mies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of *Scodra*, *Dassara*, and
Selepita, with the rest of the Illyrians, were to pay the one moity of the tribute which they had
yeelded to the King. After this he divided *Illyricum* into three cantons: the one of them he made
of those before named: the second, all the Labeats: and the third, of the Agravonits. Rhezonits,
Olciniats, and those that bound and border upon them. Having set down this order in *Illyricum*,
he returned to *Passaro* a City in *Epirus*, there to lie for the winter time.

Whiles these things hapned in *Illyricum*, *Paulus* before the coming of the ten Legats, sent *Q.
Maximus* his son (who was now lately returned from *Rome*) to the saccage of *Ægimum* and *A-
gassa*. The quarrel against *Agassa* was, for that they having delivered the Town one e to *Martius*
D the Consul, and therwith of their own accord craved the alliance of the people of *Rome*, revolted
not withstanding afterwards to *Perseus*. As for the Æginians, they had committed a late and fresh
trespass: for giving no credit to the fame that was voiced of the Romans victory; they cruelly hand-
led certain Roman souldiers, who were entred into their City. Moreover, he sent *L. Posthumius*
likewise to ransack in hostile manner the City of the Ænians, for that they had persisted in arms
more stifly than the other neighbour Cities. Now was it about that season of the year which men
call Autumn: in the beginning whereof, so soon as he had determined to ride a circuit and visit all
Greece round, and to see those places whereof there went so great a name, and which were more
renowned by hear-say than known by sight of eye: he left *C. Sulpitius Gallus* for the command and
guard of the camp, & set forward in his progress, accompanied with no great train. And being guar-
E ded of the one hand with his own son *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Athenæus* the brother of King
Eumenes, he passed through *Thessaly*, toward the famous Oracle at *Delphos*. Where, after he had
sacrificed to *Apollo*, he destined and appointed those Columns & Pillars (which were begun in the
porch of that Temple, and whereupon the statutes of King *Persius* should have been erected) for to
sustain and bear the statues of himself with the title Victorious. He visited also the temples of *Ja-
Tropbon* in *Lebadia*: where, after he had seen the mouth of that peakish cave into which they use
to descend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the Gods: after sacri-
fice also done to *Jupiter* and *Hercinna*, whose temple there is to be seen he went down to *Chalcis*,
to behold the frith of *Euripus*, and that Island which in times past was united & joined to the firm
F continent by a bridg. From *Chalcis* he crossed over to *Aulis* three miles distant from thence, a port
enobled for the rode some time there of *Agamemnons* fleet, consisting of a thousand sail. Being
there, he went to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his own
* daughter in sacrifice upon her altar. to have a prosperous voiage for his fleet intending to sail to * Iphigenia
Troy. After this, he came to *Oropus*, a Town in *Attica*, where *Amphilochus* the Prophet is worship-
ped as a God. There, was to be seen an ancient Temple, most pleasant to behold for the goodly
Fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to *Athens*, a City likewise for anti-
quity of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many mo-
numents also worth the seeing; namely, the citadel, the havens, the walls that reach from the City
to *Pyræum*, the arsenals made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods and of
men likewise, so rare & excellent, as well for the artificial workmanship, as the matter wherof they
G were made. When he had sacrificed within the City to *Minerva* the goddess and patroness of the
said citadel, he kept on his journey: and the next day following arrived at *Corinth*. A fair & beauti-
full City this was in those dayes, before it was destroied, the fortress there and the *Isthmus* were
things of especial mark and worth the sight: for the said fortress notwithstanding it be mounted
up to an exceeding height above all, yet is it full of fountains; and the *Isthmus* by a narrow ridge
of land divideth two seas neer together, the one lying East, and the other West. From thence he
went to *Sycyon* and *Argos*, two noble Cities, and so forward to *Epidaurus*, nothing in wealth com-

parable to the reſt, yet of great name for the famous temple of *Æſculapius*, which ſtandeth 5 miles H
from the City, where at this day are to be ſeen the marks and tokens of the empty places from
whence the oblations have been pluckt away: but then a rich place it was and full of thoſe of-
frings and gifts, which diſeaſed perſons had conſecrated to that God in recompence and reward
for thoſe ſoveraign ſalves and wholeſom remedies which they there found. From thence he came
to *Lacedæmon*, a City memorable not for any magnificence of ſtately works and buildings, but for
good diſcipline and orders there obſerved. From whence paſſing through *Megalopolis*, he aſcen-
ded up to *Olympia*: where among other things there to be ſeen, he beheld *Jupiter* as it were repre-
ſented even before his eies, whereat he was much moved in ſpirit. And therfore as if he had been
to ſacrifice in the capitol, he commanded a ſacrifice to be prepared with more ſtate and magnifi-
cence than ordinary. Thus having viſited all *Greece* over without any ſearch and enquiry made, I
how men either in general or particular ſtood affected in the war againſt *Perſeus*, (becauſe he
would not trouble and diſquiet the minds of the allies with any fearful occurrent) as he returned
toward *Demetrias*, he was encountred by the way with a number of Ætolians all clad in doleful &
mourning array. And when he wondred and asked what the matter might be, he was given to
underſtand that 550 of their principal men of name, were by *Lyciſcus* and *Tiſippus* maſſacred, who
with the help of certain Roman ſouldiers ſent from *Babius* the Governor, had beſet their Senat:
that the reſt were driven into exile: and the goods as well of thoſe who were murdered, as alſo of
the baniſhed perſons were now poſſeſſed by their accuſers. He commanded them to attend upon
him at *Amphipolis*; and when himſelf had communed & conferred at *Demetrias* with *Cn. Octavius*,
after he once heard that the ten legats had paſſed the ſeas, he laid aſide all other affairs, and went K
directly to *Apollonia* there to meet with them. To which place when *Perſeus* came to meet him,
for he having over-large liberty of poiſon, was come from *Amphipolis* & that was a daies journey
off: unto the K. he ſhewed good countenance and gave him good and gracious words, but after he
was returned to the camp at *Amphipolis*, he ſharply checked and rebuked, as men ſay, *C. Sulpitius*,
firſt for ſuffering *Perſeus* to range ſo looſly and ſo far off from him, all over the province: ſecond-
ly, for giving his ſouldiers ſo much liberty as to pluck the titles from off the walls [and houſes] of
the City, to cover the places of their winter harbour: and therewith he commanded that the tiles
ſhould be carried thither again where they had them, and the houſes to be repaired as ſufficiently
as before. As for *Perſeus* and his elder ſon *Philip*, he delivered unto *A. Poſthumius* to be kept in
ſafe cuſtody: but his daughter and yonger ſon, he ſent for to *Amphipolis* from *Samothrace*, and uſed L
them with all courteſy and kind intertainment as poſſibly he could. When the day was come, on
which he appointed that ten principal burgeſſes out of every City ſhould repair to *Amphipolis*, &
that all the Kings letters and writings in what place ſoever to be found, ſhould be ſought up & re-
preſented there together with all his mony: he ſat him down upon the tribunal ſeat, together with
the ten legats from *Rome*, and the whole multitude of the Macedonians were gathered round a-
bout him. Albeit they had been uſed to ſubjection under the King, yet this new Tribunal carried
with it a form and ſhew of a terrible government, namely, when they ſaw the tipſtaves & huiſhers
to keep the doors and places of entry, the publick crier and the ſergeant: ſtrange matters all unto
their eies and ears & whereto they had not been accuſtomed, able to ſtrike a terror to allies much
more then to conquered enemies. After ſilence made by the crier, *Paulus* pronounced in the Latine M
tongue, what the Senats pleaſure was to be done, and what himſelf with the advice of his Councel
affiſtant about him had thought upon and ſet down: all which points *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor (for
he alſo was in place) interpreted and related again in the Greek language. *Imprimis*, they ordai-
ned the Lacedæmonians to be free, to have and enjoy the ſame Cities and territories, to uſe and
exercite their own Laws to create yearly Magiſtrats, and to pay half of that tribute to the people of
Rome, which they uſed to pay unto their Kings. *Item*, to divide *Macedony* into 4 quarters: The one,
and that the principal, for to contain all the country between the 2 rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*; to
which part there ſhould be laid the tract on the farther ſide of the river *Neſſus* Eaſtward (where
Perſeus held Towns, Caſtles and Cities) excepting *Ænus*, *Mavonea*, and *Abdera* alſo beyond *Stry-*
mon Weſtward all the Biſaltique territory, together with *Heraclea* which they call *Syntice*. For the N
ſecond, all thoſe parts which on the Eaſt-ſide the river *Strymon* encloſeth, except *Syntice*, *Heraclea*,
& the Biſaltes: alſo on the Weſt, whatſoever is bounded with the river *Axius*, together with the
Pæonians lying to it, who inhabit upon the river *Axius* Eaſtward. The third quarter was that,
which *Axius* from the eaſt and *Peneus* the river from the weſt do compaſs: and to the north-ſide
is limited with the mountain *Bora*, and to this portion was adjoined the tract of *Pæonia* which
coaſteth along the river *Axius* toward the weſt: *Edeſſa* alſo and *Berrhæa* were annexed thereto. The
fourth was beyond the mountain *Bora*, confining on the one ſide upon *Illyricum*, & on the other
upon *Epirus*. The head cities of every quarter where they ſhould hold their ſeſſions and councels
he appointed theſe: For the firſt, *Amphipolis*: *Theſſalonica* for the ſecond: In the third *Pella* & *Pelo-*
gonia in the fourth. To theſe places he ordained that by ſummons they ſhould repair, and hold the O
aſſemblies of each quarter: thither the mony to be brought: and there the magiſtrats to be created.
Item, he declared and pronounced that it ſhould not be lawful for any perſon to contract mariage,
neither to have commerce & traffick together in buying or ſelling of lands or tenements without
the limits of their own diviſion. *Item*, that in their mines they ſhould no more dig for ſilver and
gold: but for Iron and braſs they had permiſſion. And thoſe that had the profit therof, were to pay
the one half of the old rent, which they were wont to yeeld and grant unto the King. Alſo he for-

bad them to uſe any more forrain ſalt brought from out of other parts. When the Dardanians put
in their claim for *Pæonia*, for that it had ſometime been their appurtenance, and alſo confined upon
their country: he pronounced freedom to all thoſe who had been ſubjects to K. *Perſeus*. But after-
wards, when they could not obtain *Pæonia*, he granted unto them the commodity of the traffick
for ſalt; and he charged the inhabitants of the ſaid country to cary it to *Stobi* in *Pæonie*, and he ſet
them down a certain price. *Item*, he debarred them from ſelling any ſhip-timber themſelves, and
from ſuffering any others. Unto thoſe countries which bordered upon the Barbarians (and except
the third quarter all the reſt confined upon them) he granted that they might keep armed garri-
ſons upon their frontiers and marches. Theſe Acts and ordinances thus publiſhed the firſt day of
the ſeſſion, wrought diverſly in the minds of men. Freedom granted beyond their expectation, and
B the eaſment in the yearly tribute, comforted their ſpirits and made them look up. But by the inter-
ruption of the commerce & traffick one region with another, they ſeemed like creatures diſmem-
bred and plucked aſunder joint-meal; ſo as having need one of another, yet they had no mutual &
reciprocal uſe and intercourſe. In ſo much as the Macedonians themſelves knew full little how big
and large *Macedony* was, and how commodiouſly it was divided, ſo as each part was ſufficient in
it ſelf without the help of others. The firſt region containeth the Biſaltæ who inhabit beyond the
river *Neſſus* and about *Strymon*, the moſt valiant men of all the reſt: beſides, it hath many proper
commodities by it ſelf as well fruits of the earth as mines of metals, together with the opportunity
and commodious ſituation of *Amphipolis*, which as a frontier-bar ſtoppeth all avenues on the eaſt
ſide into *Macedony*. The ſecond quarter hath in it two moſt famous and frequented cities, *Theſ-*
alonica and *Caſſandria* & *Pallene*, a fertile & fruitful land. Beſides, the maritime commodities which
the havens at *Torone* and the head of *Athos* (and it they call the port or rode of *Æneas*) do yeeld:
to ſay nothing of other bayes lying handſomely, ſome toward the Iland *Eubœa*, others toward
Helleſpont. The third countrey containeth the famous cities *Edeſſa*, *Berrhæa* and *Pella*; the warlike
nation of the Veteii, and many Gauls and Illyrians beſides who there inhabit, notable men all of
action & execution. The fourth region is peopled with the Eordians, Lincеſtians and Pelagonians:
unto whom, the provinces *Atintania*, *Stymphalis*, and *Elimiotis* are adjoyned. All this quarter is
cold, rough and hard to dwell in. The nature of the inhabitants is likewiſe ſutable to the ſoil: & the
fiercer they are by reaſon of the barbarous nations their neighbours, who one whole find them
occupied with war, and othet whiles mingle their rites and faſhions with theirs in time of peace.
D When *Macedony* was thus divided and each part diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral uſes & commodi-
ties, he appointed a general review to be made and enrolment of all the Macedonians; having de-
clared unto them before, that he purpoſed to give laws unto them.

This done, the Ætolians were cited and called next: and in the whole courſe of the commiſſion
as touching them and their affairs, more inquiſition there was, who favoured the Romans, and
who affected the King than of any that either had done or ſuffered wrong. The murderers were
found unguilty and abſolved and the baniſhment of the exiled was as much avowed, as their death
juſtified who were maſſacred: *A. Babius* only was convicted and condemned, for that he had ſent
Roman ſouldiers to execute the ſaid butchery. This iſſue of the Ætolians cauſe, puffed up the ſpi-
rits of all thoſe who had ſided with the Romans; throughout all the nations and cities of *Greece*,
E in ſuch ſort as they grew to a pride intolerable: but contrarywiſe put down & abaſed under their
feet, as many as were ſuſpected any waies to have caſt a favor and born good will to the King. The
principal ſtates-men of their cities were of three ſorts: two of them were skillful in the art of ſoo-
thing, & either by ſubmitting and ſubjecting under the Romans Empire, or winding within the fa-
vor and friendſhip of the KK. grew infinitly rich and mighty themſelves in privat, with the publick
oppreſſion and undoing of their countrey: the third between, ſung a mean, and was croſs to the
other; men that ſtood for the defence of their liberties and maintenance of laws, who as they were
more dearly beloved of their neighbours at home, ſo they were leſs gracious and of credit with
ſtrangers abroad. The favorits and ſuppoſts only of the Romans, were advanced by their proſperi-
ty: they alone far in place of government, they were employed in all embaſſages, and none but they.
F Theſe being there preſent in great number coming out of *Peloponneſus*, *Bœotia*, and from other fre-
quent aſſemblies of *Greece*, filled the heads of the ten delegats and high commiſſioners; buzzing
into their ears, that not they alone who openly were ſeen in their bravery and vanity of ſpirit,
vanting themſelves for the hoſts and friends of King *Perſeus*, but many more beſides under-hand
took part with him and favoured his proceedings: as for the reſt (under a colour of maintaining
liberty) practiſed in all their counſels and complotted againſt the Romans what they could: and
never would the Greek Nations abide long in their allegeance, unleſs the hearts of that ſide were
taken down and broken: and their authority only cheriſhed, confirmed, and ſtrengthned, who
regarded nothing elſe but the empire and ſoveraignty of the Romans. When theſe had informed
and preſented divers by name: ſent for they were by the letters miſſive of the General, out of
G Ætolia, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*, to give their attendance and follow him to *Rome*, there
to anſwer the cauſe. But into *Achaia* two of the high Commiſſioners were ſent, namely, *C. Clau-*
dius and *Cn. Domitius*, who perſonally ſhould ſummon them by vertue of their edict. And this
was done for two conſiderations; the one, becauſe they thought verily that the Achæans were
more confident and courageous, and therefore would not obey the ſummons by letters, and per-
adventure alſo. *Callierates* and other the informers and accuſers who made preſentment of their
names, ſhould be in ſome danger of their lives: the other cauſe why they would be preſent

to

to give them summons was this, that amongst the Kings records and rols they had found the letters of the principal Statesmen of other nations; but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them were nothing evident.

After the Ætolians were dismissed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration; only *Leucas* was exempt from doing service to the high court and general assembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the inquisition still farther and farther, making enquiry who either in publick or private had taken part with the King, they extended their commission as far as into *Asia*: and sent *Labeo* to demolish and race *Autissa* a City in the Isle *Lesbos*, and to translate the inhabitants thereof to *Methymna*: the pretence was, for that they had given harbor in their haven to the provisions of *Antenor* the Kings Admiral, at what time as he hovered and ranged about *Lesbos* with his pinnaces. Two there were that lost their heads, men of quality and great worth, to wit, *Andronicus*, the Ætolian, son of *Andronicus*, for that he followed his father and bare arms against the people of *Rome*; and *Neon* a Theban, by whose advice and perswasion they had contracted a society with *Perseus*.

After this enquest of forrain causes interposed and coming between, the assembly of the Macedonians was called again; wherein as touching the state of *Macedony*, pronounced and published it was, That there should be certain Senators chosen, whom they call *Synedri*, by whose counsel the common-weal should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen years of age) to go before into *Italy*. This at first was thought to be an hard and cruel course, but anon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians, that it was all done for their liberty. For nominated there were, the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the Admirals of the fleets, and the Captains of the garrisons, who were wont to serve the King basely, but to over-rule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthy, others spending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arraied in apparel like KK. not one carying with him the civil mind of a good citizen, not one that could abide to hear of laws, or of equal liberty. All these therefore, who had been employed in any ministry or service about the King, even they also who had been used in the least embassages that were, had commandment to depart out of *Macedony* and to go into *Italy*: and look who obeyed not this edict, were threatned with death. Unto *Macedony* he gave laws, with such diligent care and good regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good desert: such laws (I say) as the very practise and tryal of long time (the only corrector of all statutes) was not able upon that experience, to check and control.

After these serious affairs were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a solemnity of game and disport at *Amphipolis*, which long before he had intended, and for the intimation wherof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of *Asia* and to the KK. and also himself in his circuit and visitation of the Grecian Cities, had given warning to the great men and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profession of such plaies and pastimes; besides a sort of wrestlers, champions, and brave horses of the best kind & breed. Also divers embassages with their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever else was usually done of custome, at the great and solemn gamings in *Greece*. Thus it came to pass, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wisedome also in exhibiting these shews and sights, wherin the Romans at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover, he feasted and banketted the Embass, in the same sumptuous manner and respective consideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegm and common saying of his, That none could make feasts and set forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having represented these solemnities of all sorts, and bestowed all the brasen shields on shipboords; all other armor and weapons of sundry kinds, he piled upon a mighty heap, and after his praiers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, dame *Lua*, and other Gods and Goddesses, unto whom of right and duty appertained to consecrate and dedicate the spoils of enemies: himself the General with his own hands put under a burning torch, and kindled the fire, and after him all the marshal-colonels standing round about, cast every man his fire-brand, and set all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great assembly of *Europe* & *Asia*, where there was such a confluence of people from all parts, as well to testify their joy in his behalf as to see the shews and disports: in that meeting, I say, of so great armies of sea-servitors and land-souldiers, there was that plenty of all things and cheapness of victuals, that *Æmylius* the General, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away freely to privat persons, to cities and nations, not only for their present use, but also to cary home with them into their countries. And this multitude there assembled took not more pleasure either in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing men practise feats of bodily strength and activity, or the running of horses in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian booty and pillage laid all abroad to be seen; namely, of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth of tissue, of vessels in gold, in silver, in copper, and ivory, most curiously wrought in that roial seat and City of *Pella*, not only to serve for a present shew and no more (like those that the Kings Palace of *Alexandria* was replenished with) but also for continual and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Cn. Octavius* to be transported to *Rome*. *Paulus* after he had given the Embassadors a gracious and courteous farewel, passed over the River *Strymon*, and lodged within a mile of *Amphipolis*. From thence he dislodged and journeyed untill he came on the fifth day as far as *Pella*.

18 Cities there be of that name.

Pella. And passing by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call *Spelæum*, and then he sent *P. Nasica*, and *Q. Maximus* his own son with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the wast unto those Illyrians, who had succoured *Perseus* in his wars, but he commanded them to meet him at *Oricum*. Himself marching toward *Epirus*, at the fifteenth remove arrived at *Passaron*. Not far from thence lay *Amicus* encamped: unto whom he dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution: signifying therein, that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of *Epirus*, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, he suborned certain Centurions, and sent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians; & so he summoned out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of souldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the neer: and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them what to do. In the morning betimes all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the souldiers to fall to ransack and rifle the Cities. Wherein they found so great store of pillage, that every horsman had for his part * 400 Denarii, and the foothmen 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand pols were led away into captivity. Then the walls were rased of the said Cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventy. All the booty and prizes were sold, and out of that mass of money were the souldiers paid. From thence *Paulus* went down to the Sea side, unto *Oricum*. But the souldiers minds were nothing so well satisfied; as he supposed they had been, for discontented mightily they were and angry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and treasure, as if they had made no war in *Macedony*. At *Oricum* he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *S. Nasica* and *Maximus* his sons; there he shipped his whole army, and sailed over into *Italy*. In like manner a few daies after, *Anicius*, when the session and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnanians was ended, having given commandment, that their principal persons should follow him into *Italy* (the knowledge and deciding of whose causes he reserved and referred thither) himself attended the ships which the army had used in *Macedony*, and passed over likewise into *Italy*.

* 12 lib. 20 sol. ster.

At what time as these affairs were thus managed in *Macedony* and *Epirus*, the Embassadors who had been sent with *Attalus* to end the war between the Gauls and King *Eumenes*, arrived in *Asia*. A surcease of arms for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties, during which cessation the Gauls departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to *Pergamus* there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and look abroad: but by that time they were come as far as the *Synada*, *Eumenes* had assembled his forces from all parts to *Sardis*: There at *Synada*, the Romans parled with *Solovittius* the General of the Gauls; *Attalus* also went with them: but thought good it was not, that he should enter within the Gauls camp, for fear of stirring coals in heat of argument, and raising choler of the one side or other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the Duke of the Gauls aforsaid: and when he had done, he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and less tractable; insomuch as it might seem a wonder, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were so powerful and effectual with *Antiochus* and *Ptolomæus* (two mighty and puissant Kings) as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Gauls.

To return again to *Rome*. First, the two captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians, as also the other chief peers of *Greece*, who were warned to repair unto *Rome*. For not they only were summoned to make apparence there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptorily, who were but reported to have been with the Kings. Then *Paulus* himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings, a Galeace of a mighty bigness, making way with sixteen banks and rowes of oars to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoils, not only of brave gorgeous armour, but also of rich hangings, tissue, & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe, came up the *Tyber* against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived also with their fleet. And to all three, by an act of the Senat was triumph granted. *Q. Cassius* the Pretor had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senat, that they should prefer a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full commission of command and government that day when they were to ride triumphant into the City. See, how mean things escape the touch of envy, but the highest commonly are met with. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of *Anicius*, nor yet of *Octavius*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been abashed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of slanderous & malicious tongues. His souldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service, And to them had he given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more niggardly & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings: and yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy desire, and dealt

still

still amongst them til they had cried Ho, he should have left himself just nothing to have brought H
into the common treasury. So that all this Macedonian army gave a shew by this time, as if they
had but cold devotion to their General, either to appear, or to give their voices for the setting
forward of the bill aforesaid, as touching his triumph and plenary power of command, when the
day of assembly should come. Over and besides, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, who had been a martial Colo-
nel in the second legion, in *Macedony*, and in privat enmity with the General; both himself in per-
son was in hand with him, and by the souldiers also of his own legion sollicited and spurred on the
rest to appear in sufficient number, there for to give their suffrages against him, and check the bill:
saying, "That as he was an imperious and Lordly commander, so he was as miserable a pinch-
"peny withal, and a good deed it were to deny his grace and to cross the law proposed for his
"triumph, & so to be revenged of him throughly: for no doubt the commons of the City would I
"go that way that they should see the souldiers to lead before. He could not forsooth (say they)
"give money among his souldiers liberally: well, he shall surely know, that his souldiers yet can
"give him honour; but never let him look for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath defer-
"ved none. These words set them agog; and when *Tib. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons
read out and published the foresaid bill in the Capitol, and that by permission of law any private
person might have spoken thereto, and no man came forth, as being a matter whereof no doubt &
question was to be made: then *Servius Galba* suddainly stept forth, and required of the Tribune,
That (forasmuch as it was so far forth dayes, as being the eight hour thereof, so that he had not
time enough to declare and shew at large, what allegations he had why they should not grant *L.*
Æmylius a triumph) they would adjourn the assembly to the next day, and betimes in the morn- K
ing set the matter on foot again; for that he had need of a whole day and no less, to plead that
cause to the full as he should do. But when the Tribune willed him again to speak his mind that
day, if he had ought to say; he made a speech, and with his long oration held the court until it
was within night: putting them in mind and alledging, "How precisely and rigorously he had
"exacted at their hands all military duties; how he had imposed upon the souldiers more painful
"and dangerous labour than need was: but contrary-wise in dealing rewards and bestowing ho-
"nourable recompences for good service, he was over-straight-laced & too short in every point:
"and verily souldiery and warfare, if it continued still under such Captains, will be more hard, tra-
"velsome, and rough to souldiers and warriors: but when all is done and victory obtained, rewar-
"ded it shall be with bare poverty and neglect of honour. Certainly, the Macedonians are in bet- L
"ter case yet than the Roman souldiers. But if they would be present in great frequency the next
"morrow for to deny and revoke this bill, then these rich and mighty men shall know full well,
"That all lieth not in the hands of the Captain and Commander, but that the souldiers also can do
somwhat. The souldiers animated and induced with these perilous words, resorted the day follow-
ing in so great multitudes, and pestered the whole Capitol so full, as none but they could come in
to give their voice. The first tribes that were called in, clearly cassed the grace: which when the
principal and chief men of the City saw, they ran all into the Capitol with open mouth crying out
upon this indignity offered, That *L. Paulus* a conqueror in so great and dangerous a war, should
be deprived of his due triumph: and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now
subjected and enthralled to the loose licentiousness and greedy avarice of their souldiers. In this M
one thing (say they) have we too too much faulted, such hath been our favour and partiality, and
so loth have we been to displease any: but what will become of us in the end, if souldiers once may
come to be Lords and masters, and thus to crow over their Generals? And every man railed and
cried out upon *Galba*. In the end after this garboil was appeased, *M. Servilius* who sometime had
been Consul and great master of the horse under the Dictator, requested the tribunes that they
would begin all again annulling that which was past, and give him leave withal to make a speech be-
fore the people. The Tribuns went aside to consult of this matter: and in fine, over-ruled with the
authority and countenance of the nobles and peers of the City, began to treat afresh and go in
hand with all matters anew, making it known openly that they would recal back those first tribes,
in case *M. Servilius* and other privat men who were willing to utter their mind to the cause had N
once spoken. Then said *Servilius* as followeth, "Masters and friends, citizens here of *Rome*: if and
"by nothing else it might be judged, how singular & how excellent a Commander *L. Æmylius* was
"in the field, this only (if there were no more) may suffice, that having in his camp such seditious
"and light headed persons for his souldiers, and an adversary of his own among them so noble of
"birth, so rash of action, and withal so arrogant and self-conceited, ready to incite and stir up a
"multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutiny at all in his whole army.
"The same severity it was in government & conduct, that held them in aw and good order, which
"now at this present they hate & detest. And so long as they were managed by ancient discipline,
"they durst not quetch nor give offence. As for *Sergius Galba* if (like a new barrister who is to
"shew the first proof, & to give the assay and hansel of his eloquence) he would have made choice O
"of *L. Paulus* to begin withal and accuse him at the bar, he should not yet have hindred his tri-
"umph, which (if there were nothing else to disswade and draw him back) the Senat had judged
"to be just & due: but the morrow after his triumph (when he had seen him a privat man again)
"he might have given presentment of his name, & by order of law minished interrogatories unto
"him and so entred process: or rather he might have staid a little longer, namely, until himself
"had been a Magistrat in place, and then have gone roundly to work, arested him upon an action
"to

The Oration of *M. Servilius* in the behalf of *Paulus*.

A "to answer at a day, and so accused him judicially before the people. Thus should *L. Æmylius* have
"had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well-doing, in that so nobly & valiantly he
"had conducted this war: thus likewise should he have suffered condign punishment, if he had
"committed ought unworthy either of his ancient glory or this new honor. But will you have the
"truth? when he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he sought by-waies and in-
"direct means to detract his well deserved praises. He demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse
"*L. Paulus*: and * four hours, even all the day time that was left he spent in making an invective
"against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the bar so culpable and sinful, but all the
"faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in so many hours space?
"But what objected he all that while, that *L. Paulus* if he were to frame his defence, would wish
B "to deny? O that some man would procure me here for the while, two assemblies and courts, the
"one of Roman souldiers employed lately in *Macedony*: the other more pure and uncorrupt of the
"twain, namely, of citizens founder in judgment, void of all favor, & cleer from hatred. And the
"people of *Rome* I would have to be the judg. First, let *Paulus* be accused in the grand assembly &
"court of these citizens. Tell me O S. *Galba*, what would you say against him before those Quirits
"of *Rome*. For there you should have been cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your
"oration, carying these terms, You looked too straightly & precisely to the *corps de guard* in their
"stations: you held the souldiers too hard to their watch and ward: the sentinels were neerly and
"narrowly looked unto: & you were over curious about going the rounds & relieving the watch
"in the night season: about the works and fabricks you put the souldiers to more toiling & moil-
C "ing than heretofore: whiles you, my L. General, their surveior, over-seer, and task-maker, rode
"all about to exact the utmost with all extremity; in one & the same day when you had the army
"on foot, presently from a journy you led them forth to battail: when the victory was got, you
"would not suffer the souldier to breath and take repose, but caused him to march immediatly &
"to follow the enemy in chase: also, whereas the booty to be parted & shared out might have en-
"riched your self, yet will you carry the Kings treasure in shew of triumph & then lay it up in the
"chamber of the City. As these be shrewd matters, like sharp goads to prick those souldiers & set
"them on, who think they have not scope enough to serve their dissolut loosnes or too small al-
"lowance to content their covetous appetits: so, with the people of *Rome* they would have no-
"thing at all prevailed: who if they should not call to mind examples & stories of old, which they
D "have heard their fathers talk of namely, what overthrows have been received through the indul-
"gence and popularity of Generals; and contrary wise what victories have been atchieved by their
"severe discipline and government: yet at least wise they cannot chuse but remember what ods &
"difference there was in the late Punick war, between *M. Minutius* General of the horse, and *Q.*
"*Fabius Max.* his Dictator. And therfore since the accuser might know all this, the defence of *Pau-*
"*lus* in this behalf, was altogether needless and unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience
"and assembly of the Macedonian souldiers. But now me thinks I must not cal you Quirites any
"more, but souldiers: if haply there be so much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you
"to blush, & be abashed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your Genera. And veri-
"ly for mine own part, I find a great change in my self, & am otherwise affected in my mind, now
E "that I seem to speak unto an army of souldiers, than ere-whiles I was, when my Oration was ac-
"commodate and framed to the commons of a City. Now souldiers, what say you to the matter?
"Is there any one at *Rome* (but *Perseus* again) that would not have a triumph over the Macedoni-
"ans? & are you not ready to pull such a one in pieces with those very hands, wherwith you van-
"quished the Macedonians? He, whosoever he is, that impeacheth you for entring into the City in
"triumph, trust me truly, would have debarred you of victory, if it had bin in his power. Lo, how
"fouly are ye deceived (souldiers) and far out of the way, if ye think that the triumph is the honor
"only of the General, and not of the souldiers likewise, and consequently of the whole people of
"*Rome*. This is not *Paulus* his case alone. Many others likewise there have been, who when they
"could not obtain triumph at the hands of the Senate, triumphed nevertheless upon the Albane
F "mountain. As impossible it is for any man to bereave *L. Paulus* of the honor due for the finishing
"of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint *C. Lutatius* of his glory for ending the first Pu-
"nick war, P. *Cornelius* for the second; or others besides who after them triumphed. It is not a tri-
"umph that can make *L. Paulus* better or worse, either the greater captain or the less. Herein con-
"sisteth the credit, repown & reputation of the souldiers and of all the people of *Rome* more than
"his: for fear lest they be reputed & noted either for envious & malicious, or else unthankful for
"their best members & noblest citizens: & therin seem to imitate the people of *Athens*, who ever-
"more persecute and plague with envy their best men that live amongst them. Your ancestors and
"forefathers when time was (faulted this waies enough I wis) in the person of *Camillus*, whom they
"offred abuse unto, before the City by his means was recovered out of the Gauls hands. Much you
G "were to blame your selves here, & overmuch too in P. *Africanus*. That in *Liternum*, his mansion
"house and place of habitation (who was the conqueror of *Africk*) should be shewed: that in
"*Liternum* (I say) the sepulchre of P. *Africanus* should be seen. Let us blush for very shame, that
"*L. Paulus*, as he is equal to them in glory and honor, should likewise go with them and have his
"part of your hard and wrongful dealing. The first thing that ye do then, let be this: Out with this
"spot & stain of infamy which ye have caught: so reproachful in regard of other nations, so hurt-
"full to your selves. For, who wil ever hereafter wish to be like *Africanus*? who will endeavor to
"resemble

* By this is to be collected, that they counted the day 12 hours, from 6 to 6. & not from sun to sun, as some would have it.

" resemble *L. Paulus*, in a City so unthankful, nay so spiteful and malicious to all good men? Say H
" there were no question at all of infamy and obloquy, but of honor only and reputation, tell me
" (I beseech you) is there any triumph that compriseth not the glory also of the Roman name? So
" many triumphs over the Gauls, so many again over the Spaniards, and so many over the Cartha-
" ginians, are they reputed and called the triumphs of the Captains alone, and not likewise of the
" people of *Rome*? And like as we say, that we triumphed not over *Pyrrhus* only, nor over *Anni-*
" *bal*, but over the Epirots likewise and the Carthaginians: even so neither *M. Curius* alone, nor
" P. *Cornelius*, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the soul-
" diers have a proper interest and part by themselves, in that they alone (dight with branches and
" chaplets of laurel, and every one bravely to be seen and adorned with the gifts that have been
" given them) resound *Io Triumphe*, *Io Triumphe*, and as they pass along the City sing and chant the I
" praises of themselves and of their Captain-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the soul-
" diers be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble & are discontent-
" ted: & yet notwithstanding, absent though they be, they think it is their due: and so long as their
" General and leader triumpheth, they triumph also, because the victory was atchieved by the
" strength of their arms. Good souldiers, it a man should ask you, for what intent you were recon-
" ducted into *Italy*? and wherfore so soon as the service was performed and the war brought to an
" end, ye had not presently your congy of discharge? moreover, to what purpose ye came by com-
" panies and squadrons under your ensigns and colors? for what cause ye stay and remain here, and
" go not every man his waies to his own home? what answer would ye make else, but, That ye
" would be seen in triumph? And to say a truth; since ye have won the victory and are conquerors, K
" I cannot blame you: nay, ye ought to desire for to be seen and seen again. It is not long since we
" triumphed over *Philip* (this mans father) and over *Antiochus* likewise: and reigned both they
" did as KK. when the triumph was: and shall there be no solemnity of triumph over *Perseus*,
" taken prisoner and brought captive with his children into the City? If *L. Paulus*, standing beneath
" as a privat person (one amongst the company of gowned citizens) seeing *L. Anicius* and *Cn. Octa-*
" *vius* arraied sumptuously in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantles of estate,
" mounting up the Capitol in their triumphant chariots, should ask them the question and say in
" this manner: Tell me, O *Lucius Anicius* and you *Cn. Octavius*, judg ye in your own conceit that
" you are more worthy of a triumph than I? They would no doubt come down each one out of
" his chariot and yeeld him their place, yea, and for very shame deliver up all their ensigns and or- L
" naments unto him. And you Quirites, had you rather see *Gentius* than *Perseus* led in triumph?
" would you wish indeed to triumph for an accidental appendant only of the war, rather than for
" the main substance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of *Sclavonia*, and the mariners at sea,
" enter the City crowned with laurel garlands; and the legions out of *Macedony*, being denied
" their own triumph stand still and behold others to triumph? Moreover, what shall become of
" that rich booty? what shall be done with the spoils of that great and wealthy victory? where
" shall be bestowed and laid up so many thousand corslets and armors plucked from the bodies of
" enemies slain? Shall they be sent back again into *Macedony*? Those costly images of gold, of mar-
" ble, of ivory: those goodly fair pictures: those pretious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet, and
" tissue; that mighty quantity of gold and silver wrought into vessels chased and engraven; that M
" huge mass of the Kings mony and coin, what shall we do with it? What? shall it be carried all by
" night as stolen goods into the publick treasury and City Chamber? The goodliest sight of all the
" rest, what say you to it? A most noble & puissant King is taken prisoner, where shall he be shewed
" to the people of *Rome* his conqueror? What running, what concourse there was of people to see
" K. *Syphax* captive (& yet he was but an accessary to the Punick war) most of us do well remem-
" ber. Shall K. *Perseus* then, a prisoner and captive: shall *Philip* and *Alexander* his sons, (persons of
" so great name) be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the City? And there were no more
" but *L. Æmilius* himself, twice Consul, the conqueror & subduer of *Greece*, all men would desire
" to see him enter the City in his triumphant chariot. We created him Cos. for this intent that he
" should finish and determin this war, which to your dishonor and great shame had hung for the N
" space of 4 years. To him then who (at what time as the lot of that province fell unto him and
" when he departed on his voiage from *Rome*) had all our hearts to presage victory and triumph,
" shall we now deny triumph when he hath the victory? And verily in so doing, we shall not only
" defraud men, but rob the gods also of their honor; for due it is to the very gods also and not to
" men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprise all great affairs in the name of the
" gods first & therin also to end last? The Cos. or Prætor, when he is to take his journy into his pro-
" vince or to levy war, with his Lictors before him clad in their coats of arms, is ever wont to make
" his solemn vows in the Capitol: after he hath acquit himself of his charge and obtained victory,
" when as he triumpheth, he transferreth in pomp the rich presents of the people of *Rome* so well O
" deserved and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitol, unto whom there first he pro-
" nounced his vows. And the beasts for sacrifice going before the pomp of triumph, are not the least
" part of this solemnity: that it may appear, how the General in his return is mindful of the gods, &
" rendreth thanks unto them for the happy managing of the affairs of Commonweal. As for those
" beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed to be shewed in the pomp of triumph, slay them?
" neither makes it matter whose hand doth it: some kil one & some another, but those sacred viands
" of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any privat house, nor in publick place unhallowed,
" but

A " bus only in the Capitol; and there, not for the pleasure of men, but of Gods and men together,
" will ye trouble and impeach at the suggestion of *Servius Galba*? Shall the gates be shut against
" the triumph of *L. Paulus*? shall *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, with his children and the mul-
" titude besides of captives, with the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind at the river side?
" shall *L. Paulus* go directly from the City gate home to his house as a privat person, like one that
" hath been abroad in the countrey to see his farm, and is newly returned? But thou Centurion and
" thou souldier, give ear, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senat hath decreed as touching
" the General *Paulus*, rather than to the vain speech of *Serv. Galba*: hearken to this that I say the
" word, rather than he. As for him, he hath learned nought else but to prate and talk, and that to
" the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee, fought have I with mine enemies even upon
B " defiance given twenty times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in
" combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoils: I bear the marks about me of many
" a wound, and the honorable scars therof are to be seen, all of them in the breast and forepart of
" my body. At which word, they say, he bared his naked skin, and related withal in what battel he
" had received this or that wound. Now as he shewed these scars, and chanced to discover some
" parts that better I wis and more honestly had been unseen, and therewith, a * bunch or swelling *Bubonocelen.*
" of a rupture that he had in his groin, wherat some of them that stood next unto him took up a *Hernia vel ramex inguinis.*
" laughter, then (qd. he) even this that you have espied here, and make such game at, I caught with When the guts
" a strain, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more bear down to
" ashamed I am and displeased with my self for that infirmity, than for these scars which you here that part, upon
C " see; since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Common- distention or
" weal either in civil affairs of City, or in warfare abroad. Well, I an old servitor, have been con- burfting of
" tent here to shew unto yong men and raw souldiers, my body, many a time and often hacked, their rien.
" pierced and slashed with the sword. Let *Galba* now lay bare that whole skin of his own so slick
" and fair. Now my masters, you that are Tribuns, call the tribes again to the scrutiny, and take
" their voices. As for me [down I will, and go after the souldiers hard at heels. Know I will which
" be those lewd and unthankful companions that had rather be soothed up and flattered in the
" wars by mutinous persons, than serve under the martial discipline of their General.] * * * * Ali within
* * * * *

"publick felicity of the City. At my departure from *Italy*, I looſed from *Brunduſium*, and ſet up ſail H
"at the ſun-riſing: by the ninth hour of the ſame day I arrived ſafe with all my ſhips at *Corphu*.
"The fifth day after I came to *Delphi*, where I ſacrificed unto *Apollo*, for my ſelf, for your armies
"and your navy. From *Delphi* I departed, and within five daies was in the leaguer. Where, after
"I had received the charge of the army, and altered ſome things which might greatly have hin-
"dered the victory, I marched forward, for that the enemies camp was inexpugnable, and the
"King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the
"paſſage, I went as far as *Petra*: ſo as by this means having perforce drawn the King to fight, I
"vanquiſhed him in plain field and ranged battel. *Macedony* I ſubdued; and brought it in ſubje-
"ction to the people of *Rome*. Finally, that war which for four years together other Conſuls be-
"fore me ſo managed, as each one left it ever to his ſucceſſor worſe than he found it, I atchieved I
"and brought to a final end in fifteen daies. I followed then in this train other proſperous affairs,
"as the fruits enſuing of that victory. For all the Cities of *Macedony* yeelded unto me, The Kings
"treaſure I ſeized upon: the King in perſon (as if the very Gods themſelves had delivered and
"put him into my hands) I took priſoner, with his ſons in the Temple of the Samothracians. But
"then my heart miſgave me, and even then I ſuſpected the ſurpaſſing favour of my good fortune:
"then caſt I doubts, and began to fear the dangers at ſea, having ſo mighty a maſs of the Kings
"treaſure to tranſport, and my victorious army to reconduct back into *Italy*. But ſeeing all things
"fall out to hearts deſire, a proſperous voiage, a ſafe arival and whatſoever I could pray for at the
"Gods hands; this I wiſhed in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune,
"when ſhe is at the higheſt pitch, to turn back again and come as faſt down) that mine own K
"houſe, rather than the Common-weal, might feel that change and alteration whenſoever it
"came. And therefore I hope that this ſo notable a calamity of mine own, ſhall excuſe the City
"for having any other misfortune, ſince that my triumph (as it were to check and mock the
"changes of this world) hath faln ſo juſt between the funerals of my two ſons. See how I and
"*Perſeus* are repreſented above all others for two notable examples of the frail and unſtable con-
"dition of man. Lo how he, who being a priſoner himſelf, ſaw his ſons likewiſe led captives before
"his face, hath them yet living ſound and ſafe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from
"the burial of one of my ſons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence deſcen-
"ded again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair iſſue that I
"had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Æmylius*. For two of them the houſe of the *Cornelii* L
"and the *Fabii* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of
"children: ſo as now in the family of *Paulus* there is not one left but himſelf. Howbeit for this
"calamity and ruin of my houſe, your felicity and the happy eſtate of the City is a great comfort
"and conſolation again. Theſe words delivered with ſuch a magnanimity, troubled the ſpirits of
the auditors, and aſtonied them more, than if he had lamentably moned himſelf unto them with
piteous tears, for his childleis eſtate and deſolat condition.

C. Octavius ſolemnized his naval triumph over King *Perſeus* the firſt day of *December*: in which
ſolemnity, he neither had priſoners led in ſhew, nor ſpoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mari-
ners and ſailers ſeventy and five Denarii apeece: to every pilot double, and to the ſhip-maſters
four times as much. After this, the Senat aſſembled, and the LL. ordained, That *Q. Caſſius* ſhould M
lead King *Perſeus* with his ſon *Alexander*, together with his train that accompanied him, as alſo
bring all his money and goods, ſilver, or what moveables and furniture ſoever he had to *Alba*,
there to be kept in ſure cuſtody. *Bitis* the Kipgs ſon of *Thrace*, with the hoſtages was ſent to
Carſeoli, there to lie in ſafe ward. As for the reſt of the captives who had been led in triumph,
thought good it was they ſhould be clapt up faſt in priſon.

Some few dayes after theſe things, there arrived Embaſſadors from *Cotys* King of the Thracians,
bringing with them money for the ranſome of his ſon and the other hoſtages. Into the Senat they
were brought; where, by way of preamble they laid this for the ground of their ſpeech, That *Cotys*
had not ſided with King *Perſeus* in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compel-
led to give hoſtages: then they beſought the LL. of the Senate to ſuffer them to be redeemed at N
what price ſoever they would ſet down, were it never ſo high. Unto whom this anſwer was re-
turned by authority of the Senat, "That the people of *Rome* bare well in mind the amity which
"they had with *Cotys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the Thracians. As for the
"giving of the hoſtages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excuſe their
"treſpaſs and fault: conſidering that when *Perſeus* was quiet, the Thracian nation ſtood in no
"fear and aw of him, much leſſe then, when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the Ro-
"mans. Howbeit although *Cotys* preferred the favour of *Perſeus* before the friendſhip of the peo-
"ple of *Rome*, yet they would conſider of the matter, and reſpect more his quality and what was
"meet for his eſtate, than his deſert and what he was worthy to have; and therefore they would
"releaſe his ſon and the hoſtages, and ſend them home again. As for the people of *Rome*, their man- Q
"ner is to beſtow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence: the worth and
"eſtimation whereof they had rather leave to the conſideration and minds of the receivers, than
"require and demand the ſame preſently. So there were Embaſſadours nominated to reconduct
the hoſtages into *Thrace*, to wit, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Licinius Nerva*, and *M. Caninius Rebilus*.
And to thoſe Thracian Embaſſadours were given by way of preſents 2000 aſſes apeece. So *Bitis*
with the reſt of the hoſtages was ſent for from *Carſeoli*, and with the fore-named Embaſſadors re-
turned again to his father.

The

A The Kings ſhips taken from the Macedonians, of an extraordinary and monſtrous bignes before time, were landed upon *Mars* field and there laid up drie. Whiles the late remembrance of the Macedonian triumph remained ſtill not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men, *L. Anicius* triumphed over King *Gentius* and the Illyrians upon the very day of the feaſt * *Quirinalia*. It was generally thought that all things therein rather reſembled ſome likenes in ſhew, than otherwiſe countervailed in ſubſtance the former triumph. The General himſelf *Anicius* was inferior to *Æmylius* both in nobility and alſo in quality of perſon: and ſetting together their places of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Conſul; neither was *Gentius* equal to *Perſeus*, nor the Illyrians to the Macedonians. Spoil for ſpoil, money for money gifts for gifts, there was no proportion nor compariſon between them. And therefore as that triumph was
B more reſplendent and glorious than this, ſo conſidered in it ſelf without other reſpect, it was not to be found fault with al and deſpiſed. *Anicius* within few daies had vanquiſhed and throughly tamed the nation of the Illyrians; both by Sea and Land proud and mighty, bearing themſelves ſtout and bold for their ſtrong and fenced ſorts. The King he took priſoner, and thoſe of the Kings race and roial blood. He ſhewed in triumph many field-enſigns, beſides other ſpoils and moveable goods of the King. Likewiſe of gold ſeven and twenty pound weight, and of ſilver nineteen; beſides 3000 Denarii, and a hundred and twenty thouſand peeces of Illyrian ſilver in coin. Before his chariot were led King *Gentius* with his wife and children: *Caravantius* alſo the Kings brother, and certain noblemen of *Illyricum*. Out of the pillage he gave unto his footmen 45 Denarii apeece, to every Centurion a double proportion, and unto the horſemen a triple. To the allies of the La-
C tine nation he allowed aſmuch as to citizens; the ſailers and mariners he made equal with the footmen. Herein he ſurmounted the triumph of *Æmylius*, for that his ſouldiers followed after his triumphant chariot more jocund and merry, and the General was praiſed and extolled in many a ditty and ballad. *Antias* writeth, That of his booty there was raiſed as much money as came to twenty millions of Seſtertii, over and above the gold and ſilver that went into the common treaſury. But becauſe I could not ſee how poſſibly ſuch a ſum ſhould be made, I have ſet down mine author for the thing, now, chuſe you whether you will believe him. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senat led to *Spoletium*, there to be kept in ward: all the captives beſides were at *Rome* caſt into priſon, and there lay. But when the Spoletins refuſed to take the charge and cuſtody of him and the reſt, theſe Princes were tranſlated from
D thence to *Igiturvium*. There remained beſides of the Illyrian prizes two hundred and twenty barks, which being taken from King *Gentius*, *Q. Caſſius* by the ordinance of the Senat gave and diſtributed among the citizens of *Corphu*, *Apollonia*, and *Dyrrhachium*.

The Conſuls that year after they had only waſted the territories of the Ligurians, becauſe they could never train the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable ſervice, returned to *Rome* for the choice of new Magiſtrats in the room of the old. And ſo the firſt comitial or court day that came, they created Conſuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. The morrow after were elected for Pretors *L. Livius*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*. *P. Rutilius Calvus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, and *Marcus Fonteius*. Theſe Pretors had their government in this manner: two for the juriſdiction within the City, two for *Spain*, the other for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. This
E year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feaſt *Terminalia*. That year died *C. Claudius* the Augur, and in his place the colledg of the Augurs choſe *T. Quintius Flaminius*. Alſo *M. Fabius* Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the ſame year departed this life. This year alſo came King *Pruſias* to *Rome* with his ſon *Nicomedes*. He entred into the City with a great train attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of *Q. Caſſius* the Pretor. And when there was a great concourſe of people about him from all parts; he ſaid that his coming was to worſhip the Gods which are the preſidents of the City of *Rome*, as alſo to ſalute the people of *Rome*, and withal to ſhew his own joy and to wiſh theirs for their happy victory over the two Kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, and for that by ſubduing the Macedonians and Illyrians, they had enlarged their ſignory and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call
F a Senat for him even that preſent day, if he would ſo himſelf ſhe deſired two daies reſpit to ſee the Temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to viſit his good friends and acquaintance. *L. Cornelius Scipio* the treaſurer was appointed to go about with him and ſhew him all: who alſo had been ſent as far as to *Capua* for to meet him upon the way: alſo for him and his train about him, there was a ſufficient houſe taken up, where he was kindly and liberally intertained. The third day after he came into the Senat, where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory, he recounted his own demerits and good deſerts during the war: and then requeſted, that he might have leave to pay his vows and namely, to ſacrifice at *Rome* in the capitol, ten head of greater beaſts, and one at *Preneſte* to *Fortune*. For that he ſaid thoſe vows were made for the victory of the people of *Rome*. Alſo that the league and alliance with him might be renued. *Item* that the
G land won by conqueſt from King *Antiochus*, which being not by the people of *Rome* given unto any, the Gauls notwithſtanding held in poſſeſſion, might be conveied unto him by a deed of gift. Laſt of all, he recommended his ſon *Nicomedes* to the Senat. He found much favor among all them, who had been Generals of armies in *Macedony*. And therefore he obtained directly all other ſuits that he made: only as touching the ſaid lands, this anſwer he had. That they would ſend certain commiſſioners to ſee and view the thing. "And if it appeared and fell out, that the foreſaid land
"appertained to the people of *Rome*, and was not paſſed away by gift to any already, they would

* It was called the fools holy day, and kept upon the 18 of *February*.

"repute King *Prusias* the worthiest man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands: H
"But if it never belonged to King *Antiochus*, and so was plain and evident that the people of
"*Rome* had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a grant thereof already, *Prusias* then must be con-
"tent and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts prejudicial and in-
"jurious to another. Neither could a thing never so freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he
"knew the *donor* may take away from the *donee* at his pleasure. As for *Nicomedes* his son, they
"would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands so recommended. And how
"careful and tender the people of *Rome* was over Kings children committed unto them to keep,
"may appear by *Ptolomæus* the King of *Ægypt*. With this answer was *Prusias* dismissed. Order was
given that he should be presented with a certain summe of sesterces, and with silver plate to the
quantity of 50 pound weight. Also they ordained that his son *Nicomedes* should have gifts pro- I
portionable to that sum which was given *Masgaba* the son of *Masanissa*; also that beasts and all
other things appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the King out of the City-chamber,
like as to the magistrats of *Rome*, chuse whether he would slay and offer them at *Rome* or *Prænestе*.
Also that out of that fleet which rid in the harbor of *Brundusium*, there should be twenty gallies
assigned him to use, until such time as the King were arrived at the fleet which was given him.
Finally, that *L. Cornelius Scipio* should accompany him and never depart from him, but bear the
charges both of him and his retinue about him until they were embarked and on shipboord. It
is said, that the King joied wonderously at this courtesy and kindnes offered him by the people
of *Rome* and that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him: only he comman-
ded his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of *Rome*. Thus much have our Historians writ- K
ten as touching K. *Prusias*. But *Polybius* reporteth, that this King was unworthy the Majesty of so
honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the Embassadors of *Rome* with his head shaven
and a cap upon it: also to acknowledg and call himself the freed villain and vassal of the people of
Rome, and to testify so much, he wore the badg and token of that degree and condition. At *Rome*
likewise when he entred the Councel-house, he stooped down and kissed the very door-sill, calling
the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have used other speeches not so honorable to the hea-
vers, as base and unfitting his own person. When he had so journed in and about the City not a-
bove thirty daies, he took his leave and departed into his own Realm. L

To the Reader.

From the five and fortieth book forward, all the rest of Livy *(to the great maim and blemish of the Latine tongue, and no small grief of learned men) is lost, even* 100 *books wanting five, like as those ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the second Decad. For as it* M *appeareth by* L. Florus *the Epitomist, there were in all* 140: *and the arguments of so many remain at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that* Francis Petrarch *saith,* Levy *wrote in all* 142: *and as* Charles Sigonius *probably conjectureth, the* 36 *and* 37 *Breviaries of* L. Florus *be wanting of this later number. How all these complete books of* T. Livius *should miscarry, it is not certainly known. Some hope there is, that they are but mis-cast and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred years some fragments of the story were discovered* N *in* Mogunce: *and the last five books now extant, found by* Simon Grinæus *in the Library of a monastery over-against the City of* Worms, *and dedicated by* Erasmus *of* Rotterdam *unto* Charles, *the son of* William *Lord* Montjoy, *in the reign of* Henry *the eight of famous memory K. of* England, *&c. so we are not to despair of the rest. In the mean time, we must make much of these brief summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries in stead of the books: so I thought it not amiss (in hope that one day the very books* O *themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather, for that neither he that translated* Livy *into the Tuscan language, nor they who have done him into French (as far as I could ever see) have taken that pains.*

The

The Breviaries of L. Florus upon the rest of T. Livius his Books, which are not extant.

Of the XLVI. Book.

Eumenes *came towards* Rome. *Now because in the Macedonian war he had carried himself indifferent between* Perseus *and the Romans, there passed a law in general terms, That no King might repair to* Rome; *to the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be reputed an enemy: nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault.* Cl. Marcellus *the Consul subdued the Gauls inhabiting the* Alps, *and* C. Sulpitius Gallus *the Ligurians. The Embassadors of King* Prusias *complained of* Eumenes, *for that he invaded and wasted their borders: and they informed besides, that he had conspired with* Antiochus *against the people of* Rome. *At the earnest suit and entreaty of the Rhodians, a league was contracted with them. The Censors took a review and survey of the City, wherein were enrolled and assessed* 327022 *citizens of* Rome. M. Æmylius Lepidus *was elected president of the Senat.* Ptolomæus *the King of the Ægyptians, was by his yonger brother expelled out of his realm, but by the means of Embassadors (sent from* Rome) *he was restored to his Kingdom. Upon the death of* Ariarathes *King of* Cappadocia, *his son* Ariarathes *came to the crown, and by entercourse and mediation of Embassadors, renewed amity with the people of* Rome. *This book containeth besides, the wars against the Ligurians, Corsians, and Lusitanians, fought with variable fortune: the troubles also in* Syria *after the death of* Antiochus, *who left behind him* Antiochus *his son, a very child. This yong Prince (together with his guardian* Lysias) Demetrius *the son of* Seleucus (*who had been sent in hostage to* Rome) *murdred privily, because he was not set as large and dismissed by the Romans: and so himself entred upon the Kingdom.* L. Æmylius Paulus *who had conquered* Perseus, *departed this life; whose incorruption and abstinence from the publick treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both out of* Spain *and* Macedony *so great store of wealth and riches, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The Pomptine marisshes were drawn drie by* Cor. Cethegus *the Consul (unto whom that charge was by lot faln) and the same turned into firm ground.*

Of the XLVII. Book.

Cneus Tremellius *a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongful cause with* M. Æmylius Lepidus *the soveraign Pontifie. The power and authority of the clergie Magistrats, was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted as touching inordinate suit for offices. In the survey of the City, there were taxed in the subsidy book* 328314 *Roman citizens.* L. Æmylius Lepidus *was chosen again president of the Senat. Between the two brethren* Ptolomees, *who were at variance, there passed this accord and agreement, That the one should reign in* Ægypt *and the other in* Cyrenæ. Ariarathus *King of* Cappadocia, *by the politick plot and forcible power of* Demetrius *King of* Syria *dispossessed of his Kingdom, was by the Senat set into it again. Certain Embassadors were sent as delegats from the Senat to determine of the litigious ground between* Masanissa *and the Carthaginians.* C. Martius *the Consul fought against the Dalmatians, at the first unfortunatly, but afterwards atchieved the victory. The occasion of the war with them was this: for that they had made waste upon the Illyrians, who were allies of the people of* Rome. *The same nation* Cornelius Nasica *the Consul brought in subjection.* Q. Opimius *the Consul subdued the Ligurians beyond the* Alps, *who had spoiled* Antipolis *and* Nicæa, *two Towns belonging to the seignory of the Massilians. Moreover, here are contained the adventures of many Captains in* Spain, *with no good success. In the* 598 *year from the foundation of the City, the Consuls so soon as the assembly for election was past, and other Consuls chosen for the year following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was, because the Spaniards were entred into rebellion. The Embassadors aforesaid who had been sent to take up and decide the controversy between* Masanissa *and the Carthaginians, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matters for a navy at* Carthage. *Certain Pretors accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.*

Of the XLVIII. Book.

The Censors took a review and tax of the city, wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thousand polls of citizens. The causes of a third Punick war be here recorded. Upon a report that there was a right puissant army of Numidians upon the borders of the Carthagians, conducted by Archobarzanes *the nephew of* Syphax, M. Porcius Cato *perswaded in an oration to proclaim war against the Carthaginians, for that they intertained such a power within their frontiers under a colour against* Masanissa, *but in truth raised against the Romans: howbeit* Publius Cornelius Nasica *gainsaid him and dissuaded the matter. Whereupon ordained it was, that Embassadors should be sent to* Carthage *in espial, to observe what they did, and whereabout they went. Who after they had given the Carthaginians*

Senat a check and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league, they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they were willing to conclude a peace between Masanissa and them; so as Masanissa should forgo and part with the land in question. But Gilgo the son of Amilcar, a busy and seditious man, who then was Soveraign Magistrate (notwithstanding their Senat promised to be ruled by the award of the said Embassadors) incited them so by his perswasive remonstrances to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made shift to flee and save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related these news at Rome, the Senat already set and bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his words provoked much more. M. Portius Cato performed the funerals of his son, deceased in his Pretorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability, for he was put poor. One Andriscus, who stoutly made the world believe, that he was the son of Perseus the King of Macedony, was sent to Rome. M. Æmylius Lepidus, now six times chosen President of the Senat by the Censors, gave his son in straight charge before he died, to carry him forth to burial in a couch without linnen clothes and the purple pall, and not to bestow in other obsequies above one denier; saying, that the funerals of the greatest and best personages are wont to be ennobled and honoured with the shews of images and titles, and not with sumptuous expenses. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and sorcery. Publilia and Licinia, who were endited for making away their husbands put in sureties before the Pretor, to be bound in goods, lands, and body for them, and after judiciel process passed and their cause heard, by a decree of their kinsfolk suffered death. Gulussa the son of Masanissa gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was mustering and levying of souldiers, rigging and providing of a fleet, all preparations no doubt for war: and Publicius Cornelius Nasica replied again, that nothing was to be done inconsiderately, without advise. Thought good it was to send ten Embassadors, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledg to certify. L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumius Albinus the Consuls, when they took musters with severity and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but prest all, were committed by the Tribuns of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of souldiery. By occasion of the wars in Spain, which many times had been untowardly and unfortunately managed, when the City of Rome was so dismaied and daunted, that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martial Tribunship, or was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant; P. Cornelius Æmylianus stepped forth, made offer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service what soever should be laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the states and nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Vacceans, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet unknown in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmylianus, the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a martial Colonel, slew a Barbarian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Intercatia, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For he was the first of all other that scaled and mounted over the wall. Servius Sulpitius Galba the Pretor sped but badly in a battail against the Portugals. When as the Embassadors were returned out of Africk, together with the Carthaginian Orators, and Gulussa the son of Masanissa, bringing word, That they found at Carthage both an army and also an armado; thought good it was, to put to question and debate the matter in the Senat: where Cato and other principal Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army presently into Africk: but because C. Nasica opined and said, That he saw as yet no just and sufficient cause of war, agreed it was to forbear all hostility end force of arms, in case the Carthaginians would burn their navy and discharge their army: if not, then agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government should propose as touching the Punick war. When the Theatre was built, which by the Censors had been put forth to no end to frame, and set up at a price, through the meant of Pub. Cornelius Nasica, who inferred, that it was a peece of work unprofitable, yea, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens; by vertue of an act of Senat demolished it was and pulled down; so at the people for along time stood on their feet to behold the publick plaies. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and warred upon Masanissa. But vanquished they were in field by him (who notwithstanding he now was fourscore year old and twelve, yet he used to tast his meat simply without any dainty sauce yea, and to chew his bare bread still) and over and besides they deserved to draw upon their head the Roman war.

Of the XLIX. Book.

THe beginning of the third Punick war, in the six hundreth and one year from the Cities foundation, which within 5 years after it began, came to a full and final end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nasica, who by the Senat was judged the best and honestest man in the City. Cato was altogether for the wars, and advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nasica contrarywise dissuaded what he could. Nevertheless, in the end ordained it was. That because against covenant and accord they kept a navy at sea, and had led forth an armey out of their borders: also for that they entred into arms and levied war upon Masanissa, a friend and confederat to the people of Rome, and received not into their Town, Gulussa his son, who was in the company of the Roman Embassadours; war should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and had taken the sea, the Embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, yeelding themselves and all that they had. That embassage, as a special presage to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senat, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentum [a place it was in Campus Martius, wherupon the pastimes Terentins took their name] were plates exhibited

exhibited to Father Dis the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Punick war, and in the five hundreth year and one, after the City was founded. Thirty Embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato imported and prevailed, to hold still their former determination, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward in their journey to the war. Who having passed the seas and arrived in Affrick, received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required and demanded; and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war soever they found at Carthage. They proceeded moreover after all this, to command them by warrant and authority from the LL. of the Senat to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place, so that it were ten miles at least remote from the Sea: by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rise and take arms again. L. Martius and M. Manilius the Consuls, began to besiege and assault Carthage: during which siege and assault, it fortuned that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the Townsmen they were sore beaten and killed, by the means of Scipio Affricanus they were rescued: by whom also a certain sconce and fort of the Romans, which the enemies by night assailed, with the help of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians sallied forth of their City to give the assault at once upon it with all their forces; by which service he above the rest won great honor. Over and besides, when as the Consul (for the other was gone to Rome to hold the election of Magistrats) seeing the siege and assault of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the army against Aldrubal, who with another power of men kept the narrow streights of a certain passage, he counselled the said Cos. first, not to give battel in a place of such disadvantage; but afterwards overweighed and born down by the opinions of the greater number (who envied as well his wisedom as vertue) he also entred into the same streights. And when the Roman army, according as he foretold, was discomfited and put to flight, and two cohorts beset round and invested by the enemies, he with certain small cornets of horse returned into those streights, rescued them, and brought them away in safety. Which valour of his, even Cato, (a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senate, that in these terms he gave out and said, * That all the rest who were employed in the wars of Affrick, served as shadows and dead men, but Cato had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome besides cast such a favour and good liking to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes pricked him for to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Commons had promulged a law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yeelded to the people of Rome, and yet by S. Galba were sold in France) should be restored to their freedom; M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included within his Annals. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, albeit he was by him shaken up and well checked in the Senat, answered in the behalf of Galba. Tea, and Galba also, seeing himself at the point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons; being * Prætextati, and a son of C. Sulpitius whose Guardian he was, and made such piteous and rufal mone, all the while he spake in his own cause, that the foresaid law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be seen; two against Libo a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed laws, as touching the Portugals; and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus, in which he confesseth and avoweth the killing of the Portugals encamped neer unto him: for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed an horse and a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his army. Andriscus one of base birth and the most abiect lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King Perseus his son, and thereupon changed his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whither Demetrius King of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious lie) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged and counterfeit fable of his, as if it had been a true fame and report: by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the good will of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seized all Macedony and held it in his hands. Now had he devised and framed the pageant in this wise, That Perseus the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine; that he was committed to * one Cyrthesa to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought (should fall out but well unto the K. in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might be yet some seed as it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and royal race. When Perseus was deceased, he had his education at Adramyttium until he was 12 years old, supposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and wist not at all from what stock he was descended. Now it fell out (saith he) that the said fosterfather of mine lay very sick; and being at the point of death, bewraied at length my birth and parentage. Moreover, that there was a little book given to my supposed mother, sealed with the sign manual of King Perseus which she was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 14 years old: charging her most streightly of all loves, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age aforesaid, then the book was given me, wherin mention was made of two chests of treasure left for me by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of hers, but only so reputed, bewraied my birth unto me, who was of time ignorant of of mine own descent: also the woman laid great wait upon me to depart out of those quarters before that Eumenes, a professed enemy to Perseus, came to the knowledg thereof, for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted and hoping withal to find some aid at the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria; and there first I took heart unto me, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before. [Thus much of Andriscus this counterfet Kings son.]

* He alludeth here to this verse of Homer, Οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἴσαν τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι.

* i. under 17 years of age.

Or, Cretæ cuidam. i. to one in Crete.

Of

Of the L. Book.

THessaly *at what time as the forsaid counterfet* Philip *would have invaded and kept it by force of arms, was by the means of the Roman Embassadors, together with the aid of the Achæans defended.* Prusias *King of* Bithynia, *a favourer of the basest persons and lewdest vices, was by his own son* Nicomedes *murdered, with the help of* Attalus *King of* Pergamus. *Another son he had, who in stead of the upper row and course of distinct teeth, is reported to have had one entire bone for all, growing out at his gums. When the Romans had sent their Embassadors to conclude a peace between* Nicomedes *and* Prusias; *of which Embassadors, the one had his head full of many scars, the other was troubled with the gout in the feet, and the third reputed but blockish of spirit by nature, and none of the wisest:* Cato *said, That there was an embassage head-less, foot-less, and heart-less. In* Syria, *which at that time had for their* King, *one indeed of the line and race of* Perseus *K. of* Macedony, *but another* Prusias *up and down, for cowardise, idleness, and base mind; it so fell out, that whiles he haunted taverns, stews, and brothel-houses, and lay there altogether,* Ammonius *swaid the Scepter and raigned as King: by whose practise the Kings friends, also* Laodice *the Queen, and* Antigonus *the son of* Demetrius *came to their end and were killed.* Masanissa *King of* Numidia, *a man above fourscore and ten years old, a famous Prince and every way excellent, yeelded to nature and died. Among other youthful parts which he performed to his dying day, this is one, That in this old age of his he was so lusty, that after the fourscore and sixth year of his life he got a boy. Among his three sons,* Mycipsa *(the eldest)* Gulussa *and* Manastabal, *who also had knowledge in the Greek tongue,* Publius Scipio Æmylianus *divided the administration of the Kingdom: for their father had left it in common for them all, and had given order to part it at the discretion of the same* Scipio. *Likewise, he perswaded* Phamias *the commander under* Himilco *of the Carthaginian Cavalry, (a valiant warrior, and whom the Carthaginians employed most of all others in service) to revolt with his men of arms and to turn Roman. Of those three Embassadors above said who were sent to* Masanissa, Claudius Marcellus *was cast away in a tempest upon the sea, and swallowed up of the waves in a gust. The Carthaginians murdered in their Councel-chamber* Asdrubal *nephew of Masanissa, and their Pretor for the time being, upon suspition of treason. This jealousy of theirs arose hereupon for that he was neer in kindred and blood to* Gulussa, *who friended and succoured the Romans.* Publius Scipio Æmylianus, *when he sued to be Ædile, was by the people propounded and nominated for Consul: and when as by law he might not for his yong years be created Consul, hard hold there was about him: whiles the common Lahourd with might and main for him, and the nobles and Lords of the Senat gainsaid it a good while: but in fine, he was dispensed with, notwithstanding the* * law in that behalf, *and created Consul.* Marcus Manilius (*Pro-consul*) *forced certain Cities situate about* Carthage. * *Counterfet* Philip, *after he had slain* M. Iuventius *the Pretor and* Q. Cælius, *and together with them defeated the army, was in* Macedony *vanquished himself and taken prisoner, and so* Macedony *was recovered again which had been lost before.*

* The law *Annalis* made by *Lucius Villius Annalis*, whereby no man was capable of a Consulship, under 43 years of age, and this *Scipio* was now but 37.
* *Pseudophilippus.*

Of the LI. Book.

CArthage, *which took up in circuit the compass of four and twenty miles, was with exceeding pain and travail besieged and won by peece-meal: first, under the conduct of* Mancinus *the Lieutenant; afterwards of* Scipio *the Consul, unto whom without lot the province of* Africk *was extraordinarily granted. The Carthaginians having made a new peer, (for that the old haven was choked and stopped up by* Scipio) *and gathered secretly in a small time a good fleet, fought a battail at Sea unfortunatly. Moreover, the camp of* Asdrubal *their General, pitched in a place of most difficult access neer the Town* Nepheris, *was forced, and his army defeated by* Scipio: *who also in the end wan the very City of* Carthage, *in the seven hundred year after it was first founded. The greatest part of the spoil and pillage there found, was restored to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. In the utmost extremity and final destruction of that City, when* Asdrubal *had yeelded and submitted to* Scipio; *his wife (who some daies before could not obtain at her husbands hands to abandon the Town and flie to the conqueror) cast her self with her two children headlong from the Castle into the mids of the flaming fire, wherewith the City burned.* Scipio, *following the example of his father* Æmylius Paulus *who had conquered* Macedony, *set forth certain solemn plaies and pastimes; wherein the renegats and fugitives he presented and objected to as vage beasts. The causes of the Achæan war be here reported. The Roman Embassadors who had been beaten and ill intreated by the Achæans, were sent unto* Corinth, *to sever and disjoint those cities (which had been under the seignory of* Philip) *from the general diet and parliament of the Achæans.*

Of the LII. Book.

QUintus Cæcilius Metellus *fought a battail at* Thermopylæ *with the Achæans, that had to aid them the Bœotians and Chalcidians: who being overcome,* Critolaus *their chief Captain shortned his own life by poison: and in his place* * Drachus *the first author of the troubles in* Achæa, *was by the* Achæans *chosen General of the field, and by* L. Mummius *the Consul vanquished neer to* Isthmus: *who having received all* Achæa *by surrender, raised and destroied utterly* Corinth, *by an Act and commission directed out of the Senat; because the Roman Embassadors were there abused.* Thebes *also and* Chalcis *which had aided the* Achæans, *were overthrown and pulled down.* Mummius *for his own part, have himself*

* Or rather Dieus. Pausan in Achaicis.

himself most abstinent and uncorrupt: for of all that wealth, and those goods and ornaments wherewith Corinth *was mightily enriched, there came not one parcel into his house.* Quintus Cæcilius Metellus *triumphed for the conquest of* Andriscus, *and* Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmylianus *likewise over Carthage and* Asdrubal. Viriatus *in* Spain, *first of an herdman became an hunter, and of a hunter proved to be a very thief and robber: and within a while after, was chosen General of a complete and main army, and seized to his own use all* Portugal. *He took prisoner* M. Vitilius *the Pretor, when he had first discomfited his host in the field. After whom* C. Plautius *the Pretor sped no better in fight. This enemy so terrified the Romans, that to make head against him they found it necessary to employ a full consular army, and a Consul Commander. Moreover, in this book be recorded the trouble of* Syria *and the wars between the Kings.* * Alexander *an obscure person and base born, having slain (as is before-said)* Demetrius *the King, reigned in* Syria. *Him* Demetrius (*the son of* Demetrius) *slew, by the help of* Ptolomæus *King of* Ægypt, *whose daughter* Cleopatra *he had espoused and married. This* Demetrius *in times past had been sent out of the way into* Gnidos *by his father, fearing the doubtful chances of the war: and he entred upon this action by occasion of the contemptible sloth and cowardise of the said* Alexander. Ptolomeus *was grievously wounded in the head: and in the cure, whiles the Chirurgians went about to* * *trypanize the bones of his skull, died under their hand. And in his stead* Ptolomæus *his yonger brother who reigned in* Cyrenæ, *succeeded and took upon him the crown.* Demetrius *for his cruelty which he excercised upon his people by racking and other torments, was vanquished in battail by* Diodorus, *one of his own subjects: who made claim to the Kingdom in the right and title of* Alexanders *son, a yong child hardly two years old: whereupon he fled to* Seleucia. Lucius Mummius *triumphed over the Achæans, in which solemnity he carried in pompous shew sundry images as well of brass as marble, besides pictures and painted Tables.*

* *Ammonius* he is called before.
* To perforate and bore with an instrument called τρυπανον or τρυπανη.

Of the LIII. Book.

APpius Claudius *the Consul subdued the Salassians, a nation inhabiting the* Alps. *A second* * Mock-Philip *there was in* Macedony, *who by* L. Tremellius *the treasurer was with his army defeated and slain.* Q. Cæcilius Metellus *the Pro-consul gave the Celtiberians an overthrow. The most part of* Portugal *was regained by* Q. Fabius *the Pro-consul, and many Cities thereof by assault forced.* C. Julius *a Senator by calling, wrote the Roman History in the Greek tongue.*

* *Pseudo philippus.*

Of the LIV. Book.

QUintus Pompeius *the Consul subdued the Termestins in* Spain: *with whom verily as also with the Numantins, by occasion of his infirmity and sickliness, he concluded peace. A review and numbring of the citizens was taken by the Censors: wherein were enrolled four hundred twenty eight thousand, three hundred forty two polls. At what time as the Macedonian Embassadors came to complain of* D. Junius Syllanus, *the Lord Deputy over them, for that he took their money, and nevertheless made an hawock of the Province, and thereupon the Senat was willing to have the hearing of their complaints:* T. Manlius Torquatus *the father of* Syllanus, *exhibited a request, and obtained, that the inquiry and decision of such a matter as this might be referred over and committed unto him. And after he had sitten upon this commission at home in his own house and found his son guilty, he both condemned him and put him away: nay, when afterwards he had hanged himself, for that was his end, he would not be so much as present at his funeral, but according to his ordinary manner and custome, sat in his house, attending all clients and commers to him for counsel.* Q. Fabius *the Pro-consul, after he had managed the war in* Spain *right prosperously, married all with this foul blot and spot of dishonor, in that he contracted a peace with* Viriatus, *upon even and equal conditions. This* Viriatus *by a practise complotted by* Servilius Cæpio, *was treacherously murdered by traitors, and of his own army was much bewailed. At his death he was rung out of this world with a notable peal of* * *farewel, and right honorably enterred: an excellent man, and most brave Captain for the space of thirteen years, during which time he warred with the Romans, and ever for the most part went away with the winning hand.*

* Or rather 348344.
* *Aditii, editus.*

Of the LV. Book.

WHiles P. Cornelius Nasica, *who by way of mockery was surnamed* Serapio, *by scoffing* Curatius *a Tribun of the Commons, and* D. Iunius Brutus *the Consul took the musters, there hapned in the very sight of the new and raw souldier an occurrent of great consequence, and for example sake exceeding profitable. For* C. Matienus *was judicially accused before the Tribuns of the Commons, for that he had abandoned and forsaken his own army in* Spain, *whereupon he being convict, was condemned and scourged a long while with rods, carrying a fork or cross upon his shoulders, and in the end sold as a slave for a small peece of silver of* * *three half pence farthing cue. The Tribunes of the Commons, because they might be allowed to exempt from military service ten souldiers apeece, whom it pleased them to chuse, commanded the Consuls to prison.* Iun. Brutus *the Consul, whiles he was in* Spain, *endued those souldiers who had served under* Viriatus *with land and living, and gave them a Town to inhabit called* Valentia. M. Popilius, *together with his army was foiled and put to the rout by the Numantins, with whom the peace that was concluded, the Senat had passed an act, that it should not stand in force. The occasion was: this*

* *Sestertic numo*, the fourth part of *Denarius.*

this: As C. Mancinus the Consul was devoutly sacrificing, the sacred chickens chanced to flie away out of their cage or coop. Afterwards, as he was about to take ship and go a shipbord for to pass over into Spain, there hapned a voice to be heard, saying, Stay, Stay Mancinus. These proved in the effect to be unfortunat and heavy presages unto Mancinus; for he received an overthrow at the Numantins hands, and was turned clean out of his camp. And seeing no hope else to save his army, he entred into a dishonorable peace with them, but the Senet expressly revoked and annulled the same. 30000 Romans were defeated by 4000 Numantins & no more. D. Iunius made a general conquest of all Portugal, even as far as to the Ocean, by forcing and sacking their Cities and strong Towns: and when his souldiers were loth to passe over the river * Oblivio, he caught up a banner from the port-ensign, and carried it over with him, and by this means perswaded them to go through. Alexanders son, King of Syria, a child not above ten years old at the most, was trecherously murdered by Diodorus his guardian or protector, surnamed Tryphon. There were Physicians by corruption bribed and subborned to give it out and bear the people in hand most falsly, that the yong Prince pined away with the pain of the stone in the bladder, and whiles they would seem to cut him for it, they killed him out of hand in the very section.

* A river in Spain, called sometime Limæa, or Lethe, and at this day Limia.

Of the LVI. Book.

DEcius Iunius Brutus had good fortune in the farther Province of Spain, fighting with the Gallicians. But M. Æmylius Lepidus Pro-consul sped far otherwise in his wars against the Vaccei, and suffered the like overthrow to that other received from the Numantins. When Mancinus the author and maker of the accord with the Numantins, was delivered up in person to the Numantins, for to assoil the people of Rome, and discharge them in conscience for cancelling the said covenant, they received him not, and would none of him. The people was numbred and taxed by the Censors, in which survey and account taken, there were entred into their books 323000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Cos. brought the Vardæans in Illyricum under subjection. M. Cosconius the Pretor fought in Thracia with the Scordiscians, and won the better. When by the default and error of the Captains and Commanders, and the Numantin war continued still, not without the publick shame and dishonor of the state; the Senat and people of Rome conferred the Consulship upon Scipio Africanus, without any suit or seeking of his part. And when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a law forbidding expressly; * that any man should be created Cos. the second time, he had a dispensation, and was freed from the law in that behalf, and when it could not be suppressed by the Pretors and Lord Governors, C. Fulvius had the charge of that Province and service. This war began by occasion of one Eunus a bondslave and a Syrian born; who having assembled together a power of rustical peasants and country slaves, broken prisons and houses of coverion, came to have a full and complete army. Moreover, Cleon also another notable slave, raised to the number of 70000 villains like himself: and they both joyning their forces together, waged war many times against the people of Rome and their army in those parts.

* The text is here corrupt, for there were 12 years between this time and his former Consulship, & therefore it is not meant, de lege Decennali, but of another law lately made, ne quis iterum Consul fiet, and according to the place corrected by Sigonius I have translated it. [* lege annali.]

Of the LVII. Book.

SCipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the army was grown to be corrupted through absolute riot and loose life, he reclaimed the same, and reduced it unto a most streight and severe kind of military discipline. For he cut off all the means and occasions of delight some pleasures: he sent packing away two thousand whores and truls that followed the camp: he held the souldiers hard to work every day: he forced each one to carry on his shoulders corn for thirty dayes, and seven good stakes besides for a palisado. If he spied one of them to go heavily under his load, he would say thus under him, Sirrha, when you have the skull to empale your self with your sword's point, then cease to carry pales, but not before. When he saw another practise to wield very nimbly a little light buckler, he commanded him to bear a target of a bigger size and weightier than ordinary, as finding fault that he knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his own body than to handle his sword for offence of the enemy. Met he with a souldier out of his rank and file? If he were a Roman, up he went and was well beat and swadled with vine-wands by the centurion; if a stranger, swinged and jerked he was with [birchen] * rods by the Lictors. And verily all the pack-horses and other labouring beests he caused to be sold; because they should not ease the souldiers of their cariage. Well, many a time he bare himself worthily in fight, and had a fortunat hand against the enemies that sallied forth against him. The Vacceans, were streightly besieged: and after they had killed their wives and children, they slew their own selves upon them. Scipio, at what time at Antiochus King of Syria had sent unto him most rich and stately presents: whereat other Generals of the field were wont to conceal the gifts of KK. he avowed the accepting of them in open sight of all men, even at the very Tribunal seat. And when he had so done, he commanded the treasurer to receive all, and enter in his book of receits for the state; promising out of that stock to reward the hardiest men and most valiant knights. When he had blocked and invested Numantia on every side, and saw the enemies driven to great distress for hunger, he forbad expresly to kill any of them that went forth of the Town to forage and purvey victuals, saying, That the more they were in number, the sooner they would consume and spend up the corn which they had.

* Betula, terribilis magistratuum virga. Pli.

Of

Of the LVIII. Book.

TIberius Sempronius Gracchus a Tribune of the Commons, when he promulged an Agrarian law, that no man should hold and occupy above * five hundred arpens or acres of the City lands seeing the Senat and order of Gentlemen so storm against it, grew into such an heat of choler and furious rage, that presently by an act made, he deprived of Tribunitian power M. Octavius his Colleague, for maintaining the cause of the adverse part: and withal, created himself, his brother C. Gracchus, and App. Claudius his own wives father, Triumvirs or commissaries for dividing of the said lands. He proposed also and published another Agrarian law, by vertue whereof if any man encroached farther, and went above that stint and proportion, the same Triumvirs and none but they should sit down and determine, how far forth the common grounds and the privat lands should reach. Afterwards, when there fell out to be less ground than could be divided, he protested that without the offence of the common people, (because erewhile he had stirred up their appetite to hope for great matters) he would prefer a law, That amongst all them, who by vertue of the law Sempronia ought to receive lands, the mony which belonged sometime to King Attalus should be divided. Now this Attalus the King of Pergamus and son of Eumenes, had left behind him, the people of Rome his full heir of all that he had. The Senat upon these so many indignities offered by Gracchus, was highly displeased, and Pub. Mucius the Consul above the rest: who after he had inveighed in the Senat against him, was by him haled forth before the people, and accused unto the Commons, howbeit he declaimed against him once again openly from the Rostra. When Gracchus would have been chosen Tribune of the Commons a second time, by the advice and procurement of P. Cornelius Nasica, the chief peers and nobles stew him in the Capitol. He caught his first knock with the broken peeces of the Tribunes pues. And he among others slain in that seditious garboil, was never committed to the earth, but thrown into the river. Moreover, this book containeth the battels in Sicily, fought against the fugitive slaves with variable fortune a dvent.

* Sc. Gay Plutarch & Appian.

Of the LIX. Book.

THE Numantins forced by great extremities, and ffamine especially, murdered themselves in course by turns. After the City was won, Scipio Affricanus razed and destroyed it utterly: and even it triumphed, in the fourteenth year after the ruin of Carthage. P. Attilius the Consul dispatched and ended the war in Sicily, with the foresaid fugitives. Aristonicus the son of King Eumenes, invaded Asia and held it to his own use; whereas by the last will and testament of King Attalus, it was bequeathed as a legacy unto the people of Rome, and ought to have been freed. Against him P. Licinius Crassus the Consul and Archbishop besides (a thing never done or seen before) took a journey with an army out of Italy, and in a battel was overthrown and lost his life. M. Perpenna the Consul overcame Aristonicus, and received him by surrender. Q. Pomponius and Q. Metellus were elected Censors, the first Commoners that ever both together attained to that dignity. A review was taken by the Censors, wherein were numbred 368823 citizens, besides orphans and widows. Q. Metellus the Censor gave his advise and opinian, that all men should be compelled to take wives, for the breeding of children. His Oration to that purpose is extant: which Augustus Cæsar, at what time as he went in hand to joyn in marriage all the three states and degrees of the City, rehearsed in the Senat, as if it had been penned to fit those times wherein we now live. C. Atinius Labeo, a Tribune of Commons, commanded Q. Metellus the Censor (who in the review and new choise of the Senators did him that disgrace as to leave him out) to be pitched headlong from the rock Tarpeia: but the rest of the Tribunes assisted the Censor all that ever they could, that this commandment should not be executed. When Carbo, a Tribune of the Com. proposed a bill, that it might be lawful to create the same man Trib. of the Commons so often as one would; P. Africanus dissuaded this law in a most grave and pithy Oration: wherein he used these words especially, That he judged Tib. Gracchus to have been justly slain for his deserts. Gracchus on the other side maintained the law, and pleaded that it might passe: but Scipio imported and prevailed in the end. In this book are related the wars between Antiochus king of Syria, and Phraates king of the Parthians: as also the troubles of Ægypt, which stood at them in no better terms. Ptolomeus surnamed Evergetes, for his exceeding cruelty grew hateful and odious to his own subjects: and when the people had set on fire and burned his royal palace, he fled by stealth into Cyprus; and when the kingdom was by the people made over to his sister Cleopatra, whom (after he had dishonored by force her daughter), a virgin, and so taken her to wife) he had turned away in great displeasure and malice unto her; he killed that son he had by her, in Cyprus, and sent unto the mother the head, hands and feet. Certain seditions were raised by the Triumvirs, Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus, and L. Carbo, who were created for the decision of land. Against whom P. Scipio Africanus made resistance: but being in perfect health, strong and lusty, he went home to his house as it might be to day, and was found dead in his bed-chamber the next morrow. His wife Sempronia was deetly suspected to have given him a cup of poyson: & h reupon especially, because she was sister to the Gracchi, between whom and Africanus there was grudge and enmity: Howbeit, there was no question and streight enquiry made how he came to his death. When his head was once laid, the Triumviral seditions before said, brake forth into a light and hot fire. C. Sempronius the Consul fought against the Iapidæ, first unfortunatly. But soon after he made amends for that loss received, with a victory atchieved by the special valor of C. Iunius Brutus, the same man who before had conquered Portugal.

Of

Of the LX. Book.

A Urelius the *Consul* subdued the Sardians. Fulvius Flaccus *was the first man that* vanquished in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being sent to aid the Massilians against the French Salyes, who lay sore upon the borders of the Massilians, and spoiled them. Lucius Opimius the Prætor received under his subjection the Eregellans who had revolted, and destroyed the Town Fregellæ. Here is reported a pestilence in Africk, by an exceeding multitude of locusts, killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A survey was taken of the City by the Consors, wherein were numbred 390736 its inest. C. Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, a Tribune of the Commons, but of the train more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among the rest, one as touching grain, namely, that the Commons should be served in the market, at the rate of one half, and a third part of * Asse, a Modius; another concerning division of lands, the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senators) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senat: and for as much as in these dayes, there were but 300 Senators, those 600 Gentlemen should be entermingled with, the said three hundred; that is to say, that the order of Gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having continued his Tribunship another year, by proposing still the Agrarian laws, prevailed, that many Colonies more should be planted in Italy, and one besides, upon the very plot of ground where Carthage lately destroied, had stood: and there himself (chosen Triumvir therefore) erected a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Q. Metellus against those Baleare Islands, which the Greeks call Gymnesiæ, because the people go naked all the Summer time. But Baleares they be named either of * flinging darts, or of Baleus the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there at what time, as he sailed to Geryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatra slew both her husband Demetrius and his son Seleucus; taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the diadem upon him.

* Ob.

* Βάλλω, a dart, and βάλλειν to fling.

Of the LXI. Book.

C Aius Sextius the *Pro-consul*, after he had conquered the nation of the Salyes, built the Colony Aquæ Sextiæ, so called of the plenteous abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hot and cold, and also of his own name. C. Comitius the *Pro-consul* fought fortunately against the * Allobroges, near the Town * Vindalium. The cause why he levied war against them was for that they had received and relieved by all means they could, Teutomalius the King of the * Salvii when he fled unto them, and had wasted also the territories of the * Hæduans, who were the allies of the people of Rome. C. Gracchus, after he had born his Tribunship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by L. Opimius the *Consul* (who by vertue of an act of Senat had put the people in arms) disseized of his hold and slain; and together with him Fulvius Flaccus a Consular man, his associat and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the *Consul*, and nephew of Paulus, won a field of the Allobroges, and Bituitus King of the Arverni. Of Bituitus his army were slain a hundred and twenty thousand. And when himself in person was gone to Rome to satisfy the Senat, he was committed toward in Alba, for that it seemed dangerous and hurtful to the peace, for to send him back again into France. Also there passed a decree, that Congentiatus his son should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobroges submitted and were received. L. Opimius being accused before the body of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certain citizens uncondemned, was acquit.

* Savoy, Schonerus, Damphinois, Morlans & others.

* Saint Sulge, Paradine, or Pierre Taillie, Scaligero.

* Salyes, Provençaux.

* Bregoignians.

Of the LXII. Book.

C Aius Marcius the *Consul* vanquished the Stonii, a people dwelling upon the Alpes, Micipsa, King of the Numidians died, and left the Kingdom unto his three sons, Adherbal, Hyempsal and Jugurtha his brothers son, whom he had adopted for his own child. L. Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha levied war upon Hyempsal his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him: Adherbal his third brother, he drove out of the realm, but by the Senat of Rome restored he was again. L. Cæcilius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the *Censors*, deprived 32 Senators of their place and dignity. Besides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syrian Kings.

Of the LXIII. Book.

C Aius Porcius the *Cos.* fought with the * Scordisci in Thracia, and lost the field. The Censors took a survey of the City: in which were enrolled 394336 pols of Roman citizens. Æmylia, Licinia, and Marcia, three vestal virgins were convicted and condemned for incest. The manner how this their foulness was committed, detected, judged, and punished, is here set down. The * Cimbrians, an huge and mighty nation, invaded Illyricum and put it to the wast: by whom Papirius Carbo the *Consul* was defeated, both he and his army. Livius Drusus the *Consul*, warred in Thrace upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gauls) and won much honour.

* Tigurini.

* Switzerland.

Of

Of the LXIV. Book.

A Dherbal *warred upon by* Jugurtha, *was within the City* Cirta *besieged*, and by him slain, notwithstanding the commandment of the Senat to the contrary. For which cause war was proclaimed against Jugurtha himself. Calphurnius Bestia had the commission and charge to manage this war: who made peace with Jugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senat. Jugurtha being cited and called forth under safe conduct, to appeach and bewray the authors of his plots and designs, for that the voice went, that he had bribed and corrupted with sums of money many of the Senat, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and jeopardy for a murder committed upon the person of a certain Prince, called Massiva (who seeing him to be hated of the Romans, sought for his kingdom) whom he slew at Rome. Being commanded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he secretly fled, and as he departed from the City uttered (by report) these words, O corrupt City and set to sale; how soon will it perish, if it may meet with a chapman? A. Posthumius a Lieutenant General, after he had likewise fought an unfortunate battell against Jugurtha, amended the matter full well by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senat judged no: meet to be observed and kept.

Of the LXV. Book.

Q Uintus Cæcilius Metellus the *Cos.* in two battels discomfited Jugurtha and over-ran all Numidia. M. Jun. Syllanus the *Cos.* sped unluckily in a battell fought against the Cimbrians: whose embassadors demanding of the Senat a place of habitation and lands to occupy, were denied. M. Minutius Pro-*Cos.* had good success in fight against the * Thracians. L. Cassius the *Cos.* together with his host, was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobrogians by the French Tigurins, a country of the * Helvetians, who had divided themselves and were departed from the rest of the State. The souldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for safety of their lives, to put in pledges for to part with the one moity of all that ever they had unto them.

* Of Zurich.

* Switzers.

Of the LXVI. Book.

J Ugurtha *driven out of* Numidia *by* C. Martius, *had the help and aid of* Bocchus *King of the Moors*; but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battell, and himself unwilling to maintain the war any longer (so unfortunately begun) Jugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius. In which exploit the service of L. Cornelius Sylla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVII. Book.

A Urelius Scaurus lieutenant to the *Cos.* was with his army overthrown by the Cimbrians, and himself taken prisoner. When by them he was called forth to councill (at what time as they intended a voyage into Italy) in which he seemed to fright them for passing over the Alps, saying, That the Romans might not possibly be overcome; he was by Bolus their K. a proud and fierce prince, killed. At the same enmies hands Cn. Manlius *Cos.* and Q. Serv. Cæpio, Pro-*consul* received an overthrow in the field and lost both their camps. Slain there were 80000 souldiers of porters, scullions, saunders, and such followers of the camp besides 40000. By the verdict and censure of the people of Rome Cæpio (through whose wilfulness this los and overthrow hapned) was condemned: and he was the first after K. Tarquin whose goods were confiscat; and finally, deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of C. Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in prison. Marius entred not the Senat, with his triumphant mantell of estates, which never any man before him had done, and for fear of the Cimbrians war he continued in his Magistracy many years together. To his second and third Consulship he was chosen * absent, and he attained to be Consul the fourth time: which he gaped for, albeit he dissembled the contrary. C. Domitius was by the suffrages of the people created the chief Pontifex. The Cimbrians having laid waste all the parts about the river Rhodanus and the mountain Pyrenæus, passed over into Spain through the streights: where after they had spoiled many places, they were by the Celtiberians chased away: and being returned into France, they joyned with the * Teutons, a warlike nation.

* Notwithstanding a law to the contrary.

* The Dutch or Easterlings.

Of the LXVIII.

M Arcus Antonius the *Prætor* persecuted the rovers at sea, and chased them as far as into Cilicia. C. Manlius the *Consul* manfully defended the camp, assailed with all most forcible means by the Theutons and * Ambrones. Afterwards in two battels one after another about * Aquæ Sextiæ, he utterly defeated those enemies: where (by report) were slain 200000, and 90000 taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created *Consul* now the fifth time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he deferred and put it off, until he had made full and finall conquest also of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drave from the Alps Q. Catulus the *Pro-consul*, who had beset the narrow gullet of the Alps, and kept a Castle highly mounted over the river Athesis, which he now abandoned: and when by their valour they had cleared the passage, they pursued the *Pro-consul* with his army, and past over into Italy, where in battell they were overthrown by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had joyned their forces together: In which (they say) 140000 men were slain, and 60000 taken prisoners. Marius was honourably received at his return with a generall accord of the whole City: and whereas two triumphs were offered unto him, he was content with one. The principal peers and nobles of the City, who along time before had envied him as a man newly start up risen, and advanced to so great honours, confessed now that the common-weal by him was preserved. Publicius Metellus for murdering his own mother, was the first man sowed up in a leather bag and so thrown into the sea. Here is recorded how the sacred shields Ancilia stirred of themselves with a great rushing noise before the Cimbrians war was finished. Finally this book comprehendeth the wars between the two Kings of Syria.

* Amerlanders.

* Aix. Polo.

Of the LXIX. Book.

CNeus Apuleius Saturninus, *by the help of* C. Marius, *and by occasion that* A. Nonius *his competitor and concurrent was by his souldiers slain, was by forcible means created Tribune of the commons, and bare the Tribuneship as violently as he got it. And when he had proposed an Agrary law and passed it by force, he arrested* Metellus Numidicus *to answer at a day, for that he had not subscribed and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the Citizens of the better sort, because he would give no occasion of unseemly debates and evill contentions, went in voluntary exile to* Rhodes: *and there he employed his time in reading of books, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed,* C. Marius *the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a larges of money scambled amongst the tribes, proclaimed him as excommunicat and interdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same* Apuleius Saturninus, *Tribune of the commons, slew* C. Memmius *in his white gown standing to be Cos. for that he feared him above all others to cross his proceedings: whereupon the Senat was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of* C. Memmius: *and when* C. Marius *a man by nature mutable and in his counsell variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the hedge and to band with the mightier, was not able to bear him out and protect him, the said* Saturninus *together with* Glaucia *the Prator and other his complices in that outrage, was slain by one* Rabirius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus *was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City.* Manius Aquilius *the Pro-cos. dispatched and ended the slaves-war raised in* Sicily.

* Numius.

Of the LXX. Book.

WHen Manius Aquilius *should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he would not himself intreat and crave the favour of the Jury. But* M. Antonius *his advocate, who pleaded for him at the bar, slit his coat down along his breast, to shew the honourable scars received in the forepart of his body: which being by the Judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquit him. Of this thing* Cicero *is the only author.* Didius *the Pro-cos. managed his wars against the Celtiberians happily.* Ptolomæus *K. of* Cyrenæ, *surnamed* Apion, *when he died, left the people of* Rome *his heir: and the Senat ordained that the cities of his realm should be free.* Ariobarzanes *was restored to his kingdom of* Cappadocia, *by* L. Cornelius Sylla. *The Parthian embassadors sent from their K.* Arsaces *came unto* Sylla, *to treat and sue for amity with the people of* Rome. P. Rutilius *a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who (being lieutenant under* L. Mucius *the Pro-cos.) had defended* Asia *from the wrongfull dealings of the Publicans or common farmers (being odious to the order of knighthood or gentlemen of* Rome, *who now as Judges had the jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished.* C. Geminus *the Prator fought untowardly against the Thracians. The Senat would no longer abide the unrulines and wilfull abuses committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and translate their prerogative again to themselves: in which enterprise* M. Livius Drusus *a Tribune of the commons stood in their behalf: who to gain more strength to the cause, raised the commons by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a larges. Moreover in this book are comprised the stirs and troubles of the Kings in* Syria.

Of the LXXI. Book.

MArcus Livius Drusus, *a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senats cause, which he had undertaken, solliciting the allies and the nations of* Italy, *upon hope to be enfranchised citizens of* Rome: *by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian laws, he obtained also the foresaid law* Judicialis, *in this manner. That all judgments should pass indifferently and equally by Senat and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedome of* Rome *promised to the allies could not be compassed and performed; the Italians in a chafe and heat of choler began to complot how to revolt: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and orations delivered in the assemblies and diets of their Princes, are in this book reported: In regard whereof,* Livius Drusus *became hatefull even to the Senat, as the author of a sociall war, and in his own house was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.*

Of the LXXII. Book.

THe Italian states revolt, namely, the Picents, Vestins, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucins, Lucans, and Samnits. The Picents first entred into arms and began the war. Quintus Servilius *the Pro-cos. was slain in* Asculum, *together with all the Roman citizens which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of* Rome *put on arms and souldiers coats.* Servius Galba *being surprised by the Lucans, escaped captivity by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging.* Esernia *and* Alba, *two Colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, here are reported the aids of the Latines and other forrain nations sent unto the people of* Rome: *moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.*

Of the LXXIII. Book.

LUcius Cæsar *the Cos. in a battell against the Samnits went down and had the worse.* Nola *the colony fell into the hands of the Samnits, together with* L. Posthumius *the Prator, who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies, for that* P. Rutilius *the Consul had fought with loss against the Marsians, and lost his life in the battell.* C. Marius *his lieutenant had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and upshot.* Servius Sulpitius *vanquished the Pelignians.* Q. Cæpio, *another lieutenant of* Rutilius, *who having been by the enemies besieged, had sallied forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good success he was made equall in government and command with* C. Marius. *But hereupon he grew to be too rash, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies was slain, and the army defeated.* L. Cæsar *the Consul won a field of the Samnits: for which victory the souldiers coats were laid off again at* Rome. *Yet because the fortune of the field would shew her self variable, the colony* Esernia

nia, together with M. Marcellus, *was taken by the Samnits. On the other side,* Marius *in a battel vanquished the Marsians, and slew* Hermius Asinius *the Prator of the Marrucins.* C. Cæcilius *overcame the* Salvii *that rebelled in that Province of* Gaul *beyond the* Alps.

Of the LXXIV. Book.

CNeus Pompeius *discomfited the Picents in battell and held them besieged: for which victory the embroidered purple robes, with other ornaments and badges of the Magistrats were taken up again and put on.* C. Marius *fought against the Marsians with doubtfull event. The Libertins then and never before, began to serve in the wars.* Aurel. Plotius *the lieutenant, in a battell overcame the Umbrians: likewise* L. Porcius *the Prator vanquished the Marsians, when as both these nations had rebelled.* Nicomedes *was placed again in the kingdom of* Bithynia, *and* Ariobazanes *of* Cappadocia. Cn. Pompeius *the Cos. overthrew the Marsians in a pitcht field. When the City was deeply engaged and plunged in debt;* A. Sempronius Asellus *the Prator, because he gave sentence respectively in the favour of the debtors, was slain in the market-place by their creditors the Usurers. Moreover, this book relateth the inrodes and invasions of the Thracians into* Macedony, *together with their wasting of those parts.*

Of the LXXV. Book.

AUl. Posthumius Albinus *a lieutenant General, being Admiral of the fleet, was upon an infamous imputation of betraying his souldiers massacred by his own army.* L. Corn. Sylla, *a lieutenant, overthrew the Samnits in fight, and won two camps of theirs.* Cn. Pompeius *received the Vestins upon their submission.* L. Porcius *the Cos. after fortunate success in battell, and that he had sundry times discomfited the Samnits, as he assied to force their camp lost his life; which accident gave away the victory of that battell to the enemy.* Cosconius *and* Luceius *overcame the Samnits in battell, slew* Marius Egnatius, *a most noble and renowned commander of the enemies, and had many of their towns surrendred up into their hands.* L. Sylla *tamed the Hirpins, and defeated the Samnits in many battels; and certain States submitted unto him: who having atchieved so worthy and brave exploits before his Consulship (as seldome any other man besides, he like) repaired to* Rome *for to sue to be Consul.*

Of the LXXVI. Book.

AUlus Gabinius *a lieutenant, having fought fortunatly against the Lucans, and won from them many towns: as he laid siege to the enemies leaguer, was cut off and slain.* Sulpitius *in quality of lieutenant had the execution of the Marrucins, and the surrender of that whole nation.* Cn. Pompeius *the Pro-Consul took the submission of the Vestins and Pelignians. The Marsians likewise having been in certain battels quelled by* L. Muræna, *and* Cæcilius Pinna *lieutenants, craved peace.* Asculum *was won by* Cn. Pompeius: *and the Italian people by* Mamercus Æmylius *the lieutenant were put to the sword.* Silo Popedius, *General of the Marsians, and the author of the villany, was slain in battell.* Ariobarzanes *of* Cappadocia, *and* Nicomedes *of* Bithynia *were driven both out of their kingdoms by* Mithridates *King of* Pontus. *Last of all, this book discourseth of the incursions and spoil that the Thracians made in* Macedony.

Of the LXXVII. Book.

WHen P. Sulpitius *a Tribune of the Commons, by the advice and instigation of* C. Marius *had promulged certain pernicious laws. That the banished should be restored, and new Citizens together with Libertins be sorted into Tribes: also that* Marius *should be chosen General against* Mithridates *King of* Pontus: *and when he offered violence against* Q. Pompeius *and* L. Sylla *the Consuls, who contradicted his proceedings: and had slain the son of* Pompeius *the Consul, who had married* Sylla *daughter: then* L. Sylla *Consul entred* Rome *with an army, and within the very City fought against the adverse side of* Sulpitius *and* Marius, *and drave them forth: of which faction twelve were by the Senat judged enemies, and amongst them* C. Marius *both father and son. As for* P. Sulpitius, *when he lurked in a certain farm-house of the country, was bewraied and betraied by his own bond-servant: and so pulled forth from thence and killed. The slave, because he might seem to be rewarded for revealing his Master according to promise, was manumised and set free: but for his wicked treachery in betraying his own Master, he was thrown down the rock* Tarpeia. C. Marius *the son crossed the seas into* Africk. C. Marius *the father lay hidden amongst the marshes of the Minturnians, and was plucked out from thence by the townsmen: and when a certain bondslave, and a Frenchman born, was sent to kill him, he was so affrighted at the Majesty and countenance of so brave a man, that he went back, and would not do the feat: whereupon* Marius *was embarked at the charges of the City, and carried into* Affrick. L. Sylla *reformed the State of the City, and drew out from thence inhabitants to people the Colonies.* Q. Pompeius *the Cos. took his journey to receive the army of* Cn. Pompeius *the Cos. and by his counsell was slain.* Mithridates, *King of* Pontus *seized upon* Bithynia *and* Cappadocia; *drave out* Aquilius *the lieutenant, and with a mighty army invaded* Phrygia *the Province of the people of* Rome.

Of the LXXVIII. Book.

MIthridates *held* Asia *with his garrisons: he cast into prison* Q. Oppius *the Pro-Consul, and likewise* Aquilius *the lieutenant. Also by his commandment, all the Roman Citizens to be found in* Asia *were in one day massacred. The City* Rhodes, *which only continued true and kept allegeance, he assailed, but being in certain battels at sea overcome, he gave over and retired.* Archelaus *a chief governor and commander under the King, entred* Greece *with an army, seized upon* Athens *and held it. Moreover, this book containeth the fearfull troubles of certain Cities and Islands: whiles the Inhabitants endeavoured to draw their States, some to side with the King, others, to take part with the Romans.*

Of the LXXIX. Book.

LUcius Cornelius Cinna, *at what time as by force and arms he published dangerous laws, was thereupon by his Collegue* Cn. Octavius, *driven out of the City with six Tribunes of the commons besides: and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of* Ap. Claudius *his army by corruption: and joyning with* C. Marius *and other banished persons, out of* Affrick *he marcheth in warlike manner against the City of* Rome. *In which war, it fortuned that two brethren, the one of* Pompeius *his army, and the other of* Cinnas, *encountred in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conquerour was in disarming and spoiling him whom he had slain, he saw what he had done, and took knowledge on it was his brother: whereupon he fell into an exceeding pitious fit of wailing and lamentation: made a funerall fire for his brothers corps, stabbed himself through thereupon, and in the same fire was burnt and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these civill wars might have been suppressed in the beginning, such was the fraudulent dealing of* Cn. Pompeius, *who seeming to maintain both parts, gave strength to* Cinna, *and set not to his helping hand before that the Nobles side went down; such also was the faintness and coldness of the Consul, that* Cinna *and* Marius *took heart and grew strong: and so with four armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of* Q. Sertorius *and* C. Carbo, *they invested the City of* Rome. Marius *won by force the Colony* Ostia, *and most cruelly ransacked it.*

Of the LXXX. Book.

THe Italian nations were by the Senat enfranchised, and obtained the freedom of Rome. *The Samnits who only continued in arms banded again with* Cinna *and* Marius. *By them was* Plancius *slain and his army defeated.* Cinna *and* Marius *together with* Carbo *and* Sertorius *were possessed of* Janiculum, *and being discomfited and repelled by* Octavius *the Consul, retired and departed.* Marius *spoiled and laid desolate* Antium, Aricia, *and* Lavinium *three Colonies. When as now the nobility and Lords of the Senat had no hopes at all left to withstand the contrary faction, by reason of the cowardice and treachery as well of souldiers as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or else went over to the adverse part; Cinna and* Marius *were received into* Rome: *who as if it had been an enemy City forced by assault, made havock of all with sacking and massacres. In this garboil* Cn. Octavius *the Consul lost his life, and all the nobility of the other side were murdered: and among the rest,* M. Antonius *a most eloquent Orator, and* C. Cæsar: *whose heads were set upon the Pulpit* Rostra, *Young* Crassus *the son was by the horsemen of* Fimbria *killed: and* Crassus *the father, because he would not endure any indignity unworthy his vertue, fell upon his own sword. Without any assembly or election as all* L. Cinna *and* C. Marius *declared themselves Consuls for the next year: and the same day wherein they entred into their Magistracy,* Marius *caused* Sex. Licinius *a Senator to be thrown down the rock* Tarpeia: *and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of* January, *he departed out of this world: a man whose vices (if they were weighed together with his vertues) hardly could it be determined, whether he were in war a better souldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commonweal which he in his armour saved, the same in his long gown he overthrew, first, with all manner of cousinage and deceit; and last, by plain hostility and force of arms.*

Of the LXXXI. Book.

LUcius Sylla *straightly beleaguered* Athens, *which* Archelaus *a governour under King* Mithridates *held with a garrison: and after much toil and labour won it. To the City he granted their liberty again, and restored unto the Citizens all that was their own.* Magnesia *the only City in* Asia *that remained true and loyall was most valiantly defended against* Mithridates. *Over and besides, here ye shall read the exploits performed by the Thracians in* Macedony.

Of the LXXXII. Book.

SYlla *vanquished in battel the power of King* Mithridates, *which having kept* Macedony *in obedience, was now come into* Thracia. *He slew one hundred thousand enemies, and was Master of the Camp. Afterwards, when the war was renewed, he discomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army.* Archelaus *together with the Kings fleet yielded to* Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus *the Consul and companion in government with* Cinna, *being sent to succeed* Sylla, *was (for his covetousness) so odious unto his army, that he was slain by* C. Fimbria *his own lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person: and so the conduct and command of the army was translated to* Fimbria. *Moreover, here it is recorded what Cities in* Asia Mithridates *won: how cruelly he spoiled and vexed the Province; and how the Thracians made rodes and invasions into* Macedony.

Of the LXXXIII. Book.

CAius Fimbria *after he had discomfited certain forces of* Mithridates *won the City* Pergamus, *besieged the King there, and missed but a little of taking him prisoner. The City* Ilion, *which stood on and reserved it self to the behoof and devotion of* Sylla, *he forced and destroyed, and the greatest part of* Asia *he recovered.* Sylla *in many battels defeated the Thracians. When* L. Cinna *and* C. Papyrius Carbo *who for two years together were Consuls of their own making) prepared war against* Sylla; *by the means of* L. Valerius Flaccus *the President of the Senat (who made an Oration in the Councill-house) and those who loved concord and sought for amity, effected it was in the end, that Embassadors should be sent unto* Sylla *to treat about a peace.* Cinna *was murdered by his own souldiers, whom he forced against their will to be imbarked and to take a voyage against* Sylla: *by which occasion* Carbo *alone bare the Consulship.* Sylla *being passed over into* Asia, *made peace with* Mithridates *upon this capitulation, That the King should quit these Provinces, namely,* Asia, Bithynia, *and* Cappadocia. Fimbria *being forsaken of his own army, which revolted unto* Sylla, *gave himself a sore wound, and yielding his neck unto his own bondslave, obtained this favour at his hands, as to dispatch him out right.*

Of

Of the LXXXIV. Book.

SYlla *returned this answer unto the Embassadors sent unto him from the Senat, That he would be ordered by them, in case these Citizens who (upon the hard usage of* Cinna) *fled unto him, might be restored. The Senat thought this a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of* Carbo *and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, there ensued no agreement and accord. The same* Carbo *when he was minded to exact hostages of all the towns and colonies of Italy, thereby to bind them upon their allegeance against* Sylla, *was by a generall consent of the Senat crossed and inhibited. The new enfranchised Citizens, by vertue of an act by the Senat granted, were allowed the priviledges of their suffrages and voices.* Q. Metellus Pius, *who had sided with the nobility, whiles he levied war in* Affrick, *was by* C. Fabius *the Prætor discomfited: and by the faction of* Carbo *and those that followed the part of* Marius, *an act of Senat passed, That all armies and forces whereso-ever should be cassed and discharged. The Libertins were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirty tribes. Besides all this, here is specified the preparation of war which was raised against* Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. Book.

SYlla *crossed the seas with an army over into* Italy: *and when those Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul* C. Norbanus *evill entreated, he overcame the said* Norbanus *in a battell. And when he was about to assail the camp of* L. Scipio *the other Consul, with whom he had travelled and assayed all means to conclude peace, and could not compass it: the whole army of the Consul in generall, being solicited by souldiers whom* Sylla *had sent out under-hand to that purpose, turned their ensigns unto him, and followed his standard.* Scipio, *when he might have been killed was let go.* Cn. Pompeius, *the son of that* Cneus *who won* Asculum, *enrolled an army of voluntaries, and came unto* Sylla *with three legions: unto whom also the nobility all and whole vanged themselves; so as abandoning the City they repaired to the camp. Finally, in this book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides throughout all* Italy.

Of the LXXXVI. Book.

THat *year wherein* C. Marius (*the son of* C. Marius) *was by forcible means and strong hand created Consul before he was twenty years of age:* C. Fabius *in* Affrick *was burnt quick in his own pavilion for his bloody cruelty and greedy avarice.* L. Philippus, *lieutenant unto* Sylla, *seized* Sardinia, *after he had discomfited and slain* Q. Antonius *the Prætor.* Sylla *contracted a league with the States of Italy, to put them out of fear that he would not bereave them of their freedom of* Rome *and liberty of suffrages lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (that he had already) of undoubted victory, he commanded all those that were in suite and resorted unto him for jurisdiction, to adjourn their appearance in Court, and to appear at* Rome. *Whiles the City yet was divided and distracted two ways,* L. Damasippus *the Prætor, having according to the will and pleasure of* C. Marius *the Consul gathered the Senat together, massacred all the nobility of the City. Out of which number* Q. Mutius Scævola *the arch-Pontifie, as he fled, was in the very porch and entry of* Vestans *Temple murdered. Besides, this book containeth the war renewed by* L. Murena *against* Mithridates *in* Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. Book.

SYlla *after he had discomfited and overthrown the army of* C. Marius, *near a place called* Sacriportus, *besieged him within the town* Prænestè. *The City of* Rome *he recovered out of the hands of his enemies: and when* Marius *made an offer to sally forth, he repelled him. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits atchieved by his lieutenants, with the like fortune of that side in all places.*

Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

SYlla *after that he had defeated and put to the sword the army of* Carbo *at* Clusium, Faventia, *and* Fidentia, *chased him forth of* Italy. *With the Samnits, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down arms, he fought one finall battell, and vanquished them neer the City of* Rome, *even before the gate* Collina: *and thus having recovered and got into his hand the absolute managing of the state, he polluted and stain'd this most goodly and beautifull victory with the foulest cruelty that ever man committed. He cut the throats of* 8000 *in the great hostility called* Villa Publica, *even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the table of proscription and outlawry. The City of* Rome *and all* Italy *throughout filled with massacres. Among the rest he caused all the Prænestins, disarmed as they were, to be slain.* Marius, *a Senator by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes.* C. Marius *besieged within* Prænestè *by* Lucretius Asella *and that side with* Sylla; *when he sought means of evasion by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was environed by the army, slew himself within the said mine: for perceiving that he could not escape, he and* Pontius Telesinus, *that accompanied him in this flight, ran one at the other with their drawn naked swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindness at his slaves hands as to make an end of him quite.*

Of the LXXXIX. Book.

LUcius Brutus *sent from* Cn. Papyrius Carbo, *who was arrived at* Corcyra *in a fisher boat to* Lilybæum, *in espiall to see whether* Pompey *were there: being compassed and hemmed in round about by those vessels which* Pompey *had sent out, turned his swords point to his body, and set the pommell against a seat within the boat and so bending forward with the poise of his body was pierced through and died.* Cn. Pompeius *sent by the Senat with full commission of rule and command took* Cn. Carbo *prisoner, who was arrived in the Islands* Cossura, *and slew him, who kept a puling and weeping, like a woman, when he should die.* Sylla *became Dictator, and that which never any man had done besides him, kept his port abroad with 24 Ushers or Lictors going before him with their rods and axes. He altered the State,*

and in that innovation established it. The Tribunes of the Commons he abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and establish laws. The Colledg of the Pontifies and Augurs he amplified and augmented, to the number of 15. The body of the Senat he supplied out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of those whom he had proscribed and outlawed he disabled for being elegible to any honourable office, and of their goods made port-sale, whereof at first he seized much by violence and had it away. A mighty mass of money he raised thereof, amounting to * a hundred and fifty millions of Sesterces. He commanded Q. Lucretius Ofellas to be killed in the very Forum of Rome, for that he presumed without his leave and licence to sue for a Consulship: and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignity, he assembled them to a publike audience, and before them avowed the fact and took it upon him. Cn. Pompeius in Affrick vanquished and slew in battell Cn. Domitius, one of the proscript outlaws: and Hiarbas King of the Numidians, who prepared to levy war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better as yet than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Affrick. C. Norbanus, a man who had been Consul, and now proscript and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Mutius likewise one of them that were outlawed and out of protection, being come privily disguised with his head covered to the back door of Bastia his wives house, was not let in, for that she said he was an outlaw: whereupon he took the stab at his own hands, and with his own heart blood besprinkled the door of his wives house. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Samnium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongst them. He besieged the town Volaterræ, which yet stood out and bare arms, and at length upon surrender got it. Mitylenæ also, the only City in Asia, (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was fired and rased down to the ground.

* 471750 lib.

Of the XC. Book.

Sylla departed this life, and this honour was done unto him by the Senat, that he was enterred in Mars field. M. Lepidus going about to cancell and abolish the acts of Sylla, raised new war: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italy: and when he prepared to wage war (but to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished and came to his death. M. Brutus who held * Lumbardy, was by Cn. Pompeius slain. Q. Sertorius, another proscript out-law, levied a great war in the netherlands of Spain. Lucius Manlius the Pro-Consul, and M. Domitius a lieutenant, were in fight overcome by Herculeius the treasurer. Moreover, this book containeth the acts performed by P. Servilius the Pro-Consul against the Cilicians.

* Cisalpine Gallia.

Of the XCI. Book.

Cneus Pompeius, being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was sent with full commission of Consular command against Sertorius. Certain Cities had Sertorius won by assault, and brought under many States to be at his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Pro-Consul overcame the Thracians in divers and sundry battels. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul defeated and slew L. Hirculeius the treasurer of Sertorius, with all his army.

Of the XCII. Book.

Cneus Pompeius hitherto fought with Sertorius in doubtful event, so as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overthrew in fight Metellus and Perpenna with two armies. Pompeius desirous to carry away his part in that victory, entred into the field, but made no saving game of it. Afterward Sertorius was besieged within Calagurium, but by daily and continuall sallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in siege within as good as they brought. Over and besides, herein are contained the deeds atchieved by Curio the Pro-Consul in Thrace against those Dardantans, together with sundry cruel and bloudy parts plaied by Q. Sertorius, even with those of his own side. For many of his own friends, and such as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treason pretended against them, he put to death.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Publius Servilius, the Pro-Consul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and won certain towns of the Pirats. Nicomedes King of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his full heir, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province. Mithridates contracted a league with Sertorius, and waged war against the people of Rome. Herein is shewed the great preparation of war that the King made as well by land as sea, and how he seized upon Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta the Consul was in battell vanquished by the King at Chalcedon. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus against Sertorius, who in all warlike feats and martiall prowess was equall unto them, whom also he raised from the siege before the town Calagurium, and compelled to go into divers countries, Pompeius into the farther Province of Spain, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Plutarch otherwise in Sertorius.

Of the XCIIII. Book.

Lucius Lucullus the Consul fought against Mithridates, and in horse-service had the better hand of him. Certain rodes he made with good successe; and when his souldiers called hard upon him for battell he staid them from mutiny. Deiotarus, a tetrarch of Gallogræcia, defeated the captains of K. Mithridates who levied war in Phrygia. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate atchievements of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

Of the XCV. Book.

Caius Curio the Pro-Consul vanquished and subdued the Dardanians in Thrace. Threescore and fourteen sword-plaiers of Capua fled out of the fense-school of Lentulus at Capua: who having gathered together a number of slaves, and hired hinds, raised war under the leading of Chrysus and Spartacus,

tacus, and vanquished in plain field, Cl. Pulcher a lieutenant, and P. Vatinius the Prætor. L. Lucullus the Pro-Consul with the famine and the sword together tamed and subdued the host of Mithridates at the City Cizicus: and when they had chased him out of Bithynia, after many overthrows in war, and misfortunes of shipwrack at sea, wherewith his heart was quailed, he compelled him to flie into Pontus.

Of the XCVI. Book.

Quintus Arrius the Prætor defeated and slew Chrysus the captain of the fugitives, and with him 20000 men. Caius Lentulus the Consul received a foil and overthrow at the hands of Spartacus. He also overcame in fight Lu. Gellius the Consul and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a banket slain by Manius Antonius and M. Perpenna with other conspirators in the eight year of his dukedom. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he saved his own, but more often he went away winner, howbeit, in the end he was abandoned and betraied. The soveraign command of that side was made over to Marcus [Perpenna,] whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished, took prisoner and slew: so about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered Spain. C. Cassius the Pro-Consul, and Cneus Manlius the Prætor were foiled by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Crassus the Prætor.

Of the XCVII. Book.

Marcus Crassus the Prætor first fought with a power of the fugitives aforesaid, consisting of Frenchmen and Germans, and won the better: for he slew 35000 enemies, and their captain Granicus. After that, he warred against Spartacus, killed him also and 40000 with him. Manius Antonius the Prætor maintained war unfortunately against the Cretensians, and by his death it took an end. M. Lucullus the Pro-Consul brought the Thracians under subjection. L. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battell of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above 60000 enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Coss. and as Crassus immediatly out of his Prætorship stepped to that dignity. So Pompey was of a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had born the office of Treasurer. They restored again the Tribunes power and authority. By the means of Aurelius Cotta, the preheminence of judges also was translated unto the Gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates, seeing his own estate lying in despair, fled unto Tigranes King of Armenia for succour.

Of the XCVIII. Book.

Machares the son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amity. Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius the Censors administred their office with great severity and rigour, and deposed 60 from Senators dignity: they also held a review and purged the City. Enrolled there were 450000 Citizens of Rome. L. Metellus Lord Prætor in Sicily fought fortunatly against the pyrats and rovers. The Temple of Jupiter in the Capitoll, which by fire had been consumed, was re-edified by Q. Catulus, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia discomfited in many battels Mithridates and Tigranes, with a mighty power of both Kings. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul having the charge of the war against the Candiots, besieged the City * Cydonia. C. Triarius, a lieutenant under Lucullus received a foil of Mithridates in fight. Lucullus was impeached and staid for pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes that he could not accomplish his victory by occasion of a mutiny among his own souldiers, who would not follow, because the Valerian legions forsook Lucullus, alledging that they had served their time fully out.

* Chania or Canea.

Of the XCIX. Book.

Quintus Metellus the Pro-Consul forced by assault Gnosos, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other Cities [in Crete] L. Roscius a Trib. of the Com. published a law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the 14 next seats in the scaffolds of the Theatre, so behold the games and plaies. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promulged unto the people for to pursue the rovers abovesaid, who had debarred and cut off all commerce for corn and victuals, within 74 daies rid the sea of them quite, and after the war with them finished in Cilicia, he received them upon submission, and gave them Cities and lands to possess. Moreover, this book containeth the worthy exploits of Q. Metellus against the Cretensians. The letters also of Metellus and Cn. Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus, complaineth that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to receive the surrender and homage of the Cities there, annulled and passed by the glory of those acts which he had atchieved. Pompeius again rendereth a reason thereof, and alledgeth that so he ought to do.

Of the C. Book.

Caius Manilius, a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding displeasure and indignation of the nobles, That the war against Mithridates should be assigned to Pompey. His speech to the people imported and was effectuall. Q. Metellus having subdued the Cretensians gave laws unto that Island which untill that time enjoyed freedom of State. Cn. Pompeius went his journey for to levy war against Mithridates, and with Phraates, King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battell performed in horse-service he overcame Mithridates. Also herein is contained the war, first between Phraates King of the Parthians, and Tigranes King of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.

Of

Of the CI. Book.

CNeus Pompeius *vanquished* Mithridates *in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flie to* * Bosphorus. *He received* Tigranes *upon his submission: and when he had taken from him* Syria, Phœnicia, *and* Cilicia, *he gave him again the kingdom of* Armenia. *Their conspiracy, who having been condemned for the inordinat and ambitious suit of the Consulship, were confedered to kill the Consuls, was surprised and dasht.* Cn. Pompeius *following the chase after* Mithridates, *entred into far remote countries and unknown nations. The* * *Iberians and Albans who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides, this book sheweth how* Mithridates *fled by* Colchii *and* Heniochi, *and what his acts were in* Bosphorus.

* Or *Bosporus.*

Of the CII. Book.

CN. Pompeius *reduced the realm of* Pontus *into the form of a Province.* Pharnaces *the son of* Mithridates *made war upon his own father, by whom* Mithridates *was besieged within his own royall Court and Palace. Whereupon he drank poison, and seeing it was not* * *effectuall and strong enough to dispatch him, he was killed by a French souldier, named* Bitœtus, *whose helping hand he requested for to rid him out of the world.* Cn. Pompeius *subdued the Jews: their famous Temple of* Jerusalem, *which unto all that day never had suffered abuse and violence, he forced and won.* Catiline, *by occasion that he had twice suffered a repulse in suing to be Consul, conspired together with* Lentulus *the Prætor,* Cethegus, *and many others, to massacre the Consuls and the Senat, to set the City on fire, and to subvert and overthrow the State of the Common-weal, and to this purpose had levied an army in* Tuscany. *This treason and conspiracy was by the industry of* M. Tullius Cicero *detected and found out.* Catiline *was banished the City. The rest of his complices and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.*

* He had so ordinarily used a poyable Antidote or preservative, against Mithridate, that the poyson would not work.

Of the CIII. Book.

CAtiline, *together with his army was by* C. Antonius *the Pro-Consul defeated and slain.* P. Clodius *was accused for entring (in the habit and apparel of a woman) that* * *Chappel which it was not lawfull for a man to go into, and notwithstanding he had committed adultery with the archpontifices wife, yet he was acquit and went clear away.* Cn. Pompeius *the Prætor vanquished at* Solone *the Allobroges, who had rebelled.* P. Clodius *left the nobility, and ranged himself with the Com.* C. Cæsar *subdued the Portugals. At what time as he was in election to be Cos. and went about to invade and make havock of the City, there arose a conspiracy among three of the most principal personages of the City,* Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus, *and* C. Cæsar. *The Agrarian laws were by* Cæsar *the Cos. published with great strife and contention: the Senat was unwilling thereunto: but by the other Cos.* M. Bibulus *they passed.* C. Antonius. *Pro-Consul in* Thracia, *sped but badly in his war-affairs.* M. Cicero. *was banished the City by vertue of an act promulged by* P. Clodius *Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens uncondemned.* Cæsar *made a voyage into the Province of* Gaul, *where he subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandring nation in those daies, who seeking a place to inhabit, intended through the Province of* Cæsar *to travell into* * Narbo. *Moreover, it containeth the situation of* France. Pompeius *triumphed over the children of* Mithridates, *also over* Tigranes *and his son, and by one voice and generall consent of the whole assembly was saluted by the name of* * Magnus.

* Of the goddess *Bona.*

* Narbone.

* Great.

Of the CIV. Book.

THe fore part of this book comprised the site and description, together with the manners of Germany, C. Cæsar *at what time as he led his army against the Germans, at the request of the Hæduans and Segusians, whose territory by them was possessed, and who under the conduct of* Ariovistus *were come down into* France, *by an Oration to his army staid the timorous disposition of the souldiers, which arose upon the fear they had of new and strange enemies, vanquished the Germans in plain fight, and drave them clean out of* France. M. Cicero, *by means of* Pompeius (*who among others made an Oration in his behalf*) *and of* T. Annius Milo, *a Tribune of the Commons, who likewise pleaded his cause, was with the exceeding joy of the Senat and all* Italy *called home from exile.* Cn. Pompeius *had commission for five year space, to look unto the provision of corn and victuals.* Cæsar *overcame in fight the Ambiani, Suessians, Viromanduans, Atrebates (nations all of the* Belgæ*) of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received them upon yielding to his protection. Afterwards he fought with passing great hazard and jeopardy against the* Nervii*, one of the foresaid States, and in fine utterly destroyed and extinguished their whole generation: for they had waged war so long, untill of 60000 armed men there remained but 300, and of 95 of their Noblemen three only escaped and no more. There passed a law for to reduce* Cyprus *into the form of a Province, and to confiscat the Kings treasure: by vertue whereof the managing of that affair was committed to* C. Cato. Ptolomæus *King of* Ægypt *suffered many wrongs and injuries at his own subjects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdom came to* Rome. C. Cæsar *in a battell at sea vanquished the Venetians, a State and City seated in the very Ocean. Last of all, it reporteth exploits by his Lieutenants performed with like good fortune.*

Of

Of the CV. Book.

AT what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the negative and inhibitions of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com. the Senat generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weeds. M. Cato *in his suite for a Prætorship suffered a repulse, and* Vatinius *was preferred before him. The same* Vatinius *when he would have impeached the law whereby were granted to the Cos. the Provinces for five years, unto* Pompey *the government of both* Spains, *unto* Cæsius Syria *and the Parthian war, and unto* Cæsar France *and* Germany, *was by* C. Trebonius *a Tibune of the Commons, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison.* M. Gabinius *the Pro-Consul established* Ptolomæus *again in the kingdom of* Ægypt, *and disseized* Archelaus *whom they had set up for their King.* Cæsar *after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in* France, *crossed over the* Rhene, *and subdued that part of* Germany *which is next thereto: which done, he sailed over into* Brittain *with much trouble and damage, by reason of the cross and contrary winds whiles he was at sea; and he sped little better when he was there: but after he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the Island.*

Of the CVI. Book.

IUlia *daughter to* Cæsar *and wife to* Pompeius *departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done unto her by the people, as to be enterred in* Mars field. *Many of the States of* France *revolted by the leading of* Ambiorix *a Duke of the Eburons, by whom* Cotta *and* T. Aurunculeius *the lieutenants of* Cæsar, *were by an ambuscado surprised and environed, and by meanes thereof they and the armies where of they had the conduct were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions also was besieged, assailed, and with difficulty defended, and among them* Q. Cicero, *who was Lord President of the Treviri: the enemies were by* Cæsar *himself in person overthrown in fight.* M. Crassus *intending to war upon the Parthians passed over the river* Euphrates, *and being vanquished in battell, wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken ends of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was trained forth by the enemies (whose Captain was* Surenas) *to a parley and treaty of peace, and thereupon attached: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany alive, he made resistance and in that struggling of his was slain, and there an end of him.*

Of the CVII. Book.

CAius Cæsar *having vanquished the Treviri in* Gaul, *passed over the second time into* Germany, *but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into* France, *where the Eburons and other Cities which had conspired, he overcame, put their K. Ambiorix to flight, and followed him in chase. The body of* P. Clodius *slain in the high way* Appia *near* Bovillæ *by* T. Annius Milo *a competitor of the Consulship; the Commons of* Rome *burnt in a funerall fire within the* Curia [Hostilia.] *By occasion of a seditious variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely,* Hypseus Scipio, *and* Milo, *who with force and armes tried the issue by the ears:* Cn. Pompeius *was sent out of the Senat to suppresse such enormous debates. Created Consul he was the third time in his absence, and (which prerogative no man ever had) alone without Collegue. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of* Pub. Clodius, *by vertue whereof* Milo *was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be banished. A bill was proposed, that* C. Cæsar *notwithstanding he was absent should be accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit* M. Cato *was unwilling thereto, and gainsaid it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike acts atchieved by* C. Cæsar *against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted) under the leading of* Vercingetorix *the Arvernian: also the pitifull sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of* * Avarium *in* * Bituriges, *and* * Gergovia *in* Auvergne.

* Bourges.
* In Berry.
* Clermont.

Of the CVIII. Book.

CAius Cæsar *vanquished the Gauls at* * Alexia, *and received all the Cities in* France *which had been in arms, into his protection upon their submission.* C. Cassius *the treasurer of* M. Crassus, *put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into* Syria: M. Cato *sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and* Ser. Sulpitius *with* M. Marcellus *were created Consuls:* C. Cæsar *subdued the* * Bellovaci, *with other States and Cities in* France. *Also it containeth the strife and debate between the Consuls about sending of a successor to* C. Cæsar. *For* M. Marcellus *the Consul was earnest in the Senat, that Cæsar should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that he by a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Last of all, the martiall deeds of* Mar. Bibulus *in* Syria *are here reported.*

* Bononiensis.

Of the CIX. Book.

THe causes of the civill war and their beginnings be here set down. The contentions likewise about A successor to be sent in lieu of Cæsar, who denied flatly to dismisse his armies, unlesse Pompey also discharged

charged his forces. Moreover, this book treateth of the actions preferred by C. Curio, a Tribune of the Commons, first against Cæsar, and afterwards for him. When there passed an act of the Senat, that one or other without fail should be employed to succeed Cæsar, M. Antonius and Qu. Cassius, two other Tribunes (for that by their negative and inhibitions they seemed to cross and stay that act) were expelled the City: and a commission was directed by the Senat to the Consuls, and to Cn. Pompeius, in this form, To see that the Common-weal sustained no damage. C. Cæsar intending to persecute his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Corfinius together with L. Domitius and L. Lentulus he took prisoners, and let them go again: but Cn. Pompeius, and the rest of that side he utterly chased forth of Italy.

Of the CX. Book.

CAius Cæsar besieged Massiles, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus at the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon submission Lu. Afranius and C. Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions at * Ilerda, and dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Varro also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obeisance. The Gaditans he enfranchised and gave the City unto. The Massilians after two overthrows in sea-fight, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Cæsar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Cæsar fought an unfortunat battel against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which war, the inhabitants of * Opitergium, beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Cæsar) seeing their ehained bridge of boats and lighters locked up and fast shut within the enemies ships, rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C. Curio, a lieutenant of Cæsar in Affrick, after he had fought against Varus a captain of the Pompeians, was together with his army defeated, and cut in peeces by Juba King of * Mauritania. C. Cæsar passed the seas over into Greece.

* Lerida.

Odarso.

* Barbary.

Of the CXI. Book.

CAius Cæcilius Rufus the Prator going about to raise commotions and seditions all that ever he could within the City, and having solicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debt-books, was first deposed from his Magistracy, and after driven out of the City. Then he banded with Milo a banished person, who had levied a power of fugitive outlaws: but both of them in this preparation of war came short of their purpose and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Ægypt was by her brother Ptolomæus expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the avarice and cruelty of Q. Catulus the Prator, the * Cordubians in Spain, together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cæsar and his side. Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Cæsar at Brundusium: but having won his sconces with the guards thereto belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was translated into Thessaly, he was at Pharsalia in a battel overthrown. There remained still within the camp Cicero, a man by nature framed for nothing more unfit than war. Cæsar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

* Cordova.

Of the CXII. Book.

HErein it related the fearful condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. Cn. Pompeius being arrived in Ægypt, by the commandment of Ptolomeus the King, as yet an infant under age; and perswasion of Theodorus his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other over-rule the K. most; also of one Photinus, was killed by the hands of Achilla, one who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Cornelia his wife, and Sextus Pompeius his son fled back into Cyprus. Cæsar three daies after the foresaid victory, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his head and signet of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and wept withall. He entred Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and hurliburly therein. Cæsar was created Dictator. He restored Cleopatra unto the kingdom of Ægypt: and when Ptolomæus made war by their advice and counsell who moved him to murder Pompeius, Cæsar vanquished him, with great pevill and hazard of himself. As Ptolomæus fled, his vessell wherein he was embarked ran a ground in Nilus, and there stuck fast. Besides, this book sheweth the painfull and toilsome journey of Marcus Cato with his legions, in Affrick through the desart wilderness: and the war which Cn. Domitius fortunatly managed against Pharnaces the Parthian King.

Of the CXIII. Book.

WHen the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Affrick, the soveraign command thereof was committed to P. Scipio: for Mato who before had equall power and commission with him gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was debated in counsell as touching the subversion and utter ruin of Utica, for that the City was so enclined and favourable to Cæsar: whiles M. Cato stood stifly in this point, that it should not be destroyed; and Juba [the K.] was earnest to have it raised: the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The son of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (the conduct and leading whereof, neither Afranius nor Petreius were willing to undertake) made fresh war upon Cæsar. Pharnaces King of Pontus and son of Mithridates, endured no time of war, but

but was soon overcome. At what time as P. Dolabella a Tribune of the com. raised seditions in Rome, by means of a law by him published in the behalf of bankrupts, That the old debts should be stricken off, and new order taken with the creditors: upon which occasion there ensued a commotion of the commons; M. Antonius, Gener all of the Cavalry, entred the City with a strength of souldiers; and eight hundred of the commons lost their lives. Cæsar discharged all his old souldiers, who in a mutiny demanded the same: and having sailed into Affrick, he fought against the power of K. Juba with exceeding great jeopardy.

Of the CXIV. Book.

CÆcilius Bassus a gentleman of Rome, and one of Pompeys side, levied war in Syria. Sextus Cæsar was both forsaken by the legion which revolted and went to Bassus, and also slain. Cæsar vanquished Scipio the Prator, Afranius, and Juba, near Tapsos, and forced their camp. Cato hearing thereof, wounded himself at Utica: and when his son came between and staid his hand, his hurt was dressed, but in the very cure, as the wound was newly lanced again, he yielded up his vital breath and died, in the 49 year of his age. Petreius killed Juba and himself. P. Scipio in his ship was beset round, and at his death, which he took manfully, he uttered a brave speech: for when the enemies made search and enquiry what was become of the General, The General (quoth he) is well. Faustus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son had his pardon. Brutus, a lieutenant of Cæsar vanquished the Bellovaci in France that rebelled.

Of the CXV. Book.

CÆsar rode in four triumphs over France, Ægypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemn feast he made, and exhibited unto the people shews of all sorts. Unto M. Marcellus a man of Consular dignity, at the request of the Senat he granted leave to returne: which Marcellus, could not enjoy the benefit of this grace and favour, by reason that he was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magius Chilo, his own client and vassall. Cæsar also held a review of the City, wherein were enrolled 150000 Citizens, whereas before there had been numbred 400000. See the calamity of civill war. He took a voyage into Spain against Sex. Pompeius: and after many rodes and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced, in the end he attained one finall victory for all before the City Munda, but with exceeding perill and danger. Sex. Sempeius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. Book.

CAius Cæsar triumphed a fift time over Spain. When many honours and those right excellent, were by the Senat ordained for him, and namely, among the rest, to be called Pater Patriæ; to be sacrosanct and inviolable; and withall to be Dictator for ever; he gave occasion to be envied and maliced; first in that, when the Senat bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as he sat before the Temple of Venus Genetrix, he rose not up nor did reverence unto them: second for that when Mar. Antonius the Cos. and his Collegue ran among the Luperci, he laid upon his ivory chair of estate the wreath or diadem which was by him set upon his head; thirdly, because he deprived from their authority Epidius Marullus and Cœsetius Flavus, two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into hatred, as if he affected and sought to be King. Upon these causes, a conspiracy was contrived against him, whereof the principall heads, were M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, and C. Cassius, also one of his own side D. Brutus: by whom he was massacred in the court of Pompeius, and received 23 wounds: and by these murderers was the Capitoll seized and held. But after that the Senat had passed a decree to forget this murder, the conspirators aforesaid, having received for their security the children of Antonius and Lepidus, as hostages, came down from the Capitol. By the last will and testament of Cæsar, C. Octavius (his sisters son) was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of Cæsar being brought into Mars field, was by the Com. burnt in a funeral fire before the Rostra. The honour and dignity of Dictatorship was for ever abolished. Chamaces a person of most vile and base condition, avowed himself to be the son of C. Marius: and whiles he raised a sedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII. Book.

CAius Octavius [illegible] out of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cæsar had sent him thither before, when he minded to [illegible] war in Macedony, where he was received with * good tokens and fortunat presages, and withall took upon him the name of Cæsar. In this confusion of state and tumultuous trouble of all things, Lepidus attained by stealth to the highest pontificall dignity. But when M. Antonius the Consul demeaned himself most lordly and proudly in his place, and by force published a law as touching the exchange of the Provinces; and withal offered much wrong and abuse to Cæsar, when he made request that he would assist and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his uncle: Cæsar, to the end that he might make both himself and the common-weal strong against him, raised and excited the old souldiers whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion also, and that called Martia, fell from Antonius and turned their ensigns to Cæsar. After this, more besides (by occasion that many through the cruelty of A. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) because they were once suspected, revolted from him and ranged to Cæsar. D. Brutus purposing to stop Antonius as he should pass into Lumbardy, seized upon Mutina with an army. Finally, this book declareth the running to and fro of those on both parts, to be possessed first of the Provinces. And the preparation for war.

* For as he entred the City, the circle of the sun gathered about it an Halo round like a rainbow or garland, even over his head.

Of

Of the CXVIII. Book.

MArcus Brutus *in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the state, and enterprising war against* Antonius) *possessed himself of the army whereof* Vetinius *had the conduct, together with the Province. Unto* Cæsar, *who first took arms in defence of the Common-wealth, the government and command of a Pro-Prætor was granted, with the Prætorian ornaments and ensigns thereto belonging, and withall, he had this addition to be reputed Pro-Prætor.* M. Antonius *besieged* D. Brutus *in* Mutina. *Certain Embassadors were sent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treaty and conclusion thereof. The people of* Rome *generally betook them to arms and souldiers habit.* Brutus *in* Epirus *subdued* C. Antonius *the Prætor together with his army.*

Of the CXIX. Book.

CNeus Trebonius *was by the guilfull practice of* P. Dolabella, *slain in* Asia: *for which fact* Dolabella *was by the Senat judged an enemy to the State. When* Pansa *the Cos. was at the point to lose the field against* Antonius, A. Hirtius *the other Cos. came with his army to the rescue, discomfited the forces of* M. Antonius, *and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equall. Afterwards,* Antonius *being vanquished by* Hirtius *and* Cæsar, *fled into* France, *and joyned unto him* M. Lepidus *with the legions which were under him. Both he and all they who were within his holds in garrison, were by the Senat attainted.* Aulus Hirtius, *who after his victory was slain within the camp of the enemies, and* L. Pansa, *who died of a wound receyved in an unfortunat fight, were both buried in* Mars *field. To* C. Cæsar *the only Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not so kind as they ought to have been: for having ordained that* D. Brutus (*who by* Cæsar *had been delivered from the siege at* Mutina) *should triumph, they made no thankfull remembrance of* Cæsar *and his souldiers, as was meet and requisite. For which discourtesies* C. Cæsar (*being reconciled to* M. Antonius *by the means and mediation of* M. Lepidus) *came to* Rome *with an army: and when they were sore dismaied at his coming, who had before intreated him so unkindly, created Consul he was* [*with* Q. Pœdius] *being but nineteen years of age, or not full twenty. for he wanted one day, as* Velleius Paterculus *saith.*

Of the CXX. Book.

CÆsar *now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them by whose means his father* Cæsar *was killed. and by vertue of that law,* M. Brutus, C. Cassius, *and* D. Brutus *were endited, attainted and condemned in their absence. When together with* M. Antonius, Asinius Pollio *also, and* Munatius Plancus *had joyned their arms, and thereby much strengthned and augmented their forces,* D. Brutus *whom the Senat had sent with commission to pursue* Antonius, *being now forlorn of his own legions and fled, was at the commandment of* Antonius (*into whose hands he fell*) *killed by one* Capenus *a Burgonian.* Caius Cæsar *contracted a peace with* Antonius *and* Lepidus, *wherein it was capitulated between them that those three should for five years have the soveraignty over all, only to set in order and establ sh the state of the common-weal: to wit, himself,* Lepidus, *and* Antonius, *and each of them proscribe and outlaw their own adversaries and enemies. In which proscription were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of* Rome, *and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongst the rest were* L. Paulus *the brother of* M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar *the uncle of* Antonius *by the Mother, and* M. Cicero, *slain by* Popilius *a legionary Soldier, in the 63 year of his age, whose head and hands was set upon the* Rostra. *Moreover, this book sheweth the deeds by* M. Brutus *atchieved in* Greece.

Of the CXXI. Book.

CAssius *who had in commission from the Senat, to pursue by force of arms* Dolabella, *judged an enemy to the Common-weal, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, possessed himself of* Syria, *and became Master of three armies which were in that Province. He besieged* Dolabella *within the City of* Laodicæa, *and put him to death.* C. Antonius *was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandment from* M. Brutus *slain.*

Of the CXXII. Book.

MArcus Brutus *had but bad success in fight against the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond-sea, and the armies, were under his hands and* Caius Cassius; *they complotted both together at* Smyrna, *what course to take for the future war.* Publicola *the brother of* M. Messala *they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.*

Of the CXXIII. Book.

SExtus Pompeius *the son of* Magnus, *assembled together out of* Epirus *a number of outlaws and banished persons, and having a long time with this army robbed only by way of pyracy, and seized as yet upon the possession of no piece upon the land, first seized* Messana, *a town in* Sicily, *and afterwards the*

whole Province. And after that A. Pompeius Bithynicus *the Prætor there, was by* Pompey *slain; he the said* Pompey *in a battell at sea vanquished* Q. Salvidienus, *a Lieutenant of* Cæsar. Cæsar *and* Antony *with their armies sailed over into* Greece, *with intent to wage war against* Brutus *and* Cassius. Quintius Cornificius *in* Affrick *overcame in plain fight* T. Sestius, *the Captain of the Cassian faction.*

Of the CXXIIII. Book.

CAius Cæsar *together with* Antony *fought at* Philippi *with variable fortune against* Brutus *and* Cassius, *in such sort, as the right points of both battels had the better, and each of them won the others camp. But the death of* Cassius *was it that turned the ballance and made the difference: who being in that point that retreated and went down supposed that the whole army and main battell was discomfited and so killed himself. In another conflict afterwards,* M. Brutus *also was overcome, and there ended his life: for he intreated* Strato (*that accompanied him in his flight*) *to set his sword point toward him, and so he ran upon it. The same did some forty more of the principall Romans: among whom was* Q. Hortensius *likewise slain.*

Of the CXXV. Book.

CAius Cæsar *Son of* Antony (*for to his share fell the Empire of some Provinces beyond Sea*) *and returned into* Italy. *He divided lands among his old souldiers. The mutinies of his own army by occasion that the souldiers were seduced by* Fulvia *the wife of* M. Antonius *and rose against their Generall, he repressed with exceeding danger and jeopardy:* L. Antonius *the Cos. and brother to* M. Antonius, *by the ungracious counsell and perswasion of the said* Fulvia, *made war upon* Cæsar: *and having procured those nations to side and take part with him, whose lands had been made over and assigned to the old souldiers aforesaid: and withall discomfited* M. Lepidus, *who with an army had the government and guard of the City, entred perforce by way of hostility into* Rome.

Of the CXXVI. Book.

CAius Cæsar *when he was but three and twenty years of age, besieged* L. Antonius *in the town* Perusia: *and when he made sundry offers to sally out and break forth, he repelled and chased him back, yea and for very hunger forced him to yield and come under his obeysance. As for* Antony *himself and all his souldiers he pardoned, but* Perusia *he raised and destroyed. Finally, after he had brought all the armies of the adverse side to submit and to stand to his mercy, he finished the war without effusion of any blood.*

Of the CXXVII. Book.

THe Parthians, *under the conduct of* Labienus, *who had taken part with* Pompey *and that side, invaded* Syria: *overcame* Didius Saxa, *the Lieutenant of* M. Antonius, *and held all that Prrovince to their own use.* M. Antonius *being solicited by the instigation of his wife* Fulvia *to make war against* Cæsar, *put her away, because she should be no let nor hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirat. Then made he a peace with* Cæsar, *and took to wife his sister* Octavia. Q. Salvidienus *who complotted mischief against* Cæsar, *he detected and bewrayed: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his own death.* P. Ventidius *a Lieutenant under* Antonius, *overcame the Parthians in battell, and chased them forth of* Syria, *having before slain their Leader* Labienus. *When as* Sextus Pompeius *held Sicily, and being a near enemy and ill neighbour to* Italy, *staid the transporting of corn and victuals by sea: upon request* Cæsar *and* Antony *made peace with him for this consideration, that he should govern* Sicily *as his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of* Affrick.

Of the CXXVIII.

WHhen Sext. Pompeius *infested the sea again with rovery, and piracy, and would not make good and maintain that peace, which he had accepted of* Cæsar, *he was forced upon necessity to undertake war against him, and in two naval battels fought with doubtfull event.* L. Ventidius *a Lieutenant of* M. Antonius, *vanquished the Parthians in* Syria *and slew their K. The Jews also were by* Antonies *Lieutenant subdued. Herein besides, is set down the preparation for the Sicilian war.*

Of the CXXIX. Book.

SUndry battels were fought at sea against Sex. Pompeius *with variable issue: so as, of* Cæsars *two fleets, the one which was conducted by* Agrippa, *got the better hand: but the other led by* Cæsar *himself, had the overthrow: and the souldiers being set a shore were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards* Pompeius *was discomfited, and thereupon fled into* Sicily. Marcus Lepidus *crossed the seas from out of* Affrick *pretending to take part with* Cæsar *in his wars to be made against* Sex. Pompinius. *But when* Cæsar *warred upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign up the honour and dignity of the Triumvirat, obtained life.* M. Agrippa *was by* Cæsar *rewarded with a naval crown, an honour to no man ever granted before him.*

Of the CXXX. Book.

MArcus Antonius, *in his rioting time with* Cleopatra, *entred into the Province of* Media *with eighteen legions, and sixteen thousand horsemen; levied war upon the Parthians, and after he had left two of his legions, seeing nothing prosper well on his side, he retired back. But still the Parthians followed him in chase: whereupon in exceeding fearfull haste and great perill of the whole army, he returned into* Armenia: *so as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he lost by tempestuous weather. But he was himself the occasion that he suffered these dangerous tempests, over and besides the Parthian war which unfortunately he enterprised, because he would not winter in* Armenia, *for haste he made to his love* Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI. Book.

SEx. Pompeius *having once submitted, whiles he was in the protection of* M. Antonius, *went about to levy war against him in* Asia: *but by his Lieutenants he was surprised and slain.* Cæsar *staid the mutiny of the old souldiers, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Iapides, the Dalmatians and Pannonians.* Antonius *having upon his word and promise of safety and protection trained unto him* Artauasdes *the King of* Armenia, *commanded him to be laid up fast in Irons, and gave the kingdom of* Armenia *to his own son, which he had by* Cleopatra: *for now by this time he began to avow her as his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.*

Of the CXXXII. Book.

CAius Cæsar *subdued the Dalmatians in* Illyricum. *When* M. Antonius *for the love of* Cleopatra (*who bare him two sons,* Philadelphus *and* Alexander) *would neither return to the City of* Rome, *nor after the time of the Triumvirat expired, resign up that dignity and government, but prepared for war, which he meant to levy against* Rome *and* Italy: *and thereto had raised a mighty power, as well of sea-forces as land; and withall, had renounced the marriage with* Octavia, Cæsars *sister, and sent her a letter of divorcement, and so put her away:* Cæsar *thereupon, with an army sailed into* Epirus. *The battels at sea afterwards, and the horse-fights, wherein* Cæsar *had the upper hand, be here related.*

Of the CXXXIII. Book.

MArcus Antonius *was with his fleet overcome at* Actium, *and thereupon fled to* Alexandria: *where being by* Cæsar *besieged, and in utter despair of recovering his former state, but moved especially upon a false rumour that was spred, how* Cleopatra *was killed, he slew himself. When* Cæsar *was now Master of* Alexandria, Cleopatra *likewise because she would not fall into the hands of the conquerour, wilingly procured her own death.* Cæsar *upon his return to the City of* Rome, *had the honour of three triumphs: the one over* Illyricum, *another for the victory at* Actium, *and the third in regard of* Cleopatra: *Thus when he had finished all civil wars which had continued 21 years,* M. Lepidus, *the son of* Lepidus *the Triumvir, conspired against* Cæsar: *and whiles he went about to make war, was prevented and slain.*

Of the CXXXIV. Book.

CAius Cæsar *having set the State in good order, and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was surnamed also* Augustus: *and the month* Sextilis *to honour his name was likewise so called. Whiles he sat in visitation at* Narbone, *he took a review of the three Provinces of* Gaul, *which his father* (Cæsar) *had conquered. The way which* M. Crassus *made against the Bastarnians, Masians, and other nations, is here reported.*

Of the CXXXV. Book.

THe war which M. Crassus *levied against the Thracians, as also which* Cæsar *made upon the Spaniards is here set down. Likewise how the Salassians, a people inhabiting the* Alps, *were utterly subdued.*

Of the CXXXVI. Book.

RHetia *was conquered by* Tiberius Nero, *and* Drusus *his wives son.* Agrippa Cæsars *son in law died: and by* Drusus *was the generall review and tax taken.*

Of the CXXXVII. Book.

THe Cities of Germany *situat on either side the* Rhene, *are by* Drusus *besieged and assailed. The tumult and insurrection which arose in* France, *by reason of the foresaid review or tax, was appeased. An altar was erected unto* Divus Cæsar *at the confluent of the two rivers,* * Arar *and* * Rhodanus: *and a Priest was created to offer thereupon, one* C. Julius Vercondaridubius *an Heduan.*

Of

* Saone.
* Rhosne.

Of the CXXXVIII. Book.

HEre is shewed how the Thracians were by L. Piso tamed. Likewise how the Theruſci, Temachatæ, the Cauci, and other nations of Germany beyond the Rhene, were subdued and brought under by Drusus. Octavia *the sister of* Augustus *departed this life, having buried before, her son* Marcellus: *whose monuments still remain, namely, the Theatre and gallery bearing his name, as if they had been dedicated by* Marcellus.

Of the CXXXIX. Book.

THe war which Drusus *managed against the nations beyond* Rhene *is here reported. In which war the chief persons that fought were* Senectius *and* Anectius, *Tribunes of the Nervian State.* Neto *the brother of* Drusus *subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was contracted with the Parthians: and upon capitulation the military ensigns were delivered up again to their King, which first under the conduct of* Crassus, *and afterwards of* Antonius *were lost, and by them taken.*

Of the CXL. Book.

IN this book *is related the war which* Drusus *fought against the Cities and States of* Germany *beyond the* Rhene. *Himself fell from his horse and brake his leg, by reason that his horse fell thereon: upon which fracture he died thirty daies after. His corps was by his brother* Nero (*who being sent for upon the news of his sickness rode in post*) *brought through to* Rome, *and bestowed in the tomb of* C. Julius. *Praised he was by* Cæsar Augustus *his father in law, and at his funerals for a finall farewell, he was entituled with many honourable names.*

To the Reader.

THe history of *Titus Livius*, as it was by him passing well penned otherwise, and none thereto in Latine comparable: so in the calculation and date of times, which they call Chronology (a singular light to give direction in a story) he is somewhat defective and unlike himself, so as he cannot be praised without exception. But if a man consider the huge volumes which he wrote, and namely, in his declining age; the variety and disagreement of former authors, whom he followed, who before him faulted also in this point, and whereof he much complaineth: he is to be pitied and pardoned, if his memory failed somewhat in this behalf. For where shall we find a man that is ἀπταιστος σοφὸς, *omnique ex parte beatus*? And indeed, if we weigh the thing aright, as it was a profession by it self, and required a whole man: so, many travelled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deserved high thanks and commendation. And to let many others pass, how worthily is *T. Pomponius Atticus* praised by *Cicero* his friend, for digesting the head Magistrates of 700 years in one book? As for *Verrius Flaccus*, who lived in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, he collected a catalogue and register of the chief Rulers of *Rome*, how they were chosen successively, and how they governed from time to time: which as he caused to be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetuall memory to posterity: so thereby he deserved also to have his own statue erected near the Temple of *Vesta*, for an everlasting memoriall of so great a benefit. But what is there so durable, that time wasteth not? What so conspicuous and evident, but troublesome daies may overwhelm and hide in oblivion? Thus amidst that havock which the Goths and Vandals made in *Italy*, there remained not one fourth part extant of *Livies* story: thus in that generall confusion of *Rome*, these records of *Verrius Flaccus* were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitoll and other stately edifices. But the revolution of times, as it hath brought to light again some reliques of *Livy*; so it hath discovered also those marbles of *Verrius*: for in the time of *Paul* the third, Pope of *Rome*, the fragments of the said stones were digged out of the ground between the Roman *Forum* and the broad street *Via Sacra*; brought forth also, & laid abroad in the Capitol to the view of the world. To which, as the true touch-stone certain learned men of late daies have laid to their own labors in that kind, namely, *Bartholomew Marlian* of *Millain*, *Onuphrius Panvinius* of *Verona*, *Charles Sigonius* of *Modena*, and *Francis Robertellus* of * Udine: and comparing the same as also the annals gathered by *Henry Glareanus* before time, with the foresaid antiquities of *Verrius* late found, have recovered much light to the history of *Livy*, and supplied his wants in that behalf. I thought it not amiss therefore to gratifie my countrimen in some measure this way also, and deliver the same in English which I found annexed to the best editions in Latine, as followeth.

* Utinor Fr.

A CHRONOLOGIE TO THE HISTORY OF *TITUS LIVIUS*,

Compiled according to the Tables and Records of *Verrius Flaccus* in the Capitoll, and set out with most profitable Notes, shewing the variety and disagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Consuls.

The causes of dissent and repugnance in Historiographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of Rome.

Since we intend to set forth a Kalender or Register of the Consuls mentioned in the History of *Livius*, which by reason of uncertainty, obscurity, and discordance of the times, is so dark and intricate, that not only the learned and most experienced Historians of our age, but the best writers of the Roman story in ancient time very often complained thereof; we think it not impertinent to our purpose, briefly to search into the causes of this dissent: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which seemeth to accord best with the Historicall truth, and to be grounded upon the authority and testimony of the most authenticall and approved writers. For seeing that an History (as *Cicero* hath most truly said) is the witness of times; what is more unfitting for it, than to miss and want that which is the chiefest point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was first and what was last done? It seemeth therefore, that of this diversity in the account and computation of the Roman Consuls, there be three especiall causes.

The first is, for that the year in which the first Consuls entred into that Magistracy, is by the Roman Historiographers, not after one sort but diversly set down. For *Dionysius* (a most diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his first book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reporteth, that the KK. reigned 244 years: which also is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by *Varro* and approved by the authority of others. For *Messala* reporteth, how upon the expulsion of the KK. which hapned in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Consuls. To which opinion *Livy* also subscribeth in the end of his first book, saying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But *Eutropius* in his first book writeth that the seven Kings reigned in *Rome* 243 years: which account agreeth with *Sex. Rufus* in his abridgment. In which variety this is to be observed, that these two last named, reckon the years only of every Kings raign, and out of the whole and gross sum leave out the year of the interreign, which *Dionysius*, *Livius*, *Messala*, and the rest insert between, and that right truly and upon good reason: for after the death of *Romulus*, the interreign continued one year. Consider then and examine the thing diligently, and ye shall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in severall, *Eutropius* and *Sextus Rufus* both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as *Denis. Livy*, and the rest: so that this difference is not much. But others there be (as *Eusebius* hath delivered in his Chronicles) who write, that the KK. reigned but 243 years. and take the interregency withall: whose judgment, *Orosius*, *Iornandes*, and *Beda* seem to follow. For *Orosius* in the fift chapter of his second book recordeth, that *Brutus* the Consul in that very year, namely the 244, put his own sons to death. The Kings reigned not precisely so many years just, but, for that some (and namely, *Romulus*) went over some months and daies, *Dionysius* and *Livius* reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to *Tarquinius Priscus*: but the other above-named, together with *Eusebius*, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a compleat year) and assigned but only seven and thirty years to the reign of King *Priscus*. To this may be added another reason of the like nature: namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, so they are no more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For *Plutarch* in his Problems writeth, that they entred upon the first day of *January*: but *Macrobius* in the first book of his *Saturnalia* and seventh chapter, seemeth to imply that they took their Consuls place the first of *June*, saying, (according to the opinion of others) That *June* took the name of *Junius Brutus*: for that in this month and namely, upon the first day thereof (according to a vow whereto he was obliged by the banishment of *Tarquin*) he solemnized a sacrifice to the goddess *Carnea* upon mount *Celius*. Others

Others again write, how this hapned the 24 of *February*; grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of stone, together with the testimony of *Ovid*, who in the second book of his Kalender thus writeth:

King Tarquin *with his sons then fled: The Consuls yearly bear*
The soveraign rule at Rome: *since that, no King ever raign'd there.*

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entred the first day of *July*: and of their mind seemeth *Joachimus Perionius* to be, in his third book of the Greek Magistrates. In this repugnancy therefore of opinions, very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of *Plutarch*, it hath long since been clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clarks, *Onuphrius Panvinius*, and *Sigonius*: since it is plain that it was the six hundred year from the foundation of the City, and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of *January*. But in setting down the certain day, they themselves are not well agreed. For *Sigonius* after *Marlianus* inclineth this way and saith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the six and twentieth day of *May*. But *Panvinius* thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26 day of *February*. And this diversity is found not only in the day when the first Consuls took their government, but also in the time after ensuing. What was the usuall day of any month whereon the Consuls were wont to begin their Magistracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the six hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fortieth year verily after the Kings were exiled the first day of *July*, as *Livy* writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly Magistrates to take their place: but how many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, he shewed not before he come to the three hundred and two year, and then he saith in his third book, That the thirteenth of *May* was the ordinary day for Magistrates to begin their government. Thus much at leastwise we may collect by him (when he saith that this time was solemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called solemn, which is by law usually observed. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the fift book, that this time also was altered: for whereas the fift day of *December* was the usuall time that Magistrates began to execute their office, he saith, that it was changed, in these words, The principall Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the infortunity of their Generals (that so shamefull an overthrow was received) opined and advised, not to expect and stay for the ordinary time of the election, but presently to create new military Tribunes in Consuls authority, who should enter into their government the first day of *October*, &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole house accorded to it: whereupon the other Tribunes gainsaid it. But *Sergius* and *Virginius* withstood this Act of the Senat, and denied flatly to resign up their dignity before the eleventh of *December*, the ordinary day of taking their oath and beginning their Magistracy. And a little after, within one page, he sheweth that the usuall day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of *December* to the first of *September*, saying, When this speech was received with a generall applause of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about six years after, he saith, by occasion that both Consuls lay sick, it was ordained that the first of *July* should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was changed to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: and therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as *Livy* about the beginning of the eighth book sheweth in these words; And when the Consuls were commanded to resign up their Magistracy before the time, to the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against so great trouble of war, &c. For in these words [The sooner, &c.] he declareth that the usuall day of entier into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly set down what day this was; so the other was as well known: for soon after, and namely, the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of *July*. Immediatly therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plautius* were enjoyned that day (even the first of *July*) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themselves their Provinces. As for the month, wherein for the most part the assembly for election of Magistrates was holden, we read it was *February*; like as the thirteenth of *March* was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held alwaies, during the second Punick war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus *Livy* testifieth in many places (which to quote is needless) as in the six book of the second Punick war, and in the beginning of the first book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who seeth not that there is great variety in the month and day both, whereupon the Magistrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a precise, exact, firm, and setled reckoning of years, months, and daies; and seeing that in *Livies* story it is neither expresly shewed, what year, month or day the Magistrates began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered; considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered than the very usuall day of entring into Magistracy: what marvel is there, if authors dissent so much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles some, I say, ascribe these Magistrates created to this year, others attribute the same to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference between *Dionysius* and *Livy*, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that therein passed; all seemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of *Livy* was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrents of greatest antiquity which hapned in the State of the people of *Rome* (and which by many writers aforetime had

been most diligently set down and penned to posterity: but to record and write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punick war had been atchieved by the people of *Rome* unto the age wherein himself lived. But because (as *Polybius* most wisely and pithily writeth) a generall story cannot be understood by particular registers; and for that an Historiographers study & endeavour ought to be employed rather in an universall treatise, than in particular discouries: therefore, lest so great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should seem maimed & unperfect; in the formost 20 books he slightly & briefly ran over the deeds of the people of *Rome* from the foundation of the City, unto the beginning of the second Punick war. But *Dionysius* professing purposely to describe the ancient monuments of the Romans, thought it his part to overpass and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourse of affairs; insomuch as those things whereof *Livy* hath scantly made 3 books, he hath declared at large in eleven. Hereupon if a man read in *Dionysius*, the ancient beginning and originall of the Roman Empire, and examine well the times how they are by him digested & compare the same with the brevity in *Livy*, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhastiness of the later. But if the indifferent reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praise; & whereas *Livy* making haste to other matters, hath either let pass or more slightly handled some things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excused than reproved for it.

To these three causes above rehearsed, others also might be adjoyned; namely, the ordering of the years by *Romulus*, and the variety as touching that year wherein *Rome* was founded: but it may suffice only to touch these & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertise and admonish the reader by the way; that albeit in the digesting and reckoning of the Coss. we have set before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of *Verrius Flaccus*, and according thereunto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 250 as also the other, which *Verrius* rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the sum of the years, as they are collected by *Varro*. Which, before us, *Onuphrius Panvinius* a most learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the year which *Verrius* and they that followed him rased out was the 423. and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consuls, according to the Capitoline records.

Of the computation of times usually observed by the Romans, and of the year of the Cities foundation.

THe calculation of years was taken and observed by men in old time divers and sundry waies. The Achæans (as we read) received it from the revolution of the stars: the Argives from their women Priests: as for example, if *Chrysis* such a year were chief Priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of years from the said *Chrysis*. But many have derived and fetched the course and consequence of their acts and affairs, from the years before *Troy* was buile, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 year after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympian games, which *Hercules* first instituted in the honour of his great grandsire by the mothers side: and which by his son *Iphictus* (or *Iphitus*, as some will have it) were renewed that year: from that time (I say) they began to number the years by the Olympiads, especially among the Grecians, whose story (as *Eusebius* affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympias. The Hebrews (like as other nations in the East) received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians, from their Eponymi (as they called them) but that in their *Archaeresia*, [that is, the election of their Magistrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wise, ἐπὶ πρώτης στρατηγείας τῆ δεκάτῃ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῃ, i.e. the tenth or eleventh of the first *Prytaneia*. And hereof it seemeth, that the name cometh τῷ ἔτους ἄρχειν; as if from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name. After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their daies, made their Kalender, and registred their acts by such and such Consuls; noting thereto otherwhiles the year from the Cities foundation. But about it there is much more diversity in authors, than about that wherein the first Consuls took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of *Rome* was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and further off, *Timæus Siculus* (I know not upon what reason induced) hath recorded, how the City was built by *Romulus* much about the time that *Carthage* in *Affrick* by the Tyrians, namely, in the 38 year before the first *Olympias*.

L. Cincius (a Senator of *Rome* by calling) saith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth *Olympias*.

Q. Fabius Pictor (a most ancient writer of the Roman story and of greatest credit) attributeth it to the first year of the eight *Olympias*.

Polybius Megapolitanus, and *Diodorus Siculus* quote the second year of the 7 *Olympias*.

Appollodorus Q. Lutatius Catulus, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Eratosthenes*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus* name the first year of the 7 *Olympias*.

M. Verrius Flaccus (the avoucher of the Capitoline stone-records) *T. Livius*, *C. Julius Solinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 *Olympias*.

L. Tarruntius

L. Tarruntius Firmanus, *M. Terentius Varro*, *T. Pomponius Atticus*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, *Augustus Cæsar*, *C. Plinius Secundus*, *Plutarchus Chæronæus*, *Domitianus Cæsar Augustus*, *P. Cornel. Tacitus*, *Cassius Dio*, *A. Gellius*, *L. Septimius Severus Augustus Censorinus*, *M. Julius Philippus Augustus*, *Eusebius Pamphil*, *Casariensis*, *Eutropius*, *Paulus Orosius*, *Paulus Diaconus Longobardus*: and after the time of *C. Cæsar* Dictator, the common opinion of the people of *Rome* (which we also go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the sixt *Olympias*.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authors is induced, & whereby they would seem to confirm their several opinions, needless it is in this place for to declare: both because the speculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profession, and also for that (besides *Plutarch* in *Romulus*, *Solinus* in the 1. chapter of his Polyhistor. and *Camers* in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so throughly handled by *Onuphrius Panvinius* in the first book of his Calender, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*, it was the * eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, called *Parilia* or *Palilia*. Now was this a festival day to *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, celebrated by the said shepherds upon the eleventh Calends of *May*, in the fields and country villages, for the chasing away of wolves, for the preservation of their ship and cattell from diseases, or for the safe yeaning and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called *Parilia*. Of this matter writeth *Propertius* in his fourth book, in this wise: * 21. of *April*.

A feast there was, Palilia, *our fathers did it call*,
And on that day they first began, for Rome *to build a wall*.

Ovid also in the fourth book of his *Fasti*:

A time full meet they chose, *with plough the plot to mark*,
Dame Pales *was hand*, *and so began the wark*.

The same is avouched by *M. Tullius*, *Plutarch*, *Solinus* and others. And that these *Palilia* were solemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, appeareth as well by the old marble Calenders, as also by the same authors before rehearsed.

Of the first soveraign Magistrates of the City of Rome, *namely, of the KK, who were in number seven.*

ALL sorts of policies and governments in a Common-weal which are set down and named by ancient Writers, the City of *Rome* (were it by the fatall course of destiny or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they succeeded so one after another, as they did in the very City of *Rome*. For in the beginning, the KK. ruled it; but when they for their excessive outrage and inordinate lust exercised upon their Citizens and subjects, were deposed and expelled, the Coss. (and after them the Tribunes military in Coss. authority) held the soveraignty. But in proces of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (simply the best) was by the outrage of the two *Gracchi* (*Saturninus* and *Drusus* Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, untill such time as their power and authority was by *Sylla* rent in twain, and the Commons disseized of their lands and killed: then the administration of the Common-weal was restored again to the Nobles and principal persons of the City. But at length, when it was oppressed again by the civill war of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, the soveraign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of *Cæsar* alone; wherein, being first shaken a few years before, through the wicked insolency and lust of the three Triumvirs, it continued untill the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all these sorts of government, in that successive order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

37
Romulus *the first King of the Romans, reigned* 37 *years.*

Romulus, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for so many *Livy* assigneth unto him. Likewise *Dionysius* in the first book, which he repeateth also in the second: and *Plutarch* in *Numa* dissenteth not from them, howsoever in *Romulus*, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. *Solinus* in like manner rehearsing his worthy acts attributeth unto his raign 37 years. Only *Eutropius* (1. book 4. chap.) alloweth unto him 39 years: but *Cuspinian* thinketh very well that the Copy is corrupt. This Prince having raigned (according to the more common received opinion of authors) 37 years; in which time, he laid the first ground-work of the Roman Empire, with excellent laws and ordinances, and established both civill and also military discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of *July*, which day was called afterwards, *Nonæ Caprotinæ*: by occasion that he in mustering and reviewing his army at the lake of *Capræ*, was conveyed out of mens sight: whereupon the people fled as amazed at the sudden death of their King, as *Plutarch* & *Dionysius* do witness. This *Romulus* after his * deification was named *Quirinus*, of which surname *Ovid* in his * Kalender giveth these reasons. * Apotheosis. * Fast. 2. *Sine*

Some read thus, * Latinis. * Arma. * Romanus vicerat, but corruptly.

Sive quod hasta quirim, prisci est dicta Sabinis*:*
Bellicus a telo, venit in astra Deus*:*
Sive suo regi nomen posuere Quirites,
Seu quia Romanis *junxerat ille Cures.*

A spear, old *Sabins Quirim* call'd, which *Romulus* us'd in fight:
This martial man a god became, and so *Quirinus* hight.
Quirites eke his subjects liege, their King this name might give;
Or else the Curets, whom he brought with Romans for to live.

That he was base born, and could not avouch his own father, beside other writers, *Plutarch* especially affirmeth in his *Theseus*. Howbeit, the old opinion went currant, that he was by *Mars* begot in stealth of a vestall virgin, *Ilia*, *Rhea*, or *Sylvia*, for so many names there go of her: and that first he was called *Romus*, of *Ruma*, which signifieth a teat or pap, and afterwards by way of flattery, *Romulus*.

1

Interregents.

FOr one year after the death of *Romulus* the nobles fell to variance & strove who should be K. but by reason that no one person excelled above the rest in that state so newly founded, there grew severall factions & debates in their head-corporations. They who were descended from the Sabins (because after the death of *Tatius* none of them raigned with *Romulus* in equall society) were desirous to have a K. created out of their body, because they would not forgo their hold and possession in the Empire. But the old Romans could not away with a stranger-King. Howbeit, as different as they were in affections, all were willing to set up a K. as having not tasted yet the sweetness of liberty. The Peers moreover mightily feared (by reason that the neighbour States bordering round about were provoked against them) lest some forraign force might assail their City left thus without soverain government, and the army without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred Nobles agreed among themselves to enter into an association of rule, and made ten Decuries: and in every Decury created one to have the soverainty over the rest. These Senators were then 100 in number, as *Livy* saith, and according to *Plutarch* a hundred and fifty. But *Dionysius* writeth, that there were two hundred of the Sabins & as many Romans. After this they cast lots and their Decury unto whom the lottery first fell, ruled the City: howbeit, not all of them at once, but one alone had the regall ornaments, and the Lictors going before him. Five daies he governed and no longer; and so by this order in course, the nobles of every Decury governed the City fifty daies. For after five daies determined, he whose lot was first to govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the second the imperiall dignity together with the ensigns thereof: and he again, when his five daies were expired, unto a third, and so to the tenth. Thus when these ten first Interregents had passed one 50 daies a second Decury of Senators in like manner ruled the City other 50 daies; and thus they went round through all untill they had fulfilled a years space in this regency. This government was of the thing it self called *Interregnum*, which name it still retained afterwards, and the men likewise were named *Interreges*. In this year therefore was the Magistracy of the Interregents first devised among the Romans. And not only after the death of *Romulus* the State was ruled by Interregency, but also after the decease of *Numa*, *Tullius*, and *Ancus*, Kings. In like manner during the time of the free State and Common-weal, after the time of yearly Magistrates expired, the said government took place very often, before the creation of new: for they held the assembly for elections, wherein new governors were by the people created. Now the office and charge of this Interregent was, during the time of his regency (which ordinarily passed not five daies) to execute all those functions in the City which belonged either to KK. or Coss. namely, to minister justice, to rule the Common-weal, to hold a Senat, and there to propound the affairs of State, and lastly, to summon the generall assembly for chusing new Magistrates. As touching the beginning of Interregents, *Dionysius* in his second book, *Livy* in his first, *Plutarch* in *Numa*, *Sext. Ruffus*, *Eusebius* and other old writers, have written at large.

43

Numa Pompilius *the second K. raigned 43 years.*

ONe year of Interregency being thus accomplished, the people of *Rome* thought this a grievous and heavy manner of government; and the Commons grumbled that their servitude was manifold more than before, as having two hundred Lords over them instead of one. Which when the Senators perceived, they agreed at last upon this point, That the old Senators should create a King, whom they would, so he were not one of their own body and degree. Whereupon *Numa Pompilius* (for that in justice & wisdom he excelled all other) was called out of *Cures* a City of the Sabins, to be their King. That he raigned three and forty years, all accord, save *Eutropius*, *Eusebius*, and *Cassiodorus* (late writers) who set down but one and forty, as *Onuphrius* and *Sigonius* have observed. Of this K. *Dionysius* in the second book, *Livy* in his first, *Solinus* in his second chapter, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and *Eutropius* in his life; in like sort, *Valerius Maximus* have delivered much in record. He died not much above the age of 80 years, as *Plutarch* writeth; for born he was (as he testifieth) the same day whereon *Romulus* laid the first foundation of the City, namely, the twelfth Calends of *May*. Now for the name of *Numa*, some say it was the forename of *Pompilius*. But out of *Sextus Pompeius* it appeareth, that neither *Tullius* nor *Numa* were forenames, as also by this conjecture, for that the sons of *Numa* are by *Dionysius* called by other sundry names divers from the family. Some thought therefore that *Numa*, *Ancus*, *Arunt*, *Volusus*, *Drusus*, *Faustus*, *Julus*, *Mammurius*, and certain other surnames, were at first forenames, as *Marlianus* in his Annals hath very well noted.

32

32

Tullus Hostilius, *the third King of* Rome, *reigned 32 years.*

Numa being deceased, the Interregency took place again: during which time an Act of Senat passed, wherein by the approbation of the Commons and advice of the Nobles, *Tullus Hostilius* was created the third K. of the Romans, in the 81 year after the foundation of the City. Who having raised *Alba*, commanded the Albans to be translated to *Rome*. Their Commons he made free denizens, and the principall Nobles he took into the order of Senators. After *Numa* he raigned 32 years, as all writers most constantly affirm. He perished, as *Dionysius* witnesseth, by occasion that his house was on fire, wherein his wife and children and all their houshold besides were consumed and burnt. Some say, that his palace took fire by lightning through the ire of the gods, for that he had forbet some sacrifices and holy rites: others write, that it was occasioned by the treacherous practise of *Ancus Martius*, who reigned next after him. Of him *Dionysius* writeth in his 3 book: That he carried before him the name of *Hostus* it appeareth by this, that both *his* father and grandsire bare the said name. A Prince he was, not only far unlike to *Numa*, but also more fierce and stout than *Romulus*.

24

Ancus Martius, *the fourth King of Romans, reigned 24 years.*

KIng *Tullius* being departed this life, there was an Interregent by the Nobles declared, who held the assembly for election in the 114 year from the foundation of the City: wherein the people created *Ancus Martius* the fourth K. of the Romans, and the Senators approved the same. He built *Hostia* a town 16 miles distant from the City of *Rome*; and fought seven battels. *Livius*, *Dionysius*, and *Solinus* say, that he reigned 24 years; but *Eusebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Cassiodorus*, 25. What death he died, neither *Livy* in his first book, nor *Dionysius* in his 3. do set down: notwithstanding that by them his noble acts are set out at large. Now *Ancus* (as *Sex. Pompeius* hath reported) is he called, who hath an arm bowing inward, so as it cannot be put straight forth.

38

L. Tarquinius Priscus, *the fifth K. of Romans, reigned 38. years.*

THis *Tarquinius* being left by *Ancus* (when he died) guardian to his children, was the first that ambitiously intercepted the kingdom to himself; he sent the sons of *Ancus*, during the time of Interregency, out of the way, as it were to hunting, and made an oration unto the people to win their hearts & affections to him: and so with the suffrages of the people, and authority of the Nobles, he was by the Interregent declared K. in the 170 year after the foundation of *Rome*, and in the 41 *Olympiad*. This noble Prince as well for warlike prowess as peaceable policy and government, at the length (being above fourscore year old) was forelaid by the secret trains of of the two sons of *Ancus Martius*, in the eight and thirty year of his reign, according to *Livy* and *Dionysius*, whose judgment we follow: or in the 37. as *Solinus*, *Messala*, *Ruffus*, *Eutropius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Eusebius*, and *Bedas* write; like as we have before shewed. *Priscus* he was surnamed afterwards, because he lived before *Tarquinius Superbus*, saith *Sex. Pomponius*, unto whom accord *Dionysius* and *Laurentius Valla*: who writeth, that the addition of *Priscus* was given unto him, not by men of that time wherein he lived, but by the age following. But *Livy* sheweth plainly, that he had the surname of *Priscus* given him, even then when he came first into the City, because he was born before *Superbus*. He also was called *Lucumo*, and was the son of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, descended from the family of the Bracchiades.

44

Servius Tullius *the sixt K. of the Romans, reigned four and forty years.*

AFter *Priscus Tarquinius* was slain presently *Servius Tullius* was the first that (without any election of the people, yet with the generall consent of the Nobles) took upon him the Roman kingdom, in the year from the foundation of the City 176. Concerning whose conception, we must not let pass that which *Pliny* writeth in the 36 book after this manner. During the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, there appeared suddenly the genitall member of the masculine sex upon the hearth where the fire was kept, & thereupon presently a captive woman and bond-servant of *Tanaquil* the Queen, named *Ocrisia*, sitting there by the fire side, conceived and was with child; and so was *Servius Tullius* born, who succeeded in the kingdom. Afterwards as the boy lay asleep within the KK. palace, his head was seen on a light fire, and supposed he was the son of the familiar *Lar* of that house. In which regard, he instituted first the *Compitalia* and plaies to the *Lars*. Concerning his birth, *Plutarch* hath written more in his book of the Romans fortune. By the crafty and subtill device of his wives mother *Tanaquil*, he attained to the Crown in the fourth year of the fift *Olympias*, and reigned 44 years: but by the villanous complot of *Tarquinius* his son in law, and *Tullia* his own daughter and *Tarquins* wife, he was most impiously slain in the very street; which thereupon was called *Scelerata*. As touching the years of this Kings reign, some controverse there is among writers: for *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Solinus* (whom we have followed) write, that he reigned 44 years: but *Messala Corvinus*, *Sex. Ruffus*, *Eutropius*, *Eusebius*, *Cassiodorus* and *Beda* 34 and not above. Howbeit, in adding those ten to the reign of *Tarquin* afterwards, they hinder not this gross sum and computation of the years: for they set them down 35, which *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Solinus*, make but 25. This K. took the name of *Servius*, by occasion of his own fortune, for that his mother *Ocrisia* a captive (but a most beautifull and wise woman of *Corniculum*) bare him during her bondage; but *Tullius* he was called, by the name of his fathers kindred, as *Dionysius* writeth

writeth in his fourth book, reckoning up many acts by him atchieved.

25

L. Tarquinius Superbus, *the seventh King of Romans, ruled 25 years.*

IN the two hundred and twentieth year after the foundation of the City, *L. Tarquinius* the younger, having killed *Servius Tullius*, entered upon the Roman kingdom with force of arms, nor by Interregent, nor yet any right of law. *Superbus* he was named for his cruell demeanour, in that he forbad to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law, by him murdered; giving out that *Romulus* likewise died and lay unburied. He was the son of *L. Tarquinius Priscus* the King; as *Q. Pictor*, *An. Gellius*, *Licinius Macer*, *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Livius* have written. Howbeit, *Dionysius* out of *L. Piso* in his Annals, by most strong reasons disproveth their errour, and by the certain computation of the years sheweth how it cannot possibly be so, but rather that he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus* his son, who died in the life of *Priscus*. Five and twenty years he reigned according to *Livy* in his first book, *Dionysius* in his fourth, and *Solinus* in his Polyhistor. But *Cassiodorus*, *Eusebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Beda* ascribe unto him five and thirty years, adding unto his raign those ten years which they took from *Servius Tullius*, and thereby giving occasion of errour to the later writers. Of him *Dionysius*, *Livy*, both the *Plinies*, *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Eutropius*, have written much. Collect then, into one sum the year of these Kings reign, and thereof will arise the number of two hundred forty four.

Of the first Elections of Consuls.

THis is the second change of the Common-weal, by occasion that *Superbus* the King, as well for his insolent and proud government, as for the villany offered by *Sextus* the Kings son to *Lucretia*, was expelled, and liberty recovered: whereupon the soveraign government yeat by yeat was committed to two men, who first were named Prætors, for that they were set over the people: then Judges, because they decided their controversies: and lastly, Consuls, in that they advised and provided for the good of the Common-weal: as *Cicero* in the third book of Laws declareth in these words: Let there be two invested in royall government; and of ruling, judging, and counsell-giving, be they called Prætors, Judges, and Consuls: let them also have the soveraignty of command in war. Now the first Consuls or Prætors were created by *Sp. Lucretius* (father of *Lucretia*, and Interregent for the time) in a generall assembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of *Servius Tullius* the King. The first Consul had all the right, prerogatives, and regall ensigns of the KK, this only provided, that both of them should not have the rods and axes carried before them, for fear of presenting any terrour to the people. Both of them were chosen out of the *Patritii*: which for this intent I advertise the Reader of, that the progress of the Common-weal might be known; seeing that in process of time they came to be be created out of the Commons also. Moreover, as concerning the year month, and day, when as the first Consuls entred their government, something were to be said in this place: but because we have spoken before of the variety and dissention of Authors thereabout; therefore letting pass these circumstances, proceed we to the very Consuls, who by the testimony of all writers were first chosen: namely,

245

L. Junius Brutus, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus.*

IT is recorded by all writers, that *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarq. Collatinus*, were the first Coss. or Prætors of the Roman people: who in the end of the 244 year since the foundation of the City, and upon the first day of *March* (after the *Tarquins* KK. the father & the son were expelled the City) in an assembly of the Centuries were solemnly pronounced and declared Coss. But after that *Brutus* had compelled his Collegue *Tarquinius* to resign up his Consulship, either because he was suspected for the affinity and name of the *Tarquins* (as *L. Piso* in *Gellius* the 15 book and 29 cap. *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Cic. 3. Offic.* do write:) or by occasion of a variance between *Brutus* and *Collatinus* about the execution of *Collatinus* his sisters son, (as *Dionysius* reporteth) he subelected in his place *Pub. Valerius Volusus* the son of *Volusus* whose helping hand he had used especially in banishing the KK. Of whose Consulship, *Polybius* in the third book, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, *Valerius Max.* 4. book 4. chapter, *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*, and *Pliny* 36 book, chap. 15. have made mention. But *Valerius*, after that *Brutus* in his Magistracy was slain by *Aruns* the son of *Superbus* (for the King his father had levied war against the Romans) in a generall Court of all the Centuries, took unto him for his companion in government, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus* the father of *Lucretia*; and to him (being the elder) submitted the preheminence of soveraignty. And soon after, within few daies upon his death, (for he was very aged) succumed unto him *M. Horatius Pulvillus* for his Collegue in the Consulship. The said *Valerius* was called *Poplicola*, for that during his Magistracy, he enacted certain laws very popular, and namely, concerning the appeal from the Consuls to the people, and the receiving of the state-government from the said people, as *Livius* and *Dionysius* do witness. In the vulgar books, as also in the old written Copies (whether by errour or of purpose I wot not) we read his name evermore *Publicola*, but still in one and the same signification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwise have much affinity one with another; as *Quintilian* writeth, namely *o* with *u*, and *p* with *b*. For in antique tiles and inscriptions, you shall read often *Popliem* for *Publicus*. To conclude therefore, in the first year after the Kings were exiled, Coss. at *Rome* were these, *L. Junius Brutus*, and *Lu. Tar. Collatinus*, *P. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *M. Horatius Pulvillus.*

246

P. Valerius II. T. Lucretius.

THe Consulship of these two is recorded unto us by *Dionysius*, *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, *Onuphrius Panvinius*, giveth unto *Lucretius* the surname of *Tricipitinus*, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that house; and also, because by an ancient Chronologer in the records of *Cuspinian*, he is named *Tricipitinus*. Now for *Publius* the Etymology thereof according to *Sextus*, is twofold: For some call him *Pub*, who hath been brought up at the publike charges; others again name him so, who was a ward before he had his name given him.

247

P. Lucretius. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Livius calleth this *Lucretius* by the forename of *P.* but other books of *Titus*. *Dionysius* writeth, that *P. Valerius Poplicola* the third time, and *M. Horatius* the second time were Coss. *Plutarch* speaketh of the third Consulship only of *P. Valerius*; *Onuphrius* and *Sigonius* follow *Dionysius*. As for *Cassiodorus*, he leaveth out altogether these Consuls.

248

Sp. Lartius. T. Herminius.

AFter *Poplicola* the third time, and *Pulvillus* the second time Consuls, *Dionysius* hath placed *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*. The same doth *Cassiodorus*. And the book noted by *Cuspinian*, under an unknown author, hath in it thus written. *Poplicola III. & Pulvillo; Rufo & Aquilino; Valerio & Tuberto. Livy* omitteth these Consuls, and in their place putteth down *M. Valerius*, and *P. Posthumius*: But as *Sigonius* thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the book.

But that this year should necessarily come between, *Onuphrius* thinketh, according to the book of *M. Tullius Cicero* entituled *Brutus*: and certain it is, that *Verrius Flaccus* in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected these Consuls. Now this name *Lartius* is derived of *Lars*, and so ought it to be written, and not *Largius*, as corruptly it is to be seen in some Copies of *Livy* and *Dionysius*. As for the surname to *Herminius*, *Onuphrius* supposeth it to have been *Esquilinus*, both for that the mention of that surname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline marbles, as also because of what family else it should be, no writer ever hath delivered. This *Sp. Lartius* was the brother of *Titus Lartius* the first Dictator, as writeth *Dionysius*.

249

M. Valerius. P. Postumius.

Plutarch, as also *Dionysius* and *Livius* writeth, that this *M. Valerius* was brother to *M. Valerius Publicola*, and therefore truly is he said to be the son of *Volusus*. *Postumius* for his surname had *Tubertus*. Witness *Zonaras*, together with *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*, and *Dionysius* in the fift and sixt books. Him *Dionysius* calleth the brother of *Quintus*, where he treateth of the Consular Embassadors sent unto the Commons in the year 260. This *Postumius*, as *Onuphrius* teacheth, was by old authors written without the aspiration (*h*) either because of *Post. a Postumus*, and *Postimius*, and so *Postumius* is derived, or for that in old time they wrote *umus* without the said (*h.*) Now is he called *Postuminus*, who was born last, as *Cesellius* witnesseth in his commentaries of ancient readings. Howbeit, lawyers pronounce the word with the aspiration, and call by that name him only, who was born after his fathers death: and with them accord *Varro*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Sylla*.

250

P. Valerius IIII. T. Lucretius.

Dionysius, *Livius*, *Plutarch* and *Cassiodorus*, report these for Coss. this year. But the registers of *Cuspinian* deliver unto us *Poplicola* the fourth time, and *Tricipitinus*, *Valerius Maximus* in the fourth book and fourth chapter writeth thus, *Valerius Poplicola* began his Consulship with *Brutus*, and the same man bare three Consulats afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

251

Agrippa Menenius. P. Postumius.

Dionysius hath for Coss. this year, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Postumius* the second time. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Cuspinians* book, and the Greek records disagree not from him. *Valerius Max.* 4. book, 4. cap. corruptly calleth him *M. Menenius Agrippa*. Now *Agrippa* are they called, who are born into the world with extraordinary throws & birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward, against nature.

252

Opiter Virginius. Sp. Cassius.

Livius, *Zonaras*, and *Cassiodorus*, name these Consuls barely thus. *Dionysius* yet is more liberall, calling *Sp. Cassius*, *Viscellinus*: and *Opiter Virginius*, *Tricostus*. But whom *Dionysius* calleth ὀκκάβον, *Cicero* in his *Lelius* termeth *Cassius Becillinus*. And *Cuspinianus* Kalender *Viscellinus*. For first of *Visens* cometh *Viscellus*, and so from thence they derive *Viscellinus*. *Opiter* (to note that by the way, as *Sex. Pompeius* saith) is he, whose father died before his grandsire. And the word soundeth thus much, as if he were born after his fathers death: or because he taketh his grandsire for his father.

253

Posthumius Cominius. T. Lartius.

Livy, *Dionysius*, *Zonaras*, and *Cassiodorus* name these simply thus. But *Cuspinians* Kalender, giveth to *Posthumius* the surname *Auruncus*, & to *Lartius Ruffus*. And those whom *Cuspinians* book nameth *Ruffi*, the Greek registers by another word, but to the same sence, call *Flavi*.

254

Ser. Sulpitius. M'. Tullius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to *Sulpitius* the addition of *Camerinus*, like as the Kalender of *Cuspinian*; and to *Tullius* of *Longus*: as also doth *Dionysius*, who writeth, that *Marcus Tullius* died in the time of his Magistracy, and that in his place there was none substituted because the yearwas welnear at an end. Of this *M'. Tullius. Cicero* speaketh in his *Brutus*, saying, As if I should avouch my self to be descended of *M'. Tullius* the Patritian, who in the tenth year after the expulsion of the KK. was Cos. with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This surname *Manius*, as *Sext. Pompeius* saith, cometh hereupon, that some one was born *mane*, *i.e.* in the morn, like as *Lucius*, who entred into the world by daylight. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd. he) consecrated the field *Nemorensis*, from whom many noble and famous men sprung, and continued many years. Whereupon arose the Proverb, *Multi Manii Aricia*, *i.e.* there be many *Manii* at *Aricia*. Moreover he was called *Servius*, who came of parents (either both or one at least) whiles they were in bondage, or else, who when his mother was dead, lived still in her womb, and so was saved.

255

C. Vetusius. T. Ebutius.

THe forename of this *Vetusius* or *Veturius* in some Copies of *Livy*, as *Marlian* sheweth in his annals of Cos. is *Caius*: in other *Cneus*: in *Cassiodorus*, *Lucius*: in *Dionysius Publius*: who also surnameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*: and *T. Ebutius Helua* and in some place Ἐλιαβαν, but faultily: for the Latine writers also affirm his surname to be *Helua*. The Greek Records likewise have *Helua* and *Geminus*. Moreover they that write him *Vetusius*, imitate the ancient manner of putting s. for r. as when they call men *Fusii*, *Valerii*, and *Papisii*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter usage. Of this matter *Livy* speaketh in the year 292.

256

Q. Cloelius. T. Lartius.

THus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Dionysius* surnameth *T. Lartius*, *Flavus*; and *Q. Cloelius. Siculus*: to whom accord the registers both of *Cuspinian* and *Sicily*. This *T. Lartius* is the same, as appeareth by *Dionysius*, who before was Cos. and therefore is his surname *Flavus* rightly added. The house of the *Cloelii* as also of the *Julii Servilii Geganii*, *Curiatii* and *Quintilii* descended from the Albans first, as *Dionysius* writeth.

257

Au. Sempronius. M. Minutius.

THus *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us these Cos. But *Cuspinians* registers and the Sicilian, surname them *Atratinus* and *Augurinus*. And *Dionysius* nameth them *A. Sempronius Rhætinus*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*, albeit he maketh no mention of *Augurinus*, but in the second Consulship of *Minutius*: As for *Aulus*, he was so called, who being new born, was nourished and fostered by the gods.

258

Au. Posthumius. T. Virginius.

THus are these Cos. set down by *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. And to them verily the greek records put to the surnames of *Albus* and *Calimontanus*. But the book of *Cuspinian addes Regillensis* & *Tricostus* besides: so that by him they are thus written, *Au. Posthumius Albus Regillensis*, and *T. Virginius Tricostus Calimontanus*.

259

App. Claudius and P. Servilius.

Livius and *Cassiodorus* record these for Cos. this year. The registers as well of *Cuspinian* as *Sicily*, *Sabinus* and *Priscus*: But *Dionysius* more fully, *App. Cladius Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius Priscus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, first named, *Attius Clausus*, and afterwards, *App. Claudius*; who from *Regillus*, a City of the Sabins (whereupon he was called, *Sabinus Regillensis*) came to *Rome* in the two hundred and fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the *Patritii*, as *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius* make report. This man was grandsire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is some difference; whereof ye may see *Onuphrius* and *Marlianus* in their Kalenders.

260

A. Virginius and T. Vetusius.

THese are thus set down by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, as here they be named. *Dionysius* writeth them, *A. Virginius Montanus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*. The register of *Cuspinian*, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. The Sicilian *Calimontanus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Calimontanus* are both one. *Pedianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, calleth these Consuls, *Au. Virginius Tricostus*, and *L. Veturius Ciceurinus*: whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames, to wit, the one, *Tricostus Calimontanus*. and the other, *Geminus Cicurinus*; for so elsewhere other writers testifie. *Cuspinianus* observeth, that this *Cicurinus*, is also called *Coturnius* by some writers.

261

Sp. Cassius and *Posthumius Cominius.*

SO *Livius* and *Dionysius*. Of them speaketh *Cicero* also in his Oration for *Cornelius*. But *Cuspinian* his books set forth unto us, *Viscellinus* & *Auruncus*. The Sicilian records, *Aurunc us*, and *Vuellinius*. And that these same were Consuls together in this yeer, and entred upon their government the first of *September*, sooner then the custom was, as *Dionysius* writeth.

262

T. Geganius and P. *Minutius.*

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh book nameth for Cos. this year *T. Geganius Macerinus*, and P. *Minutius*. The same doth *Livius* in the second book. *Castiodorus* likewise and *Eutropius*. *Orosius* also in the second book and fift chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greek records and *Cuspinians* book surname them both, the one *Marcerinus*, the other *Augurinus*. And these are ordinary surnames, this to *Minutii*, and the former to the *Geganii*.

263

M. *Minutius*, and Au. *Sempronius.*

SO *Livy* and *Castiodorus* set them down, omitting their surnames, as also the numerall note II. But *Dionysius* recordeth them fully in this maner, *A. Sempronius Atratinus* the second time, and M. *Minutius Augurinus* likewise the second time. This yeer reckoneth *Dionysius* for the nineteneth, after that *Poplicola* the Cos. published the law of appealing.

264

Sp. *Nautius* and *Sext. Furius.*

AFter Au. *Sempronius* and M. *Minutius* Coss. *Dionysius* bringeth in to succeed them, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and Sp. *Lartius Flavus* the second time. *Cuspinian* registers, *Cornutus* and *Flavus*. the Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavus*. Moreover, *Cornutus* is an ordinary surname to the *Sulpitii*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of stone. And that these Coss. are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitol, or to make up and digest the sum gathered by *Varro*, appeareth by the Triumph of P. *Valerius*, which would not fall to the yeer 279, if we should deduct these Coss. out of the Kalender.

265

T. Sicinius and C. *Aquilius.*

NExt after the former Consuls, there followed according to *Dionysius*, *C. Julius Iulus* and P. *Pinarius Rufus* Consuls. *Cuspinian* his records deliver unto us *Iulus* and *Mamercinus*: But the Greek, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Mamercus* is a surname to the *Pinarii*, appeareth by another place. These Consuls *Livy* over-passeth, like as the other the yeer before: upon whom, they that undertook the explication of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want Consuls for two yeers. So that of himself the like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth book of *Piso*, in this maner [These Consuls, *Piso* bringeth in immediately after Q. *Fabius* and P. *Decius*, leaving out two yeers, whereof we have reported that *Claudius* and *Volumnius* were Consuls in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgat them in the digesting of the Annals, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of Consuls) it is uncertein. Moreover, the surname of *C. Iulius*, was transformed every where into *Tullus* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iullius*, both *Marlianus*, and also after him *Panvinius* sheweth. For this surname *Iulus* is set from *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a family; and therefore *Virgil* saith,

The Iulian house at Rome, *first came*
From Iulus *great, a prince of name.*

And *Livy* speaking of the same in this wise saith; which *Iulus*, the house of the *Iulii* avoucheth for the author of their name.

266

Sp. Cassius. Proculus Virginius.

BVt to leave these things; Sp. *Nautius* and *Sex. Furius*, are by *Dionysius*, *Livius*, and *Cassiodorus*, ranged Consuls in this yeer. In *Cuspinian* his Annals, there is *Rutilius*, the surname of *Nautius*, and likewise *Viscellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Fusus*.

267

Servius Cornelius. Q. Fabius.

ACcording to *Livy* the Consuls this year were *T. Sicinius*, and C. *Aquilius*; whom *Dionysius* and *Cassiodorus* name to be *T. Siccius* & *C. Aquilius*. The surnames of these, by the Greek records and *Cuspinians* Kalender, were *Tuscus* and *Sabinus*. As for *Aquilius*, he was so called (as *Marlianus* observeth) who was *aquilo colore*, *i.* of a duskish black, or brownish colour.

268

L. Æmylius. L. Furius.

Livy avoucheth Consuls for this yeer, Sp. *Cassius* and *Proculus Virginius*: and *Dionysius* Sp. *Cassius* the second time, with *Proculus Virginius*. And *Diodorus* in his eleventh book, unto *Virginius* addeth the name *Tricostus*. The Greek records, as also those of *Cuspinian* make mention of *Rutilius* and *Viscellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, some think they be so called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *quasi*, *Procul ætate progressi*, *i.* far stept in yeers.

269

M. *Fabius.* L. *Valerius.*

DIodorus in the faid 11 book, declareth Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Servius Cornelius Coſſus*, for this yeers Coſſ. The ſame do *Dionyſius Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*, ſaving that they leave out the ſurnames. But as touching the ſurname of *Coſſus*, (that ye may be reſolved) men were named *Coſſi* in the old time, who had riveld and wrinkled bodies, like to the wood-worms breeding in trees, called *Coſſi*. *Plinius* in his 17 book and 24 chap. ſaith: Ryot and wantonneſs hath brought up the uſe at the table of the daintier wood-worms breeding in oaks. Hereupon Saint *Hierome* againſt *Jovinian*: In *Pontus*, (quoth he) and *Phrygia*, it is counted high and delicat fare to eat *Xylophagion* for ſo he called thoſe plump and fat worms which came of rotten wood, and among them are reckoned to yeeld a great revenue and commodity to the houſekeeper. Of them the Romans took their names of *Coſſi*, *Coſſutij*, *Coſſanii*, and *Coſſutiani*.

270

Q. *Fabius.* C. *Iulius.*

LVcius Æmylius the ſon of *Mamercus*, and *Caſo Fabius* the ſon of *Caſo*, are by *Dionyſius* recorded the Conſuls of this yeer. *Livy* and *Caſſiodore* approved the ſame. *Diodorus* likewiſe, ſaving that he addeth to L. *Æmylius* the ſurname of *Mamercus*: but they leave out the forenames of their fathers. The Greek records have *Mamercus* and *Fabius*. As for the ſurname of *Mamercus*, *Dionyſius* giveth it unto *Æmylius* himſelf in the third Conſulſhip. Moreover, Sex. *Pompeius* affirmeth, that the kindred *Æmylia* took name of *Mamercus* the ſon of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher, who for his ſingular humanity, was ſurnamed *Æmylius*. But as he ſaith *Æmylius* is a name and not a ſurname. Now was this *Æmylius* the ſon of *Mamercus*, as witneſseth *Dionyſius*.

271

K. *Fabius.* Sp. *Furius.*

DIonyſius hath for this yeers Coſs. *Marcus Fabius Vibulanus*, and L. *Valerius Potitus*. *Dionyſius*, *Livius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, M. *Fabius* and L. *Valerius* The Greek records, *Fabius* and *Volſus*: and finally *Cuſpanians* book *Fabius* and *Potitus*.

272

M. *Fabius.* Cn. *Manlius.*

DIonyſius matcheth together in the Conſulſhip this yeer, C. *Iulius* and Q. *Fabius*. *Livius* and *Caſſiodorus*, Q. *Fabius* and *Caius Iulius*. The Sicilian regiſters and *Cuſpinian Iulus* and *Fabius*.

273

K. *Fabius.* T. *Virginius.*

DIonyſius writeth, that *Caſo Fabius* the ſecond time, and Sp. *Furius Medullinus* were Conſuls this year: but *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* put in ſtead of them, Q. *Fabius* and C. *Juvinus*. The Sicilian regiſters, as alſo *Cuſpinian*, *Iulius* and *Fabius*.

274

L. *Æmylius.* T. *Servilius.*

BY the teſtimony of *Dionyſius*, there followed Conſuls next after, *M. Fabius* the ſecond time, and C. *Manlius*. But *Diodorus*, *Livius*, and *Coſſiodorus*, deliver unto us M. *Fabius* and *Cn. Manlius* for Conſuls. The Greek records, name *Fabius* the ſecond time, and *Cincinnatus*, *Cuſpinians* book hath *Vibulanus* the ſecond time. The Capitoline ſtone ſheweth, *Cn. Manlius* the ſon of *Publius*.

275

C. *Horatius.* T. *Menenius.*

FLvius, *Caſſiodorus*, *Diodorus* and *Dionyſius*, make report of *Caſo Fabius* to have been Coſ. this year with *T. Virginius*: but the Sicilian regiſters, *Fabius* with *Rutilus*. *Dionyſius* noteth that *Caſo* the brother of the Coſ. who gave him his place, was a third Conſul this yeer. And *Livy* ſaith, that T. *Virginius Rutilus* died in time of the peſtilence the 290 yeer.

276

A. Virginius. Sp. *Servilius.*

ACcording to *Livy*, *Dionyſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, the Conſuls this yeer were L. *Æmylius* and C. *Servilius*: but *Diodorus* nameth, Lu. *Æmylius Mamercus* with C. *Cornelius Lentulus*: the Sicilian regiſters, *Æmylius* with *Eſquilinus*. Another fragment of the Capitoline ſtone, only *Struttus Ahala*: with *Eſquilinus* ſubſtituted in his room. Moreover, *Mamercus* (as Sex. *Pompeius* writeth) is an Oſcane fore-name; who alſo reporteth, that the Houſe *Æmylia* was ſo called of *Mamercus* the ſon of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher, who for his paſſing courteſie was ſurnamed *Æmylius*.

277

C. *Nautius.* P. *Valerius.*

LIvius, *Caſſiodorus*, *Dionyſius*, and *Diodorus*, put down for Coſſ. *T. Menenius* and C. *Horatius*, As for *Diodorus*, he added unto *Horatius* the ſurname of *Pulvillius*: and the Capitoline ſtone ſurnameth *Menenius*, *Lanatus*. And even ſo both in *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian regiſters, are to be ſeen *Lanatus* and *Pulvillus*. Of theſe Coſſ. *Gellius* maketh mention in the 17 book & 12 chap. but not without faule.

278

L. *Furius.* A. *Manlius.*

LIvius, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Dionyſius*, ſet down for Coſſ. *A. Virginius* and *Spurius Servilius*. *Diodorus*, A. *Virginius Tricoſtus*, and C. *Servilius Struttus*. In *Cuſpinian* his Kalender, *Virginius*, for his ſurname hath *Rutilus*: and the Capitol marbles, give *Struttus* to *Servilius*: the Sicilian records have both.

279

L. *Æmylius. Opiter Virginius*, or, *Vopiſcus Iulius.*

LIvy and *Caſſiodorus* nominat for this yeers Coſs. P. *Valerius* and C. *Nautius*. *Dionyſius*, P. *Valerius Popicola* and C. *Nautius*. *Diodorus* P. *Valerius Poplicola*, and C. *Nautius Rufus*. The Sicilian regiſters, thus *Nautius* and *Poplicola*. *Cuſpinian*, *Poplicola* and *Rufus*. The Capitol ſtones, having for *Rufus*, *Rutilus*: like as *Dionyſius* before in *Larcius*, for *Rufus* putteth down *Flavus*.

280

L. *Pinarius.* P. *Furius.*

DIodorus this yeer nameth Conſuls, L. *Furius Medullinus* and *Manlius Volſo*. *Livius* and *Caſſiodorus* record L. *Furius* and C. *Manlius*. *Dionyſius* cometh with *A. Manlius* and *Lu. Furius*: *Marianus* giveth warning to read *Vulſo*, not *Volſo*.

281

App. *Claudius* ſon of *Appius.* T. *Quintius.*

DIonyſius would have L. *Æmylius Mamercus* to be Conſul the third time this yeer, with *Vopiſcus Iulius*: but *Livy*, L. *Æmylius* and *Opiter Virginius*. Howbeit he ſaith that in ſome Annals he found *Vopiſcus Iulius*, in ſtead of *Virginius*. And them *Diodorus*, the Greek records, and the avouchers of the Conſuls tables within the Capitol, have followed. In the fragments whereof is read *Iulius*, which is a ſurname of the *Iulii*. And therefore in the Sicilian regiſters, it is thus written, *Æmylius* and *Julius*: but in thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, *Mamercus* and *Vopiſcus*. *Caſſiodorus* hath followed *Livy*. Moreover, *Appius* is a peculiar name of the *Claudii*, which no citizen elſe of *Rome* uſed: becauſe it was a ſtrangers name.

282

L. *Valerius.* T. *Æmylius.*

LIvius, *Dionyſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, name for this yeer Conſuls, L. *Pinarius* and *Lu. Furius*. *Diodorus*, L. *Penarius Mamercinus*, and P. *Furius* ſpoyle but faultily, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* think. Of theſe Coſſ. M. *Varo* maketh mention. and *Macrobius* in the firſt book of the *Saturnalia*.

283

T. *Numicius Priſcus.* A. *Virginius.*

DIonyſius ſaith, the Conſuls of this yeer were App. *Claudius* the ſon of *Appius*, ſurnamed alſo *Sabinus*, and T. *Quintius Capitolinus*. *Livy* leaveth out their ſurnames.

284

T. *Quintius.* P. *Servilius.*

LIvy and *Caſſiodorus* ſet down for Conſuls this yeer, T. *Æmylius* and L. *Valerius*. *Dionyſius*, L. *Valerius Poplicola*; and T. *Æmylius Mamercus*. *Dionyſius*, L. *Valerius* the ſecond time, and T. *Æmylius*. The Sicilian regiſters yeeld us nothing but the bare names, *Æmylius* and *Valerius*; but *Cuſpinian*, *Potitus* and *Mamercus*.

285

T. *Æmylius.* Q. *Fabius.*

DIonyſius, hath for Conſuls this yeer, A. *Virginius Montanus* (whom the Greek records call *Calimontanus*) and T. *Numiſius Priſcus*. *Diodorus*, *Livius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, conceal their ſurnames: and whom the Sicilian regiſters name *Calimontanus*, *Cuſpinian* calleth *Nomentanus*.

286

Q. *Servilius.* Sp. *Poſthumius.*

IN *Dionyſius* we read, for this yeers Conſuls *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *Q. Servilius Priſcus*. *Livius* and *Caſſiodorus*, are ſilent for the ſurnames: but in *Diodorus* there be T. *Quintius* & *Q. Servilius Struttus*. In *Cuſpinians* Kalender, *Capitolinus* and *Priſcus*: in the Sicilian regiſters, *Calimontanus* and *Priſcus*.

287

Q. *Fabius.* T. *Quintius.*

LIvius, and *Caſſiodorus* match together in Conſulſhip for this yeer: T. *Æmylius* and Q. *Fabius*. *Dionyſius*, T. *Æmylius* the *II.* time, and Q. *Fabius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Æmylius* & *Vibulanus*, *Cuſpinian Mamercus* and *Vibulanus*. *Diodorus*, *Æmylius Mamercus* and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*. This is that *Fabius* who afterwards was four times Conſul, and was the only *Fabius* that ſurvived, when the *Fabii* were ſlain at *Cremera*: not a child at the time of fourteen yeers of age, but a ſerviceable and an active man of his hands, (as *Dionyſius* reporteth) and was the ſon of *Marcus* a man who had been Conſul.

288

A. *Poſthumius Albus.* Sp. *Furius Fuſus.*

THis yeer had for Conſuls, Q. *Servilius* and *Sp. Poſthumius*, as *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* report: but *Priſcus* and *Albinus*, as *Cuſpinian* ſaith. And by *Dionyſius* his teſtimony, *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, and *Servilius Priſcus* the ſecond time; *Diodorus* nameth Q. *Servilius Priſcus* the ſecond time: but *Diodorus* nameth Q. *Servilius* & Sp. *Poſthumius Albinus*. Howbeit, in the fragment of the Capitol marble, Sp. *Poſthumius* is ſurnamed *Albus Regillenſis*, and not *Albinus*, and ſo *Marianus* thinketh it ought to be read.

289

LIvius nameth T. *Quintius* and Q. *Fabius Caſſiodorus*. T. *Quintius* the ſecond time, and Q. *Fabius* the ſecond time. *Diodorus*, *Tit. Quintius Capitolinus* and Q. *Fabius*. *Dionyſius*, *Tit. Quintius Capitolinus* the third time, and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* the ſecond time.

290

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, T. Veturius Geminus

ACcording to the Capitoline table, *Aulus Posthumius* out of *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Furius Fusus*, are noted for Consuls this yeer. *Diodorus* putteth to *Furinus* the only gentile surname *Medullinus* for *Fusus*. This *A. Posthumius* was the son of *A. Posthumius* the Dictator.

291

P. Volumnius. Serv. Sulpitius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write that there followed as Coss. this yeer, P. *Servilius*: but *Dionysius* nameth *L. Æbutius* and P. *Servilius Priscus*. *Diodorus*, *L. Æbutius Elva* and *Pub. Servilius Structus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Priscus* and *Flavus*: *Cuspinian*, *Elva* and *Priscus*. The Capitol stones exhibit unto us P. *Servilius* the son of Sp. P. N. *i.* the sons son of *Publius*) and surnamed *Priscus*.

292

C. Claudius, son of *Appius*. *P. Valerius Poplicola.*

Livy Cassiodore, and *Denis*, represent unto us as Consuls this yeer, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and T. *Veturius* [for *Vetusius*] *Geminus*: but *Diodorus*, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius Cicurinus*. *Cuspinian* his Kalender, *Geminus* and *Tricipitinus*. The Sicilian Registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Veturius*: the Capitol monuments *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*.

293

Q. Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Cornel. Maluginesis

Livius and *Cassiodorus* professe for Consuls this yeer, *P. Volumnius* and *Serv. Sulpitius*. *Dionysius*, *P. Volumnius*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. The Capitol marbles have P. *Volumnius Amintinus Gallus*. Of the same Consul *Valerius* speaketh, in his first book and sixt chapter.

294

L. Minutius. C. Nautius.

Livy and *Dionysius* name, P. *Valerius Publicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus* Consuls for this yeer: *Diodorus*, P. *Valerius Poplica*, and C. *Claudius Regillanus*. The Sicilian registers & *Cuspinian*, call them *Poplicola* and *Sabinus*. The Capitoline marble hath this record, P. *Valerius* P. F. [for P.] *Volusi* N. *i.* the sons son of *Volusus*, (surnamed *Poplicola*, but *Livy*, *Dionysius*, *Orosius* & they that have ranged the Cos. in the capitol, have reported that P. *Valerius* the Consul was slain in the battel against the bondslaves who this yeer (under the leading of *Ap. Herdonius* the Sabine) held the Capitol by force, and that in his stead *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* was substituted.

295

Q. Minutius. C. Horatius Pulvillus.

Livius, together with *Cassiodorus*, declare for Consuls this yeer, *Q. Fabius* the third time and *L. Cornelius Malugineusis*. *Dionysius*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*. *Diodorus*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*. The Sicilian registers, and *Cuspinian Vibulanus* and *Maluginensis*. The capitol marble *C. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time.

296

M. Valerius. Sp. Virginius.

Both *Livy* and *Cassiodore*, deliver unto us for Consuls, *L. Minutius* and C. Nautius, *Dionysius*, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nautius* the second time. *Diodorus Minutius* κατ' ἐπανοδον, and C. *Nautius Rutilius*. The capitol stones C. *Nautius Rutilius* the second time. What this surname κατ' ἐπανοδον should mean, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* confesse they know not, and think in stead thereof we should read ἀγαγὼν, *Valerius Maximus* (5 book 2 chap. Of thankful persons) writeth these Consuls corruptly, Q. for *Nautius*, and *Minutius*.

297

T. Romulus. Sp. Veturius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name for Cos. this yeer *Q. Minutius* and *M. Horatius Pulvillus*: but herein they do amisse, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose: for the same *Livy* writeth, that *Caius Horatius Pulvillus* died being Augur in the yeer 302. *Diodorus* nameth L. *Posthumius* and *M. Horatius*. *Dionysius Q. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*. The Capitol records, C. *Horatius Pulvillus*. And the Sicilian registers, *Pulvillus* and *Angurinus*.

298

Sp. Tarpeius. A. Aterius.

IN *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, we find Cos. this yeer, *Valerius* with Sp. *Virginius*. But in the twelfth book of *Diodorus* M. *Valerius Lactuca*, and Sp. *Virginius Tricostus*. In *Cuspinian* Kalender *Maximus* and *Calimontanus*. In the Sicilian, *Maximus* and *Virginius*. In that of the Capitol, *M. Valerius Max.* As for *Lactucinus*, *Plinie* sheweth, that it is a surname of the *Valerii*. Of these Consuls also, *Censorinus* maketh mention in his discourse of the places called *Seculares*.

299

P. Curiatius. Sext. Quintilius

ACcording to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, this yeer *Veturius* and *T. Romulus* entred upon the Consulship. *Diodorus* delivereth unto us *C. Veturius Cicurinus* and *T. Romulius Vaticanus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender sheweth *Geminus* and *Vaticanus*. The Sicilian, *Romus* and *Veturius*. The Capitol records, *T. Romulus*, son of *T.* nephew or sons son of *T. Vaticanus*. Of the same *Romulus*, *Pliny* also speaketh alle 7 book, chapter 28.

300

T. Menenius. P. Sestius Capitolinus.

SPurius *Tarpeius* son of *M.* and nephew of *M.* surnamed *Montanus Capitolinus*, the Kalender of *Verrius Flaccus* sheweth unto us for one Consuls this yeer. Of whom, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, *Pedianus* upon *Cicero* his oration for *Cornelius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention save only the surnames. *Cuspinians* book, and the Greek records, have *Capitolinus*. As for his colleague, they differ and disagree. For *Diodorus* would have him to be *Aulus Asterius Fontinalis*; but *Dionysius Aulus Termenius*. *Livy* and *Pliny*, the seventh book, chapter seven and twenty, A. *Æternius*. *Solinus* chapter 4. *Gell.* 1 book, chapter 11. *A. Thermus*. Lastly, *Cassiodorus*, *Au. Aterius*. whom *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* follow.

301

App. Claudius. T. Gontius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* likewise, report for this yeer Consuls, *Sext. Quintilius* and P. *Curiatius*. *Dionysius*, *Sex. Quintilius* and *Horatius*. *Diodorus*, *Sex. Quintilius Tergeminus*. The Capitol stones name him *Sex. Quintilius*, son of *Sex.* nephew of *Pub.* For this surname *Tergeminus* is common both to the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* allow *Horatius* rather.

302

Sex. Quintilius son of *Sextus*, nephew of *Pub.*

TO this Consul the Greek records give the surname of *Varus*, and to the Capitoline tables of stone do represent him. But *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* deliver the same man unto us without the surname. Who was his colleague, it is doubtfull. For by *Dionysius* it is was P. *Horatius*: by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Curtatius*: by *Diodorus*, *Tergeminus*; which is the surname as well of the *Curiatii*, as the *Horatii*. *Onuphrius* rather approveth of *Curiatius*.

303

Decemvirs Consular.

Livy and *Diodorus*, together with the Capitoline registers (as far forth as may be gathered by the broken fragments of the tables shew that *App. Claudius* and T. *Genutius* were Coss. elect for this yeer, but they resigned up the place, in regard of creating Decemvirs. Now at touching this Decemvirat, the law *Terentia* brought it into the commonweal: which law *A. Terentius Arsa*, a Tribune of the Commons promulged as touching five Quinquevirs to be created, who should set down laws to gage the Coss. authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too great and tolerable, and therefore required that it might be abated and made more moderat. Which Law, after he had been for six yeer together hotely canvassed by the Trib. to no effect in the end waxed cold again, by reason that the said Trib. obtained a grant to double their own number. But afterwards upon the occasion that *Romulus* and *Veturius* the Coss. bare themselves too extream in rigor against the Com. refusing warfare, the said law was set on foot again, and suit followed more hotly then before. Whereupon when the LL. of the Senat were doubtfull what to do, at length they resolved upon this point, whereof the principal adviser was *T. Romulus*) to create certain lawgiver, who should set down the rights and priviledges both of nobles and commons. And look what ordinances by them were decreed, the same should bind both the one part and the other. The com. agreed to this determination: and so three Embassadors, Sp. *Posthumius Albus*, *Au Manlius Vulso*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, were sent into *Greece*, to learn the statuts, customs, rights, and laws of the Athenians and other Cities of *Greece*, and the same to bring to them to *Rome*. These went their embassage when *Arimius* and *Tarpeius* were Consul, and three yeers after returned with the said Laws, whiles *Sestius* and *Menenius* were Consuls. Now when the Tribuns were instant & called hard upon them, to begin once for to make these positive lawes, and now already *Ap. Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were elected coss. for this yeer: they passed an act of the Senat (according to the advice of *App. Claudius*) That other magistracies should surcease, and to Decemvirs be created in consular, nay roial authority absolutly, without liberty of appealing from them to the people: who should choose as well out of their own customs and ordinances, as the forrain laws abovesaid, the best & most profitable to the common-weal, and set down the rights of the people of *Rome*: And look what they prescribed and presented (if the Senat and people of *Rome* allowed thereof) that should stand in force & bind the whole body of the state for ever. When this act was approved by the Commons, the Consuls resigned and gave over. In whose stead, were chosen Decemvirs consular, namely, *Ap. Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, the same that gave up their Consulship): *Spur. Posthumius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *Am. Manlius*, (those that went in embassie from the Cos. to *Athens*:) *T. Romulius*, C. *Julius*, P. *Sestius*, *Pub. Horatius*, all men of consular calling, and such as had been Consuls before. Besides, *Sp. Veturius*, according to *Livy*, *Diodorus*, and *Dionysius*: although *Dionysius* called *Posthumius* by the name of *Publius* and not *Spurius* as *Livy*, and *Diodorus* do. Likewise *Livy* foreneameth *Veturius*, *Lucius*; *Dionysius Titus*; but *Diodorus* and the Capiteline stones, *Spurius*. These Decemvirs began their government in the 301 yeer after the foundation of the City, as *Livy* writeth, and after them *Cassiodorus* goeth. But the avouchers of the Capitol records, say it was the yeer 302; & with them agreeth *Solinus*. But *Varro* (who *Onuphrius* followeth) accounteth the yeer 303. These sat in judgment and ministred justice to the people by turns every one his tenth day: on which day the said chief justice

bare the soveraign port, with his 12 Lictors before him; the other nine had but one sergeant apeece to give attendance: and the singular concord among themselves, which otherwhiles was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equity to others.

304

BY this time the Commons, besides that they detested the name of Coss. no less than KK. found no miss of the Tribuns assistance, nor sought once after it, seeing the Decemvirs yeeld one onto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons, there were created for this year also Decemvirs in Consuls authority absolutly without appeal, *Ap. Claudius* the second time, *Q. Fabius* who had been four times Consul, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis* brother of *L. Cornelius*, who had been Consul in the year 295; M. *Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, M. *Rabuleius*: and three likewise of the Commons, *Q. Petilius*, *K. Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius Cornicen*, as witnesseth *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy*; although the gentile names for the most part are by *Diodorus* omitted.

305

WHen the more part of the former year was past, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to do, (in case the said tables were once in the high court and assembly of the Centuries passed) why the common-weal should have any need of the Decemvirs, insomuch as the commons expected, that soon after, the solemn court and assembly aforesaid for creation of Consuls should be published: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or assembly, came abroad guarded with whole troops of yong gentlemen Patritians, and demeaned themselves more proudly and insolently to every man. But before the year was fully expired, by occasion of the lecherous lust of *Ap. Claudius*, who challenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bond-servant, according as *Livy* more at large writeth; and also of the commons insurrection and departing into the *Aventine*, the foresaid Decemvirs gave over their Magistracy: and when *Q. Furius* the high Pontifex called a general assembly of the tribes, ten Tribuns of the Commons were again chosen: and so at length in another assembly of Centuries for the Consuls, holden by the Interregent, created there were Consuls,

L. Valerius Potitus. M. Horatius Barbatus.

THese Consuls *Onuphrius* casteth upon a third year of the Decemvirs (although *Livy* seemeth to dissent) to the end that he might jump with the account of the Capitol, which he supposeth to be collected by *Varro*: for by their calculation, the triumphs of these Consuls declared in the Capitol records, are engraven upon this very year, *i.* 304: so as it appeareth evidently, that part of this year was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Consuls. *Tacitus* and *Rufus* write, that the Decemvirs continued but two years.

306

Livius putteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Herminius* and *T. Virginius Calimontanus*. *Cassiodorus* saith, *L. Herminius* and *T. Virginius*. *Dionysius* writeth ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ, Τίτον ἀεγύτιον: and *Diodorus* thus, λαβῖνον ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν ἀεγύτιον ἑξάκτορα: the Greek records, *Herminius*, *Tricostus*: whereby *Onuphrius* seareth that it be corruptly written in *Diodorus*, *Structus* for *Tricostus*: for *Structus* was a surname of the *Servilii* and not of the *Virginii*. As for his colleague *Herminius*, that he is to be fore-named *Lars*, besides *Diodorus* and *Dionysius*, *Valerius* also sheweth in his tenth book, where he writeth thus: The fore-name of *Lars* is derived from the *Lares*.

307

M. Geganius Macerinus. C. Julius.

THese are recorded likewise to be the Consuls this year. The surname *Macerinus* is suppressed by *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, who also nameth the other *L. Julius*. In *Dionysius* certain pages be wanting in this place. *Cuspinian* his Kalender hath for *Macerinus*, *Macrinus*.

308

T. Quintius Capitolinus IIII. Agrippa Furius.

Dionysius and *Livy* both, name the Coss. of this year, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*. *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* conceal the surname and the numeral note of four. The Greek records have *Furius* and *Capitolinus*. *Onuphrius* unto *Furius* addeth the surnames of the grandsire, to wit, *Medullinus Fusus*.

309

M. Genutius. C. Curtius.

Livy delivereth unto us for Coss. this year, M. *Genutius*, and *P. Curiatius*. *Cassiodorus* likewise *M. Genutius* and *P. Curiatius*: but *Dionysius*, *M. Genutius* and *C. Quintius*: and *Diodorus* hath, *M. Genutius* and *Agrippa Curtius Chilo*. But as *Sigonius*, and after him *Onuphrius* have noted, it is fally read in *Livy*, *Curiatius* for *Curtius*; and that is proved by the authority of *Varro de lingua latina*: and therefore in the Sicilian registers written they are, *Genutius* and *Curtius*.

310

A. Semp. Atratinus. *T. Cœlius.* *L. Atilius.* — Military Tribuns in Consular authority: upon whose resignation Consuls were chosen in their room.

L. Papirius Mugillanus. L. Sempronius Atratinus.

WHen *C. Canuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, had the former year published a second law, That one of the Consuls should be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignity of the Patritii was empaired) the nobles fearing lest the said law would pass in deed maugre their heads, drew to a point; whereof *C. Claudius* made the first motion and was the adviser, That in stead of Consuls there should be created military Tribuns, three of the Patritii, and as many of the Commons; who being endued with Consular authority, should govern the common-weal. Also, that when their years government was expired, the advice both of Senat and also of people should be once again required, Whether they would have Consuls rather than Tribunes consular? and look which pleased them, they should be created. These points being resolved upon and decreed, three military Tribunes were created only, all Patritii: and well enough were the Commons content therewith, because themselves were eligible and capable of that dignity. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly set up, stood not firmly established. For within 3 months after, by a decree of the Augurs, they resigned up their honourable place, as if there had been some error committed in their election: and then *T. Quintius Barbatus* (nominated Interregent) created Consuls, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. The Consuls are left out in the Sicilian registers. Well saith *Livy* therefore, that these Consuls are found neither in ancient annals and yearly records, nor yet in the Kalender of the Magistrats. But *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his Epistle to *Papyrius Paetus*.

311

M. Geganius Macerinus II. — *T. Quintius Capitolinus V.*

Dionysius and *Cassiodorus* avouch these for Consuls this year. As for *Dionysius*, he saith that they entred in the month of *December*. *Cassius* concealeth both their surnames, and *Diodorus* the one, namely, *Capitolinus*. The Greek records have *Macrinus* the second time, and *Capitolinus* the fifth time. *Zonaras* nameth them *Macrinus* and *Barbatus*.

312

M. Fab. Vibulanus. Postumus Ebutius Cornicen.

Livy saith, that Consuls of this year, were so named, *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* are silent in their surnames. The Greek records have *Vibulanus* and *Helua*. *Diodorus* attributeth to *Ebutius* the surname of Ἀακ&, but what manner of addition that might be, *Sigonius* knoweth not; and thinketh that it should be read, ὁ Ἄλλος.

313

C. Furius Pacilus. M. Papyrius Crassus.

THese Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassodorus* are in this wise represented unto us. But by *Diodorus* after this sort, *Q. Furius Fusus*, and *Manius Papirius Crassus*. And by the Greek records thus, *Pacilus* and *Crassus*.

314

P. Geganius Macrinus. L. Menenius Lanatus.

Livius and *Cassiodorus*, deliver these Consuls thus fully named, *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*. *Diodorus*, *T. Menenius*, and *Proculus Geganius Macrinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Lanatus*.

315

T. Quint. Capitolinus VI. *A. Menenius Lanatus.*

BY *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, these were the Consuls for this year: but after *Diodorus*, *T. Quintius*, and *T. Menenius*. According to the Sicilian rolls, *Menenius* and *Capitolinus*.

316

Mam. Æmylius. — 2 Mili. Tribu. in Conf. authority.
L. Quintius son of Cincinnatus.
L. Julius.

THe Tribuns of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there should be an election holden for Tribuns military, rather than Consuls; making no doubt, but in the chusing of six (for so many now by law might be created) some of the commoners by making profession that they would be revenged for the death of *Melius*, would step into the place: howbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribuns with Consular authority, and among them *L. Quintius*, the son of *Cincinnatus*. In which election, *Mamerius Æmylius*, a right honorable man and of great worth, was by their suffrages preferred before *Quintius*, and *Julius* they made the third. In like manner, *Diodorus* nameth three Tribuns military for this year; but in this sort, M. *Æmylius Mamercus*, *C. Julius*, and *L. Quintius*.

317

M. *Geganius Macerinus* III. *L. Sergius Fidenas.*

WHen the Commons, together with their Tribuns were quiet, and carefully regarded the main state of the Common-weal, no question there was nor controversy, but that Coss. were chosen, to wit, M. *Geganius Macerinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, so saith *Livius*. *Cassiodorus* doth the same, but that he setteth down the names of the Coss. only in this wise, M. *Geganius* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, without surnames. *Diodorus* likewise, M. *Geganius* and *L. Sergius*. *Cuspinians* Kalender, and the Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Fidenas*. For this *Sergius* was surnamed *Fidenas* (as *Livy* reporteth) by occasion of the war which he made against the Fidenats.

318

M. *Cornelius Maluginensis. L. Papirius Crassus.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* report these above-named, for this year Consuls. *Diodorus* nameth them, *L. Papirius* and *A. Corn. Macerinus*: but doubtless not without error, as *Sigonius* supposeth: for both in *Cuspinians* Kalender and the rolls of *Sicily*, we find *Maluginensis* and *Crassus*,

319

319

C. *Iulius II.* L. *Virginius.*

THese Consuls are found for this yeer in *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but in *Diodorus* C. *Julius* and *Proculus Virginius Tricostus*. In *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Julius* and *Virginius*.

320

C. Iulius III. } or { *M. Manlius.*
L. Virginius II. } or { *Q. Martius.*

I Find in *Licinius Macer*, that the same Coss. were chosen again for the yeer following, to wit, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second. *Valerius Antias* and *Quin. Tubero* alledg for this yeers Consuls, M. *Manlius*, and Q. *Sulpitius*. But in these so different records of theirs, *Tubero* and *Macer* both professe to go by the linnen books; and neither of them dissembleth but that the ancient writers report of military Tribuns that yeer created. As for *Licinius*, he doubteth not to follow those linen records, and *Tubero* cannot retolve of the truth. But among other things, which by continuance of time are unknown, this also is left uncertain. Thus much *Livy*. But *Diodorus* in stead of Consuls, setteth down three military Tribunes, namely, M. *Manlius*, Q. *Sulpitius Praetextatus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*. The Greek records (following *Antias* and *Tubero*) have delivered to us Consuls, *Capitolinus* and *Camerinus*.

321

M. Fabius Vibulanus. } Tribunes military in Consuls authority.
Sergius Fedenas.
Marcus Foslius.

THe Tribuns of the Commons in their orations continually forbad the the elections of Consuls: and when they had brought it to about; that the goverment was at the point of interregency, they wan the mastery in the end, that the military Tribuns might be chosen with Consular authority. But reward of this victory which they shot at, namely, to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for out of the Patritii, namely M. *Fabius Vibulanus*, M. *Foslius*, *Ln. Sergius Fidenas*. Thus much *Livy*. *Diodorus* likewise nameth three, but corruptly, to wit, M. *Fabius*. M φαλιγιος, and L. *Servillius*. As for *Foslius* in some of the Capitol monuments, he is writen *Flaccinator* and not *Folius*, as in the common editions of *Livy*, whom *Diodorus* calleth φαλιγιος.

322

L. Papirius Mamercus. } Tribunes military in Consuls authority.
L. Furius Medullinus.
Sp. Posthumius Albus.

NO motion was made of Consuls election. So Tribunes military were created in Consuls authority these, *Papirius Mamercus*, L. *Furius Medullinus*, and *Spurius Posthumius Albus*; as *Livy* writeth. In *Diodorus* they are named thus, L. *Furius Sp.* . . . *Papirius Mamercus*.

323

T. *Quintius*, [son of *Lucius*.] *Cincinnatus Pennus*
Iulius Mento.

AN act of the Senat passed, that an election of Coss. should be holden, wherein T. *Quintius*, [son of *Lucius*] *Cincinnatus*, surnamed also *Pennus*, and C. *Julius Mento*, were made Consuls, saith *Livy*. The same Coss. *Cassiodorus* also avoucheth. The Greek records have *Pennus* and *Mento*: But *Diodorus* nameth them barely *T. Quintius* and *Caius Julius*.

324

L. Papyrius Crassus. L. Julius.

THe Tribuns of the Commons made much ado, and kept a canvasing in the City that Tribuns military in Consuls authority should be created, but could not prevail. So Consuls were chosen, *L. Papirius Crassus* and *L. Julius*. So say *Livy* and *Cassiodore*: but *Diodorus* nameth them falsly, *Caius Papyrius* and *L. Junius*: the Greek records, *Crassus* and *Julius*.

325

L. Ser. Fadenas II. Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus

THe Consuls this yeer in *Cassiodorus*, are *L. Sergius* and *Hostus Lucretius*: in *Diodorus Opster Lucretius* and L. *Sergius Fidenas*: in *Livy* L. *Sergius Fidenas* the second time, and *Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In the Sicilian registers, *Trucipitinus* and *Fidenas*. Of these *Valerius* maketh mention in his Epitome.

326

A. *Cornelius Cossus. T. Quintius Pennus II.*

THese Consuls are named by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* for this yeer. But *Diodorus* avoucheth L. *Quintius* and *Sempronius*; but corruptly, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For in the Sicilian records are writen, *Cossus* and *Pennus*, the surnames of *Cornelius* and *Quintius*. Of these Consuls *Livy* spake before, in the yeer 316.

327

C. *Servilius Ahala.* L. *Papirius Mugillanus*

Livy and *Cassiodorus*, name Consuls for this yeer, C. *Servilius Ahala*, and L. *Papirius Mugillanus*. *Diodorus* for *Ahala* putteth down *Structus*: for well it may be, that *Structus* was also called *Ahala*.

328

T. Quintius Pennus. } Tribunes military in Coss. authority.
M. Posthumius.
C. Furius.
A. Cornelius Cossus.

THe Commons carried it cleer, that no Coss. this yeer were created: for four there were elected military Tribunes in Consuls authority, namely *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately upon his Consulship, M. *Posthumius*, C. *Furius*, & *An Cornelius*, Coss. Thus writeth *Livy*: and the same *Diodorus* nameth.

329

A. Sempronius Atratinus. } Tribunes Military in Coss. authority.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus.
Li. Furius Medullinus.
L. Horatius Barbatus.

THese abovenamed (as *Livy* reporteth) were Tribuns military in Consuls authority this yeer. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames, and *L. Horatius* all and whole.

330

Ap. Claud. the Decemvirs son. } Tribunes military in Consuls authority.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Sergius Fidenas.
Sext. Iulius Iulus.

These Tribunes military in Coss. authority *Livy* seteth down for this yeer. The same doth *Diodorus* also nominate, all but their surnames, and App. *Claudius* whom he called *Tiras*. *Livy* moreover saith, that there were two *Spurii Nautii Rutili*, Tribunes in those dates: but no doubt, as *Onuphrius* thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the book) the one whereof is now the first time, and a second time shall be in the yeer 338: the other, who was first in the yeer 335, and once again in the yeer 340 of the Capitol monuments of long haue the same: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other thrice Tribune.

331

C. *Sempronius Atratinus.* Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*

THe Consuls this yeer created were according to *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, C. *Sempronius Atratinus* and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* [*Diodorus* overpasseth them] whom *Livy* reporteth to have entred into government, upon the Ides of December. Of C. *Sempronius Atratinus* Consul, *Valerius* writeth six book, cap. 5. whom he forenameth *Lucius*: but in the third book and second chapter, he speaketh of both, although untruely; for Q. *Fabius*, he nameth Q. *Caeulus*.

332

L. *Manlius Capitolinus.* }
Q. *Antonius Merenda.* } Tribunes military in Consuls authority.
L. Papyrius Mugillanus. }
L. Servillius Structus. }

THe Senat being offended with the very name of Consuls for the hatred they bare to *Sempronius*, commanded Tribuns military to be created with Consuls authority. And these they were, L. *Manlius Capitolinus*, Q. *Antonius Merenda*, and *Papyrius Mugillanus*. Thus much *Livy*, in whose story the name is missing of the fourth, to wit, L. *Servilius Structus*, who in the yeer 337, is found engraven in the Capitol stones, Tribunes military the second time. Of these, *Diodorus* saith not a word. In a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the surnames of *Mugillanus*, belonging to L. *Papirius*.

333

T. *Quintius Capitolinus. M. Fabius Vibulanus.*

NOt only *Livy*, but *Cassiodorus* also recordeth that the Coss. this yeer were *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*. *Diodorus* over-passed them; but so do not the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitol marbles, we find engraven *T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus* and *N. Fabius*. This *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Fabius* the Decemvir, who after the 300 *Fabii* slain in *Cremera*, survived and was the first of all that kindred and family surnamed *Numerius*. As *Valerius Maximus* in his 10 book, and *Sex. Pompeius* do report. As for T. *Quintius* son he was (as *Livy* writeth) to that *Capitolinus* who was Consul six times.

334

An Interregency.

WHen the greater part of the yeer was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib. of the Commons and certain Interregents, while the Tribuns one while would not suffer the Patritii to go together about the declaring of an interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that he could not passe an act of the Senat for the election of Consuls at length L. *Papirius Mugillanus* the Interregent, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for chusing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes military with Consuls authority, and all Patritii, T. *Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, L. *Furius Medullinus*, M. *Manlius*, L. *Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus much *Livy*.

335

A. Menenius Lanatus. }
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus } Trib. military in Coss.
Sp. Nautius. } authority.
C. Servilius. }

MIlitary Tribuns with Consuls authority for this yeer, are set down by *Livy Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, P. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and P. *Nautius*: for the name of the fourth is wanting; and that was C. *Servilius*, son of *Quintius* and nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Axilla*; who the yeer following, in the Capitol tables is numbered among the Tribunes consular, with the numerall note of II. So as it must needs be, that he was the first time in the yeer, for as much as no other fit void place left for him. *Diodorus* nameth *Sp. Veturius*.

336

L. *Sergius Fidenas.* M. *Papirius Mugillanus.* C. *Servilius Priscus.* — Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

FOr Tribunes Consular this yeer, *Livy* nameth these. This C. *Servilius*, is by *Verrius Flaccus* named *Axilla*. *Diodorus* calleth them L. *Sergius*, M. *Servilius*, and M. *Papirius*. Now this *M. Papirius* was son to L. *Papirius Mugillanus* the Censor.

337

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. L. Servilius Structus. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. Sp. Veturius Crassus.

ALl these are recorded by *Livy*, for Trib. military this yeer. Of these L. *Servilius Structus* was the first time in the 332 yeer, but left out in *Livy* through fault of those that wrote the copies. *Diodorus* hath the same Tribune besides the surnames, and L. *Servilius*, whom he called *Caius*. In a Capitoline table their names are thus cut P. *Lucretius* son of *Hostus*, *Agrippa Menenius* son of *T.* nephew of *Agrippa*.

338

A. Sempronius Atratinus. III.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus II.
Papirius Mugillanus.

QNly these are by *Livy* recorded: but that the pen-men who wrote out the books, left out the fourth Tribun of this yeer. *Quintius Fabius* son of *Quintus* nephew of *Marcus*, surnamed also *Vibulanus*) the Capitol stones and *Diodorus* do testifie. *Livy* himself also doth shew the same, who writeth, that *Quintius Fabius* was Tribune military the second time, in the yeer three hundred and forty: but in what yeer he was first, it appeareth not. Moreover, *Au. Sempronius* is by *Verrius Flaccus* named the son of *Lucius* and nephew of *Aulus*. *Diodorus* reckoneth all four, but he concealeth their surnames.

339

P. Cornelius Cossus. | *Q. Cincinnatus*
C Valerius Potitus. | *N. Fabius Vibulanus*

THese doth *Livy* deliver unto us for Tribuns military in Consuls authority. *Diodorus* in this wise, *P. Cornelius, Caius . . . Fabius.* The table of the Capitol thus, *P. Cornelius . . . F.* nephew of P. C. *Valerius*, son of L. nephew of *Volusus*, the forename of *Quintius* is unknown.

340

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. *Valerius Potitus*
Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. Posthumius Regillensis

THese declareth *Livius*, for this yeer: but *Diodorus*, *Titus Posthumius*, *Caius Cornelius*, C. *Valerius*, and *Caso Fabius*. But *Verrius Flaccus* nameth P. *Posthumius* son of *A.* nephew also of *Aulus*; whom *Livy* writeth to have been stoned to death by his own army for his cruelty

341

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. C. *Furius Medullinus.*

THen the Nobles and LL. of the Senat imported, that there should be Consuls created in the Centuriat assembly, which *Q. Fabius* held. And the Consuls were M. *Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*. The same are named by *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, but that they leave out their surnames. The Greek records have *Cossus* and *Medullinus*.

342

Q. Fabius Ambustus. C. *Furius Pacilus.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name these for Consuls: *Diodorus*, suppresseth their surnames.

343

M. Papyrius. C. *Nautius Rutilus.*

BOth *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report for this yeer Consuls, M. *Papyrius* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*. *Diodorus* hath not a word of the surnames. *Cuspinianus* book setteth them down by the surnames only *Mugillanus* and *Rutilus*.

344

M. *Æmylius* C. *Valerius.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* call these Consuls, M. *Æmylius* and *C. Valerius*, *Diodorus* in stead of *M.* hath *M. i. Manius*, This *Æmylius* in the table of the Capitol, is named in his first and third Tribunship, *Mr. Æmylius* son of *Manius*, nephew of *M.* and surname *Mamercinus*.

345

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. *Furius Medullinus.*

Livy putteth these down for the Consuls of this yeer. *Cassiodorus* passeth over their surnames and the numerall note of two. *Diodorus* hath L. *Furius* and *Cn. Pompeius*: but he is to be written *Cn. Cornelius*, out of the end of a broken fragment in the Capitol: and the other L. *Furius*, by his Tribuneship testified in the Capitol records.

346

C. Julius Julus — Tribunes militaria
P. *Cornelius Cossus* — in Consuls authority.
C. *Servilius Ahala* — Scy.

THese are set down for Tribunes military this yeer by *T. Livius*. *Diodorus* saith nothing of their surnames, which the Capitoline tables exhibit unto us. C. *Servilius* is writen in the second Tribuneship (after the Capitol records) the son of *Pub.* and nephew of *Q.* surnamed *Ahala*.

347

L. Furius Medullinus II. C. Valerius Potitus II.
N. Fabius Vibulanus II. C. Servilius Ahala II.

Livy reporteth, that the four Tribuns consular were all Patritii this yeer, & had born that dignity once before, to wit, L. *Furius Medullinus*, C. *Valerius Potitus*, *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and C. *Servilius Ahala*; and then this man last named was chosen again and continued in his place still this yeer with the former, as well in regard of other vertues as for the fresh favour and late grace gotten by his singular moderation and rare carriage in his government. *Diodorus* hath C. *Furius*. C. *Servilius*. C. *Valerius*, and *N. Fabius*. In the Capitoline tables, two are written short, *Potitus Volusus* II and *Medullinus*, the other two at full; whereby it doth appear (as *Onuphrius* reporteth that *Livy* was deceived. For *Medullinus* was not this year Tribune the second time, but the first: who had been twice Consul before, and after this yeer, will be no lesse then seven times Tribune military.

348

P. *Cornelius Cossus.* — *N. Fabius Ambustus.*
Cn. *Cornelius Cossus.* — L. *Valerius Potitus.*

OF these four Tribuns military, L. *Valerius Potitus* and *N. Fabius Ambustus* stand upon record in the Capitol tables; the othe two, as appeareth by a fragment thereof, by *Livy* also and *Cassiodorus*, were *Pub. Cornelius*, son of *Aules*, nephew of M. *Rutilus Cosus*, so written by his dictatorship. *Diodorus* reckoneth *Terentius Maximus* for the fourth Tribun.

349

T. Quintius Capitolinus. A. Manlius.
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus. L. Furius Medullinus III
C. *Julius Julus. II. M. Æmylius Mamercus.*

Diodorus saith, that this yeer six Tribunes were created, but he nameth but three, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, C. *Julius*, and *Au. Manlius*. *Livy* rehearseth them all as here they be set down. The Capitoline stone hath *Julus. II. Capitolinus Barbatus, Cincinnatus*, and the other three. And this was the first yeer that had six Tribunes military, notwithstanding that the law permitted it before, at what time as first it was granted that Tribunes should be created: and in this yeer began the siege first before *Veii*.

350

C. Valerius Potitus. III. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
M. Sergius Fidenas. K. *Fabius Ambustus.*
P. Cornelius Maluginensis. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. II

THe same Tribunes that *Livy* nameth, *Diodorus* also rehearseth, but that he leaveth out the surnames, and corruptly calleth *Cn. Cornelius* by the name of *Junius Lucullus*. In the Capitoline stones they are written, *Malugunensis, Cossus, II. Ambustus*: and the other three fully out. *Nautius Rutilus Livy* nameth the second time, but *Verrius Flaccus* the third time.

351

M. *Æmylius Mamercus. II. M. Quintius Varus*
L. Valerius Potitus III. — *L. Julius Julus.*
App. Claudius Crassus. — *M. Posthumius.*
M. Furius Camillus. — *M. Posthumius Albinus.*

Livy writeth that the number of Tribunes military were by the Romans augmented, and eight of them created, which were more then ever any time before, whose names we have set down. In *Diodorus* they are thus named, *Manius Claudius, Mar. Quintilius, Lu. Julius M. Furius, L. Valerius*. And albeit there be wanting in him some Tribunes, yet *Onuphrius* thinketh, and so doth *Sigonius*, that himself by his own writing delivered not eight, but six: which *Verrius Flaccus* also observed in the Capitoline tables.

352

C. Servilius Ahala. III. — *Q. Sulpitius.*
Q. Servilius. — *A. Manlius.*
L. Virginius. — *M. Sergius. II.*

IN *Livy* the Tribunes military in Consuls authority are *C. Servilius Ahala* the third time *Quin. Servilius*, and *Lu. Virginius*: the rest as in the tables of the Capitol, but only the forenames. *Livy* nameth *Qu. Servilius. Fidenas* in the other six Tribunships following: which he shall bear. To *Lucius Virginius, Onuphrius* addeth *Tricostus*, a surname usually in that house. *Diodorus* squareth not out of this range, but as *Sigonius* noteth, he doth fault in the name. πολλὸς μάκροσάγχος. In the fragment of the Capitol, they are thus named. Q. *Sulpitius* the son of *Servius*. N. *Camerinus Corvinus*, *Au. Manlius*, son of *Aulus*, nephew of C. *Volso Capitolinus* the second time, *M. Sergius* son of *Lucius* nephew of *Lucius*, surnamed *Fidenas*, the second time.

353

L. Valerius Potitus. IV. — *Cn. Cornelius Cossus.*
M. Furius Camillus. — *K. Fabius Ambustus.*
M. Æmy. Mamercinus. III. — *L. Julius Julus*

Livy reckoneth all these Tribunes this yeer. *Diodorus* putteth down *Lu. Julius. M. Furius, Æmylius Mamercus. Caius Cornelius, Caso Fabius* παῦλος σάγιτος, but amisse. In the fragments of the Capitol, they are thus named, *Lucius Julius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Vopiscus* surnamed *Julus*. *Marcus Æmylius*, son of *Manius*, nephew of *Mar. Mamercus*. K. *Fabius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *Qu. Ambustus* the second time. These were commanded to enter into government upon the first day of *October* (whereas the thirteenth of *December* was the usual day before time) by reason of an overthrow received the former yeer at *Veii* by *M. Sergius*. *Camillus* made an expedition in the Falisciens countrey, *Cornelius* to the Capenats, *Valerius* to the Volscians for the recovery of *Anxur*, *Æmylius* and *Fabius* to besiege *Veii*.

354

P. Licinius Calvus. *P. Manius.*
T. Titinius. *P. Melius.*
L. Furius Medullinus. *L. Publius Vulscus.*

THese by *T. Livius* are this yeer named the Tribunes military. But *Diodorus* rehearseth only three, namely, P. *Melius*, *Sp. Manius* and *L. Furius*. But *Onuphrius* thinketh that he is to be read, not *L. Furius* but *Sp. Furius*. The same author hath put to *P. Licinius*, the surname of *Calvus*, whom *Livy* writeth to have been the first man of the commonalty chosen Tribune military, only to take possession of the said right and interest.

355

M. *Veturius.* M. *Pomponius.*
C. Duilius. *Volero Publilius.*
Cn. Genutius. *L. Atilius.*

THese *Diodorus* sheweth for Tribuns. But *Livy* setteth down *Marcus Veturius* to have been the only Patritian, and the rest commoners, namely, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Duilius*, *Volero Publilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, *L. Atilius*, *Cuspinian* his book, who every yeer delivereth the names only of two Tribunes, hath *Augurinus* and *Longus*, surnames of *Genutius* & *Atilius*.

356

L. *Valerius Potitus. V.* *L. Furius Medullinus.*
M. Valerius Max. *Q. Servilius Fidenas. II.*
M. *Furius Camillus. II.* *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

ALl these Tribuns military for this yeer created were Patritii, as *Livy* writeth: neither differeth *Diodorus* although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, κλαυδιος ὄγουλνιος μάξιμος ἄππιος. *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* maketh mention, of the said *Camillus*, the second time Tribune military: and the Capitoline stone of *Medullinus* the third time.

357

L. Julius Iulus. *A. Posthu. Regillensis.*
L. Furius Medullinus. IV P. Cor. *Maluginensis.*
L. Sergius Fidenas. *A. Manlius.*

IN this wise Livy reckoneth them, but *Diodorus* L. *Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, P. *Cornelius* σέξτον λέντλον, *Q. Manlius* ἀγόντιον καπιτῶν. But in those two Greek-written names, as *Sigonius* & *Onuphrius*, obserueth there is a foul errour.

358

P. Licinius. P. F. Calvus. *L. Titinius. II.*
P. Manius II. *P. Melius. II.*
Cn. Genutius. II. *L. Atilius. II.*

IN this manet are these Tribunes military delivered us unto by *Livy*. But *Diodorus* names them tous, L. *Titinius*, P. *Licinius*, P. *Melius*, *Q. Manius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Atilius*. All these, but L. *Licinius* the son of *Publius* (as *Livy* saith) have the dignity of Tribunship a little before: who writeth moreover, that *Genutius* was slain in a battel against the Falisceins.

359

P. *Cornelius Cossus.* *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Fabius Ambustus. IV. *L. Furius Medullinus IV.*
M. Valerius Max. *II. Q. Servilius. III.*

AFter the winning of *Veii*, this year had for Tribunes military in Consuls authority, those above-named. *Diodorus* calleth P. and *Ser. Cornelius* both, *Cossi*: in the rest, saving that he concealeth their surnames, he agreeth.

360

L. Furius Medullinus. VI. Sp. Posthumius.
C. Æmylius. *P. Cornelius II.*
L. Valerius Poplicola. *M. Furius Camillus.*

Livy nameth these in this yeer. *Diodorus*, *M. Furius Æmylius*, κάτλον βόγον, but *Camillus* now is the third time. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* think, that by P. *Cornelius* we must understand *Scipio*, and not *Cossus*. This yeer *Camillus* Tribune military, by his just dealing reduced the Falisceans to the obeisance of the people of *Rome*: in that he sent back unto them, that schoolmaster who betrayed their children: as *Livy* and *Plutarch* write. *Valerius* (not without some suspition of error) writeth in his first book, that *Camillus* did this being Consul: whereas *Plutarch* saith, he was never Consul.

361

L. Lucretius Flavus. Servi. Sulpitius Camerinus.

AFter fifteen yeers (saith *Livy*) Coss. were created again L. *Lucretius Falvus*, & *Servi. Sulpitius Camerinus*. *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* passe over the surnames. The Sicilian registers do shew, *Flavus*, and *Camerinus*.

362

L. Valerius Potitus. *M. Manlius Capitolinus.*

Vcin. Valerius Potitus and *M. Manlius* surnamed afterwards *Capitolinus*, are by *Livy* reported Consuls this yeer. *Dionysius* in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls, naming them L. *Valerius Potitus*, and *T. Manlius Capitolinus*. *Cassiodorus* delivereth them by the names of I. *Valerius* and *M. Manlius*. *Diodorus*, of L. *Valerius* and A. *Manlius*: but the Sicilian registers, of *Potitus* and *Capitolinus*.

363

L. Lucretius. *L. Furius Medullinus VII.*
Serv. Sulpitius. *Agrippa Furius.*
M. Æmylius. *C. Æmylius II.*

BY occasion that the Coss. lay sick, though good it was, to renew the government by means of an interregency: therefore after they had deposed the Coss. by an act of the Senat, six Trib. military were created with Consular authority, by the Interregent: who upon the first day of *July* began their magistracy, as *Livy* saith, *Diodorus* mentioneth but four, namely, L. *Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, C. *Æmylius*, and *Lu. Furius*. As for *Sulpitius*, *Zonaras* calleth him *Rufus*; which surname *Onuphrius* also hath put unto him.

364

Q. Fabius Ambustus. *Q. Sulpitius Longus.*
The ij brethren of *Q.* *Q. Servilius IIII.*
Fabius Ambustus. *Servil. Cor. Maluginensis*

THese are by *T. Livius* recorded for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: but *Diodorus* reckoneth the three *Fabii*, *Q. K.* & C. and the other three, besides *Plutarch* in *Camillus*, *Gellius* out of *Verrius Flaccus*, in his 5 book and 17 chapter; *Macrobius* also in his first book of Saturnals, make report of *Quintus Sulpitius*, a Tribune military.

365

L. valerius Poplicola II. *A. Manlius.*
L. Virginius. *L. Æmylius.*
P. Cornelius. *L. Postumius.*

ACcording to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military after the winning of the City: but by *Diodorus*, they were *Pub. Cornelius*, *L. Virginius. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, and *L. Postumius*. Of these Tribunes, *Macrobius* speaketh in his first book of *Saturnalia*.

366

T. Quintius Cincinnatus. *L. Aquilius Corvus.*
Q. Servilius Fidenas V. *L. Lucret. Tricipitinus.*
L. Julius Julus. *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus.*

THese Tribunes military in Consuls authority for this year, *Livy* thus declareth unto us. *Diodorus* hath these Tribunes, *Titus Quintius*, *L. Servilius*, *L. Julius Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius* ἄγγο, *Servius Sulpitius*.

367

L. Papirius. *C. Sergius.*
L. Æmylius II. *C. Cornelius.*
L. Menenius. *L. Valerius Poplicola III.*

THese, *Livy* reporteth for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. But *Diodorus* hath *L. Papirius*, *C. Cornelius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Servilius*, *A. Valerius*, and *Q. Fabius*. Howbeit, there is wanting in *Livy* the name of the sixt Tribune, whom (out of *Diodorus*) *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have set to the rest, by the name of *C. Cornelius*. *Diodorus* also for *Sergius* hath *Servilius*, and *Æmylius* for *Fabius*.

368

M. Furius Camillus. *L. Horatius Pulvillus*
S. Corn. Maluginensis. *L. Quint. Cincinnatus.*
Q. Servil. Fidenas VI. *P. Valerius.*

THe Common-weal came to be governed again by *Camillus*, a Tribune military in Coss. authority, and for Collegues were added unto him these 5 here named. But *Diodorus* saith there were 4 created, *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and L. *Quintius*. In this year, when the Dictatorship was offered unto *Camillus*, he said there was no need thereof: and he, together with the Tribunes his Collegues, vanquished the Volscians, Antiots, & Tuscans which rebelled.

369

A. Manlius. *P. Cornelius.*
L. Quintius Capitolinus. *L. Papirius Cursor II.*
T. Quintius Capitolinus. *C. Sergius II.*

THese hath *Livy*: but *Diodorus* saith, that four only were created namely, *L. Papirius*, *Q. T.* and *L.* all *Quintii*. But of those six, *A. Manlius* having been Tribune military in the year 365, and who shall be a third time in the year 371, must now verily be the second time.

370

S. Cor. Maluginen. IV. *P. Valerius Potitus II.*
M. Furius Camillus V. *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus II.*
C. Papirius Crassus. *T. Quint. Cincinnatus II.*

THese Tribunes military in Coss. authority; in this manner be delivered unto us by *Livy*: but *Diodorus* (as his manner is) putteth down four; *Serv. Sulpitius*, *L. Papirius*, *Mar. Cornelius*, and *T. Quintius*. In this year, *M. Manlius* attainted and condemned for aspiring to be K. was thrown down headlong from the rock *Tarpeia*: *Liv. Plutarch.* and *Valer.*

371

L. Valerius IV. *L. Lucretius.*
A. Manlius III. *L. Æmylius.*
Ser. Sulpitius III. *M. Tribonius.*

Livy nameth these in this year. *Diodorus* nameth four; *L. Valerius*, *Crispus*, (which is the name of *Tribonius*) *Au. Manlius*, and *Serv. Sulpitius*, *Crispus*, some call *Flavus*.

372

Sp. Papirius. *Q. Servilius.*
L. Papirius. *C. Sulpitius.*
Ser. Cornelius IV. *L. Æmylius IV.*

ACcording to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military in Consuls authority. The surname of *Cornelius* (as we saw before) was *Maluginensis*. *Diodorus* writeth four; *Q. Servilius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Cornelius*, φάβιος ἄμβος, but not truly.

373

M. Furius Camillus VI. L. *Furius.*
A. Posthumius Regillensis. L. *Iu retius.*
L. *Posthumius Regillensis.* *M. Fabius Ambustus.*

Livy nameth these as we have placed them: but *Diodorus* in this wise; *M.* and *L.* both *Furii*, *A. Posthumius*, L. *Lucretius*, *M. Fabius*, and L. *Posthumius*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Camillus* Tribune military this year; wherein he vanquished the Prenestins, the Volscians, and the Tusculans also, against whom war was proclaimed, because they had served in the field under the Prenestins.

374

L. *Valerius V.* L. *Menenius II.*
L. *Valerius III.* P. *Papirius.*
C. Sergius III. *Ser. Corn. Maluginensis.*

THese six are set down by *Livy* but *Diodorus* reckoneth eight, namely, L. and P. both

Valerii, C. Terentius, L. Menenius, C. Sulpitius, T. Papirius, L. Æmylius, M. Fabius.

375

P. Manlius.	*C. Sextilius.*
C. Manlius.	*M. Albinus.*
L. Julius.	*L. Antistius.*

After this, was the generall assembly holden for the election of military Tribunes in Consuls authority, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the *Patritii*; namely, *P.* and *C.* both *Manlii*, with *L. Julius*, Patritians: and out of the Commons, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. But *Diodorus* exhibiteth eight, and to these above rehearsed, he addeth *C. Herennicius*, and *P. Trebonius*. *Sextilius* also he calleth *Sextius*.

376

Sp. Furius.	*P. Cloelius.*
Q. Servilius II.	*M. Horatius.*
C. Licinius.	*L. Geganius.*

Livy reporteth these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year: but in *Livy*, for *Lu. Menenius* the third time, you must read *C. Licinius*, as *Sigonius* hath shewed in his *Scholia* upon *Livy*: which *Onuphrius* also in his Kalender approveth. But *Diodorus* speaketh of no more than four; *Q. Servilius*, C. Licinius, L. *Furius*, *P. Cloelius*.

377

L. Æmylius	*Ser. Sulpitius.*
P. Valerius IV.	*L. Quintius Cincinnatus.*
C. Veturius.	*C. Quintius Cincinnatus.*

These Tribunes military, the Consuls (being forced by the might and strong hand of the great men of the City) chose all Patritians, as *Livy* witnesseth. The same also are named by *Diodorus* excepting only *C. Quintius*, who is called by him *C. Cornelius*. As for *Servo. Sulpitius* he was surnamed *Praetextatus*. *Zonaras* nameth him *Rufus*.

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.
C. Licinius Stolo. *L. Sextius.* } Tribunes of the Commons five years.

In this year hapned the fourth change of the Roman government: for the administration of the weal publike, fell from Tribunes military in consuls authority, to the Tribunes of the commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as *Livy* reporteth) *C. Licinius Stolo* and *L. Sextius*, Tribunes of the commons, who in the former year having promulged three laws in favour of the commons and against the power of the *Patritii*, the first for redressing of debts; a second for a limit of lands and possessions; & the third, that there should be no more elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the consuls should necessarily be chosen a commoner: seeing they could not go through with these laws, by reason of their own fellows oppositions (whom of purpose the Nobles had made for themselves) fell into an anger, and would suffer no cruule Magistrats of State to be created, nor any election to be holden, but only of Ædiles and Tribunes, both of commons. This desolate estate and want of Magistrates (whiles the commons made the same Tribunes still, who with unceasant and invincible persistance never gave over to cross the election of Tribunes military) continued in the city for the space of five years, as *Livy* saith. This want of Magistrates *Diodorus* calleth *Anargyia*, and calleth it after the former year. But *Sext. Rufus*, *Eutropius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Zonaras* write that they ruled the state not five years, but four only. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his Kalender, follow *Livy*, & his Annals it seemeth that the capitoline writers go by. *Pliny* also in the sixteenth book, and four and fortieth chapter, maketh mention of the year three hundred seventy nine from the foundation of the city, in which year he saith that at *Rome*

383

L. Furius.	*Ser. Cornelius.*
A. Manlius.	*P. Valerius.*
Ser. Sulpitius.	*C. Valerius.*

When *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius* the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called and held an assembly for the election of Magistrates, the abovenamed Tribunes military, were (as *Livy* saith) created for this year. *Diodorus* nameth them thus, *L. Papirius L. Furius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*, who writeth also, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpast and gone, then were created *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *Serv. Cornelius*. But in his story, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out same, there is a confusion of yearly Magistrates.

384

Q. Servilius.	*M. Cornelius.*
C. Veturius. II.	*Q. Quintius.*
A. Cornelius.	*M. Fabius.*

This year also, as *Livy* writeth, had these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. But *Diodorus* hath *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A. Cornelius*, *M. Cornelius*, and *M. Fabius*: as for *Quintius*, *Sigonius* calleth him rather *Cincinnatus* than *Capitolinus*. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found *Cossus . . . . Maluginensis . . . . Cinninnatus . . . . M. Fabius Ambustus*. This is that *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who had bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to *C. Licinius Stolo*, the other to *Serv. Sulpitius Praetextatus*, as *Livy* writeth.

385

L. Quintius	*Ser. Cornelius.*
Serv. Sulpitius.	*Sp. Servilius.*
L. Papirius.	*L. Veturius.*

Livy declareth these six for Tribunes military this year. *Diodorus* rehearseth but three, namely, *T. Quintius*, *Servilius Cornelius*, and *Sonius Sulpitius*. What surnames all these carried, and with what numerall notes (signifying how often they had born the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they stand thus, *Capitolinus . . . Maluginensis. II. Praetextatus. IIII. Sp. Servilius Structus, L. Papirius Crassus, L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.*

386

Two Dictators without any cumule Magistrats of State besides.

Presently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the triall of a finall issue, what should become of the foresaid laws proposed by *Licinius* and *Sextius*. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindred by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between; the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two last helps and means of refuge, the soveraign and absolute government, and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and *Marcus Furius Camillus* was the man; who took unto him for General of the horsemen *L. Æmylius*. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against *Camillus*, he (as *Livy* writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. *Plutarch* also testifieth the same: who likewise avoucheth the cause thereof, which *Livy* goeth about to disprove. But both *Livy* and *Plutarch* do affirm, that in the room of *Camillus* thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. *Livy* saith, it was *P. Manlius*. *Plutarch* suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that *C. Licinius* was the General of the horse. Howbeit, they mean not both, one and the self-same man. For *Livy* saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: But *Plutarch* nameth him, who was the author of the sedition and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth. For the Captain of the foresaid sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com. the ninth time: but Tribune of the Com. and General of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore *Onuphrius* thinketh him to have been the son of *P. Licinius Calvus* military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that *Pub. Licinius*, who of the Com. was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his Kalender.

387

A. Cornelius I.	*M. Cornelius.*
L. Veturius.	*Pl. Geganius.*
Julius P. Manlius.	*P. Valerius V.*

Livy exhibiteth these Trib. military before named for this year, whom *Diodorus* overpasseth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had born this honourable dignity, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments. *Cossus I. . . . Maluginensis II. . . . Macerinus. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus II. . . . P. Valerius Petitus Poplicola, VI. T. Manlius Capitolinus II.*

388

L. Sextius. L. Æmylius.

When *L. Sextius* and *C. Licinius*, Trib. of the Com. now chosen the tenth time, were more and more eager and instant in the publishing of their laws, in the end the authority both of Dictator and Senat, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed, notwithstanding all the Nobility was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by vertue of their laws which they carried clear before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which means, *L. Sextius* was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, insomuch as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and ready to leave the City: the discord & dissention was at length taken up and appeased by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobility was content to yield unto the commonalty a Consul, so the Commons granted unto the nobles one Prætor or Lord chief Justice within the City, and him to be created from out of the Nobility. Granted also unto them now first it was, that two Ædiles Curule should be chosen out of the *Patritii*. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon *L. Sextius* (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government he had *L. Æmylius Mamercus*. Thus much *Livy* and *Plutarch*: who altogether with *Cassiodorus* put down for Coss. *L. Æmylius* a Patritian, and *L. Sextius* a Commoner. The same, *Diodorus* nameth *Lu. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Lu. Lateranus*. Now this *Lateranus* is the surname of *Sextius*, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoll, wherein the consuls are thus to be seen, *Mamercinus* & *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus*: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called *Mamercinus* and *Lateranus*. In the book entituled *De viris Illustribus* of famous men, we find written that it was not *L. Sextius*, but *C. Licinius Stolo*, who was the first consul chosen out of the commonalty.

389

L. Genutius. Q. Servilius.

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* shew unto us for consuls, *L. Genutius*, and *Q. Servilius*: Of whom *Orosius* also and *Eutropius* make mention. According to the records of the Capitoll, the Cos. in his first consulship, is thus written: *Q. Servilius* son of *Q.* nephew of *Quintus Ahala*;

together with *L.Genutius*, but in the second, the son of *M.* nephew of *Cn.* surnamed *Amentinensis*. In the Sicilian registers they be written *Genutius* and *Curtius*, but corruptly, as *Sigonius* thinketh.

390

C.Sulpitius Peticus. C.Licinius Stolo.

THese be the Consuls reported by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. *Valerius Max.* in his second book and first cha. maketh mention of them, and so doth *Plutarch* in his problems. But he whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominat *Calvus*: as also the Sicilian, which deliver their surnames *Peticus* and *Calvus*.

391

L.Æmylius Mamercus II. Cn. Genutius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare these for Consuls: whom *Diodorus* in his sixteenth book nameth *Cn. Genutius* nd *L. Æmylius*. In the Capitol tables in this manner they be set down .˙.˙. *Mamercinus II.* and *Cn. Genutius* son of *M.* and nephew of *M. Amentinensis* But in the Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and ἄλλα.

392

Q.Servilius Ahala II. L.Genutius II.

Diodorus nameth the Consuls of this year, *Q. Servilius* and *Q. Genutius*. The Sicilian registers, *Ahala* and *Genutius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Q. Servilius Hala* and *L. Genutius*. These are they who three years before were matched together in the same government.

393

C.Sulpitius. C.Licinius Calvus.

THese are by *Livy* recorded Consuls this year. *Cassiodorus* writeth them thus, *C. Sulpitius II.* and *C. Licinius*. *Diodorus* in this wise, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinus*. *Sigonius* supposeth they be the same, who three years before were Collegues. The Sicilian registers give unto *Licinius* the surname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*: and *Sulpitius* they surname *Peticus*.

394

C.Pœtilius Libo. M.Favius Ambustus.

Livy, and *Cassiodorus* write the Consuls for this year were, *C. Pœtelius Balbus*: and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. But *Diodorus M. Fabius* and *C.* πόντιος corruptly for ποιτέλιος. The Capitoline writers give them surnames divers from *Livy*: for they call *Libo*, *Visulus*; but he, *Balbus*. And the Sicilian registers go with those of the Capitoll.

395

M.Popilius Lænas. Cn. Manlius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name this year Consuls in this sort: but *Diodorus* calleth them, *M. Popilius Lænatus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*. This was the first man of the *Popilii*, surnamed *Lænas*. The reason of which name *Cicero* rendreth in his book *Brutus*, saying, *M. Popilius* being Consul, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called *Læna*, for that he was Flamin to *Carmenta*, upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and risen in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the assembly; and what with his authority of countenance, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

396

C.Fabius. C. Plautius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* have these above-named for the Consuls this year: but in *Diodorus* they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plotius*. In the Capitoline records .˙.˙. *Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*.

397

C.Martius. Cn. Manlius.

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name the Consuls of this year, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn. Manlius* was Consul the first time, two years before. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records have *Rutilus* and *Capitolinus*.

398

M.Fabius Ambustus II. M.Popilius Lænas II.

THis years Consuls are with these names entituled by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames and the numerall notes. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records, set them thus down, *Ambustus II.* and *Lænas*.

399

C.Sulpitius Peticus III. M.Valerius Poplicola.

IN the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirty five after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Consulship, and upon an Interregency, both Coss. of the *Patritii* entred into government, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus III. M. Valerius Publicola*, as *Livy* saith. The same Consuls *Diodorus*, *Cassiodorus*, and the Sicilian registers, do report. But why the account of time made by *Livy*, disagreeth from this reckoning, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his Kalender do give a reason.

400

M.Fab. Ambustus III. T. Quint. or M. Popilius.

IN this year also, according to *Livy*, both Coss. were *Patritii*, namely, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, with *T. Quintius*: although he writeth, that in some Annals instead of *Titus Quintius*, he found *Marcus Popilius* Consul. With *Livy* accordeth *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Solinus* also, who in his forty one chapter out of *Cornelius Nepos* writeth, that *Alexander* was born when *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* were Consuls. *Cuspinians* book setteth forth *Ambustus* and *Capitolinus*. But these Consuls and those that follow are in the Sicilian registers concealed.

401

C.Sulpitius Peticus. III. M.Valer. Poplicola III.

BOth Consuls created this year were *Patritii*, and namely, those who are here set down, after *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* omitteth both their surnames, and also the numeral notes, and setteth after the former Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Sulpitius*.

402

P.Valerius Poplicola. C.Martius Rutilus.

TO *L. Valerius Poplicola* was given in fellowship of government this year, *C. Martius Rutilus* of the commons, as *Livy* saith. These *Cassiodorus* calleth *P. Valerius* and *C. Martius Rutilus* the second time. *Diodorus* nameth them *M. Fabius* and *P. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers intermingle them confusedly with those of the next year, matching *Rutilus* and *Pennus* together.

403

C.Sulpit. Peticus. .˙.T. or K. or C. Quint. Pennus.

THe Coss. for this year created were *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *T. Quint. Pennus*. Some put to *Quintius* the name *Caso*, others *Caius*. *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name them thus, *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *T. Quintius Pennus*: but *Diodorus C. Sulpitius* and *C. Quintius*.

404

M.Popilius Lænas. L.Cornelius Scipio.

Livy writeth, that for Consuls this year the commons yielded *M. Popilius Lænas*, and the nobles *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Cassiodorus* setteth them forth under the name of *M. Popilius Lænas* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Diodorus* nameth them, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Popilius*: and the Sicilian registers barely *Scipio* and *Lænas*.

405

L.Furius Camillus. P.Claudius Crassus.

LUcius Furius Camillus the Dictator restored the nobles again to their former possession of the Consulship: and being himself for that good deserte created Consul, with the great love and hearty affection of the nobles, nominated for his Collegue, *Publius Claudius Crassus*. Thus saith *Livy*. The same Consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *Æmylius* and *T. Quintius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Crassus*. *Cicero* in *Cato* maketh mention of these Consuls, saying, that *Plato* came to *Tarentum*, when *L. Camillus* and *P. Claudius* were Consuls. *Gellius* likewise, 9 book 11 chapter.

406

M.Valerius Corvus. M.Popilius Lænas. III.

Marcus Manlius torquatus being Dictator, declared for Consul with the exceeding favour of the people, *M. Valerius Corvus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, and being but three and tweenty years old. This *Corvus* had joyned with him in the Consulship from out of the commons. *M. Popilius Lænas* the third time, as saith *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* three years after nominateth *M. Valerius* and *M. Popilius*. In the fragment of the Capitoll thus only it is found, *M. Valerius*, *M.F. M.N. Corvus* Consul. In the Sicilian registers *Corvinus* and *Lænas*.

407

T.Manlius Torquatus. C.Plautius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* nameth them for Consuls this year. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Venno*. In a fragment of the Capitoll there is to be read the surname of *Manlius*, *Imperiosus Torquatus*.

408

M.Valerius Corvus II. C.Pœtelius.

THese are named Consuls by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*: but *Cuspinians* Kalender and the registers of *Sicily* shew for Consuls, *Corvinus* and *Libo*. As for the name *C. Pœtelius*, it is described by his Dictatorship, which (according to the Capitoll evidences) he bare in the year 440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consulship) there appeareth no more but one of his surnames, *Visolus*.

409

M.Fabius Dorso. Ser.Sulpitius Camerinus.

THese were the Consuls created for this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. *Diodorus* also (although not in the right place) alleageth *M. Fabius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dorso* and *Camerinus*. Both these Consuls were *Patritii*, which *Livy* omitted.

410

C.Mart. Rutilus III. T. Manlius Torquatus II.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* avow these for Coss. this year. *Diodorus* likewise delivereth unto us, *C. Martius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers, *Rutilus* and *Torquatus*. *Frontinus* also in his second book of Stratagems speaketh of them.

411

M.Valerius Corvus III. A.Cornelius Cossus.

Livy and *Cassiodore* both together report, that these were chosen Coss. for this year. *Diodorus*, *Cicero* in his book of Divination, and *Frontinus*, name them, *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Valerius* and *Cossus*: both of them are *Patritii*. But he that hath written of famous men, calleth them, *Valerius Max.* and *Cornelius Cossus*.

412

C. Martius Rutilus IV. *Q. Servilius.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare Coss. for this year, *C. Martius* and *Q. Servilius*. *Diodorus*, *Q. Servilius* and *Martius Rutilus*. The Sicilian registers, *Ahala* and *Rutilus*. This is that *Q. Servilius Ahala* who was Master of the horse in the 403 year.

413

C. Plautius II. *L. Æmylius Mamercinus.*

THe Consuls that followed, were *C. Plautius* the second time, and *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but L. Æmylius & *C. Plotius* as testifieth *Diodorus*: and as the Sicilian registers say, *Venno* and *Mamercinus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender set forth for this year, *Venno* the second time, and *Mamercinus*.

414

T. Manlius Torquatus III. *P. Decius Mus.*

Titus Manlius Torquatus the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*, bare the Consulship this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. *Diodorus* nameth them, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *P. Decius*. The Sicilian registers, *Torquatus* and *Mus*. *Zonoras*, *Torquatus* the third time, and *Decius*. Of the same Consuls *Pliny* speaketh in his 22 book and 5 chap. *Valerius* also in his 1 book and 5 chap. besides others.

415

T. Æmylius Mamercinus. *Q. Publilius Philo.*

Titus Æmylius Mamercinus, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, are by *Livy* reckoned Coss. for this year. *Diodorus* passeth over their surnames. The Greek records shew unto us, *Mamercinus* and *Philo*. As for *Philo*, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

416

L. Furius Camillus. *C. Manius.*

THus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* hath *L. Furius* and μάνιος, but corruptly The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Menius*. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, *L. Furius Camillus*, and *C. Menius*. *Pliny* in his 34 book and 5 cha. maketh mention of *Caius Menius*, Consul.

417

C. Sulpitius Longus. *P. Ælius Paetus.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write, that these Coss. followed. *Diodorus* putteth down *C. Sulpitius*, and *L. Papirius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Longus* and *Paetus*.

418

L. Papirius Crassus. *K. Dintius.*

Lucius Papirius Crassus, and *K. Dintius*, were this years Coss, as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Diodorus* also, but for leaving out the surname *Crassus*. In the Sicilian registers they are named, *Crassus* and *Dintius*. As touching these Consuls, *Cicero* in his Epistle to *Paetus*, writeth thus, *L. Papirius Crassus*, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with *K. Dintius*.

419

M. Valerius Corvus IIII. *M. Attilius Regulus.*

THis year, when the Ausones that inhabited the City *Cales*, took arms and combined with the Sidicins, *M. Valerius Corvus*, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his Collegue (as *Livy* writeth) *M. Attilius Regulus*. *Cassiodorus* likewise declareth the same for Consuls; and so doth *Diodorus*, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian registers.

420

T. Veturius. *Sp. Posthumius.*

THe Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to *Livy*) these above-named. So say *Cassiodorus* also and *Diodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Tiber. Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius*: and right well, as *Sigonius* thinketh: for *Tiberius* was the fore-name of the *Veturii*. The Greek records, and *Cuspinians* book, have *Albinus* and *Calvinus*.

421

Interregems, all one year.

Sigonius and *Onuphrius* insert this one year without Consuls, besides the account of the years, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in *Livy*, nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the totall sum collected by *Varro*. And that the said year should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoline records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, *M. Valerius Corvus* Consul the fourth time in the year of the City 419, and again *L. Æmylius* and *C. Plautius*, in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both *L. Æmylius* the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the totall sum of the year in *Varro* and the Capitoline tables be overthrown. That this odd year was now above all other times to be cast between, *Gregory Haloander* (who left in writing a Chronology of the Consuls) saw long before them: for he over-passed this year wholly, noted without Consuls. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-weal without Consuls, or other Magistrats of state, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof *Livy* writeth.

422

A. Cornelius II. *Cn. Domitius.*

Aulus Cornelius the second time Cos. with *Cn. Domitius*) is by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* set down

down. *Diodorus* nameth them *A. Cornelius* and *C. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calvinus* and *Cossus*.

423

M. Claudius Marcellus. *C. Valerius.*

AFter this, were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. In *Diodorus* also they be set down by the name of *C. Valerius*, and *M. Clodius*. *Livy* saith, that he findeth in the Annals, the surnames of *Valerius* diversly put down, namely, *Flaccus* and *Potitus*. *Orosius* calleth these Consuls, *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*: The Sicilian registers, *Potitus* and *Marcellus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* retain their surnames, that it may seem, how to the old surname *Potitus* of the House *Valeria*, this new surname of *Flaccus* is a later addition.

424

L. Papyrius Crassus II. *L. Plautius Venno.*

THese Consuls are by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* recited this year. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers, make them known by the names of *Crassus* and *Venno*.

425

L. Æmylius Mamercinus. *C. Plautius.*

NExt to them (according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*) were *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *C. Plautius* created Consuls. *Diodorus* nominateth *L. Papyrius* with *L. Plotius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Decianus*. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record in the Capitol do evidently shew. These Consuls entred upon their government the first day of *July*.

426

P. Platius Proculus. *P. Cornelius Scapula.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down [for Consuls] *P. Platius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*. *Diodorus*, *P. Cornelius* and *A. Posthumius*. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Scipio*. *Onuphrius* thinketh this *Plautius* ought to be forenamed not *Publius* but *Caius*: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with *Appius Caecus*, was surnamed *Venox* (as *Frontinus* supposeth) for finding certain springs and veins of water within the earth.

427

C. Plautius Proculus. *Q. Publilius Philo II.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* match together in the Consulship for this year, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*. *Diodorus L. Cornelius* and *Q. Publilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Philo*.

428

L. Papyrius Mugillanus Cursor. *C. Poetelius.*

Caius Poetelius and *L. Papyrius* are by *Livy* nominated Consuls this year, *C. Poetilius* the third time, and *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, by *Cassiodorus*. *Solinus* maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for *Papyrius*, *Livy* indeed surnameth him here *Mugillanus*, but he saith that he findeth him in other Annals by the name of *Cursor*. In the Greek records they be *Lipo* and *Cursor*. Now as touching *C. Petilius*, he is to be written with the numerall note *II.* and not *III.* as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Consul in the 393 year, but his son.

429

L. Furius Camillus II. *Junius Brutus Scæva.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for Consuls, *Lu. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. *Diodorus*, *L. Furius*, and *D. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Brutus*.

430

Lucius Furius, unto whom the charge of *Samnium* fell by lot, fortuned by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martiall affairs a Dictator: whereupon he pronounced *L. Papirius Cursor*, the bravest warrior in those daies; by whom *Q. Fabius Rullianus* was named great Master of the horse. Afterwards *Cursor* turned him out of that Mastership of horse, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Samnits when himself was out of the way and gone to *Rome* for to take the Auspices anew: and in his room he substituted *L. Papyrius Crassus*. Thus write *Livy*, *Eutropius*, and *Valerius*, in the second book.

431

C. Sulpitius Longus II. *Q. Æmylius* [*L. Aulus*] *Cerretanus.*

Lucius Papyrius the Dictator, before he left his Magistracy, created Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Longus II.* and *Q. Æmylius Cerretanus*. Some Annals have *Aulus*. Thus much *Livy*. In like manner the Sicilian registers have *Longus* and *Cerretanus*. But *Diodorus* corruptly for *Aulus* hath *Ælius*.

432

Q. Fabius. *L. Fulvius.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius* and L. *Fulvius*: whom the Capitoll records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers, they are put down, *Cursor* and *Sylla*.

433

T. Veturius Calvinus. *Sp. Posthumius.*

THis year *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set forth for Consuls, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Posthumius*. *Cicero* in his third book of Offices writeth, that they were twice Coss. *Zonaras* calleth

calleth the one of them *T. Calvinus*, by a familiar forename unto that house and kindred of the *Veturii*. The Greek records exhibit unto us *Calvinus* and *Albinus*. Of these consuls as also of the Caudine peace, *Cicero* in his book of old age; *Pliny* also in his book of famous men, *Gellius* in his 17 book and 21 chap. *Florus* in his 1 book and 16 chap. and *Orosius* in his 3 book and 15 chap. do make mention.

434
L. Papyrius Cursor II. C. Publilius Philo.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* shew for this years Consuls, *Q. Publilius Philo* and *L. Papyrius Cursor*, the second time. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Philo*. But that this *Philo* should now be third time Consul, his Consulships do plainly shew.

435
L. Papyrius Cursor, or Mugillanus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus II.

Livy saith, there is some doubt, whether *L. Papyrius Cursor* were this year created Consul the third time, with *Q. Æmylius Cerretanus* the second time: and for his good service in war at *Lucceria*, continued still in government: or rather *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and so the surname was mistaken. *Cassiodorus* delivereth unto us *L. Papyrius* and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Papyrius* and *Cerretanus*. The monument of his triumph in the Capitoll, alloweth of *Cursor* and not *Mugillanus*. The author of that book which *Cuspinian* hath set forth, following other Annals, setteth down *Mugillanus*.

436
M. Fostlius Flaccinator. L. Plantius Venno.

SEeing that for twelve years next ensuing, we have the Capitoline tables whole and sound, the less trouble we need to be at in reforming and redressing the names of the Magistrats, Both they, and also *Livy* with *Cassiodorus* represent unto us for this years consuls, *M. Fostlius Flaccinator* and *L. Plantius Venno*. *Diodorus* calleth them *L. Plotius* and μάνιος φλάβιος. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Flaccus*.

437
C. Junius Bubulcus. Q. Æmylius Barbula.

Cassiodorus putteth down *C. Junius* and *Quintus Æmylius* for Consuls. *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Quintus Æmylius Barbula*. A stone in the Capitoll, *Q. Æmylius Barbula*, and *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus*.

438
Sp. Nautius. M. Popilius.

NExt follow in order *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius* Consuls, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Rutilus* and *Lænas* their surnames, are by *Sigonius* restored unto them: and the same also are to be seen in the Sicilian books of record.

439
L. Papyrius Cursor IIII. Q. Publius Philo IIII.

THe Consuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth *Livies* books, are there left out: namely, *L. Papirius Cursor* the fourth time, and *Q. Publilius Philo* likewise the fourth time: as it is written in *Cassiodorus*, in the Capitoll tables, and in *Cuspinians* book, wherein they are named *Cursor* and *Philo*. Howbeit, in the Sicilian registers they are called *Cursor* and *Lænas*.

440
M. Pœtelius. C. Sulpitius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* report for Consuls this year *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Pœtelius*. But *Diodorus* hath *C. Sulpitius* and μάρκος πόπλιος corruptly for ποιτήλιος. The Capitoline writers, have *M. Pœtelius Libo* and *C. Sulpitius Longus* the third time. The Sicilian registers, *Longus* and σαμνίτης, but there is a fault, as *Sigonius* truly thinketh.

441
L. Papirius Cursor V. C. Junius Bubulcus.

Diodorus putteth down for Consuls this year *L. Papirius* fift time, and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Bubulcus*. But *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *L. Papirius Cursor V.* and *C. Junius Bubulcus II. Festus* maketh mention also of these Coss, in his 18 book.

442
M. Valerius. C. Decius.

Livy writeth that there followed consuls *M. Valerius Max.* and P. *Decius*: but *Cassiodorus*, saith M. *Valerius* and P. *Decius*, *Frontinus* in his book of water-conduits, speaketh of these Consuls; whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnits war. As for P. *Decius*, *Livy* afterwards calleth *Mus*. The Sicilian registers have *Max.* and *Mus.*

443
C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Æmylius Barbula II.

WE find in *Livy* for Consuls this year, C. *Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* the second time: likewise in *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *C. Junius* and *Q. Æmylius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Bubulcus* and *Barbula*. The same names are also in the Capitoll monuments, which be in *Livy*.

444
C. Martius Rutilus. Q. Fabius.

Caius Martius Rutilus and *Q. Fabius* be this years Consuls in *Livy*. But in *Cassiodorus*, *C. Martius Rutilus* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Diodorus* hath *C. Martius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. The Sicilian registers shew *Rutus* and *Rutilus*. The Capitol monuments, *Q. Fabius*, *Max. Rutilanus* the second time, and *C. Martius*, who afterwards in his second Censorship in the 498 year, is surnamed *Censorinus*.

445
A year without Consuls. P. Papirius Dictator. II.

Verrius Flaccus interposeth this year also without Consuls, wherein he reporteth *L. Papirius* Dictator the 2 time, with *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus* the Master of the horse. This year *Diodorus*, *Livy*, the Greek records, *Cuspinians* book and *Cassiodorus* do overleap. For *Livy* writeth that *L. Papirius Cursor* was nominated by the consul Dictator, and by him *C. Junius Bubulcus* named Master of the horse: upon occasion that *C. Martius* the Cos. had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in *Samnium*. This inserting of one year *Onuphrius* hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by *Varro* might stand in force, which to the Capitoll tables putteth one year, whose judgment we also are willing to follow.

446
Q. Fabius. P. Decius.

Livy writeth, that *Fabius* continued Consul this year also, for his singular good service in subduing and taming *Hetruria*: and that he had for his companion in government *Decius*. *Cassiodorus* acknowledgeth for Cos. *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *P. Decius* the second time. *Diodorus*, *P. Decius* and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers *Mus* and *Rullus*. The Capitoline tables, *P. Decius Mus II.* and *Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus* the third time.

447
App. Claudius. L. Volumnius.

Livy saith, that immediatly there followed consuls, *App. Claudius* and *L. Volumnius*. *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, *Appius* and *Violens*. The Sicilian registers, *App. Claudius Cæcus*, and *L. Volumnius*. The Capitoline monuments have *Flamma* and *Violens*. Now whether one of these Consuls surnames be *Violens* or *Violensis*, *Onuphrius* advertiseth us to consider. For the capitoll stone hath it alwaies written *Violens*. But the Greek words have *Appius* and βιολέντος, as if the name were *Violensis*.

448
Q. Martius Tremulus. P. Cornelius Arvina.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* register for the Consuls of this year, *Q. Martius Tremulus*, with a Collegue adjoyned unto him. *Diodorus* saith *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*. The Sicilian records, *Tremulus* and *Arvina*.

449
L. Posthumius. T. Minutius

Lucius Posthumius and *T. Minutius* are reported consuls by *Diodorus*, *Livy* and *Cassiod. Cuspinians* book sheweth, *Megellus* and *Augurinus*. These Coss. doth *L. Piso* put down for to succeed *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out those two years wherein we have set down (as *Livy* writeth) that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were consuls. Whether his memory failed him in digesting of the annals, or of purpose he supposed that those two couple of Consuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overleapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline stone, which sheweth for this year, *Megellus* to be the surname of *Posthumius*, *Tiberius* the forename of *Minutius*, and M. of *Fulvius*. Now the surnames of *Fulvius* were *curvus* and *Petinus*, as it appeareth written in his triumph.

450
P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpitius Saverrio.

THe Consuls next following were P. *Sulpitius Saverrio*, and P. *Sempronius Sophus*, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. In *Diodorus* they are written P. *Sulpitius* and P. *Sempronius*. In the Greek registers, they stand *Sempronius* and *Saverrio*. *Pliny* writeth of these Consuls in his 33 book: but *Sempronius* he calleth *Longus*. Both of them are described thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll, for in their Consulship there is no more to be seen but *Sophus* and *Publius*.

451
L. Genutius. Ser. Cornelius.

Diodorus, *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report for Coss. this year, *L. Genutius*, and *Servius Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Aventinensis* and *Lentulus*. The Capitoline writers put unto *Cornelius* the surname of *Lentulus*.

452
M. Livius Denter. M. Æmylius.

Livy nameth for Consuls this year M. *Livius* and C. *Æmylius*. *Cassiodorus*, M. *Livius* and *L. Æmylius*. *Diodorus*, M. *Livius* and M. *Æmylius*. As for the forename to *Æmylius*, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do think that more credit is to given unto *Diodorus*, than others: especially, seeing that in *Livy* there is mention made the year following of M. *Æmylius Paulus* Generall of the horsemen, whom they all think to be the same man that this Consul. M. *Livius* is written *Denter* in the Capitoll records, which surname *Livy* in another place addeth to the *Livii*. *Cuspinians* book in like manner setteth down *Denter* and *Pantus* as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Denter* and *Æmylius*.

453
Two Dictators, and no Consul.

THis year also of two Dictators without Consuls, *Onuphrius* inserteth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of *Varro* might agree in all respects; which,

which, if this year were over-slipped should be wholly overthrown: although *Diodore*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodore* dissent therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see *Onuphrius* more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

454

M. Valerius. *Q. Apulcius Pansa.*

Immediatly after *M. Livius* and *M. Æmylius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* letteth pass the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls, The Greek records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that *Livy* by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that he saith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made Cos. Now that *M. Valerius Max.* was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

455

M. Fulvius Pætus. *T. Manlius Torquatus.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare for Consuls this year, *M. Fulvius Pætus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Pætinus* and *Torquatus*. *Livy* saith that *Q. Fabius* refused the Consulship offered unto him without any suit of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against *Hetruria*, which took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entred into the enemies confines, but as he exercised among men of arms, and chanced to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cast from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life: Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius* Cos. whom the Senat purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much *Livy*. By *M. Valerius* he meaneth *Corvus*, whom *Cicero* writeth in his book of old age, and *Valerius Max.* in his 7 book and 4 chap. to have been Cos. now the six time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years, although *Plutarch* in the life of *C. Marius* saith they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456

L. Cornelius Scipio. *Cn. Fulvius.*

Cneus Fulvius and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by *Cuspinians* book: *Skipio* and *Maximus* by the Greek records.

457

Q. Fabius Max. IV. *P. Decius Mus III.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* alledge for Cos. this year, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* thrice. The same Cos. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, speak of *P. Decius* thrice Consul.

458

L. Volumnius. *Appius Claudius.*

Ubcinus Volumnius a Commoner, and *Appius Claudius* of noble bloud, were created Cos. this year: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudius* and *Violens*. Howbeit, *Cicero* in his book entituled *Catone* reporteth, that between the two Consulships of *App. Cæcus* were ten years.

459

Q. Fabius V. *P. Decius IV.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* both witness, that the Cos. next following, were *Q. Fabius* the fift time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together already in 2 Consulats and in one Censorship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often; *Valer. Max.* likewise, *Paterculus* also, *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, the author of the book of famous men, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that the Cos. *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himself to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victory to the people of *Rome*.

460

L. Postumius Megellus. *M. Atilius Regulus.*

The Cos. next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461

L. Papirius Cursor. *Sp. Carvilius.*

After *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, the Cos. this year were *L. Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Cursor* & *Max.* A stone in the Capitol maketh mention of *Papirius* the son of *L.* nephew of *P.* surnamed *Cursor*, whom *Livy* writeth to be the son of *Papirius* 5 times Cos. Of these Cos. *Pliny* of *Verona* maketh mention in his 7 book and 60 chap. *Val. Max.* likewise in his 7 book and 1 chap. *Vellcius* in his 2 book: and the same *Livy* in the year 456.

462

Q. Fabius Gurges Max. *Decius Junius Brutus*, son of *Scævalini.*

The year following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and *D. Jabius Brutus Scæva*, as witnes *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras* nameth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Maximus* and *Scæva*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. *Livy*, *Pliny* in his 7 book, the Capitoll tables, and *Zonaras*, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max. Rullianus*, who had been 5 times Cos. before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first 10 books.

463

L. Posthumius. *C. Junius.*

Since that after this Consulship, ten books of *Livy* next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we have had for the most sufficient witness of this story, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy*: from hence forward we will use principally in digesting and reckoning the years by the Consuls, the authority and testimony of *Cassiodorus*, the Sicilian records, and *Cuspinians* book: yet will we not in the mean while reject what help soever shall be ministred unto us by others. For this year therefore *Cassiodorus* writeth, that *L. Postumius* and *C. Junius*, were created Cos. whose surnames, *Megellus*, and *Brutus Bubulcus*, have not been left out so much as in *Cuspinians* Kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. *Livy* also maketh mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus, *Lu. Postumius Megellus* the Interregent, was created Cos. with *C. Bubulcus*, by that very court and assembly which himself called and held.

464

P. Cornelius Rufinus. *M'. Curius Dentatus*

The Cos. this year are recorded by *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M'. Curius Dentatus*: for whom in the Sicilian registers, appear *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the sixt time. But of those forenamed Cos. *Cicero* maketh mention in his book, entituled *Cato*: *Paterculus* in his first book, *Valerius Max.* in his sixt book, and 3 chap. *Pliny* also in his 7 book and 50 chap. Now this *M'. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Pliny* writeth in his 6 book and 16 chap. for that he came into the world with teeth.

465

M. Valerius. *Q. Caditius.*

Marcus Valerius and *Q. Caditius* were afterwards Cos. as saith *Cassiodorus*. The old book of *Cuspinian* putteth to them the surnames of *Corvinus* and *Noctua*: which in the Sicilian registers are overpassed. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerii Corvini*.

466

Q. Martius. *P. Cornelius.*

Cassiodorus this year delivereth for Consuls, *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*, *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records add their surnames, *Tremulus II.* and *Arvinus II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467

M. Marcellus. *Sp. Nautius.*

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Nautius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinians* book, have *Marcellus* and *Rutilus*.

468

M. Valerius. *C. Ælius.*

Marcus Valerius and *C. Ælius* are ranged in this year for Cos. by *Cassiodorus*, *Cuspinians* book putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Patus*: but the Greek records, *Potitus* and *Pætus*. Now you must think, that both *Maximus* and *Potitus* are the surnames of the *Valerii*.

469

C. Claudius. *M. Æmylius.*

For this years Cos. *Cassiodorus* hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Æmylius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinians* book, *Canina* & *Lepidus*: whereof the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Æmylius*.

470

C. Servilius. *L. Cæcilius.*

By *Cassiodorus*, *C. Servilius* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* are placed Cos. in this year: for whereas in some copies of *Cassiodorus*, instead of *Lu. Cæcilius*, is written *Cælius* that is a fault; as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have noted. To *Servilius* this Consul, the Greek records add the surname of *Tinna*, whom they put down Cos. with *Dento*, they would say *Denter*, as both *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For *Denter* is a surname also given to the *Cæcilii*, as appeareth by *Livy*.

471

P. Cornelius Dolabella. *Cn. Domitius.*

Cassiodorus inferreth *P. Corn. Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius* for Cos. *Cuspinians* Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella Maximus*. And some think that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which he seemeth to have acquired by the honour that he had won in the war against the Gauls.

472

C. Fabricius. *Q. Æmylius*

Cassiodorus bringeth in for Cos. *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmylius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscinus* and *Papus*. Of them *Cicero* in his book *Lelius*, maketh mention in this manner: We see that *Papus Æmylius* was familiarly acquainted with *C. Luscinus*: for so we have heard our fathers say, that they were two Cos. together, and companions in the censorship. Moreover, *Valerius* in his chap. where he treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmylius Papus*. This *Æmylius*, *Plutarch* in his Parallels calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473

L. Æmylius. *Q. Martius.*

Here followed Cos. as *Cassiodorus* sheweth, *L. Æmylius* & *Q. Martius*; unto whom *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records give also their surnames, *Barbula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitoll of their triumphs.

474
P. Valerius. T. Coruncanius.

Plib. Valerius and *Tit. Coruncanius*, are by *Caſſiodorus* placed in this year for Coſſ. The Greek records, *Cuſpinians* book, *Florus*, *Oroſius*, and *Eutropius*, give to *Valerius* the ſurname of *Lævinus*. And *Plutarch* hath ἀλβίνον for λαιβῖνον.

475
P. Sulpitius. P. Decius.

NExt after thoſe, *Caſſiodorus* putteth down *P. Sulpitius* Conſul with *P. Decius*. The Sicilian regiſters, have *Savennio* and *Mus. Cicero* in his 2 book, entituled *De Fin.* and in his Tuſculan diſputations, ſaith, That this *Pub. Decius* was the ſon of that *P. Decius* who vowed himſelf to death in the Samnits and Gauls war.

476
C. Fabricius. Q. Aemylius.

Caſſiodorus delivereth unto us for Conſuls *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Aemilius*: whom *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, call *Luſcinus* the ſecond time, and *Papus*. That theſe were fellows together once before in the Conſulat, *Cicero* writeth in his book *Lelius*, *Plutarch* in *Pyrrhus*, *Gellius* 3 book, chap. 8. *Eutropius*, and *Zonaras*, make report of the ſame.

477
P. Cornelius. C. Junius.

Plib. Cornelius, and *C. Junius*, are rehearſed for Conſuls this year by *Caſſiodorus*. *Cuſpinians* book hath *Ruſinus* the ſecond time, and *Brutus*. The Greek records, *Ruſinus* and *Bulculus*. *Zonaras* hath *Roſinus* & *Junius*. Of *P. Ruſinus* twice Coſ. *Cic.* in his 2. book of a perfect Orator. *Valer. Max.* in his 3. book, and 4. chap. *Gellius* in his 4 book, and 8 chap. in his 17 book likewiſe and 21 chap. and laſt of all, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, make mention.

478
Q. Fabius. C. Genutius.

Caſſiodorus reporteth *Q. Fabius* and *C. Genutius* Conſuls. The Sicilians regiſters have *Gurges* and *Clepſina*. Of theſe Coſſ. *Oroſius* maketh mention in this wiſe: When *Fabius Gurges* was the ſecond time Coſ. with *C. Genutius Clepſina*, a grievous peſtilence reigned both in the City, and alſo in the territory about it.

479
M'. Curius. L. Lentulus.

Caſſiodorus and *Eutropius* deliver unto us for Coſſ. *M'. Curius* and *L. Lentulus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Dentatus* and *Lentulus*. This is the third Conſulat of *M'. Curius*, which together with *Lentulus* Conſulſhip, is drawn out of the Capitoll records of triumph this year.

480
Serv. Cornelius. M'. Curius.

Caſſiodorus ſheweth for this years Coſſ. *Servius Cornelius* and *M'. Curius*. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, *Merenda*, & *Dentatus* the third time. This *M'. Curius* is now Coſ. the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this *Serv. Cornelius Merenda*, *Pliny* relateth and writeth, that he received a princely coronet of gold at the hands of *L. Lentulus* the Coſ. of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnits.

481
C. Fabricius. C. Claudius.

Caſſiodorus ſetteth down, *C. Fabricius* and *C. Claudius* Conſuls: the Sicilian records, *Licinius* and *Canina*: *Cuſpinians* Kalender, *Licinius* and *Cinna*, *Eutropius*, *Fabius Licinius* and *C. Claudius Canina*. *Velleius*, *Fabius Dorſo* and *Claudius Canina*. Whereby it may be underſtood, that theſe Conſuls were called, *C. Fabius Dorſo Licinius*, and *Caius Claudius Canina*: for *Dorſo* was an old name of the *Fabii*.

482
L. Papirius Curſor. Sp. Carvilius.

NExt after them, *Caſſiodorus* nominateth for Coſſ. *Sp. Carvilius* and *Lu. Papirius Curſor*. The records both of *Sicily* and *Cuſpinian*, have *Curſor* and *Maximus*. Both theſe were now Coſſ. the ſecond time, as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. *Frontinus* ſpeaketh of them in his book Of water-conduits, and *Livy* in his 24 book.

483
C. Quintius. L. Genutius.

IT is reported by *Caſſiodore*, that *C. Quintius* and *L. Genutius* were Conſuls. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, ſet to their ſurnames, *Claudius* and *Clepſina*. *Livy* in his 7 book ſpeaketh of one *Tit. Quintius* lame of one leg, from whom haply this ſurname is drawn.

484
C. Genutius. Cn. Cornelius.

REported there are for Conſuls this year by *Caſſiodorus*, *C. Genutius* and *Cn. Cornelius*; whoſe ſurnames were *Clepſina* and *Blaſio*, as it appeareth in *Cuſpinians* book. This *Caius Genutius* is the ſame, who before-time was Conſul. As for *C. Blaſio*, he is deſcribed by his Cenſorſhip ſtanding upon record in the Capitoll. The Greek records over-paſs them both.

485
P. Sempronius. } or after { *Q. Ogulphius.*
App. Claudius. } ſome, { *Fabius Pictor.*

AFter *Cornelius* and *Genutius* Conſuls, *Caſſiodorus* bringeth in *Pub. Sempronius*, and *App. Claudius*, and of purpoſe over-skippeth *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor*. *Zonaras*, *Q. Gallus* and *C. Fabius*. Of them ſpeaketh *Eutropius*, ſaying: When *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor* were Conſuls, the Picenats raiſed war; and by the Conſuls next following, to wit, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, they were vanquiſhed. *Pliny* alſo in his 33 book and 3 chap. When *Q. Fabius* (quoth he) was Conſul, ſilver was coined and ſtamped for money, five years before the [ſecond] Punick war. Theſe Conſuls, *Velleius* alſo reckoneth in his firſt book. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* advertiſe us, that the book of *Eutropius* is very faulty in one of theſe Conſuls, and that in lieu of *Quin. Gulo*, it ſhould be read *Q. Ogulphius*: for of this *Gulo*, there is in no place beſides, any mention: ſo as they would have, that it ſhould be *Q. Ogulvius*, ſon of *L.* nephew of *A.* ſurnamed *Gallus*, who a little before was ſent in embaſſage to *Ptolomeus*. And it falleth out paſſing well, that they ſhould match *Ogulvius* a commoner, with *Fabius* a Patritian. Alſo *Onuphrius* teſtifieth, that in the moſt ancient hand-written books of *Eutropius*, the name is found of *Ogulvius*. And, as both the Greek records, and alſo *Zonaras*, together with the more ancient and perfect copies of *Eutropius*, agree to this his judgment: ſo *Hubertus Goltzius* likewiſe in his Catalogue of Conſuls, embraceth the ſame: and that which maketh moſt for the purpoſe, the old antiquities of coin witneſs as much. But in the mean while this is worth the obſervation, that oftentimes in the moſt ancient pieces of money, the letter *C* is written for *G*: as for example here, *Ocul. Cal.* for *Ogul. Galba*.

286
P. Sempronius. App. Claudius.

SEeing that we ſettle the Conſulſhip of the former year, in *Ogulvius* and *Fabius Pictor*, and that upon the authority of *Eutropius*, the Greek records, *Cuſpinian*, *Zonaras*, *Onuphrius*, and others; we will ſet down for this years Conſuls, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, whom *Velleius* in his firſt book calleth, *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius* the ſon of *Cæcus*. The Greek records, *Sempronius Rufus Sophus*: and *Cuſpinians* book *Rufus*. Moreover, this alſo *Goltzius* giveth us to underſtand, that the ſurname of this *Sempronius* is in old peeces of coin found written without an aſpiration [*Sopus*;] which is no rare thing to be ſeen in ſuch antiquities: for we read in others of them, *Philippus*, *Tampilus*, *Graccus*, *Pulcer*, *Triumpus*, for *Philippus*, *Tamphilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Trimmphus*, and ſuch like.

487
M. Attilius. L. Julius Libo.

Eutropius putteth down for Conſuls, *M. Attilius* and *L. Julius Libo*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Regulus* and *Libo*. *Caſſiodorus*, *M. Attilius* and *Lutulus*. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitol triumphs.

488
D. Junius. N. Fabius.

Caſſiodorus reporteth for Coſſ. this year, *D. Junius* and *N. Fabius*: the Sicilian regiſter, *Pera* and *Pictor*: the capitol records of triumphs, *D. Junius* ſon of *D.* nephew of *D.* ſurnamed *Pera*, and *N. Fabius* ſon of *C.* nephew of *M.* ſurnamed *Pictor*. Upon what occaſion theſe *Fabii* took the ſurname of *Pictor*, *Pliny* ſheweth in his 35 book chap. 4. *Valer. Max.* in his 4 book and 3 chap. ſeemeth to note and ſignify, that *Fabius Gurges* and *N. Fab. Pictor*, lived at one and the ſame time.

489
Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Mamilius Vitulus.

THis year alſo *Caſſiodorus* paſſeth over. The Greek records ſhew, *Maximus* and *Vitulus*, *Zonaras*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Æmylius* (no doubt) for *Mamilius*, by ſome error and fault of the copies. *Cuſpinian* out of ſome old books delivereth unto us for Conſuls, *Q. Fab. Maximus* and *Lu. Mamilius*. *Onuphrius* thinketh, that *Q. Fab. Maximus Gurges* was now thrice Conſul.

490
Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.

BEſides the capitol monuments, *Polybius* in his fifth book maketh mention of theſe Conſuls. *Gellius* alſo, who calleth them thus, *App. Claudius* brother of *Cæcus* ſurnamed *Caudex*, and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. In like manner *Livy*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his book of famous men: as alſo *Appianus*, *Florus*, *Frontinus* in his 1 book of Stratagems, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*.

491
M'. Valerius. M'. Otacilius.

Caſſiodorus and *Eutropius* ſhew unto us, that M'. *Valerius* and M'. *Otacilius* were Conſ. *Zonaras* nameth *Valerius Max.* and *Otacilius Craſſus*. *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Max. Meſſala* and *Craſſus*. Of theſe Conſuls, *Ver. Flaccus*, *Polybius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and *Macrobius* out of *Varro* make report. As for *Macrobius*, he rendreth a reaſon, why M'. *Valerius* was in this government of his named *Meſſala*: and *Pliny* likewiſe, in his fifth book and five and thirtieth chapter.

492
L. Poſthumius. Q. Mámilius.

Caſſiodorus and *Polybius* put down for next Conſuls, *L. Poſtumius* and *Q. Mamilius*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Poſthumius Albinus* and *Quintus Mamilius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Albinus* and *Vitulus*: but the capitol monuments, *L. Poſtumius* ſon of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius* ſurnamed *Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius* ſon of *Q.* nephew of *M.* ſurnamed *Vitulus*.

493

L. Valerius. *T. Otacilius.*

Polybius and *Cassiodorus* match together in the Consulat for this year *L. Valerius* and *T. Otacilius*: the surname of *Valerius* is *Flaccus*, and of *Otacilius, Crassus*, as it appeareth upon the capitol and Sicilan records.

494

Cn. Cornelius. *C. Duilius.*

Cassiodorus and *Zonaras* bring in for Coss. *Cn. Cornelius* and *C. Duilius*. In like manner also *Polybius*, but only that in lieu of *Duilius* he hath ΛΟΥΙΟΝ. The Sicilian Registers shew *Scipio* and *Duilius*. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* is surnamed also *Asina*, by the capital writers *Orosius, Eutropius*, and *Valerius* in his sixt book chap. 10. of which surname *Macrobius* writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of *Asina* (qd. he) was given to the *Cornelii*, for that the first of the House *Cornelia* having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the solemn manner) he was required to put in good sureties for security, brought into the open market place a she ass laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

495

C. Aquilius son of *M.* *L. Cornelius* son of *L.*

THere are nominated by *Cassiodorus* for Consuls, *C. Aquilius* and *L. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Florus* and *Scipio*. *Zonaras, C. Florus* and *L. Scipio*. *Eutropius* and *Orosius, L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Aquilius Florus*. *Polybius* leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of *Eutropius* and *Orosius*.

496

A. Atilius Calatinus, Q. Sulpitius.

Polybius avoucheth for this years Consuls, *A. Atilius* and *C. Sulpitius*. *Cassiodorus, A. Atilius Calatinus*, and *C. Sulpitius*. The Sicilian Registers and *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Calatinus* and *Paterculus*. The capitol monuments, *A. Atilius Calatinus* and *C. Sulpitius Paterculus*. *Zonaras A. Atilius Calatinus*, and *Caius Sulpitius*. Of these Consuls, *Polybius* Cicero, *Valerius, Florus, Frontinus* in his Stratagems, *Pliny* the yonger *Gellius, Eutropius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention. But concerning the forename of *Sulpitius Paterculus*, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another; to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies; for in these latter monuments he is called *Quintus* in the former *Caius*. Whereby *Goltzius* doth conjecture that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

497

Cn. Cornelius. *C. Atilius.*

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *C. Atilius Serranus*, for Consuls: but *Polybius, C. Atilius*. The capitol tables, *C. Atilius Regulus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have *Regulus* and *Blaso* the second time. But how *Atilius* should come by his surname *Serranus*, *Pliny* sheweth in his 18 book, saying: In these daies the fields were tilled by the very hands of L. Generals themselves and a man verily would believe thereby, that the ground joyed in a laureat plough-share and a triumphant plowman. Him they found a sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname *Serranus*. As concerning *Blaso*, all authors well neer besides, approve the judgment of *Cuspinian*: but *Goltzius* supposeth, that he was not the same man that was Consul before; and therefore he writeth him the son of C. nephew of *L.* without putting to the numeral note II.

498

Q. Caditius. *L. Manlius.*

THe next Consuls that succeeded, were (by *Cassiodorus* his saying) *Q. Caditius* and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian registers name them, *Vulso* and *Caditius*. *Zonaras, M. Regulus* and *L. Manlius*. *Eutropius, M. Atilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius Vulso*: and *Polybius, M. Atilius* and *L. Manlius*. *Insensus* in his 41 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But ye must understand, that *Q. Caditius* died whiles he was in office, and M. *Atilius* was substituted in his room and made Consul the second time; as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, *Lu. Manlius Vulso Longus*: and in stead of *Q. Caditius M. Atilius Regulus* the second time: as also by *Cuspinians* book, wherein is written, *Longus* and *Regulus*.

499

M. Æmylius Paulus. *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.*

Polybius sheweth for the Coss. this year *Ser. Fulvius*, and *M. Aemylius, Cuspinianus* Kalender, *Nobilior* and *Paulus*. The Sicilian registers, *Paetinus* and *Paulus*. *Cassiodorus* and *Eutropius*, together with the Capitoline records have *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmylius Paullus*.

500

Cn. Cornelius. *A. Atilius.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* report for this years Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius* and *A. Atilius*. The capitol authors write, *A. Atilius Calatinus* the second time, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina* likewise a second time. As touching *Cn. Cornelius Asina* twice Consul, thus writeth *Valerius* in his sixt book: *Cn. Cornelius S. Asina*, who being Consul was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at *Lipara* when he had by the law

law of arms lost whatsoever he had, recovered all again, and was made Consul the second time: so as, of a Consul he became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

501

Cn. Servilius. *C. Sempronius.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put down for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cæpio* and *Blasus*. *Zonaras, Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius*. *Eutropius* and *Orosius, Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *Sempronius Blasus*. Of the same Consuls, *Sabinus* in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitol.

502

C. Aurelius Cotta. *P. Servilius.*

Cassiodorus bringeth in as Coss. *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Geminus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cotta* and *Geminus*: but those of the Capitol, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. *Zonaras, Pub. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. *Cicero* in his book, entituled *Lucullus*, writeth, that *C. Cotta*, together with *P. Servilius Geminus*, was twice Consul. *Frontinus* also in his fourth book of Stratagems, and likewise *Orosius*, make mention of *C. Cotta* Consul in *Sicily*.

503

L. Cæcilius Metellus. *C. Furius.*

Polybius setteth down for Consuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Paulus*. *Zonaras, Cæcilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius*. *Cassiodorus, Lu. Cæcilius* and *C. Furius*. *Eutropius, Osorius*, and a capitol stone, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius Pacilus*. This is that *Lu. Metellus*, twice Consul and high priest, of whom *Pliny* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter.

504

C. Atilius Regulus. *L. Manlius.*

Polybius placeth for this years Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Manlius*. *Cassiodorus, C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. *Orosius* and a capitol stone, have *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Vulso*, both Coss. the second time. *Zonaras, C. Atilius* the brother of *Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Regulus* and *Vulso*.

505

P. Claudius. *L. Junius.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* infer for Consuls the next years, *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Junius*. *Zonaras, L. Junius* and *C. Pulcher*. *Florus* and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*, put to *Claudius* the surname of *Pulcher*: and *Eutropius* to *Junius* of *Pullus*: which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitoline tables. That *Claudius Cicero* (in his books of Divination, of the nature of gods) calleth the son of *Appius Caecus*: but *Pliny* (in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter) nameth him his nephew or sons son. The capitol writers take part with *Cicero*. *Val. Maximus* in his first book and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consuls.

506

P. Servilius. *C. Aurelius*

FOr Consuls this year, *Cassiodorus* putteth down *P. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. *Cicero* in his book *Lucullus*, saith that these were twice Consuls. Which also is apparant by the Capitoll and Sicilian tables: in which their surnames are to be seen, *Geminus II.* and *Cotta II.*

507

L. Cæcilius. *N. Fabius.*

IT is recorded by *Cassiodorus*, that the Consuls of this year, were *L. Cæcilius* and *N. Fabius*: but *Zonaras* nameth them, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Numerius Fabius*. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian Registers, have them in this manner; *Metellus II.* and *Buteo II.* But the capitoline tables shew them thus, *L. Cæcilius Metellus II. N. Fabius Buteo II.* *Pliny* also reporteth in his seventh book, that *Metellus* was twice Consul.

508

M'. Fabius. *M'. Æmilius.*

Cassiodorus setteth down as Consuls, *M'. Fabius* and *M'. Otacilius*. The Sicilian Registers, *Crassus* and *Licinius*. *Gellius* in his tenth book and sixt chapter, hath *F. Licinius* and *Otacilius Crassus*. The capitol marble stones, *M. Fabius Licinius*, and *M'. Otacilius Crassus*. Besides, *Gellius* in the place before alledged, *Florus* likewise in his 19 Breviary upon *Livius* maketh mention of these Consuls; as also *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*.

509

M. Falius. *C. Atilius.*

Cassiodorus reckoneth *M. Fabius*, and *C. Atilius*, Consuls for this year. The Sicilian tables, *Buteo* and *Bulbus*. But those of the capitol, *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*. Of *Fabius* the Consuls shipwrack, *Florus* speaketh out of the nineteenth book of *Livy*.

510

A. Manlius. *C. Sempronius.*

FOr this years Consuls, *Cassiodorus* setteth forth unto us, *A. Manlius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Blasus*. *Cuspinians* book hath *Atticus* and *Blasus*. The capitoline tables shew *A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus*, and *C. Sempronius Blasus II.*

511

C. Fundanius. *C. Sulpitius.*

Cassiodorus putteth down, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpitius* for Consuls. The Sicilian wri-

ters, *Fundulus* and *Gallus*. The Capitol monuments, *C. Fundanius Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. None besides make mention of them.

512

C. Lutatius Catulus. *A. Postumius.*

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls this year, *C. Lutatius* and *A. Postumius*. The Sicilian records, *Catulus* and *Albinus*. *Eutropius*, and the capitol marbles, *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*.

513

Q. Lutatius Cerco. *A. Manlius.*

Cassiodorus, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*, shew for consuls this year, *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Cerco* and *Torquatus*. They of the capitol, *Q. Lutatius Cereo*, and *Aul. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II*. Indeed *C. Lutatius Cereo*, is named for an Embassador by *Livy* in his 42 book.

514

C. Claudius Centho. *M. Sempronius.*

FOr this year there were Consuls, *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tudit anus*, according to *Cassiodorus* and the capitol writers. The Sicilian records testify also the same surnames. Of these consuls likewise, besides the capitol Writers, *Cicero* speaketh in his *Cato* and *Brutus*, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of *Atticus*, whereto *Varro* also agreeth) the 514 year from the foundation of the city; as also in his first Tusculan question. So doth *Gellius* 17 book 21 chap. and *Cassiodorus*.

515

C. Mamilius. *Q. Valerius.*

NExt there followed in consuls place, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*, *C. Mamilius* and *Q. Valerius*: but according to the Sicilian registers, *Turrinus* and *Falco*: and after the capitol records, *C. Mamilius Turrinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falco*. Besides, *Verrius Flaccus* and *Cassiodorus*, *Gellius* also maketh mention of these Coss. in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth *Cicero* in *Brutus* and the Tusculan questions, in which year they say, that *Ennius* the Poet was born.

516

T. Sempronius. *P. Valerius.*

FOr the year following, *Cassiodorus* hath consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *P. Valerius*. *Gracchus* and *Falco*, in *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records. *Zonaras* avoucheth, *Semp. Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius*. The capitol writers, have *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falco*. *Orosius* speaketh of these consuls.

517

L. Cornelius. *Q. Fulvius.*

NExt to them, *Cassiodorus* reporteth for consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Fulvius*. *Zonaras*, *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Flaccus*. *Eutropius*, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The capitol registers give to *Lentulus*, the surname *Candenus*: and therefore in *Cuspinians* Kalender, they stand by the names of *Candinus* and *Flaccus*. As for the Sicilian registers, they leave them out clean.

518

C. Licinius. *P. Cornelius.*

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *C. Licinius* and *P. Cornelius*. *Zonaras*, *P. Lentulus* and *Licinius Varus*. The capitoline writers *C. Licinius Varus*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus*. In like manner *Censorinus*; who reckoneth this for the 518 year after the cities foundation; following herein the computation of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and *Pliny*. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, name them *Claudius* and *Varus*.

519

T. Manlius Torquatus. *C. Atilius.*

THis year had for consuls, as *Cassiodorus* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Atilius*. The Sicilian records, shew *Torquatus* and *Bulbus*: but *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and the capitoll Tables shew, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*: unto *Bulbus* The capitol records put to the numeral note II. When *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Atilius Bulbus* the second time were coss. according to *Verrius Flaccus*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of *Rome*, the Temple of *Janus* was shut the second time, as *Plutarch* sheweth in *Numa*; as *Livy* also, *Velleius*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*, do testify.

520

L. Postumius. *Sp. Carvilius.*

Cassiodorus nameth for consuls this year, *L. Postumius* and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian Registers have *Albinus* and *Ruga*. *Zonaras*, *Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The capitol writers have *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*. That *Ruga* was a surname to the *Carvilii*, appeareth out of *Gellius*, who maketh mention of *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

521

Q. Fabius. *M'. Pomponius.*

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *M'. Pomponius*. The Sicilian records *Maximus* and *Matho*. The capitoline writers have *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Pomponius Matho*. *Zonaras* hath *Q. Fabius Max.* and *M. Pomponius*. The surname of *Maximus*, this *Fabius* took of his grand-father, and was not himself the first of that name, whatsoever *Polybius* writeth in his third book. *Verrucosus* he was called besides of a wert upon his lip, as *Plutarch* witnesseth, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

522

M. Lepidus. *M. Popilicius.*

Marcus Lepidus and *M. Popilicius* are reputed to be Consuls this year by *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lepidus* and *Malleolus*. *Zonaras* hath *M. Malleolus* and *M. Æmylius*. The capitol tables shew *M. Æmylius Lepidus* and *M. Popilicius*.

523

C. Papirius. *M. Pomponius.*

NExt after this were created Consuls, *C. Papirius* and *M. Pomponius* according to *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, and *Dionysius* in his second book. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Matho*. But the Capitol records have *C. Papirius Maso* and *M. Pomponius Matho*. Of *C. Papirius*, son of *C.* surnamed *Maso*, a Pontify or Bishop, *Livy* speaketh in the year 540.

524

M. Æmylius. *M. Junius.*

Zonaras and *Cassiodorus* exhibit unto us for Consuls, *M. Æmylius* and *M. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitol records, *M. Æmylius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera*.

525

L. Postumius. *Cn. Fulvius.*

Cassiodorus setteth down *L. Postumius* and *Cn. Fulvius* as Consuls. The Sicilian records *Albinus* and *Centumalus*. But those of the Capitol, and *Eutropius*, present unto us *L. Postumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Polybius* nameth *Cn. Fulvius* and *A. Postumius*.

526

Q. Fabius II. *Sp. Carvilius.*

THere are by *Cassiodorus* nominated for Consuls this year: *Q. Fabius Maximus* the second time, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers *Maximus* and *Ruga*. The Capitol writers set also unto *Carvilius Maximus* the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. *Cicero* in his book entituled *Cato*, likewise in his second book of Rhetorical invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth *Valerius* in his chapter, discourring of the kindnes and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

527

P. Valerius. *M. Atilius.*

THese are set down by *Cassiodorus*, for Coss. this year, *P. Valerius* and *M. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Flaccus* and *Regulus*. The Capitol records represent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. *Gellius* writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

528

L. Apustius. *M. Valerius.*

NExt after, *Cassiodorus* putteth *L. Apustius* and *M. Valerius* Consuls. The Sicilian tables *Maximus* and *Apustius*. The Capitol monuments *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *M. Valer. Messala*.

529

C. Atilius. *L. Aemilius.*

IMmediatly followed Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Æmylius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Æmylius Papus*. The Sicilian registers, *Regulus* and *Papus*. *Zonaras*, *Regulus* and *Æmylius*. Of these Consuls also *Orosius* maketh mention: and *Pliny* in his third book and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read *Paulus* for *Papus*.

530

T. Manlius. *Q. Fulvius II.*

THe year following had Consuls *T. Manlius* and *Q. Fulvius* the second time, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius*, and as *Orosius* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Cuspinians* tables, together with the Capitoline, have *Torquatus* the second time, and *Flaccus* likewise the second time, shewing the surnames only of these Coss.

531

C. Flaminius. *P. Furius Philus.*

Cassiodorus setteth down for Coss. *C. Flaminius* and *P. Furius*. So doth *Polybius*, *Zonaras* nameth them *Flaminius* and *Furius*. *Plutarch* likewise in *Marcellus*. The Sicilian tables name them *Flaminius* and *Philus*. But the capitol records, *C. Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philus*.

532

M. Marcellus. *Cn. Cornelius.*

Cassiodorus nameth for the next Consuls, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius*. *Polybius*, *M. Claudius* and *Cn. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers *Scipio* and *Marcellus*. *Zonaras*, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Scipio*. *Eutropius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. The Capitoll tables *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus*. This is that *Marcellus*, who was five times Consul: and this is that *Scipio*, who afterwards with his brother *Scipio* was slain in *Spain* by *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian.

533

P. Cornelius. *M. Minutius.*

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, *C. rnelius* and *M. Minutius*. So doth *Zonaras*,

rus. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Rufus*. *Entropius* hath P. *Cornelius* and *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Cuspinians* book *Asina* and *Rufus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* both, do think that this P. *Cornelius Scipio Asina* was his son, who in the first Punick war was twice consul. And verily *Livy*, in the year 543 maketh mention of P. *Cornelius Asina*, an honorable Senator, and who had been consul.

534

L. Veturius. C. *Lutatius.*

Cassiodorus and *Zonaras* exhibit unto us for consuls, *L. Veturius* and C. *Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers *Philo* and *Catulus*, *Cuspinians* book *Philo* and *Scævola*.

535

M. Livius. L. *Æmylius.*

THe consuls next following were *M. Livius* and *L. Æmylius*, as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records shew *Salinator* and *Paulus*. *Zonaras*, *M. Livius* and *Æmylius Paulus*. *Pliny* maketh mention of these consuls in the 29 book and first chapt.

536

P. *Cornelius Scipio.* T. *Sempronius Longus.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put down for consuls P. *Cornelius* and T. *Sempronius*. *Zonaras*, *Sempronius Longus* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Longus* and *Scipio*. *Livy*, *Entropius*, *Probus*, *Orosius*, and *Pedianus*, name them *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Whiles these were consuls, the second Punick war arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537

Cn. Servilius Geminus. C. *Flaminius.*

THen followed consuls, as *Polybius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Livy* write, *Cn. Servilius*, together with *C. Flaminius*. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian registers, have given to *Servilius* the surname of *Geminus*. C. *Flaminius* now second time consul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracy in the Ides of *March* not at *Rome* but at *Ariminum*. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the Auspicia or signs of birds, at what time as he made head and went against *Annibal* coming into *Italy*, fought a battel at the lake *Thrasymenus*, where his army was wholly defeated and himself lost his life: into whose place *M. Atilius Regulus*, who had been consul before, was substituted. Thus much out of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

538

C. *Terentius Varro.* L. *Æmylius Paulus.*

NExt to them *Polybius* bringeth in L. *Æmylius* and C. *Terentius* for consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Varro*. *Plutarch* in *Paulus*, *Terentius Varro*, and *Æmylius Paulus*. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and others, C. *Terentius Varro*, and L. *Æmylius Paulus*. *Goltzius* noteth, that the father of C. *Terentius* Varro, was one *Aulus*, a thing by others passed over.

539

L. *Posthumius Albinus. III.*
M. *Claudius Marcellus. II.*
Q. *Fabius Maximus. III.*
T. *Sempronius Gracchus.*

Livy reporteth that the consuls elect for this year, when *M. Junius* the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, were *Lucius Posthumius Albinus* the third time, who as then ruled the province of *Gaul*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had been master of the horsemen: and that *Posthumius* before that he entred into government, was by *Annibal* in *France* environed and slain, in whose stead *M. Marcellus* was subrogated consul now the second time: who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, resigned: and commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the Gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen consuls: whereupon in the room of *Marcellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was chosen consul the third time. Thus write *Livy* and *Plutarch*. And for this cause it is that *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and *Entropius* do put down for this years consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*.

540

Q. *Fabius. IV.* M. *Claudius Marcellus. III.*

Livy, *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus*, set out for consuls this year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time. Moreover, *Cicero* oftentimes and *Frontinus* in his second book of stratagems, make mention of these consuls.

541

Q. *Fabius Max. son of Verrucosus.*
T. *Sempronius Gracchus. II.*

AGainst this year were both the consuls created in their absence, namely, *Q. Fab. Max.* the son of *Verrucosus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time: as *Livy* testifieth and *Cassiodorus*, together with the Sicilian registers. This *Fabius* had been Prætor the former year: and *Gracchus* consul two years before. These consuls *Gellius* nominateth out of *Quadrigarius*, the second book and second chapter. Likewise *Cicero* and *Valerius*.

542

App. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. III.

THe consuls created for this year by the Dictator, were *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, who then was master of the horsemen, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his

his prætorship was L. deputy in *Sicily*, as *Livy*, *Plutarch* in *Fabius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Festus* in his 17 book do witness.

543

C. Sulpitius Galba. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

VPon the receit of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that *Claudius* should hold the election for magistrats and see it finished, whiles *Fulvius* remained still before *Capua*. *Claudius* created for consuls, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *P. Sulpitius* son of *Servius*, and surnamed *Galba*, who before time had born no state-office of the chair. Thus writeth *Livius*. The same consuls also *Cassiodorus* doth deliver. *Orosius* likewise and *Festus* in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare *Galba* and *Centumalus*. As for S. *Sulpitius*, he is named in his second consulship, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the son of *Ser.* nephew of *Publius* surnamed *Galba Maximus*.

544

M. Val. Lævinus. II. M. *Claudius Marcellus. IV.*

Livy, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, do present for consuls this year, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and M. *Valerius Lævinus*. Now this is *Marcellus* his fourth consulship, as *Plutarch* and *Livy* write: but *Cassiodorus* saith, that he was but the third time with M. *Valerius Lævinus*, leaving out that consulship which he bare not through, because of the errour in his creation: and yet it is one of the five that he is reported to have born. *Livy* in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth books, writeth that M. *Valerius* was twice consul. In like manner, the book of *Cuspinian* hath for this year, *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Lævinus* the second time. And therefore *Onuphrius* supposeth that his first consulat was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and his second, now. Of him *Polybius* and *Cicero* make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus. V.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. IV.

THe consuls for this year created, were Q. *Fabius* the fift time, and Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* the fourth time, the same man who being Dictator, held the assembly for that election; as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* do witness. The Sicilian records set forth *Fabius* and *Flaccus*. Whiles these were consuls, *Cicero* in his Oration against *Rullus*, saith that *Capua* was won: and yet *Livy* hath reported it two years before. Of these consuls *Valerius* also, together with *Plutarch*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius* have made mention.

546

M. *Claudius Marcellus. V.*
T. *Quintius Crispinus.*

IN the eleventh year of the Punick war, there entred into their consulship, M. *Marcellus* the fift time (so ye reckon that consulship which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and T. *Quintius Crispinus*. So saith *Livy*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Marcellus* the fift time and *Crispinus*. But *Cassiodorus* reckoneth *Marcellus* but the fourth time with *Crispinus*, passing over that faulty consulat of his. Moreover these consuls are mentioned by *Cicero Valerius*, *Plinius* the yonger, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*: who also report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by *Annibal*: in so much as *Marcellus* was presently slain in the place, and *Quintius* fled sore wounded.

547

C. *Claudius Nero.*
M. *Livius Salinator.*

VVHen the LL. of the Senat cast about to see whom they should create consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was C. *Claudius Nero*: unto whom was joined as companion in government M. *Livius*, who many years before, upon a consulat that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned: and at most eight years after his condemnation was by *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Marcus Livius* then consuls, reduced into the city. In like manner the Sicilian Registers name for consuls, *Nero* and *Salinator*. The capitol records shew *Caius Claudius Nero*, with M. *Livius Salinator*.

548

Q. *Cæcilius Metellus.*
L. *Veturius Philo.*

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for consuls this year, *L. Veturius Philo*, and Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers, *Marcellus* and *Philo*. Over and besides, of these consuls *Cicero* many a time and often, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* in *Africanus*, *Appianus* in *Iberico*, *Pliny* in his 7 book 43 chap. do make mention.

549

P. *Cornelius Scipio.*
P. *Licinius Crassus.*

L. *Veturius Philo* held the assembly for creation of Magistrats, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated *Publius Scipio* for consul, and to him was joined in government, P. *Licinius Crassus*, the supream pontify. Thus saith *Livy*. The Sicilian tables have *Scipio* with *Crassus*. The capitol records shew *P. Cornelius Scipio*,

Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with P. *Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do speak.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus. P. Sempr. Tuditanus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year, P. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Cassiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year P. *Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame *Idaa*.

551

Cn. Servilius Capio. C. Servilius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Consuls *Cn. Servilius Capio* and C. *Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died Q. *Fabius Max*: and *Annibal* with a sad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africk* by commandment of certain delegate Embassadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punick war.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero. M. Servilius Geminus.

M. *Æmilius Servilius Geminus*, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Coss. this year according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africk* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Ælius Paetus.

AGainst this year were created Consuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Ælius Paetus*. So saith *Cassiodorus* also and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius* in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Paetus*. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

P. Sulpitius Galba. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for Consuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the year 542 was first Consul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitoll tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

L. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Villius Tappulus.

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and P. *Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Consul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556

T. Quintius Flaminius. Sex. Ælius Paetus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for consuls this year, *T. Quintius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Paetus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Paetus*. *Pliny* in his book of famous men, saith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminius* was the son of that C. *Flaminius* who was slain at *Thrasymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was descended of the noble Patritian house of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminii*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Ælius Paetus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

This Sextus Ælius in records, Catus surnam'd yet for wit,
A worthy wight for wisedome rare, a discreet man was hit.

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Paetus Catus*.

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Minutius Rufus.

IN this year C. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were consuls, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their surnames only appear in the Sicilian registers. And *Cicero* speaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

L. Furius Purpureo. M. Claudius Marcellus.

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyrio* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Portius Cato. L. Valerius Flaccus.

M. *Arcus Portius Cato* and *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this year, by *Verrius Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. II.
T. Sempronius Longus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and Sicily, match Consuls together this year, P. *Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Pudianus*.

561

L. Cornelius Merula. Q. Minutius Thermus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicili in records, *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontius* in his book of stratagems.

562

L. Quintius Flaminius. C. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Lucius Quintius Flaminius, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

M. Acilius Glabrio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

THe Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and M. *Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Q. Intius*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report, that the war against *Antiochus* King of Syria, and against the Ætolians, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus*, and *Macrobius*, is called the Antiochian, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the yonger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Lelius.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Lelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth *C. Lelius* son of C. and *L. Scipio*, son of P. To *Lelius Cassiodore* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Asiaticus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Cneus Manlius Vulso, and M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodore*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicily. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator. M. Valerius Messala.

THe Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and C. *Livius Salinator*; as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567

M. Æmylius Lepidus. C. Flaminius.

THe next Consuls, were M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witnes *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his fift book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that C. *Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disrobed.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Martius Philippus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his fixt book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

FOr this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & M. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Porcius Licinius.

THe Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Portius Licinius* & P. *Claudius Pulcher* witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Labeo. M. Claudius Marcellus.

AGainst this year were created Consuls, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

L. Æmylius Paulus. Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus.

Cneus Bœbius Tamphilus and *L. Æmylius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Æmylius* is the son of that *L. Æmylius*, who was slain at *Canne*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

573

Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with P. *Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do speak.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus. P. Sempr. Tuditanus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year, P. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Cassiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year P. *Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame *Idaa*.

551

Cn. Servilius Capio. C. Servilius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Consuls *Cn. Servilius Capio* and C. *Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died Q. *Fabius Max*: and *Annibal* with a sad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africk* by commandment of certain delegate Embasiadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punick war.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero. M. Servilius Geminus.

M*Arcus Servilius Geminus*, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Coss. this year according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africk* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Ælius Paetus.

AGainst this year were created Consuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Ælius Paetus*. So saith *Cassiodorus* also and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Paetus*. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

P. Sulpitius Galba. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for Consuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the year 542 was first Consul: and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitoll tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

L. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Villius Tappulus.

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and P. *Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Consul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556

T. Quintius Flaminius. Sex. Ælius Paetus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for consuls this year, *T. Quintius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Paetus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Paetus*. *Pliny* in his book of famous men, saith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminius* was the son of that C. *Flaminius* who was slain at *Thrasymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was descended of the noble Patritian house of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminii*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Ælius Paetus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

This Sextus Ælius in records, Catus surnam'd aye fit,
A worthy wight for wisedome rare, a discreet man was he.

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Paetus Catus*.

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Minutius Rufus.

IN this year C. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were consuls, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their surnames only appear in the Sicilian registers. And *Cicero* speaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

L. Furius Purpureo. M. Claudius Marcellus.

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyreo* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Portius Cato. L. Valerius Flaccus.

M*Arcus Portius Cato* and *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this year, by *Verrius Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. II.
T. Sempronius Longinus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and *Sicily*, match Consuls together this year, P. *Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Pudianus*.

561

L. Cornelius Merula. Q. Minutius Thermus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records. *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontius* in his book of stratagems.

562

L. Quintius Flaminius. C. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Lucius Quintius Flaminius, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

M. Acilius Glabrio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

THe Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and M. *Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Q. Fintius*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report, that the war against *Antiochus* King of Syria, and against the Ætolians, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus*, and *Macrobius*, is called the Antiochian, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the yonger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Lælius.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Lelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth C. *Lælius* son of C. and *L. Scipio* son of P. To *Lælius Cassiodore* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Asiaticus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

C*Neus Manlius Vulso*, and M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodore*, and the tables both of the capitol and *Sicily*. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator. M. Valerius Messala.

THe Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and C. *Livius Salinator*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567

M. Æmylius Lepidus. C. Flaminius.

THe next Consuls, were M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witnes *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his fist book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that C. *Flaminius* who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disrobed.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Martius Philippus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixt book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569

Ap. Claudius Pulcher. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

FOr this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & M. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Porcius Licinius.

THe Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Portius Licinius* & P. *Claudius Pulcher* witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Labeo. M. Claudius Marcellus.

AGainst this year were created Consuls, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

L. Æmylius Paulus. Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus.

C*Neus Bœbius Tamphilus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Æmylius* is the son of that *L. Æmylius*, who was slain at *Cannæ*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

573

573

P. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Bœbius Tamphilus.

Publius Cornelius Cethegus and M. *Bœbius Tamphilus*, succeeded Consuls this year, after *Livy*, *Cassiodore* and the capitol tables. *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* they be called in the Sicilian records. Of P. *Cornelius* and M. *Bœbius* cons, *Plutarch* made mention in *Numa*. Of P. *Cornelius* and M. *Bœbius Tamphilus*, *Valerius* speaketh in his first book and first chapter. Of P. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Bœbius Tamphilus* in 11 book and first chapter. But *Pliny* in his 13 book and 13 chapter calleth the one P. *Cornelius Cethegus*, son of *Lucius*: and the other *M. Bœbius* son of *Q.* surnamed *Tamphilus*.

574

A. Posthumius Albinus. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this years Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. The Sicilian tables, *Albinus* and *Piso*. *Piso* was Pretor in the year 567. And *Albinus* anno 568. But when as a pestilence had reigned now three years, so as it dispeopled the City of *Rome* and all *Italy*, it hapned that *C. Calpurnius* died, not without suspition that he was murdered by *Q. Hostilia*: in whose room *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* his father in law or mothers husband, was declared Consul.

575

L. Manlius Acidinus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Livy, *Cassiodore*, and the capitol records shew for Consuls this year, *L. Manlius Acidinus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The Sicilian tables, *Acidinus* with *Flaccus*. *Cicero* maketh mention of *Acidinus* a Consul, in his second book of a perfect orator. Also observed it is in the capitol monuments, that these Consuls were german brethren: and the same hath *Velleius* in his second book reported. And thereby it cometh to pass, that in the capitol tables *L. Manlius Acidinus*, is surnamed also *Fulvianus* after the manner of those that are adopted.

576

M. Iunius Brutus. A. Manlius Vulso.

NExt Consuls created, were M. *Iunius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulso*: as *Livy*, *Cassiodore*, and the capitol records do testify. *Brutus* and *Vulso* they be named in the Sicilian monuments. This *Brutus* was Pretor in the year 562, and *Vulso* in 571.

577

C. Claudius Pulcher. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.

Caius Claudius Pulcher and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, are matched Consuls this year by *Vir. Flaccus*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. Of this *Tib. Gracchus* *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of divination, and *Frontinus* in his first of stratagems.

578

C. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus.
Q. Petilius Spurinus.
C. Valerius Lævinus.

Livy, *Cassiodore*, and the capitol records exhibit unto us for Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*. The Sicilian Registers, *Scipio* and *Petilius*. But when as *Scipio* returning out of the mount *Albanus*, fell into a fit of Apoplexy, and so into a dead palsey, whereupon he went to the bath at *Cumes*, where, by reason that his disease grew upon him, he departed this life; *Q. Petilius* the other Consul, created for his companion to enter presently upon the govetnment, *C. Valerius Lævinus*. Thus saith *Livy*.

579

P. Mutius Scævola. M. Æmilius Lepidus II.

Orosius putteth down for Consuls *Lepidus* and *Mutius*, *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, M. *Lepidus* and P. *Mutius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lepidus* and *Scævola*. The capitol monuments, P. *Mutius Scævola* and M. *Æmylius Lepidus II*. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*. *Cicero* likewise writeth in his discourse of Provinces; *Valerius* also in his sixt book and sixt chapter, that this *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was twice Consul.

580

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Mutius Scævola.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Posthumius* and *Q. Mutius*. The capitol records, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus Paulus*, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. *Cuspinians* book hath *Paulus* and *Scævola*. *Pliny* maketh mention of these in his second book and 31 chapter. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*.

581

L. Posthumius Albinus. M. Popilius Lænas.

THe Coss. for this year created, were *L. Posthumius Albinus* and M. *Popilius Lænas*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments do testify. *Albinus* and *Lænas* are put down in the Sicilian records. While these were consuls, the feast *Floralia* was instituted first, as *Ovid* sheweth in his fist book of his Kalender.

582

C. Popilius Lænas. P. Ælius Ligur.

THis year had for consuls, *C. Popilius Lænas*, and P. *Ælius Ligur*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do testify. The Sicilian registers name them *Lænas* and *Ælius*. To this day had no Coss. in one year been matched together both commoners: and this was the first time, that both consuls were created out of the commons, as is observed in the capitol monuments. After this, you shall never find the consuls both Patritii: commoners ye shall have them both twain, many a time and often: but most of all, a commoner and a Patritian, one with another.

583

583

P. Licinius Crassus. C. Cassius Longinus.

THe Consuls next ensuing for this year, were P. *Licinius Crassus*, and C. *Cassius Longinus*, as it appeareth in *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than *Crassus* and *Longus*. Of the very same Consuls *Pliny* maketh mention in his seventh book. *Gellius* also in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls the people of *Rome* began war against *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, son of *Philip*: which *Florus* and *Eutropius*, together with *Orosius*, call the second Macedonian war: whereof *Livy* and *Plutarch* write more at large.

584

A. Hostilius Mancinus. A. Atilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus setteth next after for Consuls, C. *Hostilius Mancinus*, and C. *Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mancinus* and *Serranus*. The capitol monuments, *A. Atilius Mancinus*, and *Au. Atilius Serranus*. As well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annals of *Livy*.

585

Q. Martius Philippus. II. Cn. Servilius Capio.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables match together in the Consulship of this year *Q. Martius Philippus* the second time, and *Cn. Servilius Capio*. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely *Philip* and *Capio*. *Cicero* in his books entituled *Brutus* and *Cato*, writeth that *Ennius* the Poet died in their Consulat.

586

L. Æmylius Paulus. II. C. Licinius Crassus.

THe Consuls that next succeeded were *Lu. Æmylius Paulus* the second time (seventeen years after his first Consulship) and *Caius Licinius Crassus*: witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian registers *Paulus* and *Crassus*. As touching this second Consulat of *L. Paulus*, *Plutarch*, *Velleius*, *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, and *Justinus* in his 33 book do write. *Plutarch* addeth thus much and saith, That *Paulus* was threescore years of age, when he was chosen Consul the second time.

587

Q. Ælius Patus. M. Junius.

Livy bringeth in for Consuls next after, *Qu. Æmylius* and M. *Junius*. The Sicilian records *Patus* and *Pennus*. *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus* *Q. Ælius Petus*, and M. *Junius Pennus*. *Cicero* likewise in *Brutus* speaketh of Mar. *Junius Pennus* Consul with *Q. Ælius*. Now from this year forward, we want the compleat story penned by *Livy*.

588

M. Marcellus. C. Sulpitius.

Livy and the capitol monuments shew for this years Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and C. *Sulpitius Gallus*. *Obsequens*, and the title prefixed before the comedy *Andria* in *Terence*, exhibit *Mar. Marcellus* and C. *Sulpitius*. This is that *Marcellus*, who after he had been thrice Consul, perished in the sea. Nephew he was of that M. *Marcellus*, who had been five times Consul, as *Padianus* reporteth. Of these Consuls, *Justine*, *Pliny* in his second book, and many other have made mention.

589

Cn. Octavius. T. Manlius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* infer Consuls this year, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Manlius*. The Sicilian tables, *Octavius* and *Torquatus*. The capitol stones. *Cr. Octavius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. Mention there is made of these consuls in the title set before *Hecyra* in *Terence*. *Cicero* in his first book of Final ends, and likewise in many other places, speaketh of T. *Torquatus*, Consul with *Cn. Octavius*.

590

A. Manlius. Q. C. ssius.

Cassiodorus matcheth together consuls in this year, A. *Manlius* and *Q. C. ssius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Torquatus* and *Longinus*. The capitol records A. *Manlius Torquatus* and *Qu. Cassius Longinus*, who died in his consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretorship, anno 586, as *Livy* beareth witness.

591

T. Sempronius. M. Iuventius.

Cassiodorus saith, that the consuls this year were *T. Sempronius* and M. *Iuventius*. *Obsequens* nameth them, *T. Gracchus*, and *M. Iuventius*. The capitol monuments shew *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, and M. *Iuventius Thalva*. In the Sicilian registers, *Dolabella* and *Thalva*. but not well as it is to be doubted. *Cicero*, *Valerius*, and *Plutarch* have made mention of *Tib. Gracchus* twice consul. And that *M. Iuventius* died whiles he was consul, *Pliny* in his seventh book, and *Valerius* also do report.

592

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. C. Martius.

Cicero in his first and second book of the nature of Gods, *Verrius Flaccus*, *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*, report for consuls P. *Cornel. Scipio Nasica* and C. *Martius Figulus*. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they resigned up their place, as the foresaid authors witness together with *Valerius Plutarch*, and *Pliny*: P. *Corn. Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, entred in their stead.

593

593
M. Messala. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, M. *Messala* and *C. Fannius*. The Sicilian Catalogue *Messala* and *Strabo*. The capitol records, and the title before *Phormio* in *Terence* represent unto us, M. *Valerius* Messala, and *Caius Fannius Strabo*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewise in *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Pliny* in his ninth book and fiftieth chapter, and *Gellius* in his second book.

594
L. Anicius. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Cassiodorus and the title set before the Comedy *Adelphi* in *Terence* avouch for Coss. *L. Anicius* and M. *Cornelius*. The Sicilian and capitol records put surnames unto them *Gallus* and *Cethegus*. Of *Anicius* the Consul, *Cicero* speaketh in *Brutus*: and of *Cethegus*, the six and fortieth Epitome or Breviary of *Florus*. In their year, it is for certain held, that *L. Paulus* who conquered *Perseus*, died.

595
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. M. Fulvius.

THe year next following had Consuls, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and M. *Fulvius*. The Sicilian registers shew *Dolobella* and *Fulvius*. The capitol monuments, *Cn. Cornelius Dolobella* and *Mar. Fulvius Nobilior*. The same is to be seen in the life of *Terence* the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

596
N. Æmylius. C. Popilius.

THe Consuls next succeeding, were *Marcus Æmylius* and *C. Popilius*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Lanas*. The capitol records have *M. Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lanas* the second time. Of the same *Censorinus* maketh mention in his chapter of distinction of ages.

597
Sex. Julius. *L. Aurelius.*

Cassiodorus reporteth, that the next Consuls were *Sex. Julius* and *L. Aurelius*. The Sicilian and capitol tables yeeld surnames unto them, *Cæsar* to *Julius*, and *Orestes* to *Aurelius*. *Pliny* writeth of them in his 33 book.

598
L. Lentulus. C. Martius.

Obsequens and *Cassiodorus* record for this years Consuls *L. Lentulus* and *C. Martius*. The Sicilian catalogue *Lentulus* and *Figulus*. The capitol monuments, *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, and *C. Martius Figulus* the second time. *Cicero* in *Brutus* speaketh of them both. And as touching *Figulus* twice Consul, *Valerius* writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599
P. Scipio Nasica. M. Claudius.

Publius Scipio and M. *Claudius* are by *Cassiodorus* set down for Coss. The Sicilian registers have *Nasica* and *Marcellus*. The capitol records, P. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica* the second time, and M. *Claudius Marcellus* likewise the second time. *Pedianus* writeth, that this *Marcellus* was thrice Consul. And that *Pub. Scipio Nasica*, surnamed also *Corculum*, was twice Consul and Censor besides, *Cicero* writeth in his *Brutus*.

600
L. Posthumius. Q. Opimius.

THis year had Consuls, *Lu. Postumius* and *Qu. Opimius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* do witness. The Sicilian tables shew *Opimius* and *Albinus*. But the capitol records *Q. Opimius*, and *Lu. Postumius Albinus*. Mention there is made of this Q. *Opimius*, Consul, by *Cicero* in his *Brutus*; also in the Epitome of the seven and fortieth book. Moreover, that *Postumius* died in his magistracy, besides *Verrius Flaccus*, *Obsequens* also sheweth: in whose stead *Man. Acilius Glabrio* was chosen.

601
Q. Fulvius. *T. Annius.*

THe Consuls next following, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, were *Qu. Fulvius* and T. *Annius*. In the capitol fragments they are named *Nobilior* and *T. Annius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Nobilior* and *Luscus*. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* saith, that Q. *Nobilior* son of *Marcus*, and T. *Annius Luscus* were Consuls. The Greek records and *Cuspinians* book shew *Nobilior* and *Luscus*.

602
M. Marcellus. *L. Valerius.*

THis year had for Consuls, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Valerius* as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue representeth *Marcellus* and *Flaccus*. *Obsequens* exhibiteth unto us M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*. This *Marcellus* was thrice Consul, as *Pedian* saith upon the Oration for *Scaurus*, and *Cicero* in his book of divination and destiny.

603
L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Postumius Albinus.

CAssiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *L. Lucullus* and A. *Postumius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lucullus* and *Albinus*. The broken marbles of the capitol, *Lucullus* and *Au. Postumius* son of *Aulus*, *Orosius* and the Epitome 48. shew *L. Licinius Lucullus* and A. *Post. Albinus*. *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, and *Lucullus* both, maketh mention of the same. 604

604
T. Quinctius. *M. Acilius.*

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Quintius* and M'. *Acilius*, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth whom *Pliny* in his 7 book & 36 chap. calleth *C. Quintius* and M'. *Acilius*. *Cicero* in his book *Cato*, and the 12 book of his Epistles to *Atticus* nameth *T. Flaminius* and *M'. Acilius*, and saith that they were created Consuls in the 19 year after the death of *Ennius*. The Sicilian tables have *Flaminius* and *Balbus*. The Capitol fragments, *Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*.

605
L. Martius. M'. *Manilius.*

CAssiodorus avoucheth for the Consuls of this year, *L. Martius* and M'. *Manilius*: likewise the 49 Epitome. *Cicero* in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Censorinus* and M'. *Manilius*: of *Censorinus* and *Manilius* in his twelfth book of epistles to *Atticus*. The same Consuls, *Appianus* in *Libyca* nameth L. *Martius Censorinus* and M'. *Manilius*. In like sort *Censorinus* in his treatise of Nativity or Birth-day. The Sicilian tables have *Censorinus* and *Manilius*. The capitol fragments shew *Censorinus* and M'. *Manilius*, son of *Publius*, nephew of *Pub.* Whiles these were Consuls, there arose a third war between the State of *Rome* and the Carthaginians, as *Florus* in the 49 Epitome, besides *Verrius Flaccus* do testify: likewise *Solinus*, but that he saith with *Verrius Flaccus*, that it was the year 64. *Cicero* also in his eleventh Philippick, and lastly *Eutropius*, with *Orosius*.

606
Sp. Postumius. *L. Piso.*

THen were Consuls created, *Sp. Postumius* and *L. Piso*, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. In the capitol fragments they are named *A. Magnus*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, son of *Caius*, nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Piso Casonius*. In *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Magnus* and *Casonius*, in the Sicilian catalogue *Albinus* and *Piso*. As for *Magnus* and *Albinus*, they be the surnames of *Postumius*; like as *Casonius* and *Piso*, of *Calpurnius*. In this year the people of *Rome*, entred into arms against *Andriscus*, otherwise termed *Pseudo-Philippus*, which they call the third Macedonian war, after *Florus* and *Eutropius*.

607
P. Africanus. C. Livius.

Obsequens and *Cassiodorus* set forth for consuls this year *P. Africanus* and *C. Livius*. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registred *Scipio* and *Drusus*: in the capitol fragments *Africanus Æmylianus*, and *C. Livius*; the one son of *M. Æmylianus*, nephew of *Marcus*, the other surnamed *Drusus*. This *Pub. Cornelius* was the natural son of that *Paulus* that vanquished *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, and adopted by *P. Cornelius* the son of *Scipio Africanus*. Whereupon he was called *Pub. Cornelius*, son of *Publius*, nephew of P. *Scipio Africanus* the yonger, and *Æmylianus*, as *Velleius* and others do witness. His two last surnames are in the capitol records, out of which, the complete name of M. *Livius Drusus*, with his addition, was framed. Of these Consuls *Cicero* speaketh after: likewise *Valerius*, *Paterculus*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, both *Plinies*, *Eutropius* and *Orosius*.

608
C. Cornelius. *L. Mummius.*

NExt consuls following, were *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Mummius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*: and according to *Orosius*, *Velleius*, *Censorinus*, and *Cicero* in the thirteenth book of epistles to *Atticus*, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* they are named. In the Sicilian registers *Lentulus* and *Mummius*. In the fragments of the capitol, *Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, nephew of *Lucius*. *Lu. Mummius* in this magistracy acquired the surname of *Achaicus*, upon a victory atchieved by him in *Achaia*, as *Plutarch* in *Marcus*, and *Velleius* do testify.

609
Q. Fabius Maximus. *L. Hostilius.*

CAssiodorus this year delivereth unto us for Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, together with *L. Hostilius*. *Cicero* in *Lælius*, and *Pliny* in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, nameth them *Qu. Maximus*, brother of *Scipio*, and *L. Mancinus*. Of this *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmylianus*, *Valerius* writeth in his second book and first chapter. This *Q. Fabius* was the son of *P. Æmylius*, adopted by *Q. Fab. Max.* the son of *Verrucosus*, as *Appianus* writeth in *Hispanensis*: and therefore in the fragment of a capitol table there is to be seen the second surname *Æmylianus*. *Pliny* was deceived, who in his 31 book 11 chapter calleth him *Qu. Aliobrogicus*, brother of *Scipio*, who was the son of this *Fabius*.

610
Ser. Galba. *L. Aurelius.*

THis year had for Consuls, *Ser. Galba* and *Lu. Aurelius*, according to *Cassiodorus*: those, *Valerius* in his six book nameth *Sulpitius Galba*, and *Lu. Aurelius Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of *Galba* and *Cotta*. But the capitol fragments have *Galba* and *L. Valerius Cotta*. This is that *Sulp. Galba*, who being Pretor, as *Suetonius* writeth, stirred up the war before against *Viriatus*, for he was a vehement Orator, of whom *Cicero* speaketh many times. And as for *L. Cotta*, he it was whom afterwards being accused by *Africanus*, *Qu. Metellus Macedonicus* defended. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, for *Murena* and against *Verres*, maketh mention of him. Likewise *Frontinus* of them both, in his first book of water-conduits.

611

Ap. Claudius. *Q. Metellus.*

Caſſiodorus nameth for this years Conſuls *Appius Claudius* and Q. *Metellus*. *Oroſius*, *App. Claudius* and *Qu. Cæcilius Metellus*. The Sicilian regiſters have *Claudius* and *Metellus*. The capitol fragments ſhew *Pulcher* and Q. *Cæcilius Macedonicus*. Of the ſame, *Frontinus* ſpeaketh in his book of water-conduits, and *Valerius* in his ſeventh book. Now this *Metellus* is he who being Pretor, ſubdued the Macedonians and Achæans, wereupon he was ſurnamed *Macedonicus*: whom *Plinies* 7 book ſheweth to be the ſon of Lu. and nephew of *Quin.*

612

L. Metellus. *Q. Maximus.*

Caſſiodorus putteth down for Conſuls, *Lu. Metellus* and Q. *Maximus*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Maximus*. *Oroſius*, L. *Cæcilius Metellus* and Q. *Fabius Maximus Servilianus*. In like maner the capitol fragments *Calvus* and *Servilianus*. This *Servilianus* is the brother german of Q. *Servilius Cæpio*, the Conſul two years after (as witneſſeth *Appian*) and the adopted ſon of Q. *Fabius Æmylianus*; for they were both adopted by Q. *Fabius Max.* the ſon of *Verrucoſus*, the one out of the houſe *Æmylia*, the other of *Servilia*. L. *Metellus* is the brother of Q. *Metellus Macedonicus*, as writeth *Valerius* in his treatiſe of Witneſſes.

613

Cn. Capio. Q. *Pompeius.*

Cneus Capio and Q. *Pompeius* are recounted Conſuls by *Caſſiodorus*. *Velleius* in his ſecond book ſaith thus: Whether there were two or three houſes of the *Pompeies*, the firſt of that name was Conſul with *Cn. Servilius*. Of this Q. *Pompeius*, *Cicero* maketh mention often-times, writing that he was of baſe and obſcure parentage. Him *Valerius* in his chapter of witneſſes nameth *Auſidus*, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in ſtead of *Au. F. i.* the ſon of *Aulus*. In the ſame ſort *Appianus* in *Hiſpanenſis* nameth him Qu. *Pompeius Aulus* for *A. Filius*. *Cicero* in his Orations againſt *Verres*, and in that for *Fonteius*, *Valerius* alſo in his chapter of Witneſſes, ſheweth that there were two brethren named *Cneus* and *Quintus*, both *Servilii Capiones*.

614

Q. Capio. *C. Lælius.*

After this were Conſuls made, Qu. *Capio* and C. *Lælius*, my authors are *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* together with the Sicilian tables, and *Frontinus* in his treatiſe of water-conduits. This *Lælius* as *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippick.*, and *Velleius* do report, was the ſon of *Lælius* the the Conſul, anno 564, whom as *Cicero* in his ſecond book of Duties and in *Lælius*, was the firſt that was ſurnamed Wiſe, whereof *Plutarch* in *Gracchi* yeeldeth a reaſon.

615

Cn. Piſo. M. *Popilius.*

Caſſiodorus ſheweth for this years Conſuls, *Cn. Piſo* with M. *Popilius*. *Appianus* and the Epitomiſt have *M. Popilius Lænas*: but they be named M. *Popilius Lænas* and L. *Calpurnius* by *Valerius* in his firſt book, writing thus, That *Cornelius Hiſpalus*, Lord chief juſtice for ſtrangers, when M. *Popilius Lænas* and L. *Calpurnius* were Conſuls, by an edict commanded all the Chaldæan [Aſtrologers] to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* within ten daies next enſuing.

616

P. Scipio. *D. Brutius.*

Publius Scipio and *D. Brutus* are named for this years Coſſ. by *Caſſiodorus*. *Florus* in his 55 Epitome; *P. Cornelius Naſica* (ſurnamed *Serapion* in mockery by *G. Curiatius* a Trib. of the Com.) and *D. Junius Brutus* Coſſ. levied and muſtered ſouldiers, &c. This *Scipio* was ſon of that *Naſica* who was ſurnamed *Corculum*, and twice was he Conſul and Cenſor alſo, nephew to that *Naſica*, who by the Senat was deemed the beſt man in the City, and father to him that warred upon *Iugurtha*, as *Velleius* ſaith. This *Decius Brutus*, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* calleth the ſon of *Marcus*, who bare the Conſulſhip in the year five hundred ninety ſeven, and in the capitol tables is called *Pennus*. Moreover, of theſe Conſuls *Cicero* ſpeaketh very oft. *Valerius* alſo in his 3 book, chap. 7. 5 book, chap. 3. 9 book, chap. 15: Likewiſe, *Pliny* in his 21 book, and laſtly, *Frontinus*.

617

M. *Æmylius.* C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus.*

Caſſiodorus and *Obſequens* match together in the conſulſhip this year, M. *Æmylius*, and C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*. The Sicilian regiſters *Lepidus* and *Mancinus*, *Oroſius* and *Appian*, M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*. Of this Conſul *Mancinus* there remain yet ſome tokens to be ſeen in broken marbles of the capitol. *Cicero* maketh mention often-times of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewiſe, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his treatiſe of Famous men.

618

P. Furius. *Sex. Attilius Serranus.*

Caſſiodorus putteth down for Conſuls, *P. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius Serranus*. *Cicero* in his third book of Duties, L. *Furius* and *Sex. Attilius*. *Obſequens*, L. *Furius* and *Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian regiſters *Pilius* and *Serranus*. Of this *Furius*, *Cicero* writeth thus in his *Brutus*; Lu. *Furius Philus*, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have ſpoken more learnedly than others. In the capitol fragments there appeareth yet ſome ſhew of *Serranus* the Conſul.

619

619

Ser. Fulvius. *C. Calpurnius.*

The next conſuls are ſet down by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*, *Ser. Fulvius* and *Q. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Flaccus* and *Piſo*. *Oroſius* nameth *S. Fulvius Flaccus* and Q. *Calpurnius Piſo*. The capitol fragments ſhew *Piſo*: as for *Fulvius Flaccus* the Conſul, mention there is made of him in the Epitome 36. *Appian* alſo in his *Illyrica* ſpeaks of him, and in *Hiſpanenſis* of *Calp. Piſo*.

620

P. *Africanus.* C. *Fulvius Flaccus.*

The year following had *P. Africanus* and C. *Fulvius Flaccus* for Coſſ. as it is written in *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*; But *Scipio* and *Flaccus*, in the Sicilian catalogue. The ſame *Flaccus* the Capitol fragments do ſhew. Of this C. *Fulvius*, mention there is made alſo in the 56 Epitome; and of *Africanus* twice conſul, by *Appian* in *Hiſpanenſis*, by *Oroſius*, *Florus*, and *Valerius* in his eight book.

621

P. *Mucius.* L. *Calpurnius.*

This year had conſuls, P. *Mucius*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*. The Sicilian regiſters ſhew *Scævola* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* nameth *P. Mucius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius*. Of theſe Conſuls *Padianus* upon the Orations againſt *Verres*, maketh mention in theſe words: *Scævola* a right learned man in the Laws, was conſul with *L. Piſo*, that yeat wherein *Tib. Oracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitol he ſtandeth by the name of *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, ſurnamed alſo *Frugi*, and that truly. For *Cicero* in one Oration againſt *Verres* and in another for *Fonteius* writeth, that he was the firſt of the Piſones, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provoſt of the Commons, made a law againſt the extortion of magiſtrats, when *Martius* and *Manilius* were conſuls: he wrote alſo the annals of *Rome*, as *Cicero* teſtifieth in his book *Brutus*.

622

P. *Popilius.* P. *Rupilius.*

Againſt this year were conſuls created, as *Caſſiodorus* writeth, P. *Popilius* and P. *Rupilius* after the Sicilian records *Lænas* and *Rupilius*. *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his 13 book of Epiſtles to *Atticus*, and againſt *Verres*. Alſo in the capitol fragments we read of P. *Popilius*, ſon of *Caius*, and P. *Rupilius* ſon of P. and nephew of *Publius*. *Velleius* in his ſecond book, nameth the conſuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*. *Cicero* in *Lælius* ſpeaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lænas*. And of P *Rupilius* there is mention made in the Epitome or Breviary 59.

623

P. *Craſſus.* L. *Valerius.*

Caſſiodorus putteth down for conſuls this year, *Pub. Craſſus* and *Lu. Valerius*. *Craſſus* and *Flaccus* the Sicilian catalogue. *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *Pub. Licinius Craſſus*, according to *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippick* againſt *Antony*. Of this conſul *Pu. Licinius Craſſus*, all they have ſpoken, who wrote of the war of *Ariſtonicus*. This P. *Craſſus* ſurnamed *Dives*, by *Cicero* in his books of a perfect Orator, and in *Brutus* is called the brother of *Scævola*: whereupon *Velleius* in his ſecond book nameth him *Mutianus*, betokening thereby that he was adopted out of the houſe of *Mutis* into the family of the *Craſſi*. This man *Gellius* writeth in his firſt book and 23 chapt. to have been of all others the richeſt man, the nobleſt perſonage, and the moſt eloquent Orator, the deepeſt lawyer, and the ſupream Biſhop withal.

624

C. *Claudius.* M. *Perpenna.*

Appius Claudius and *M. Perpenna* are matched in the Conſulat together this year by *Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, ſhew *Lentulus* and *Perpenna*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the family of the *Cornelii*. Moreover, *Cicero* in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for *Plancius*, calleth this man C. *Claudius*. This alſo is confirmed by an old table of ſtone commonly known, wherin is to be ſeen this inſcription, *C. Claudius* and M. *Perpenna* Coſſ. Which evidence *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* following, named him *C. Claudius* and not *Appius*. Of this M. *Perpenna* as many as wrote the war of *Ariſtonicus*, have made mention, and namely, *Valerius* in his 3 book and 4 chapt. *Velleius*, *Strabo*, *Oroſius*, and *Eutropius*.

625

C. *Sempronius.* *M. Aquilius.*

This year had conſuls, M. *Aquilius* and C. *Sempronius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*. But *Aquilius* and *Tuditanus* according to the Sicilian regiſters. C. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and M. *Aquilius*, after *Oroſius*. *Cicero* ſpeaketh of them in his book of the nature of gods, and to his brother *Quintus*. *Paterculus* alſo in his ſecond book, *Strabo* in his 14 book. *Appian* in his firſt book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

626

Cn. Octavius. *T. Annius.*

Next followed as conſuls *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, as *Caſſiodorus* teſtifieth and none but he. For *Caſpinians* book and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavius* and *Rufus*. *Plutarch* alſo writeth, that one *T. Annius* contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a ſedition. As for this C. *Octa-*

vius, for he was to that Cneus who was Consul in the year five hundred eighty nine.

627
L. Cassius. L. Cinna.

CAssiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, L. Cassius and L. Cinna. The Sicilian records Longinus and Cinna. Cuspinians books set out Rulla, corruptly for Ravilla, and Cinna. This L. Cassius was his son who bare the consulship in the year 590, and he was afterwards Censor in the year 629 surnamed Ravilla by Frontinus.

628
M. Æmylius. L. Aurelius.

CAssiodorus and Obsequens reckon for Coss. this year, Mar. Æmylius and Lu. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Lepidus and Oreſtes. Cenſorinus hath M. Æmylius Lepidus, and L. Aurelius Oreſtes. Cicero in Brutus, Mar. Lepidus, and L. Oreſtes.

629
M. Plautius. M. Fulvius.

CAssiodorus and Obsequens avouch Consuls this year, M. Plautius and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers, Hypseus and Flaccus. Oroſius and Frontinus in his treatise of water-conduits, M. Plautius Hypseus and Mar. Fulvius Flaccus. Valerius also in his discourse of Pride maketh mention of them.

630
C. Cassius Longinus. C. Sextius.

CAsiodorus and Obsequens report, that the consuls following were C. Caſsius Longinus, and C. Sextius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Longinus and Calvinus, Velleius writeth, that the colony Fabrateria was planted by Caſsius and Calvinus. Cicero in Brutus speaketh of C. Sextius Calvinus. Eutropius declareth for consuls, C. Caſsius Longinus, and S. Domitius Calvinus, not without suspition of a fault or errour.

631
Q. Cæcilius. T. Quintius.

CAssiodorus nominateth for consuls this year, Q. Cæcilius and T. Quintius. The Sicilian records Metellus and Flaminius. Eutropius and Oroſius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and T. Quintius Flaminius. Cicero in his Oration pleading for his house, calleth them T. Flaminius and Q. Metellus. This Q. Metellus was the eldeſt of the four sons of Macedonicus, whom Plutarch in his treatise of the Romans fortune, calleth Q. Metellus Balearicus, of the Baleares whom in this magistracy he conquered.

632
Cn. Domitius. C. Fannius.

CAsiodorus and Obsequens join in fellowship of the consulate this year, Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius. The Sicilian records, Ænobarbus and Fannius. Cicero writeth of them in his Brutus, and Pliny in his second book and 32 chapter. Three moons (qd. he) appeared when Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius were Coss. which most men called the night-stars.

633
L. Opimius. Q. Maximus.

THis year had for consuls, Lu. Opimius and Q. Maximus, as witnesseth Ceſſiodorus. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Opimius and Maximus. But Obsequens, L. Opimius and Qu. Fabius Maximus. Pliny speaketh of them in his second book, saying, About the sun there appeared an arch or bow, when L. Opimius and Q. Fabius were consuls. This Qu. Fabius Maximus is by Cicero in Brutus, Florus in his Epitome, Velleius in his 2 book, and Padianus upon the Orations against Verres, rightly named the nephew of Paulus, and son of F. Æmylianus. And so may Strabo, Appian, and Pliny be well reproved, for making him and his father Æmylianus, all one. The same man, as Cicero and Pliny testify, was surnamed Allobrogicus, upon a victory over the Allobroges. Of this L. Opimius consul, after whose name there was a wine called Opimianum, Pliny maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chap. Plutarch also in C. Gracchus, and Velleius in his second book.

634
P. Manlius. C. Papyrius.

CAssiodorus inferreth for this years consuls, P. Manlius and C. Papyrius. The Sicilian records Manlius and Carbo. This is that Caius Papyrius Carbo, who being a Tribune of the commons when Claudius and Perpenna were Coss. was afterwards by C. Gracchus appointed for one of the Triumvirs to divide lands: who first took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom Cicero in many other places, and namely, in his second book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

635
L. Cæcilius. L. Aurelius.

CAssiodorus and Obsequens put down for consuls, Lu. Cæcilius and Lu. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue, Metellus and Cotta. Plutarch in Marius speaketh of C. Metellus and Cotta, consuls. Which Marius he writeth to have born the Tribunship of the commons, when these were consuls, and to have cast Metellus the consul into prison. This is that Cotta, in whose consular room Velleius reporteth, that C. Cæsar Flamin of Jupiter, was created.

636
M Cato. Q. Martius.

THis year had for consuls Mar. Cato and Q. Martius: witness Cassiodorus and Obsequens. Cato and Martius, according to the Sicilian registers. But Eutropius nameth them M. Porcius Cato and Q. Martius. Valerius speaketh of

of them in his fift book, and Pliny in his second book 31 chap. Gellius also in his 13 book and 19 chapt.

637
L. Lucullus. Q. Metellus.

COnsuls next ensuing by Cassiodorus his saying, were L. Cæcilius and Q. Martius. After the Sicilian registers, Metellus and Scævola, if ye go by Eutropius, L. Cæcilius Metellus and Q. Mutius Scævola. Now is this that L. Cæcilius Metellus, who afterwards upon subduing the Dalmatians, was surnamed Dalmaticus, whom Plutarch in Coriolanus and in his book of the Romish fortune, nameth Diadematus, for that a long time he bound up his forehead with a frontlet or wreath which they call a diadem, to hide an ulcer that he had there. Hereupon, when Pompeius bound up his leg with a white band or gyrter, it makes no matter (qd. Plutarch, in what part of the body a man weareth the diadem: upbraiding and reproching him for his kinglike power, in terming a small clout or peece of cloth by that name. This is that Q. Mutius Scævola the Augur, of whom Cicero in his book Lælius, and in the fift book of an Orator maketh mention.

638
C. Licinius Geta. Q. Maximus.

CAssiodorus coupleth together in society of Consulship this year, C. Licinius and Qu. Maximus. The Sicilian registers name them Geta and Ebutius. Of this Q. Maximus Cicero speaketh in his Oration for Murena. That this man was of the house of the Fabii, his surname Eburnus sheweth, of whom writeth Festus in this manner: Qu. Fabius was called Pullus Iovis, surnamed Eburnus, of whiteness, for that his buttock was blasted with lightning. Quintilian in his third Declamation reporteth, that this Fab. Eburnus had a son unchast of his body, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man Valerius calleth Q. Fabius Verrucosus. As for the name of this Licinius his father, obscure and unknown heretofore, Goltzius out of an old antiquity of coin hath restored it; whereby, as he saith, was written plainly, C. Licinius Geta, son of Publius.

639
M. Metellus. M. Scaurus.

THe consuls next following by Cassiodorus his report, were M. Metellus and M. Scaurus. As for Metellus, the third son he was of Macedonicus. But as touching M. Scaurus, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous persons, calleth M. Æmylius Scaurus, this writeth Padianus, M. Scaurus (qd. he) was a Patritian indeed and of noble blood, but so, as the gentry of his house, for those discents before him lay obscure, for neither father, nor grandsire, by reason of their poor estate, and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him Cicero maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for Murena and in Brutus. Valerius also in his 5 book and 8 chapt. and Pliny likewise in his 2 book and 36 chapt.

640
M. Æmilius Balbus. C. Cato.

CAssiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, M. Atilius Balbus, and C. Cato. The Sicilian catalogue Balbus and Cato. Obsequens M. Acilius and C. Portius. Of the same consuls Pliny speaketh in the 2 book, chap. 29. and 58. Plutarch in Marius giveth to Acilius the forename Manius. This C. Cato is the brother of that M. Cato, who four years before was Consul, nephew to M. Cato Cenſorinus, and Africanus fifters son, as saith Velleius, Cicero against Verres, and in Brutus.

641
C. Cæcilius. Cn. Papyrius.

CAssiodorus and Obsequens set down for next Consuls, C. Cæcilius and Cn. Papyrius. The Sicilian registers Metellus and Carbo. Eutropius, C. Cæcilius Metellus, and Cn. Carbo. The same men Tacitus in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Consulship, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome: in which year, both he and Obsequens do report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the Cimbrians and the Teutones. This C. Metellus was the fourth son of C. Metellus the son of Macedonicus: whom, when he died, he left a man of Prætors calling, and in suit and election for to be Consul. This man got a surname by way of reproach, as Cicero testifieth in his second book of a perfect Orator. Now surnamed was he Capriarus, as Plutarch saith in the Life of the Romans.

642
M. Livius Drusus. L. Piso.

CAssiodorus exhibiteth unto us for this years Consuls, M. Livius Druſus and L. Piſo. The Sicilian catalogue Druſus and Piſo. L. Piſo surnamed Cæsonius a man of Consular degree, was slain after by the Tigurins, when Lu. Cassius was Consul, as Oroſius testifieth.

643
P. Scipio. L. Calpurnius Bestia.

CAssiodorus nameth this year for Consuls, P. Scipio and L. Calpurnius Beſtia. The Sicilian records Naſica and Bestia. Obsequens, Pub. Scipio and L. Calpurnius, Salisb. Eutropius and Oroſius, P. Scipio Naſica and L. Calpurnius Beſtia. Of these Consuls, P. Naſica Scipio and L. Beſtia, Valerius likewise maketh report. lib. 1. chap. 6. Moreover, Cicero in his Brutus writeth that P. Scipio the son of Pub. Scipio surnamed Serapion and fellow Consul to L. Beſtia, died in his Consulship. Of this Beſtia there is some mention to be seen in a capitol fragment.

644

Sp. *Poſthumius.* M. *Minutius.*

Caſſiodorus ſetteth down for Conſuls, *Sp. Poſthumius* and *M. Minutius.* The Sicilian regiſters *Albinus* and *Rufus. Saluſt, Sp. Albinus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus.* Of M. *Minutius, Velleius* and the threeſcore and ſeventh Epitome make mention.

645

Q. *Metellus.* M. *Silanus.*

Caſſiodorus ſaith that the Conſuls next following were *Q. Metellus* and M. *Silanus.* The Sicilian catalogue ſheweth *Metellus* and *Silanus. Padianus* and *Eutropius, Qu. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus,* and *M. Junius Silanus.* Of them alſo *Cicero* ſpeaketh in *Brutus.* This *Metellus* was ſurnamed *Numidicus* for the conqueſt of *Numidia,* as witneſſeth *Velleius.*

646

Ser. *Galba.* *M. Scaurus.*

Caſſiodorus and *Obſequens* deliver for the Conſuls of this year, *Serviut Galba* and M. *Scaurus.* The Sicilian evidences, *Sulpitius* and *Scaurus. Cicero* in the Oration for *Rabirius,* ſaith that S. *Galba* was a man of Conſular degree, when *Marius* was the ſixt time Conſul. Of M. *Scaurus* the Conſul, *Velleius* and *Tacitus* make mention. This is that M. *Aurelius Scaurus,* who being afterwards in embaſſage was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threeſcore and ſeventh Epitome.

647

L. *Caſſius.* *C. Marius.*

Caſſiodorus joineth in the conſulſhip this year, L. *Caſſius* and C. *Marius. Cuſpinians* book and the Sicilian records, *Longinus* and and *Marius, Pliny* alſo maketh mention of them in his 10 book and 13 chap. *Cicero* in his oration for *Plancius: Plutarch* in *Marius;* and *Cicero* again in his third book of *Duties,* writeth, that C. *Marius* having taken the repulſe twice for the office of Ædileſhip, was created conſul.

648

Q. *Servilius Capio.* *C. Atilius.*

Obſequens and *Caſſiodorus* match conſuls together this year, *Q. Servilius Capio* and C. *Atilius Serranus.* The Sicilian monuments *Capio* and *Serranus.* In this year upon the third day of *January,* M. *Tullius Cicero* was born, as *Gellius* in his fifteenth book and eight and twentieth chapt. hath left written. Much mention there is made of theſe conſuls in *Cicero* and other ancient writers.

649

P. *Rutilius Rufus.* C. *Manilius.*

Publius Rutilius Rufus and C. *Manilius,* are put down by *Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus* for this years conſuls. This P. *Rutilius, Cicero* in *Brutus,* calleth the ſon of *Marcus,* About the other conſul the Annals do vary and diſagree: ſome forename him C. others *Cneus.* Some name him *M. Manlius,* others *Mallius* or *Manilius.* But all this controverſy is decided by an old antiquity in ſtone at *Puteoli:* the inſcription whereof teſtifieth that *P. Rutilius* and *Cn. Mallius* were Conſuls; as alſo the evidence of the Sicilian regiſters, wherein written it is *Rufus* and *Mallius.* Of this *Mallius* mention there is made in *Cicero's* Orations for *Plancius* and *Murana:* likewiſe in *Valerius, Saluſt, Tacitus, Florus, Eutropius* and *Oroſius;* That he was not only a baſe man and of low birth but alſo without all vertue and wit, in the courſe of his life alſo vile and contemptible, *Cicero* writeth in his Oration for *Plancius.* Whereby it eaſily appeareth, that the *Mallii* were a kinred different from the *Manlii.* For of *Cn. Manlius* a Patritian, and that of a moſt noble houſe, *Cicero* would never have ſpoken in ſuch terms.

650

C. *Marius II.* C. *Flavius Fimbria.*

THe next Conſuls are ſet down by *Caſſiodorus,* C. *Martius* the ſecond time, and C. *Flavius Fimbria:* by *Obſequens,* C. *Marius* and C. *Flavius.* By the Sicilian regiſters *Marius* and *Fimbria:* by *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius,* C. *Marius* the ſecond time, and C. *Fimbria;* Item, C. *Marius* and *Caius Flavius.* Beſides, *Cicero, Velleius, Valerius, Plutarch,* and others ſpeak often of theſe Coſſ.

651

C. *Marius III.* L. *Aurelius Oreſtes.*

Caſſiodorus reporteth for this years Conſuls, C. *Marius* the third time, and L. *Aurelius Oreſtes.* The Sicilian catalogue *Marius* and *Oreſtes.* Moreover, *Marius* even in his abſence was elected Conſul the third time, for fear of the Cimbrian war which was deſeated, as *Velleius, Eutropius,* the Breviary, and *Cicero* in his Oration concerning Provinces, do teſtify.

652

C. *Marius IV.* Q. *Lutatius.*

NExt after them are put down for Conſuls by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens,* C. *Martius* the fourth time, and Q. *Lutatius.* The Sicilian regiſters exhibit unto us *Marius* and *Catulus. Plutarch* and *Eutropius, Caius Marius* the fourth time, and Q. *Lutatius Catulus.* Of theſe Conſuls, *Cicero* and *Pliny* oftentimes make mention.

653

653

C. *Marius V.* M'. *Aquilius.*

THen ſucceeded in the Conſulſhip by the teſtimony of *Caſſiodorus,* C. *Marius* the fift time, and M'. *Aquilius.* Of this *C. Marius* five times now Conſul, *Plutarch* and *Florus* give report. And *Cicero* in his ſecond book of a perfect Orator, nameth M'. *Aquilius* for the companion of C. *Marius* in his fift conſulſhip. Of whom *Plutarch* in *Marius* ſpeaketh and calleth him μάντιν ἀνδρῶν. as alſo *Appian* in *Mithridatica.* Now this *Manius Aquilius* a Conſular man, is the ſame who afterwards being an Embaſſador, was by King *Mithridates* taken priſoner and moſt villanouſly tormented and mangled.

654

C. *Marius VI.* L. *Valerius Flaccus.*

Caſſiodorus and *Obſequens* ſhew unto us for this years conſuls, C. *Marius* the ſixt time, and *Lu. Valerius Flaccus.* The Sicilian records, *Marius* and *Flaccus.* This L. *Flaccus* (afterwards Cenſor) was Preſident of the Senat and maſter of the horſemen under *Syll.* Dictator. Of theſe conſuls *Cicero* ſpeaketh very often and namely, in his *Brutus.* in his oration for *Rabirius,* againſt *Catiline* and *Antonie:* and alſo in the defence of *Plancius. Pliny* likewiſe in his ſecond book *Verrius,* and *Padianus* upon the oration againſt *Piſo.* Moreover, *Plutarch,* and many authors beſides. In this year (upon the twelfth day of *July,* then called *Quintilis,* as *Macrobius* witneſſeth) was *Julius Cæſar* born, who afterwards was ſurnamed *Dictator.*

655

M. *Antonius.* A. *Poſtumius.*

REported it is by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens,* that *M. Antonius* and *A. Poſtumius* were Conſuls this year. The Sicilian regiſters. ſhew *Albinus* and *Antonius.* In a fragment alſo of the capitol marbles, mention there is of *An. Poſtumius. Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, have *Antonius* and *Albinus.* Of theſe Conſuls, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his oration to the citizens of *Rome,* after his return out of exile. Likewiſe, *Pliny* in his 8 book and 7 chap. where he noteth this the 655 year. Alſo *Gellius* in his 4 book and 6 chapt.

656

Q. *Metellus.* T. *Didius.*

Quintus Metellus and *T. Didius* ſucceeded Conſuls next in this year. as *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* do write. And *Padianus* upon the oration for *Cornelius,* nameth them: *Curio* (ſaith he) accuſed *Q. Metellus Nepos,* ſon of *Balearicus,* and nephew of *Macedonicus* who was Conſul with *T. Didius. Cicero* ſpeaketh of the ſame man in his oration after his return.

657

Cn. *Lentulus.* P. *Craſſus.*

NOt only *Caſſiodorus,* but the Sicilian regiſters alſo, do teſtify, that *Cn. Lentulus* and P. *Craſſus* were Conſuls this year: and *Obſequens* nameth them, *Cn. Cornelius* and *P. Lecinius. Pliny* writeth of them in his tenth book and firſt chapt. alſo in his 33 book and ſecond chapter.

658

Cn. *Domitius.* C. *Caſſius.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *Cn. Domitius* and C. *Caſſius,* as *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* do witneſs. *Cuſpinians* annals and the Greek regiſters ſhew *Ænobarbus* and *Longinus.* A fragment of *Verrius Flaccus* his marbles *Ænobarbus* and C. *Caſſius* ſon of *Lucius. Padianus* ſpeaketh of them upon the oration for *Cornelius.*

659

L. *Craſſus.* Q. *Scævola.*

Lucius Craſſus and *Q. Scævola* were conſuls next following according to *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens.* In a fragment of the capitol records as touching Conſuls, is to be ſeen *Craſſus* and *Martius.* In *Cenſorinus,* we find *Lu. Lecinius* ſon of *Lucius. Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth, that *Craſſus* the orator bare all dignities of magiſtracy, together with *Scævola* the high-prieſt, except the Tribunat of commons and the Cenſorſhip: alſo that whiles they two were Conſuls, Q. *Hortenſius* pleaded the firſt cauſe that ever he undertook at the bar. *Padianus* upon the oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius,* maketh mention of *L. Licinius Craſſus* the Orator, and *Q. Mutius Scævola* the arch-biſhop an orator beſides and a profeſſed lawyer, both Conſuls together.

660

C. *Calius.* L. *Domitius.*

Caſſiodorus and *Obſequens* declare for this years Conſuls, C. *Calius* and L. *Domitius.* The Sicilian regiſters. *Caldus* and *Ænobarbus.* In a capitol fragment, they are *Caldus* and *Lu. Domitius* ſon of *Cneus.* As for *Caldus* it is the ſurname of *Calius.* For *Velleius* in keth mention of one *C. Caldus* under *Auguſtus.* In like manner *Cicero* in his book entituled, The ſuing for a Conſulſhip and in his oration for *Murana.* Alſo *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius.* Again, *Cicero* in his *Brutus,* nameth them next before *Herennius.*

661

C. *Valerius Flaccus.* M. *Herennius.*

THere are matched by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* for conſuls this year C. *Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius.* The Sicilian records, *Flaccus* and *Herennius.* A broken ſtone of the capitol hath *Flaccus* and M. *Herennius. Pliniut* in his 29 book and 3 chapt. *Cicero* alſo in his Oration for *Murana,* and in *Brutus,* ſpeaketh of them.

662

662
C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perpenna.

CONsuls this year, were C. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Perpenna, as witneſs Caſſiodorus and Obſequens. Likewiſe in a capitol broken monument and in the Sicilian regiſter it is Pulcher and M. Perpenna. Cicero maketh mention of this Claudius as Pretor of Sicily in the fourth Oration againſt Verres: and as Ædile Curule in his ſecond book of Offices. So doth Pliny in his 8 book.

663
L. Martius. Sext. Julius.

CAſſiodorus and Obſequens name for conſuls this year, L. Martius and Sext. Julius. The Sicilian records, Philip and Cæſar. Eutropius and Oroſius Sex. Julius Cæſar, and L. Martius Philippus. A capitol fragment, Philip and Sex. Julius, ſon of Caius. Pliny ſpeaketh of them in his 2 book 8 chapt. alſo in the 33 book and 3 chapt. In like manner Cicero many times, and Valerius.

664
L. Julius Cæſar. P. Rutilius Lupus.

ACcording to Caſſiodorus and Obſequens the Conſuls this year were L. Julius Cæſar, and P. Rutilius Lupus. And ſo it is in Padianus Velleius, and the 73 Epirome: as alſo in other authors who have written of the Marſian war. In a fragment of the capitol, they are ſeen written, Cæſar. and P. Rutili. ſon of Rufus. In the Sicilian records Cæſar and Lupus Cicero in his book of Divination, ſpeaketh of them both: and in his oration for Plancius he writeth, that L. Cæſar miſſing of an Ædileſhip became a Conſul.

665
L. Portius. Cn. Pompeius.

CAſſiodorus ſetteth down for Conſuls this year L. Porcius and Cn. Pompeius. Padianus upon the Oration for Cornelius, ſurnamed Cn. Pompeius Strabo; and L. Porcius, Cato. The Capitol fragment ſhew no more but Strabo and Cato. Appius hath made mention of theſe conſuls: ſo have Oroſius and others that have penned the Marſian war. This Cn. Pompeius was father to that Cn. Pompeius the Great: as Appianus witneſſeth, and Padian upon the Oration againſt Piſo.

666
L. Sylla. Q. Pompeius.

CAſſiodorus ſheweth for this years Conſuls, L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius: and the ſame is written in Obſequens, Velleius, Eutropius Oroſius, Appian. Plutarch. and others. The Sicilian records have Sylla and Rutilius. Sylla, after his victory in the civil war, would needs have himſelf ſurnamed Fœlix: and therefore Padian and the avouchers of the capitol monuments, in reporting this conſulat, write thus; L. Sulla, who afterwards was called Fœlix. The ſame man in his ſecond Conſulſhip, (which appeareth upon record in the capitol) is named the ſon of Lucius, and nephew of Publius. Moreover, of Q. Pompeius Rufus, Cicero maketh mention in his Brutus.

667
L. Cornelius Cinna. Cn. Octavius.

REported there are by Caſſiodorus and the Sicilian regiſters for Conſuls this year L. Cinna and Cn. Octavius. Appian Velleius, and the reſt, who have recorded the hiſtory of this time, name them L. Cornelius Cinna, and Cn. Octavius. Plutarch writeth, that L. Cinna being of the adverſe faction to L. Sulla, was by him made conſul, upon condition that he ſhould not croſs nor ſtand againſt the proceeding of the ſaid Lu. Sulla: and ſo ſoon as he was entred into place of government, he began to trouble and diſquiet the preſent ſtate of the common-weal, yea, and intended an action againſt Sulla, by the means of Virginius a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit Sulla contemning Virginius, made an expedition againſt Mithridates.

668
L. Cinna II. C. Marius VII.

AFter this were Conſuls, C. Marius the ſeventh time, and L. Cinna the ſecond time, according to the records of Sicily, Caſſiodorus, and thoſe that wrote of the civil war. Plutarch ſaith, that Marius was the firſt man that was ſeven times conſul of Rome. Moreover, as it is to be read in Appian, and in the Breviaries L. Cinna and C. Marius, without any lawful aſſembly for Election, declared themſelves Conſuls againſt this year, and the very ſame day that they entred into their magiſtracy Marius commanded Sext. Licinius a Senator, to be thrown down from the rock Tarpeia: who, after he had committed many haynous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of January: in whoſe room was ſubordained, L. Val. Flaccus, even he (as men think) who before-time was colleague to C. Marius in his firſt Conſulſhip: of whom Cicero maketh mention in his Oration for his ſon Flaccus.

669
L. Cinna III. Cn. Papirius.

CAſſiodorus witneſſeth that the Conſuls ſucceeding in this year were L. Cinna the third time, and Cn. Papirius. The Sicilian records, have Cinna and Carbo. In the 83 Breviary it is written, that Lu. Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo, for two years together uſurped the Conſulate. Alſo in the book entituled. Of famous perſons, we read that Cinna made himſelf Conſul a ſecond and third time. Of theſe Conſuls Plutarch ſpeaketh in Sulla. Appian in Mithridatica, and in the firſt book of civil wars.

670
L. Cinna IV. Cn. Papirius II.

NExt were Conſuls, after Caſſiodorus and the Epitomiſt, Lu. Cinna the fourth time, and Cn. Papirius the ſecond time. Cicero in his Tuſculan queſtions mentioneth Cinna four times Conſul: ſo doth Suetonius in Cæſar. And of Cn. Papirius Carbo twice Conſul, the capitol tables do yeeld teſtimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put down for conſul, (not without ſuſpition of error) Carbo and Scribonius.

671
L. Scipio. C. Norbanus.

BEſides the Sicilian tables, Caſſiodorus, Obſequens, Appius, Eutropius, Florus, and Tacitus in his nineteenth book do witneſs, that Lu. Scipio, and C. Norbanus were Conſuls. In the capitol fragments it is written, Lu. Cornelius ſon of Lucius, nephew of L. Scipio Aſiaticus.

672
M. Carius. Cn. Carbo III.

I Find in Caſſiodorus, Appianus, Velleius, and others, the next conſuls to have been, C. Marius and Cn. Carbo the third time. This C. Marius was the brothers ſon of C. Marius ſeven times conſul, according to Appian: but Velleius, Paterculus, Plutarch, Eutropius, and others, ſay, that he was the ſon of that C. Marius: and haply indeed he was adopted by C. Marius. Certainly, in the capitol tables, he is called C. Marius, ſon of C. and nephew of Caius. Cicero ſpeaketh of theſe Coſſ. againſt Rullus: Pliny alſo in his 17 book, and they who have ſet down in writing the civil wars of Sylla.

673
M'. Tullius. Cn. Dolabella.

NExt to thoſe, Caſſiodorus bringeth in for conſuls, M'. Tullius and Cn. Dolabella. The Sicilian records, have Decula and Dolabella. Appian alſo reporteth, that Sylla Dictator, to the end that the ſtate and common-weal might ſeem to retain ſome ſhew yet of her ancient dignity, permitted M'. Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella to be created conſuls, whiles himſelf after the manner of K. ſate aloft in a throne above them. Cicero in his oration againſt Rullus, and Gellius in his 15 book and 33 chap. maketh mention of M'. Tullius and Cn. Cornelius conſuls. In a capitol fragment, this M'. Tullius, ſon of M. nephew of A. is ſurnamed Decula.

674
L. Sylla II. Q. Metellus.

CAſſiodorus and the Sicilian regiſters, ſet down for Conſuls, Lu. Sylla the ſecond time, and Q. Metellus. Appius ſaith moreover, that Sylla, Dictator though he was, yet ſtood content and willing to be declared conſul with Q. Metellus Pius, to the end that the common-weal might ſeem to have ſome likeneſs yet of a free ſtate. Of theſe conſuls, Cicero maketh mention in his Orations againſt Verres, and elſewhere. Gellius likewiſe in his 15 book and 28 chapter, together with Caſſiodorus. This Metellus was ſurnamed Pius. He it is, who was by lot appointed to manage the wars in Spain and againſt Sertorius; and ſon he was to Numidicus.

675
P. Servilius. App. Claudius.

THe next conſuls, were P. Servilius and Ap. Claudius, as witneſſeth Caſſiodorus. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their ſurnames were, Vatia and Pulcher: of whom Appianus writeth thus; The people of Rome in obſequious manner to court Sylla the Dictator, requeſted of him that he would continue conſul ſtill another year: But Sylla would none of that: and took order, that Ser. Iſauricus and Claudius Pulcher, ſhould be declared Coſſ. In a fragment of the capitol he is thus written; Pub. Servilius Vatia, called afterwards Iſauricus: which ſurname he took of the Iſaurians, a nation in Cilicia whom he ſubdued. My authors are, Padianus upon the Orations of Cicero againſt Verres; Strabo in his 14 book; Marcellinus likewiſe in his 14 book, with others.

676
M. Lepidus. Q. Catulus.

MAr. Lepidus and Q. Catulus, are by Caſſiodorus named Conſuls for this year. Plutarch reporteth, that when L. Sylla had given up his Dictatorſhip, and reſtored again to the people of Rome the free liberty to diſpoſe of conſular dignities in their ſolemn aſſemblies for elections; M. Lepidus an enemy to Sylla, and an audacious perſon, was declared Conſul before Catulus, and had the preheminence above him, by the earneſt endeavour of Cn. Pompeius. Of theſe Conſuls, Pliny maketh mention in his 36 book, wherein he ſaith, that they governed in the year 676. Likewiſe, Cicero in his Oration for Cornelius: Florus out of Livy: Valerius 2 book 3 chap. and Eutropius.

677
M. Æmylius. D. Brutus.

THis year had for Conſuls, by the teſtimony of Caſſiodorus and Obſequens, M. Æmylius and D. Brutus. Macer, a Tribune of the commons, ſpeaketh of them in Saluſt, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppreſſed. In like ſort, Cicero in Brutus, and in his ſecond book of Duties, as alſo Valerius in the 7 book and 7 chap. This M. Æmylius was ſurnamed Lepidus and Livianus: for out of the family of Livies he was adopted by M. Lepidus, and therefore right well he is called, ſon of Mamercus.

678
Cn. Octavius. C. Curio.

VErrius Flaccus ſetteth down for Conſuls, Cn. Octavius ſon of M. nephew of C. and C. Scribonius Curio. The ſame doth Cicero report in Brutus. So do Saluſt. Obſequens. Lactantius in his firſt book, and Pliny in his ſecond book and

and 35 chapter. *Cic.* in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his 7 book and 41 chapt. make report of three *Cati Curioni*, all Orators to wit, the father, the son, and the sons son or nephew.

679

L. Octavius. *C. Cotta.*

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, *L. Octavius* and *C. Cotta*. *Obsequens*, *C. Aurelius* and *L. Octavius*. *Pliny* in his second book and 35 chapt. *Cicero* likewise in his third and fifth Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention of *L. Octavius*, and *C. Aurelius* consuls. Upon the broken marbles of the capitol, they stand to be seen, *L. Octavius* son of *Cn.* nephew of *Cn.* and *C. Aurelius*. This year the Sicilian registers over-skip, *Padianus* writeth, that there were at this time three *Cotta's* brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, *Caius*, *Marcus*, and *Lucius*.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus. *M. Cotta.*

FOr this years consuls, *Cassiodorus* registreth *L. Lucullus*, and *M. Cotta*. The Sicilian records, *Lucullus* and *Cotta*, *Eutropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *M'. Aurelius Cotta*. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* against *Verres*: and by *Florus* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This *L. Lucullus* had for his grand-father that *Lucullus*, who was consul with *A. Albinus*, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* do testify.

681

M. Lucullus. *C. Cassius.*

THis year (by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*) had for consuls, *M. Lucullus*, and *C. Cassius*: but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Cassius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration against *Verres*, nameth *M. Terentius* and *C. Cassius*: saying that the laws *Terentia* and *Cassia*, were by them promulged. For, so far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, was adopted by *M. Terentius Varro*, and therefore called *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus*. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call *L. Lucullus* and *M. Lucullus* brethren, whom *Eutropius* nameth cosin germans by two sisters. That the surname of *Cassius* was *Varus*, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterspout of lead found in *Rome*, and also for that *Appian* in his fourth book, writeth that *C. Cassius Varus*, a man who had been Consul, was condemned and outlawed by the Trimvirs.

682

L. Gellius. *Cn. Lentulus.*

THe consuls next following, by the report of *Cassiodorus*, were *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*. In like sort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and elsewhere. *Plutarch* also in *Crassus*, with *Eutropius* and *Orosius*. *Cuspinians* book sheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the surname of *L. Gellius* was *Poplicola*, as witnesseth *Onuphrius*.

683

Cn. Anfidius. *P. Lentulus.*

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, *Cn. Anfidius*, and *P. Lentulus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lentulus* and *Oreſtes*. *Eutropius*, *C. Lentulus* and *Cn. Anfidius Oreſtes*. This *Cn. Anfidius Oreſtes*, when he went beside a Tribunship of the commons, was chosen consul, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Plancius*. This is that *P. Lentulus* surnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of consular calling, and who had been twice Pretor, was hanged and strangled to death when *Cicero* was consul, for that he had conspired with *Catilin*: whose grand-father was *P. Lentulus* President of the Senat, as *Cicero* saith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against *Catilin*: as also *Padianus*.

684

M. Craſſus. *Cn. Pompeius.*

NExt to them were Coſſ. *M. Craſſus* and *Cn. Pompeius*, according to *Cassiodore*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the Sicilian records. Their surnames for certain, were *Dives* and *Magnus*. All the old writers speak much of this their first Consulship. *Plutarch* reporteth that *L. Craſſus* attained to the Consular dignity, by the means of *Pompeius* the consul. Besides, *Cicero*, *Saluſt*, *Padian* writing upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and all other authors speak of these consuls.

685

Q. Metellus. *Q. Hortenſius.*

THen followed consuls, *Q. Metellus* and *Q. Hortenſius*, as *Cassiodore* and the Sicilian catalogue do testify. *Padianus* matcheth *Q. Metellus Creticus* with *Q. Hortenſius* that great Orator! Likewise, *Josephus* in his fourteenth book of Jewish antiquities. *Cicero* in *Brutus* calleth this *Q. Hortenſius*, the son of *Lucius*, *Q. Metellus* afterwards upon the conquest made of *Crete* surnamed *Creticus*, was the son of *L. Dalmaticus*, as may be gathered out of *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Tully* [called *Divinatio*] against *Verres*.

686

[*L. Metellus.* *Q. Marcius.*

Pædianus writing upon *Tulli's* Oration against *Piſo*: *Dio* likewise and *Cassiodorus*, join together in the consulship this year, *L. Caecilius Metellus*, and *Q. Marcius*. The Greek records, *Marcius Rex*, and *Metellus*. This *Metellus*, *Dio* writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracy: that he also who was substituted in his room, left this life before he entred into the government: and theruponit was not thought good to subelect any more: and by that means *Q. Marcius* bare that dignity alone: and him *Saluſt* entituleth with the surname of *Rex*. This *L. Metellus* was brother to *Q. Creticus*, as *Padian* witnesseth.

687

687

C. Piſo. *M'. Glabrio.*

THere succeeded Consuls, *C. Piſo* and *M'. Glabrio*, witness *Cassiodore* and the Sicilian records. And in *Dio* they follow immediatly by the name of *Manius Acilius* and *C. Piſo*. *Cicero* in his twelfth book of Epistles to *Atticus*, speaketh of *C. Peſo* and *M'. Acilius Glabrio*, men of Consular place and calling. *Padian* in his commentaries upon the oration for *Cornelius* maketh mention of *C. Piſo* and the law *Calpurna* by him made, as touching inordinate and indirect suite after dignities of state. Moreover, of them *Valerius* in his fourth book writeth.

688

M'. Lepidus. *L. Volcatius.*

Cassiodore putteth down for Consuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him *L. Torquatus*, but untruly, The Greek records have *Volcatius Tullus*. *Dio Lu. Tullus*, and *Æmylius Lepidus*. *Saluſt* in *Catiline*, *L. Tullus* and *M'. Lepidus*. *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, *M'. Lepidus* and *L. Volcatius*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla* hath *L. Volcatius Tullus*: so as it appeareth it should be, *M'. Æmylius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*.

689

L. Cotta. *L. Torquatus.*

THe Consuls elect, were *L. Antronius Paetus* (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not *Antronius*, as commonly it is read) and *P. Cornelius Sulla*: who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered condign punishment, their accusers stept into their place of government, namely, *L. Aurelius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Cotta*; and *L. Manlius* son of *Lucius*, surnamed also *Torquatus*: as testify *Saluſt*, *Dio*, *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and that which he made in his white robe: and lastly, *Tranquillus* in *Cæsar*.

690

L. Cæſar. *C. Figulus.*

THe year next ensuing had for Consuls, by the testimony of *Cassiodore*, *Padianus*, and the Sicilian records, *L. Cæsar* and *C. Figulus*, whom *Dio* calleth *Lucius Cæsar*, and *Lucius Martius* son of *Caius*, surnamed *Figulus*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla*, nameth them *L. Julius* and *C. Figulus*: so doth *Saluſt* in *Catilina*. This *L. Julius Cæsar* is his son who was Consul in the Marsian war.

691

M. Cicero. *C. Antonius.*

THe [illegible]uls this year, were *M. Tullius* son of *M.* surnamed *Cicero*, and *C. Antonius* son of *M.* as testify *Dio* in his seven and thirtieth book, *Cassiodore*, *Saluſt* in his Catilinary oration, *Velleius* in his second book, *Joseph* in his Jewish antiquities 14 book 8 chapter, *Pliny* in his eight book and three and fiftieth chapter, *Tranquillus* in the life of *Augustus*, *Appian*, *Eutropius*, *Padian*, and others.

692

D. Silanus. *L. Murena.*

THere followed consuls next, *D. Silanus*, and *L. Murena*, as *Cassiodorus*, *Saluſt*, and the Sicilian records do witness. *Dio* calleth them *D. Junius* son of M. surnamed *Silanus*: and *L. Licinius* son of *L.* surnamed *Murena*. *Eutropius* nameth them *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Licinius*, son of that L. *Murena* who in quality of Pro-pretor triumphed over *Mithridates* (as *Cicero* saith) pleading for *Murena* himself, being accused and in trouble for unlawful seeking to be Cos. In this assembly for election of Cos. *L. Sergius Catilina* suffered the second repulse: for anger whereof, in a melancholy he brake out into a conspiracy, and practised against the state: and likewise *Servius Sulpitius Rufus* the lawyer, who afterwards accused *Murena* for the crime aforesaid.

693

M. Pupius. *M. Valerius.*

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, *M. Pupius* and *M. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers, *Piſo* and *Meſſala*, *Dio*, *M. Pupius*, son of *M.* surnamed *Piſo*: and *M. Valerius* son of *M.* surnamed *Meſſala Niger*. Of this *Meſſala Niger*, there is also mention made by *Padian* upon the oration for *Scaurus*. Also of *M. Meſſala* and *M. Piſo*, in *Plinies* seventh book, and six and twentieth chapter, seven and thirtieth book, cap. second, and the eight book, chap. six and twenty. And in *Cæsars* first book of the Gauls war. Of *M. Piſo Padian* likewise speaketh writing upon the oration against *Piſo*.

694

Q. Metellus. *Q. Afranius.*

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers nominate for this years Consuls, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Africanus*. The like doth *Obsequens* and *Cicero* in his first book of Epistles to *Atticus*. *Dio* nameth them *L. Afranius* son of *L.* and *Q. Caecilius*, son of *Q.* surnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Consulate (as *Dio* witnesseth) by the means of *Pompeius*, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants serving under him in *Asia*.

695

C. Cæſar. *M. Bibulus.*

Cassiodorus, *Sueionius*, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do match together for consuls this year, *C. Cæsar* and *M. Bibulus*. *Dio*, *C. Julius* son of *C. Cæsar*, and *M. Calpurnius*. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and *C. Bibulus*. Albeit *Appian* as also *Eutropius* and *Orosius* give *Bibulus* the forename of *Lucius*. Of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of Epistles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

696
L. Piso. A. Gabinius.

CAssiodorus and the Sicilian records shew for Consuls this year, *L. Piso* and *A. Gabinius*. *Dio*, L. *Calpurnius* son of L. *Piso*: and *A. Gabinius* son of *Aulus*. *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus*, L. *Piso*, and *A. Gabinius*. *Cæsar* writeth of them in his first book of the Gauls war, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Cato* the yonger. *Cicero* also in his oration against *Piso* and for *Sextius*. This *Piso* the Consul *Cicero* and *Padian* surnamed *Cæsonius*, for so his grand-father before him was called, as appeareth in the capitol records for the year 606.

697
P. Lentulus. Q. Metellus.

THe Consuls following for this year, were by *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian records, P. *Lentulus* and Q. *Metellus*. By *Dio*, *Pub. Cornelius* son of *Publius*, *Lentulus Spinther*: and Q. *Cæcilius* son of *Q. Metellus Nepos*. Of them speaketh *Valerius* in his ninth book. *Lentulus* (qd. he) and *Metellus* companions in the consulship were beheld and seen both upon the stage like plaiers: but the one of them took the surname of *Spinther* * one of the second sort of actors: the other, but that he had gotten the name of * *Nepos* already for his lewd behaviour, should have been called *Pamphilus*, after the name of * one of a third sort, whom for all the world he resembled. Of the same men, *Cicero* in his first book of Epistles, and in very many of his orations. *Pliny* also in his seventh book and second chapter, *Plutarch* in the life of *Cicero*, and all other writers make much mention.

* Secundarum.
* Aruffian.
* Tertiarum.

698
Cn. Lentulus. L. Philippus.

CAssiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Cn. Lentulus* and L. *Philippus*. The Sicilian records, *Marcellus* and *Philippus*. *Dio*, *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellus*: and L. *Martius* son of *Lucius Philippus*. Of *Lentulus* and *M. Marcellus* Consuls, *Cicero* speaketh in his Epistles to *Lentulus*. *Plutarch* also in the life of *Cato* maketh mention of *Martius Philippus* now Consul. This *Cn. Lentulus* was the son of that *P. Lentulus*, as *Cicero* saith in his *Brutus*. And surnamed he was *Marcellus*, and not *Claudius*, that it might be known of what family of the *Claudii* he was descended.

696
Cn. Pompeius. M. Crassus.

WHen as by the obstinate persistance of *C. Cato* Tribun of the commons, (who ever interposed his negative) there could be no ordinary assembly holden for the creation of magistrats, the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of grief: so as upon an Interregency between, *Cn. Pompeius* was chosen Consul, and with him *M. Crassus* the second time, as *Plutarch*, *Dio*, and *Appian* do witness. *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, whom *Cato* and all good men accompanied and presented, was in the common place by violence throughly beaten, and *Cato* himself wounded. These Coss. *Dio* calleth *Cn. Pompeius*, son of *Cn. Magnus* the second time: and M. *Licinius* son of *Publius Crassus*, the second time. Of them *Pedianus*, *Eutropius*, the Sicilian registers and others make mention.

700
Ap. Claudius. L. Domitius.

DIo in his nine and thirtieth book, for the year after the cities foundation 700. following the computation of *Varro*, avoucheth Consuls, *Appius Claudius*, son of *Appius Pulcher*: and L. *Domitius* son of *Cneus*, *Ænobarbus*. *Cassiodore* and *Obsequent*, name them, *Ap. Claudius* and L. *Domitius*, whom the Sicilian records call *Pulcher* and *Ænobarbus*: and *Padian* upon the Oration for *Scaurus*, L. *Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*. Of this L. *Domitius*, son of *Cneus Ænobarbus*, *Cælius* speaketh in the eight book of *Ciceros* Epistles.

701
Cn. Domitius. M. Messala.

AGainst this year there stood in election and laboured with much earnestnes and ambitious desire to be Consuls, *Caius Memmius*, *Cn. Domitius*. M. *Messala* and M. *Scaurus*, as *Cicero* writeth to his brother *Quintus*. But at the last, even in the seventh month of this year there were created by means of an Interregency, M. *Messala* and *Cn. Domitius*. Neither had they been chosen then: but that Q. *Pompeius Rufus* a Tribun of the commons, who still opposed himself to hinder and debar all election, was by order from the Senate committed: and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the rest, as many as went about to cross the said election. Thus much *Dio*. But *Appian* saith, that the common-weal continued for eight months space in Anarchy without any soveraign magistrats of state. *Plutarch* writeth, that in this so great extremity of danger, *Lucilius* a Tribun of the commons, preferred a bill for the creasing of *Cneus Pompeius* Dictator, who should redress all enormities and see upright the state again: but *Cato* gainsaid it, and so nothing was effected. *Dio* saith moreover, that the Tribuns of the commons moved for the chusing not of a Dictator only, but also of military Tribuns in consuls authority: but through the earnest labour of *Pompeius*, Consuls were created, *Messala* and *Calvinus*, which surnames stand to be seen upon the Sicilian records. Also in the capitol monuments, written it is thus. *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* son of M. nephew of *Marcus*, anno 708 and 717.

702
Cn. Pompeius. Q. Metellus.

WHen by reason of the contentions among so mighty competitors, the Consuls could not be created by the Calends of *January*: there passed an Act of the Senat, according to the mind and advice of *Bibulus*, by vertue whereof *Cn. Pompeius* was by the Interregent *Serv. Sulpitius* created Consul the third time, upon the five and twentieth of *February*, without a Collegue first, and presently entred upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might arise thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the year behind, *Q. Cæcilius Pius Metellus Scipio*, his wives father. Thus writeth *Padian* upon the Oration of *Cicero* in defence of *Milos*. *Plutarch* likewise, *Appianus* and *Dio*. This *Metellus Pius Scipio* was also called *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, son of *Nasica Scipio*, who being adopted by *Q. Metellus Pius*, is called by *Cælius* in the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, *Q. Cæcilius* son of *Q.* nephew of *Q. Metellus Pius Scipio*.

703
M. Marcellus. Ser. Sulpitius.

AGainst this year were Consuls created, *M. Marcellus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius*, as *Cassiodorius*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian* witness. The Sicilian records call them *Rufus* and *Marcellus*. *Dio* nameth them *Servius Sulpitius* son of *Q.* surnamed *Rufus*, and M. *Claudius* son of M. surnamed also *Marcellus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* also maketh mention in *Cæsar*: likewise *Cicero* in his Epistles, and the Epitome 118. This *Marcellus* was the cosin german of that *Marcellus* who the year next following was Consul: and brother german to him who two years after bare the Consulship, as may be collected out of *Verrius Flaccus*, *Dio*, and *Suetonius*.

704
L. Paulus. C. Marcellus.

THere succeeded Consuls, *L. Paulus*, and *C. Marcellus*; witness *Cassiodore*, *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Hirtius* in his 8. book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of these is by *Dio* named *Lucius Emylius*, son of *Marcus* surnamed *Paulus*; the other by *Cicero* in his Epistles, *C. Claudius* son of *Caius*, *Marcellus*. *Dio* writeth, that this man by some was reported to be *ἀνεψιὸς*, *i.e.* the brothers son, others *ἀνεψιὸς*, *i.e.* the brother of *Marc. Marcellus*: but *Suetonius* saith plainly, he was the brothers son.

705
L. Lentulus. C. Marcellus.

CAssiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year *L. Lentulus*, *C. Marcellus*, as also *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Hirtius*, *Florus*, and *Cicero* in his Epistles do testifie. *Dio* calleth these Consuls *Lu. Cornelius*, son of *Publius Lentulus*: and *C. Claudius* son of *Marcus Marcellus*. In the broken marbles of the Capitoll it is to be seen thus, *C. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *Marcus Marcellus*. This is that *Lucius Lentulus Crus*, who as *Cælius* testifieth in the former election took a repulse, and by *Cicero* is called in the Oration against *Vatinius*, *Flamen Martialis*.

706
C. Cæsar. P. Servilius.

WHen *Caius Cæsar* the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election in the latter end of the former year, Consuls there were created *Caius Julius*, son of *Caius Cæsar*, and *Pub. Servilius*, son of *Publius Isauricus*. For now was the year come, when as *Cæsar* by the laws might be chosen Consul: for so in the third book of his own Commentaries he saith himself, and so *Dio* in his one and fortieth book, *Plutarch*, *Tranquillus*, *Appianus*, and *Cassiodorus* do testifie of him. But he meaneth that law which expresly forbad and debarred, that no man might be within ten years space chosen Cos. twice. As for *Publius Servilius*, he was the son of that *Publius Servilius* that first took the surname *Isauricus*, who this year bare his Consulship at *Rome*, while *Cæsar* warred in *Macedony*.

707
Q. Fufius Calenus. P. Vatinius.

DIo saith, That the people of *Rome* having intelligence that *Pompeius* was murdered, endeavoured earnestly, that there might pass as honourable decrees for *Cæsar* the Conqueror as possible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Consul five years together, and Dictator not for six months as before-time, but a whole year; and endued with the Tribunes authority for ever. Now *Cæsar*, albeit he was without *Italy*, immediatly entred upon his Dictatorship, having sub-ordained under him for his Generall of the horse, *Mar. Antonius*, a man who yet had not been Prætor. This appeareth by the Capitoll records, *Dio*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero* in his second *Philippica*. But under what pretence and colour *Cæsar* took upon him this Dictatorship and the rest following, *Marcus Antonius* sheweth in his Oration of *Cæsars* praise in *Dio*: wherein he saith, that *Cæsar* was created Dictator to make head against the enemies, and therefore the troubles and dissentions of war was the cause of this creation. But certain it is that *Cæsar* became Dictator for another cause, namely, that by the means of that soveraign power, he might draw unto himself alone the whole managing and government of the State, which before-time had been administred by many persons. But *Dio* addeth moreover and saith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Prætors nor Consuls elected. For *Marcus Antonius* Generall of the horse, arraied in his purple robes, with six Lictors, making way before him, resembled a

certain shew of the ancient liberty. But within a while after he departed forth of the City, and that which never was before done by any Master of the horse, he left *Lu. Cæsar* an aged man, Provost and governor of *Rome*. Howbeit, in the end of the year, after the recovery and conquest of *Ægypt*, when King *Ptolomeus* was slain, and *Pharnaces* K. of *Pontus* vanquished; Consuls were created, *Q. Fusius*, son of *Quintus*, *Calenus*; and *Pub. Vatinius*, son of *Publius*. And these the Capitoll tables do shew, and *Cassiodorus* also. Of *Publius Vatinius* Consul, *Macrobius* in his second book maketh mention.

708
C. Cæsar. M. Lepidus.

VErrius in his capitoll tables setteth forth Consuls of this year, only without ever a Dictator. The sole record of *Colatia*, whereof *Onuphrius* speaketh here, nameth *C. Julius Cæsar* the third time, and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*. But *Dio* in his three and fortieth book, The next year following (quoth he) he bare the Dictatorship and the Consulat both, the third time, and took unto him for his Collegue in both Magistracies, *M. Æmylius Lepidus*. Of the same mind seemeth *Tranquillus* to be in *Cæsar*, chap. seventy six. Likewise *Hirtius* in the fist book. But *Onuphrius* suppoſeth that both *Tranquillus* and *Dio*, yea, and *Hirtius* also was in an errour. For with the capitoll records, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius* agree; who write that *Cæsar* this year was Consul the third time with *M. Lepidus*, and Dictator the second time.

709
C. Cæsar. Q. Maximus.

THey who cut the capitol marbles, do shew unto us that *Cæsar* this year was third time Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horse. From whom *Dio* differeth; who doth report that this year *Cæsar* was Dictator the 4 time, and *Lepidus* second time Master of the horsemen: also that *Lepidus* fellow-Consul with *Cæsar*, declareth himself against all law, Generall of the horse. Thus much of the Dictator. But as touching the Consuls this year, there is to be seen written in the Index or table of *Dio*, that the same year *Cæsar* bare his fourth Dictatorship, and likewise his fourth Consulat without Collegue. In that history also it appeareth, that *Cæsar* presently entred upon his fourth Consulat, but bare it not throughout the whole year: and that so soon as he was returned to *Rome* out of *Spain*, he resigned and substituted in his place for the rest of the year, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Cn. Trebonius*. With *Dio*, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments: wherein it appeareth that *Cæsar* was the fourth time Consul, and that without a Collegue; as *Sigonius* maketh interpretation. For *Cuspinians* Kalender, together with the Sicilian registers, do shew that *Cæsar* was Consul now alone the fourth time. In like manner, *Appian* and *Plutarch* make mention of *Cæsar*, who being Consul elect from the fourth time led an army into *Spain*. As for *Q. Fabius*, *Suetonius* calleth him a three months Consul. *Dio* saith moreover, that *Cæsar* upon the death of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, declared the very last day of the year, *C. Caninius* to be the Consul for those few hours that were behind. Whereof *Cicero* in his seventh book of Epistles, writing to *Curius*, *Macrobius* in his second book of *Saturnalia*, *Tacitus* in his eighteenth book, *Pliny* in his seventh, and *Suetonius* in *Cæsar* do make report.

710
C. Cæsar. M. Antonius.

DIo setteth down for this year *Cæsar* Dictator the fist time, together with *M. Æmylius Lepidus* Master of the horsemen. But the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time. *Dio* and *Appian* write that he created himself Consul together with *M. Antonius*. Likewise *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers give record, that *Cæsar* was this year Consul the fist time, together with *M. Antonius*. And *Macrobius* in his first book speaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the capitoll and Colotian tables, that *C. Cæsar* was Cos. the fist time, with *M. Antonius* son of M. and that in the room of *Cæsar* there was chosen *P Cornelius* son of *Publius*. And this was *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom *Cæsar* himself (if he had lived) meant to have substituted in his own room. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Cæsar* Consul now the fist time took unto him for his companion in government M. *Antonius*. And when as he would have subordained *Dolabella* in his own stead, *Antony* gainsaid it in an oration: and afterwards, when *Cæsar* a second time would have had *Dolabella* to be declared Consul, and still *Antony* crossed and withstood it, *Cæsar* gave over his enterprise. But after *Cæsar* was murdered, *Antony* (as *Dio* writeth) fearing some insurrection and commotion if he should have rejected *Dolabella*, took him into the fellowship of government. *Appian* saith, that immediatly after *Cæsar* was killed, *Dolabella* entred into the Magistracy. So saith *Velleius* also. And this verily was the year, in which the conspiracy was contrived against *Cæsar*, whereof the captains were M and *Decimus* both *Bruti*, *C. Trebonius* & *C. Cassius*: and upon the fifteenth day of *March*, when he sat in Councill together with the Senat in the court of *Pompey*, he was stabbed, and received in his body three and twenty wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat seized the capitoll. And *C. Octavius* his nephew or sisters son, whom *Cæsar* had made in his will his half-heir, and adopted to bear his own name, came out of *Epirus*, whither *Cæsar* had sent him before, minding to make war upon the Parthians, and after all lucky and happy proceedings, took upon him the name of *Cæsar*, according to his last will and testament.

711
C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.

DIo, *Cassiodorus*, and the rest, nominate Consuls for this year, *C. Vibius Pansa Caprorianus*, and *A. Hirtius*, son of *Aulus*. *Cuspinians* book sheweth *Cretonianus* and *Hirtius*. Whereby it may be understood, that *Cretonianus* was the surname of *Pansa*, but peradventure written ten for *Caprorianus*. In the Colotian table they are named *C. Vibius*, son of *Caius*, and *An. Hirtius* son of *Hirtius*. This *Hirtius* was one of their sons who were out-lawed by *Sulla*, and whom *Cæsar* (as *Dio* reporteth) advanced to honourable dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the year following, were by *Cæsar* elected and destined thereto, before he was slain. *Dio*, *Appian*, and others report, that of these two Consuls, *Hirtius* in the time of the civill war, in a battell before *Modena*, against *Antonius* was slain; and *Pansa* some daies after, upon a hurt received in the same fight, died at *Bononia*. In the room of *Pansa*, *C. Octavius* was sub-elected Consul, the nineteenth of *August* in the same year, and he instead of *Hirtius*, took unto him for his Collegue *Q. Padius*.

712
M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.

CAssiodorus and the Sicilian records put down for Consuls, *M. Lepidus* and *L. Plancus*. *Dio*, *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the second time, and *Lu. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, surnamed *Plancus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* speaketh in *Tiberius*, saying, That *Tiberius* was born after the battell of *Philippi*, when *Mar. Æmylius Lepidus* was the second time Consul with *Munatius Plancus*. Now had there been before appointed Consuls against this year by *Cæsar*, *D. Brutus* and *Lu. Plancus*. But by reason that *Brutus* the year before was by the law *Pedia* condemned and after killed, and so the three Triumvirs usurped the rule of the common-weal; agreed it was, that *M. Lepidus* one of the Triumvirs who before time also had been Consul with *Cæsar* in his third Consulship, should together with *Plancus*, (who also taking part and siding with *Antony*, had revolted from the Common-weal) administer the Consulat. Moreover, this *Brutus* was by *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dio*, and *Zonaras*, called also *Albinus*; I suppose, for that out of the race of the *Bruti* he was adopted and incorporat into the house of the *Albini*. In this year, during the civill war, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slain in battell before *Philippi*, as *Dio*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and others write.

713
P. Servilius II. L. Antonius.

THe Colotian tables, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* match Consuls together for this year, *Lu. Antonius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Pietas*, and *P. Servilius* son of *Publius*, *Isauricus*, the second time. Of these Consuls, *Suetonius* writeth in *Tiberius*. This *P. Servilius* was first Consul with *Cæsar* in his second Consulat; whose father *Isauricus* died a little before, as *Dio* and *Eusebius* report. As for *L. Antonius*, named he is by *Dio Pietas*, for that being Consul, he together with *Fulvia* the wife of his brother *Marcus*, managed the affairs of state with that mind, as if his whole care had been for his brother the Triumvir, in regard of which brotherly and affectionat kindness, he challenged the surname of *Pietas*.

714
Cn. Domitius. C. Asinius.

A Colotian table, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* joyn in the Consulat of this year, *Cneus Domitius* son of *Marcus*, *Calvinus*, the second time; and *C. Asinius*, son of *Cnius*, *Pollio*. Of these, *Josephus* speaketh in his fourteenth book of the Jews antiquities and three and twenty chapter. Toward the end of this year, *Dio* writeth, that these Consuls gave up their place, and that other Consuls were substitute for those few daies that were to come: and one of them was *L. Cornelius Balbus Gaditanus*. And therefore in the Colotian table these subordained Consuls stand under these names, *L. Cornelius*, son of *Lucius*, and *P. Canidius*, son of *Lucius*. Of *Pub. Cornel. Balbus* Consul, *Pliny* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter, and *Velleius* in his second book.

715
L. Censorinus. L. Calvisius.

CAssiodorus inferred for the next Consuls, *Lucius Censorinus* and *Caius Calvisius*. The Sicilian records have *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*. *Dio*, *L. Martius* and *C. Sabinus*. *C. Calvisius* son of *Caius*, is named by *Dio* in the catalogue or table, *Sabinus*, although it be read there commonly, but amiss, *Asinius*.

716
Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanus.

COnsuls that follow, were *App. Claudius* and *C. Norbanus*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. But as the Sicilian registers, purport, *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*: as *Dio* writeth, *App. Claudius* son of *Caius*, *Pulcher*: and *C. Norbanus*, son of *Caius*, *Flaccus*. As touching *Tadius After* the Consul elect, and substitute in the room of another, who before he entred into government, being terrified with the minatory threats of *C. Cæsar*, threw himself down headlong, and so brake his neck, see *Tranquillus* in *Augustus*.

717
M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

CAssiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Lu. Caninius*. The Sicilian registers *Agrippa* and *Gallus*. *Dio*, *M. Vipsanius*, son of *Lucius*, *Agrippa*: and *L. Caninius* son of *Lucius*, *Gallus*. *Josephus* in his fifteenth book of Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls, *Mar. Agrippa* and *C. Canidius Gallus*. *Nepos* also in the life of *Atticus*, calleth *Vipsanius Agrippa*. In the capitol

marbles and in other old monuments of *Rome* his gentile name is passed over, and namely, in the forefront of the Temple, called *Pantheon*, wherein is engraven *M. Agrippa* son of *Lucius*, Consul the third time. *Tacitus* also in his first book mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718
L.Gellius. M.Coccceius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *L.Gellius* and *M.Coccceius*. The Sicilian records shew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: *Dio* hath *Lu. Gellius* son of *Lucius Poplicola*, and *M. Coccteius Nerva*. Out of the capitoll fragments it appeareth, that *L.Gellius* was the son of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of *Dio*, this *Lu. Gellius* was brother to *M.Valerius Messala*. For it is the same man who was pardoned before by *M. Brutus*: whereby it may be understood, that *Poplicola* was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellii* but the *Valerii*, that carried the surname of *Publicole*. The same fragments do shew, that the said *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his room. And haply it was *L. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Plancus*: whom *Pliny* in his thirteenth book and third chapter, saith to have been twice Consul: but in what year he was the second time, a man cannot find, unless it were in this.

719
Sext.Pompeius. L.Cornificius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records testifie, that this years Consuls were *Sex. Pompeius* and *L.Cornificius*. *Dio*, *L.Cornificius* son of *Lucius*, and *Sextus Pompeius* son of *Sextus*. This year *Sex.Pompeius*, son of *Cneus* was slain.

720
M. Antonius. L. Scribonius Libo.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Lu. Scribonius* and *Lu. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue *Antonius* and *Libo*. *Dio*, *M. Antonius* son of *Marcus* the second time, and *L.Scribonius*, son of *Lucius*, *Libo*. The same *Dio* saith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, presently upon the very Calends of *January* gave over the Magistracy, and substituted in his own stead *Lu. Sempronius Atratinus*: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Consul this year with *Libo*. That Consuls also were sub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in some authors that have set forth the Municipal Annals. And verily *Dio* maketh mention of *Paulus Æmylius* Consul, for one part of the year, and that he built a stately porch or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Consulship.

721
G.Cæsar. L.Volcatius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for Consuls, *C. Cæsar* and *L. Volcatius*. *Dio*, *Cæsar* the second time, and *L. Volcatius* son of *Lucius Tullus*. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very unfitly set down *Cæsar* and *Cicero* for this years Consuls. Of this Consulship of *Cæsar*, *Suetonius* and *Dio* speak, saying, that he held it very few hours, as *Antonius* also beforetime. Instead of *Cæsar* was *Lu. Antonius* subrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book entituled, Old inscriptions, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor *Cæsar II.* *L.Volcatius.*
Kal. Januarii. *L.Antonius.*
Kal. Maii. *L.Flavius.*
Kal. Julii. *M.Atilius.*
C.Fonteius.
Kal. Sept. *L.Vinutius.*
Kal. Octob. *L.Lanonius.*

Of *L. Flavius* made Consul by *M. Antonius*, and deposed, *Dio* likewise maketh mention.

722
Cn. Domitius. C.Sosius.

Cassiodorus nominateth for Consuls this year *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius*. The Sicilian records, *Ænobarbus* and *Sosius*. *Dio*, *Cneus Domitius*, son of *Cneus*, nephew of *Cneus Ænobarbus*; and *C. Sosius* son of *C.* nephew of *Caius*. *Nepos* writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius* were Consuls.

723
C.Cæsar II. M.Messala.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *C. Cæsar* the second time, and *M. Messala*. The Sicilian registers, *Octavius* and *Corvinus*. *Dio*, *Cæsar* the third time, and *M. Valerius*, son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Messala Corvinus*, and that right truly. For *Cassiodorus* maketh no reckoning of that Consulship of *Cæsar* which he bare with *Pedius*, because he was subordained in the place with another. But *Dio* and *Appius* do witness, that *Cæsar* and *Antony* were marched together this year, both of them in their second Consulship, at what time as upon peace made with *Sextus Pompeius*, they were appointed Consuls beforehand for eight years next ensuing: howbeit, in the first year the people turned *Antony* out of his Consulship, and proclaimed war against him and *Cleopatra*, and so in his place was *Mar. Messala* declared Consul. As touching the Consuls this year subordained, thus we find written in the ancient inscriptions.

Emperour *Cæsar IIII.* *M.Valerius.*
Kal. Maii. *M.Titius.*
Kal. Octobris. *Cn.Pompeius.*

724
C.Cæsar III. M.Crassus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, *C. Cæsar* the third time, and *M. Crassus*. The Sicilian records *Octavianus* and *Crassus*. *Dio*, *Cæsar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius*, son of *Marcus Crassus*. He added moreover, and saith, *Cæsar* in the midst of that water crossed the seas out of *Macedony* into *Italy*, wherein he was the fourth time Consul with *M. Crassus*. *Orosius* likewise noteth, that *Cæsar* called Emperor, was Consul the fourth time with *M. Livius Crassus*. Of other Consuls substituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inscriptions.

Emperor *Cæsar IV.* *M. Licinius.*
Kal. Jul. *C. Antistius.*
Ibid. September. *M.Tullius.*
Kal. November. *L.Senius.*

Of *M. Tullius* Consul with *Augustus*, *Dio* maketh mention in his story of this years acts. *Pliny* also in his 2 book and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Velleius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antistius* had for addition the surname of *Vetus*, and *Sanius* of *Savinus*.

725
C.Cæsar IIII. Sext. Apuleius.

In *Cassiodorus* the Consuls be *C. Cæsar* the fourth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. In *Dio* *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius* son of *Sext.* In the Sicilian records, *Octavianus* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inscriptions, Emperour *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. *Dio* saith, this was the year 735 from the foundation of the City. Of *Cæsar* five times Consul, there is to be seen an old Epigram or inscription in this manner.

Senatus Populusq; Romanus,
Imp. Cæs. Divi Julii Fil. Cos. Quinc.
Cos. Desig. Sext. Imp. Sept.
Resp. conservata.

That is,

The Senat and people of *Rome*. By Emperour *Cæsar* son of *Julius* of famous memory, Consul five times, elect Consul the fifth time, and Emperor the seventh, the Commonwealth saved.

726
C. Cæsar V. M. Agrippa II.

Cassiodorus declareth for Consuls this year, *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time. *Orosius* and the Sicilian records, *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *Agrippa* the second time. *Dio*, *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* the third time: but it is to be read the second time, as *Sigonius* advertiseth, so as the next year it should be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the superscription of that Temple (which he erected and named *Pantheon*) in this form, [*M. Agrippa son of L. third time Consul built it.*] For *Dio* saith, that this Temple was finished two years after that he was Consul with *Cæsar* the seventh time Consul, in which year himself bare his third Consulship, and not the fourth. For otherwise in the frone of the said Temple, he would have written, [*Consul the fourth time.*]

727
C.Cæsar VI. M. Agrippa III.

Cassiodorus saith, that the next Consuls were *Cæsar* the fifth time, and *Mar. Agrippa* the third time. But *Dio*, *Cæsar* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written, *Octavianus* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728
C. Augustus Cæsar VII. T.Statilius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Cæsar Augustus* the seventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments, *Octavianus* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. *Dio*, *Cæsar Augustus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the second time. For he had been Consul first, for a part of the year, *anno* 727, and now is the second time: of whom *Suetonius* writeth thus in *Nero*; *Nero* took to wife *Statilia Messalina*, daughter (in the fourth descent) of *Taurus*, one who had been twice Consul, and also triumphant: he writeth also, that *Augustus* entred upon his eight and ninth Consulat at *Tarracon*.

729
C. Cæsar Augustus VIII. M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus sheweth for Consuls next, *Cæsar Augustus* the eighth time, and *M. Silanus*. *Dio* and the Sicilian records, *Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Silanus*. A fragment of the capitol, Emperour *Cæsar Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Junius. Silanus*. This year *Augustus Cæsar* was Emperour the eight time, and shut up the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time now that ever it was shut: which he had set open before in regard of certain wars, as *Dio* reporteth.

730
C. Cæsar Augustus IX. C. Norbanus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for this years Consuls, *Cæsar Augustus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. *Dio*, and a fragment of the capitoll marble, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *C. Norbanus Flaccus*. This *Norbanus* seemeth to be the son of *C. Norbanus* the Consul, *anno* 716, for he had not the numerall note testifying a second Consulship.

731
C.Cæsar Augustus X. Cn.Piso.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Cæsar Augustus* the tenth time, and *Cneus Piso*. The Sicilian records, *Augustus* the eleventh time, and *Piso*. And *Dio*, *Augustus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius*, son of *Cneus Piso*. By a fragment of the capitol stone it appeareth that *Augustus* entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with *Aulus Terentius Varro Murana*: also that *Murana* died in his Magistracy, in whose stead was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*; and *Augustus* went out of his government. Of which matter *Dio* thus writeth: *Augustus* went to the Alban hill, and there resigned up

the Conſulſhip. For whereas both he himſelf and many others, ever ſince the time that the C.W. was ſet in frame and eſtabliſhed, had born the yearly Magiſtrats, he thought that from thence forwards he was to forbear the ſame, to the end, that the honourable dignity of Conſuls ſhould be open to as many as might be. And this did he without the City, becauſe he would not be hindred and letted in the action: and therewith ſubſtituted in his place *Lucius Seſtius*, a man that of all others moſt affected and loved *Brutus*: who alſo wrote of his praiſes and commendable parts.

732
M. Marcellus. L. Arruntius.

THis year had for Conſuls, as ſaith *Caſſiodorus*, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Arruntius*: as *Dio*, *M. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Æſerninus* ſon of *Lucius*. In the Capitoll ſtone theſe Conſuls are thus ſet down, *L. Arruntius* ſon of *L.* nephew of *L.* and *M. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to underſtand, that in the Sicilian records the Conſuls are not well put down to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, and *Arruntius*. In this year, the conſpiracy of *Fannius Capio* and *Varro Muræna* againſt *Auguſtus* was diſcovered: and the Temple of thundering *Jupiter* was dedicated, witneſs *Dio*.

733
M. Lollius. Q. Lepidus.

THe Colotian ſtone and *Caſſiodorus* ſhew for this year Conſuls, *Q. Æmylius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*, *Dio* writeth, when *Auguſtus* was in *Sicily*, and the people of *Rome* at the aſſembly for Conſuls election, there aroſe a ſedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* only entred upon the government, by reaſon that the other place was reſerved and kept for *Auguſtus*: but when he made reſuſall, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of theſe Conſuls *Horace* in his firſt book of Epiſtles writeth thus:

Me quater undenos ſciat impleviſſe Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.

Know he, that 40 winters old and four, I was that year,
At *Rome* when Conſul *Lollius*, choſe *Lepidus* his feer.

734
M. Apuleius. P. Silius.

AFter *Caſſiodorus*, the Conſuls that followed for this year, were *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in *Dio*, *M. Apuleius* ſon of *Sextus*, and *Publius Silius* ſon of *Publius Nerva*. In the Sicilian records, *Apuleius* and *Nerva*.

735
C. Sentius. Q. Lucretius.

THe Colotian ſtone, *Euſebius* in his treatiſe of Times, *Dio* and *Caſſiodorus* ſet forth as Conſuls this year, *Caius Sentius*, ſon of *Caius Saturninus*; and *Quintus Lucretius* ſon of *Quintus Viſpillo*. Of this years conſuls thus writeth *Dio*, *Caius Sentius* was declared Conſul: but for that there was to be given him a companion, and *Auguſtus* refuſed the ſecond place of Conſulſhip reſerved for him, there aroſe a ſedition, untill *Auguſtus* pronounced Conſul *Quintus Lucretius* one of the Embaſſadors, whom the Senat had ſent unto him about the appeaſing of the foreſaid ſedition: notwithſtanding he was a man in times paſt proſcribed and outlawed. The ſame writeth *Velleius* in the ſecond book. In the broken Colotian ſtone it is to be read, that the Conſul elected inſtead of *Sentius Saturninus*, was *Marc. Vinucius* ſon of *Marcus*, *Velleius*, unto *Vinucius* adjoyneth as Collegue, *Agrippa*. In this year, after the firſt ten years were expired, for which ſpace *Auguſtus* together with *Agrippa* at the firſt received the Cenſorian authority and dignity, he was created a ſecond time by the people over-ſeer of mens behaviour for the term of five years: and reſumed the Cenſors power for the ſame time, and the Conſular authority for ever. So as, at all times and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and be allowed to take his place and ſit with the Conſuls.

736
Cn. Lentulus. P. Lentulus.

PUblius *Cornelius* ſon of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellinus*: and *Cn. Cornelius* ſon of *Lucius*, are ſet down for Conſuls by the Colotian ſtone table: by *Dio* alſo and *Caſſiodorus*. In this year *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authority of the Emperour *Ceſar Auguſtus*, obtained of the Senat and people of *Rome* the Tribunitian power for five years.

737
C. Furnius. C. Silanus.

THere ſucceeded Conſuls next, according to *Caſſiodorus*, *C. Furnius* and *C. Silanus*. After *Dio*, *C. Furnius* ſon of *C.* and *C. Junius* ſon of *Caius Silanus*. But in the Colotian fragment *C. Furnius* ſon of *Caius*, and *C. Junius*. Whiles *C. Furnius* and *C. Junius Silanus* were Conſuls, the ſolemn plaies, called *Seculares* were now the firſt time ſet out by *Auguſtus*, as *Cenſorinus* and *Dio* affirm.

738
L. Domitius. P. Scipio.

CAſſiodore nameth for Conſuls *Lucius Domitius* and *P. Scipio*; The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and *Cornelius*. *Dio*, *L. Domitius* ſon of *L. Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, *Ænobarbus*: and *P. Cornelius* ſon of *P.* nephew of *Publius Scipio*: In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it ſtandeth, that for *P. Cornelius* there was ſubſtituted *L. Ta. i.e. Tarius*: of whom *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and ſeventh chapter writeth thus, *L. Tarius Rufus*, a man moſt baſe for his parentage,

parentage, deſerved a Conſulat under *Auguſtus Ceſar* of happy memory, only for his military ſervice. In this Conſuls year was the Quinquennal ſolemnity performed, as writeth *Dio*, in memoriall of the Empire of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* one of the Quindecemvirs, had the ordering and ſetting out thereof.

739
M. Druſus. L. Piſo.

THe Conſuls next following, were *M. Druſus* and *L. Piſo*, as *Caſſiodorus* ſaith. The Sicilian regiſters name them *Libo* and *Piſo*. *Dio*, *M. Livius* ſon of *Lucius*, *Druſus Libo*: and *L. Calphurnius* ſon of *Lucius Piſo*, *M. Druſus* ſon of *Marcus*, *L. . . .* according to the Colotian fragment.

740
Cn. Lentulus. M. Craſſus.

THis year next following had for Conſuls, after *Caſſiodorus*, and the Sicilian monuments, *Cn. Lentulus* and *M. Craſſus*: whom *Dio* calleth, *M. Licinius* ſon of *Marcus*, *C. . .*: and *Cn. Cornelius* ſon of *Cneus Lentulus*. The Colotian fragment ſheweth *Marcus Livinius* ſon of *Marcus*.

741
T. Nero. Q. Quintilius

Tiberius Nero, and *P. Quintilius* were Conſuls this year, as *Caſſiodorus* reporteth. They are named *Nero* and *Varus* in the Sicilian Catalogue. And *Dio* calleth them *Tiuus Claudius* ſon of *Tiberius Nero*: and *P. Quintilius*, ſon of *Sextus Varus*. The Colotian fragment, *Tiberius Claudius* ſon of *T. Suetonius* writeth, that *Tiberius* bare his firſt Conſulſhip but a few daies. For this is that *Tiberius Nero*, *Auguſtus Ceſars* wives ſon, who after the death of *Auguſtus*, attained to the Empire, having been firſt by him adopted.

742
M. Meſſala. P. Sulpitius.

CAſſiodorus putteth down for Conſuls, *Meſſala* and *P. Sulpitius*. The Sicilian records, *Meſſala* and *Quirinus*. *Dio*, *M. Valerius*, ſon of *Marcus*, *Meſſala Barbatus*: and *P. Sulpitius* ſon of *Publius Quirinus*: of whom *Suetonius* in *Claudius*, and *Tacitus* in his ſecond book write. Moreover, this is that *Sulpitius Quirinus*, who by *Joſephus* in the ſeventeenth book of antiquities and firſt chapter, is ſaid to have born the Conſular dignity, and was Lieutenant in *Syria*. At which time, our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, was born: of whom Saint *Luke* maketh mention, ſaying, This was the firſt enrolment or taxation which was made by *Quirinus* Preſident and governour of *Syria*. After theſe Conſuls, others were ſubſtituted in their place, as the Colotian ſtone ſheweth, wherein it is thus read:

M. Valerius. M. F.
C. Volgius. C. F.
Suff. C. Caninius.

Likewiſe in *Cuſpinian* his Calender, theſe Conſuls are written with their ſurnames:

Meſſala Quirinus.
Rebilus Saturninus.
Maximus Tubero.

By which it appeareth that *Rebulus* and *Saturninus* were the ſurnames of *Caninius* & *Volgius*. By a fragment of the capitoll marble, it is evident, that the ſurnames of *Valerius* was *Æmylianus*: of *Volgius*, *Rufus*: and *Rebulus* of *Caninius*: and that as *Rufus* was put in the place of *Valerius*, ſo *Rebulus* inſtead of *Rufus*. There remaineth alſo the memoriall of *Rebulus* and *Saturninus* in the Sicilian records. In this year, *Dio* reporteth, that *Auguſtus* was a ſecond time made over-ſeer for mens manners and demeanours five years more: and that he reſumed ſtill the ſame authority by times, as alſo the Empire, and therein *Agrippa* died.

743
P. Fabius. Q. Ælius.

CAſſiodorus exhibiteth for this years Conſuls, *Paulus Fabius* and *Q. Ælius*. *Dion*, *Paulus Fabius*, ſon of *Quintus Maximus* and *Tubero*. Of *Q. Ælius Tubero*, and *P. Fabius Maximus* Conſuls, *Frontinus* ſpeaketh of in his book of water-conduits: and *Pliny* in his eight book and ſeventh chapter, where he writeth, that the Theater of *Marcellus* was dedicated when *Quintus Tubero* and *Fabius Max.* were Conſuls.

744
Julus Antonius. Q. Fabius.

CAſſiodorus nameth for Conſuls this year, *Junius Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dio Jul. Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius* ſon of *Quintus Maximus*. The Sicilian Catalogue and Calender of *Cuſpinian* ſhew *Africanus* and *Maximus*. *Dio* nameth *Julus*, the ſon of *Antonius*. Unto him *Horace* writeth in this manner:

Pindarum *quiſquis ſtudet æmulari*
Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea,
Nititur pennis, &c.

With wings devis'd by *Dedalus*
And glew'd with wax, they flie;
Whoſtrive (O *Iule*) with *Pindarus*
To match his Poetry.

And after,

Tendit (Antoni) quoties in altos
Nubium tractus.

——O *Anton*, ſo oft
As he doth mount the clouds aloft.

745

745
Drusus Nero. Titus Quintius.

THere succeeded Coss. according to *Cassiodorus*, *Drusus Nero*, and *T. Quintius*: but after *Dio*, *Nero Claudius*, son of *Tiberius Drusus*: and *T. Quintius*, son of *Titus Crispinus*. *Drusus* and *Crispinus*, by *Cuspinians* Calender and the Sicilian registers. This *Drusus* brother of *Tiberius Nero* was *Augustus Cæsars* wives son: who being Consull, died in *Germany*, and both he and his children had the surname of *Germanicus*, as *Dio* writeth: which addition the Senat gave him first of that Province, as *Eutropius* saith. With the death of this *Drusus* endeth *Livies* historries: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Look in the said Breviary.

To the Reader.

I doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the Roman story above-written, will prefently grow into a liking of the very place, whichath afforded so worthy persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to Rome, *only to see the river* Tyberis, *those seven hils, and the monuments remaining of that famous City. The journey they have found, for way long and tedious; for expence of money heavy and chargeable; for hazard of religion, conscience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: so far degenerate are the inhabitants now from that ancient people, so devout, so vertuous and uncorrupt, in old time. To satisfie the Readers in this behalf, and to avoid the peril of that travell, I thought it not amiss to bring* Rome (*as it were*) *home to them, even to represent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to say, the description of the paces, with the memorable edifices, or at the ruins of those antique buildings, mentioned in the story aforesaid. And for asmuch as* Bartholmew Marlian *hath [illegible] and made a Treatise thereof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto the noble Prince of famous memory, Francis the French King, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that those learned men, who set Livy forth in print, have thought good to adjoyn thereto, as a necessary dependant, the foresaid Treatise: I for my part, having strugled with the difficulties of the Alps, and in some sort overcome them; crossed* Rhosne *and the* Po; *passed over the hils* Olympus *and* Æmus, *and scrawled through the rough streights of* Thermopylæ *and* Tempe, *seem now I would not at my return to stick at the pleasant mounts,* Palatine, Capitoll, Aventin, *&c. with the plains and valleys between, or the river* Tyber *and* Mars *field underneath them, beautified especially with such stately Temples, triumphant Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Cirques, Columns, and Colosses, wonders of the world. And albeit I found* Marlian *far unlike himself, and the book that goeth in his name much corruptin the print, yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the fault, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latine.*

A Summary collected by *John Barthelmew Marlianus*, a Gentleman of *Millain*, touching the Topography of *Rome* in ancient time.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.

The situation of the City.

BEfore we enterprise to shew the edifices and buildings of the City of *Rome*, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortall gods; with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult work, to lay their first ground and make their entrance.

The Capitol hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 800 foot: in length it lyeth out toward the Northwest 1500. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle, and in compass containeth well-near seven * furlongs.

* Stadia.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the *Palatine* hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with four angles of unequall sides, containing 1200 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the *Capitoline* hill: a second of seven hundred foot, bendeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount *Cælius*: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the lists or shew-place, called *Circus Maximus*, directly regardeth the *Aventine*. On the second side thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the *Forum Rom.* to the utmost skirt of the hill *Quirinalis*, which bendeth toward the *Suburra*, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lieth out in length almost a mile from both fronts, between the Capitoll, the *Forum Nervæ*, and the mount *Cælius*: in like manner from the said mount *Cælius* and *Palatine*, *Suburra* and the *Esquilia*, as far as to the Church of Saint *Marcelline*. A second plain there is, under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of *Marcellus*, which stretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it self, as far as to the *Tyber*; and anon over-against the valley from the crooked reach and course of the river, and the nook whereby the *Aventine* is divided from the *Palatine*, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards between the said hils it groweth narrow, untill ye come to *Cœliolus* and the very gate *Capena*, where the *Aventine* is parted from *Cœliolus* only by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, *Tyber* and the *Aventine*; on the left, *Capitoline* mount, the *Palatine*, and *Cælius*.

Then followeth the mount *Cælius* (separate from the *Palatine* by a plain) resembling a pyramidal form of a spire, so as the Base thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the same it is by the street *Appia*, fast by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate *Capena*, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, between *Cælius* and *Cœliolus*, lying out in length 4 *Stadia*, and within a while to the wals which joyn close to the mount *Cœlius*, as far as to the gate *Asinaria*. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 *Stadia*, toward the Northeast. From hence the wals meet afront for the space of two *Stadia*, even to the gate *Navia*: from whence as they turn to the Northeast, it is parted from the *Esquilie* by the street *Labicana*: and anon shewing it self afront near S. *Marcellines*, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover, the *Cœliolus* is enclosed within the said valley, the street *Appia*, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the City wals: and hath in compass well-near a mile.

The *Aventine* seemeth to contain two hils; the broader part whereof toward the *Tyber*, and in like manner in length from *Tyber* along the wals, and anon near the gate *Hostiensis*, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque, and the mount *Cœlius*: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount *Cœlius* by the street *Appia*, untill you come to the gate *Capena*. It had in compass 18 *Stadia*, as *Dionysius* also testifieth; and on the Southeast, a most spacious and large plain of 4 unequall sides: toward the South containing almost 6 *Stadia*, Westward five, somewhat less Eastward, but toward the *Tyber* not above four.

The *Esquilia* on the South part is divided with the street *Labicana*; on the Northwest, with the valley lying between *Cœlius*, *Palatinus*, and it self; on the North, the *Suburra*; and from the *Viminal* hill, the street called *Patritius* parteth it, untill a man come to the bath of *Diocesian*. In circuit it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form; insomuch as *Varro* (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and cutteth it into many parts.

The *Viminal* hill on the West side regardeth the *Quirinal*, having about a furlong space the plain *Subburra* lying between: on the North it hath the valley *Quirinalis*. Between the same hils there lyeth as it were 4 *jugera* in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the *Quirinal* and *Esquilie* along the wall of the City, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby these mountains are made even. The compass thereof taketh up two miles and an half; the form thereof is longwise, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The *Quirinal* mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [*Militiarum*] for the space of 4 *Stadia*, over-looketh the levell plot of the City which lieth Westward: but on the right hand, as clearly appeareth by that which we have said) it is opposite to the *Viminalis*: on the third side, Northward; for the space of 6 *Stadia*, it lieth to the hill called [*Hortulorum*.] It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 *jugera*, reaching near to the gate *Salaria*: and in the whole compass it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill *Hortulorum*, although it standeth without the old pomœry of the city: for the space of 3 *Stadia* it beareth over the valley *Martia* lying between it and *Tyber*. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate *Flumentana* to *Collina*, a full mile more than any other sides. The circumference thereof is much about 18 *Stadia*.

There remaineth now the mount *Janiculus*, on the other side of *Tyber*: the one half thereof and not above, is contained within the walls: from the *Vatican* plain, for the space of 3 *Stadia*, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the walls, for the compass of five *Stadia*.

Moreover, above the *Vatican* plain, there is a little hill of the same nature, which putteth forth two points like horns; the one toward *Janiculum*, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexity or outward compass whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and base plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate *Flaminia*, at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almost of 8 *Stadia*, environed with the hils *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*: but on the West side, the *Tyber* runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a streight and direct line being drawn for two *Stadia* from the hill *Hortulorum*, and namely, where it over-looketh the Piere of *Domitian* called *Naumachia*: along the bank of *Tyberis*, over-against the *Pile Hadriani*, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is left the valley *Martia*, namely, as much as lieth between the hill *Hortulorum*, the wall of the City, and *Tyberis*: so as the bredth draweth narrower still unto the gate *Flaminia*.

There resteth yet the Transtyberin region, which together with the *Janiculum*, taketh in compass about three miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channell of *Tyber*

Tyberis; which entring into the city, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate *Flaminia* through the vale *Martia*, and soon after by little and little runneth from the North, Westward, and representeth the form of a semicircle, in the convexity whereof is the *Vatican*, and within the concavity, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the *Moles* or pile [*Hadriani*] returning to his former course, as far as to the utmost foot of the *Aventine*, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not far from the gate *Portuensis* it runneth forth of the city.

Thus much concerning the situation and form of *Rome*, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so far changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memoriall of it, as it was in old time.

CHAP. II.

Of the founders of the City of Rome, *the KK. and Inhabitants thereof.*

THe region (on which *Rome* was after built) West of *Tyber*, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the Sicilians (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the *Aborigines* leaving *Arcadia*, by the conduct of *Oenotrius* the son of *Lycaon*, came into the said quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof, they expelled the Sicilians, and held it for their own use. In proces of time the Pelasgians, a people of *Greece*, together with the Thessalians, who came to aid the *Aborigines* against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said *Aborigines*) untill the Trojan war: but they all retained the name of the *Aborigines*, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that seignory and kingdom. Long time after, *Saturn* being chased out of *Crete* by *Jupiter* his son, fled into *Italy*: where he taught *Janus* the King of the *Aborigines* the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely feoffed by *Janus* in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of *Janus* enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the Arcadians, who forsook the city *Palantium* (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now *Rome* standeth: received of *Faunus* the K. of the *Aborigines*, a portion of ground; built a fort upon a little hill not far from *Tyber*, and named it *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the Peloponnesians, Phanetians, and Epians, by reason that *Elis* their native country was wasted before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into *Italy*, and they planted themselves upon the mount *Saturnine*. These men lived a long time according to their own laws and customs, untill they being vanquished and subdued by the *Aborigines*, were incorporated by them into one commonalty. Then raigned *Latinus* the son of *Faunus*, untill such time as *Æneas* the son of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and finall ruin of *Ilium*, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the Trojans his companions, came by the instinct of the destinies to K. *Latinus*. Whose daughter *Lavinia* he took to wife, and so was by *Latinus* admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the *Aborigines* and the Trojans were thus linked and joyned together, he called both nations by the name of Latines. Then was *Æneas* warred upon by *Turnus*; for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused and affianced to him before. But *Æneas* won the victory, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinus* died, and left his son in law *Æneas* heir to the crown, certain years after was *Æneas* killed by *Mezentius* K. of the Tuscans; and *Ascanius* his son succeeded in the kingdom. He built the towns *Lavinium* and *Alba*: and when he departed this life, made over the crown to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed Kings, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Latinus Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Capetus*, *Tybersnus*, *Agrippa*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Amulius*. This *Amulius* usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of eldership was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for fear least there might arise from his brothers off-spring, some one to make claim and recover the royall seat, and thereby himself be thrust out of his place, he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to be a professed Nun. She being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetuall virginity, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Amulius* advertised hereof, commanded both the babes to be cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Faustulus* a shepheard upon the bank of the river *Tyber*, and by his wife *Faustula* sostered and brought up among other shepheards. *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to K. *Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. Whereupon delivered he was to *Numitor* for to be punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Faustulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they entred into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandsire *Numitor*. In the second year of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the City of *Rome*, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of *Troy*, and the twelfth day before the calends of *May*. Afterwards in a fray that arose between *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the soveraignty, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the City and Citizens also of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The form and bigness of the City of Romulus.

Romulus set out the City foursquar, as *Plutarch* witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called *Quadrata*. Others affirm, that the form and compas thereof is uncertain, and by reason of Antiquity unknown at this day. The hill *Palatinus* was by *Romulus* first fortified, because therein he was brought up: at the foot thereof began the *Pomerium*. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman *Forum* were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the beast-market; from whence in certain places were stories pitched and set between, along the bottom of the mount *Palatine*, as far as to the altar of *Consus*: and so within a while to the old *Curia*: then, to the Chappell of the *Lares* and the Roman *Forum* the bounds were extended, untill a place was assigned for the wals, and a spacious plot to build the City upon.

Titus Tatius began the wall from the rock *Carmentalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not far from *Tyber*. From thence, Southward unto the fartheft part of the grand Cirque: and so North-east-ward he ranged it into the *Forum* of *Nerva*, and in the end joyned it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compassed both the Capitol it self, and also the *Palatine*. And finally, to enlarge the City, he set to it the hils *Quirinalis* and *Cœlius*.

CHAP. IIII.

The gates of Romulus *his City.*

Romulus when he died, left the City of *Rome* with three gates, namely, *Carmentalis*, *Romana*, and *Pandana*. Others add a fourth thereto, to wit, *Janualis*.

Carmentalis took the name of *Carmentis* the mother of *Evander*, whose Chappel *Carmentale* stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitol on the right hand, between the cliff *Tarpeius* and the *Tyber*, over-against the Church now of S. *Katherine*, toward the shew-place *Flaminius*. This was afterwards named *Scelerata*, for that without this gate, in the Temple of *Janus*, the act of Senat passed, for the sending of the three hundred *Fabii* to *Cremera*, who went forth at this gate, and were slain every one at *Cremera*.

Romana was so called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of S. *Mary*, not far from the angle of the mount *Palatine*, in the bottom of the cliff of *Victoria*. Some affirm, that this gate was afterwards called *Mugonia*, of the lowing of kine and oxen: others name it *Trigonia*, of three corners that it had.

Pandana was so named, because it stood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The same also was called *Libera* or *Romulida*. The place for it they assigned where the gate *Saturnia* stood, bearing the name of the old City, so called and after destroyed.

Janualis carried the name of the Temple *Janus*, which is not far off. It stood sometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

CHAP. V.

The variety of the compass and walls of the City.

WHen the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of *Italy*, and otherwhiles defended themselves against their violence, it hapned for the most part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them under their subjection, in the end made them Citizens of *Rome*: by which occasion, the City built by *Romulus*, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. *Tullius* therefore after his conquest of the Sabins and Albans laid to the City the mountain *Cœlius* and the *Esquilie*, and so enlarged it. Afterwards, when *Politorium* was won, and a number of the inhabitants translated to *Rome*; *Ancus* made a second enlargement of the City, and granted these new commers the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. The old Romans therefore dwelt in *Palatine*; the Sabins in *Capitolium*; the Albans in *Cœlius*: and this new-come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the Latines also were received into the City, they joyned *Janiculus* also to the city by a woodden bridg made over the *Tyber*: and cast a trench called *Fossa Quiritium*, about the low and levell places of the city. So the Trans-tyberine quarter was united to the city, and made it more spacious and stately: last of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoyning the hils *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the city. And as before it was mounded about with rubbish, and the same rudely laid, *Tarquin* the proud was the first that enclosed it with a wall of good ashler stone. And the very same wals which stand at this day, were by the posterity that followed, repaired and reedified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when as it flourished in greatest glory, extended far more in bounds and compas. For in *Plinies* time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in these daies hardly 12. And the whole compas of the city, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they stred far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) in the said *Plinies* time, was 50 miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Pomœry of the City.

THat void ſpace of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called *Pomœry*. And ſometime it is put for the circuit of the whole City. This *Pomœry* was oftentimes ſet out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted ſo to do, ſave only they that either conquered ſomewhat to the Roman dominion, or endowed the City with ſome ſingular and eſpeciall benefit: as the Emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, ſo no ſet bounds confined either the City or the *Pomœry*.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, *which at this day are not to be ſeen: thoſe alſo that are now extant.*

EVen as the bounds of the City and *Pomœrium* were many times altered, ſo the gates alſo; ſome were left within the City, by occaſion that the walls were farther ſet out and loſt their names: others in time were ſo old, that they fell down; and albeit their name remain, yet the place where they ſtood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or elſe kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were ſome that had two names; and others more. And theſe in manner were all the names of the gates:

Flumentana, or *Flaminia*.
Numentana, or *Viminalis*.
Eſquilina, or *Taurina*.
Capena, or *Appia*.
Tergemina, or *Hoſtienſis*.
Ratumena, or *Vientana*.
Quirinalis, *Agonenſis*, or *Collina*.
Ianualis, or *Sabiuſa*, leading into the Sabins country.
Navia, or *Labicana*.
Cœlimontana, or *Aſinaria*.
Portuenſis, or *Navalis*.
Triumphalis, or *Vaticana*.

Carmentalis, *Magonia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduſcula*, *Saginalis*, *Saucualis*, *Collatina*, *Interaggeres*, *Tiburtina*, *Gabiuſa*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Catularia*, *Laurentina*, *Fontinalis*, *Lavernalis*, *Ferentina*, *Minutina*, *Salinaris*, *Mutia*, *Piacularis*, *Preneſtina*, *Libitinenſis*, *Valeria*, and *Tarpeia*.

Flumentana took name of the river *Tyberis*; for it ſtood at the firſt upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridg of *Xyſtus*, in the end of the Broad ſtreet, and at the head of the way or ſtreet *Flaminia*: but afterwards, tranſlated it was to the place where now it ſtandeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cauſey of *Flaminius*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is ſituate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

Collatina bare the name of *Collatia*, a town not far from *Rome*: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a Senator, whoſe name it keepeth. This alſo ſtandeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile ſpace.

Quirinalis took name of the Chappel of *Quirinus*: or becauſe in old time the way lay through it for them that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It ſeemeth to be called *Agonenſis*, *quaſi ἀγωνός*, *i.e.* without a corner; afterwards, *Collina*: and at the laſt, *Salaria*; for that by it ſalt was carried into the City. This name it holdeth ſtill: and ſtandeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

Viminalis is from *Quirinalis* diſtant 5 *Stadia*: ſo named, as they ſay, of a wood of Oſiers, which (as it is ſuppoſed) ſometime grew thereby: or elſe, of a Chappell of *Jup. Vimineus*. This alſo men called *Figulenſis*, of the potters works made without it: but now they name it the gate of S. *Agnes*, and *Nomentana*.

Interaggeres ſtandeth in the Plain *Viminalis*, between the gate *Viminalis* and *Eſquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinius* his mures and banks, among which it was built.

Tiburtina ſtood between *Eſquilina* and *Numentana*, ſo as it was 1 *Stadia* diſtant from *Eſquilina*, upon the plain of *Eſquilia* in the very place where the conduit is of the *Marcy* water.

Eſquilina took that name of the hill *Eſquiliæ*, the ſame in ancient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulls head there found: for many a day after was the ſaid bulls head ſeen painted in the inner front of the ſaid gate. At this day, S. *Laurence* gate.

Navia drew the name of certain groves or woods neer adjoyning. In times paſt *Labicana*, and now *Major*. An arch there was ſo called, and erected in the ſame place by the old Romans.

Cœlimontana, ſtanding from *Navia* 8 *Stadia*, ſeemeth by affinity of name to be ſo called of the hill *Cœlius*, in the edge whereof it ſtandeth: and *Aſinaria* it was called, of the Aſſes which were wont to be ſent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it S. *Johns* gate.

Gabiuſa, built cloſe to the mount *Cœlius*, Southeaſt: which ſeemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabii*, which is directly regarded. It carried the name alſo *Merodium*, of meaſuring and is ſituat from *Cœlimontana*, as it were 5 *Stadia*.

Latina is 5 *Stadia* likewiſe from *Gabiuſa*, ſeated not far from the Church of S. *John Baptiſt*: ſo called, for that men go forth of it into *Latium*.

Capena is ſo named of the Capenats, a Latine nation, againſt which it lyeth. This alſo is called ſtill *Camena*, of a grove and Chappel of the Muſes, built juſt before the ſame gate. *Appia* likewiſe, of the high-way *Appia*; which *Appius* the Cenſor paved, and ſo it bare his name. They call it alſo

alſo *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with ſtate. Of ſome it is named *Fontinalis*, for the plenty of ſprings there. At this day S. *Sebaſtians* gate.

Tergemina took that name of an old gate ſo called, at which the 3 twins *Horatii* went forth againſt their enemies, and gave the firſt name to it. Some ſhew remaineth yet of this gate to be ſeen, neer the *Saliæ*.

Hoſtienſis, was in ancient daies ſo called, for that it led to the City *Hoſtia*: now S. *Pauls* gate: ſituate it is from *Capena* wel-neer 8 *Stadia*.

Portuenſis is a gate beyond the *Tyber*, within half a *Stadium* of the ſaid river; ſo called, for that it leadeth to the haven of *Hoſtia*. Now a-daies men call it, *Porta ripa*, *i.* The bank gate.

Aurelia, looketh toward *Janiculum*; diſtant from the former almoſt 7 *Stadia*. In this age they call it S. *Pancrace* gate.

Aelia, was built by *Ælius Hadrianus*, of whom it took that name.

Septimiana, bare the name of *Septimius* the Emperor: and becauſe it ſtandeth under Janiculum, is at this day called, *Subtus Janum*. Some affirm, that this is *Fontinalis*, becauſe out of the mount called *Aureus*, there iſſue fountains: for to the ſaid hill this gate ſtandeth cloſe. From it to *Aurelia* are 5 *Stadia*: and to the river *Tyber* 7 *jugera* or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of *Rome*, and their names.

The wall in old time had upon it 360 turrets. Some of theſe are decaied and gone: others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

NOw is it time, and the courſe of the Story doth require, that leaving the towrs and walls, we enter into the City, and ſhew the beginning and the place of thoſe edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plain plot of the City, were built by men in old time. Firſt therefore, begin we will at the worthieſt earthly habitation of all their Gods, to wit, the *Capitol*.

The ſecond Book.

CHAP. I.

The ſundry names of the Capitol.

THe Capitol was by the old Romans called Mount *Saturnius*, either of a City named *Saturnia*, which under the very hill was built in that place where now *Rome* ſtandeth: or becauſe *Saturn* in times paſt dwelt in that hill: or elſe (as ſome think) for that the mount it ſelf had *Saturn* for the tutelar God and Protector therof. But afterwards it was named the mount *Tarpeius*, of the Virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom *Livy* writeth. Laſt of all, *Tarquinius Priſcus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Jupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chanced to find in the bottom of the trench a mans head; whereupon they called it *Capitolium*. And the Augurs being ſought unto and demanded, What the finding of that head might ſignify? anſwered, That this Caſtle ſhould be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Caſtle and the Capitol. The Caſtle they built Northward, as a ſtronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward *Tyberis*, a place naturally defended.

CHAP. II.

Who firſt laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finiſhed it: how often it was burnt, and by whom reedified.

IN the Sabine war, *Tarquinius Priſcus* vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, ſo ſoon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* finiſhed the building, of 4 ſquare ſtone: and defraied the charges thereof out of the pillage of *Pometia*, a Town that he won. When he for his tyranny was baniſhed *Rome*, *Horatius Pulvillus* the Conſul, dedicated the ſaid Capitol to *Jupiter*. It ſtood upright and ſound for the ſpace of 415 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Conſulſhip of *Scipio* and *Narbo*) it was conſumed with fire. *Sylla* re-edified it, and *Q. Catulus* conſecrated it: and ſo it continued until the Vitellian war. During which troubles, it was a ſecond time burnt, at what time it ſtood with the dores ſhut, undefended, and not rifled. *Veſpaſian* built it again: and in his life, a third time it was deſtroied by fire: and together with the Capitol, *Veſpaſian* alſo himſelf died. Afterwards, *Domitian* rebuilded it in more magnificent and ſtately manner than it had been ever before, and diſburſed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitol turrets and pinacles, the ſtatues and images ſmitten with thunder-bolts and blaſted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP. III.

The Temple of Jup. Feretrius, *of* Jup. Opt. Max. *of* Juno, *and* Minerva's.

THe Capitol, *Cicero* calleth The houſe and habitation of the gods, becauſe it contained the chappels, ſtatues, and images in manner of all the gods: but the firſt of all other in *Rome* was

that of *Jupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the war against the Cenenians. After which war ended, and he returned to *Rome* with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill. But *Jupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as some would have it; for that *Iupiter* assisted him in striking the enemy, in that very place where he vowed the temple. Or else, because the Romans used in making of peace, to swear by his scepter and the flint. The roof of this Church faln down for very age and through neglect of the Romans, *Augustus* repaired. This temple first built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Ancus Martius*.

But the temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* of all other was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called *Capitolinum*; and *Targ. Priscus* vowed it. After him, *Targ. Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver: but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his Kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unperfect, to be accomplished by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward *Tyberis*, as hath been shewed before. For the form, the greatnels and beauty of this temple, read *Dionysius* and sundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of *Rome* it self. Upon the top or lantern thereof, stood *Summanus* the God, made of potters earth, whose head was smitten with lightning and fell into *Tyberis*. It had within it besides, a sanctuary or secret chappel, which no Lay person might enter into. Within the said cell or chappel, were two coronets of gold: the one of them, the Gauls consecrated to *Iup. Opt. Maximus*: the other, the Carthaginians sent to *Rome* in the honor of *Iupiter*, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnits. Morever, in the said temple were other three chappels, to wit, one of *Iup. Opt. Max.* in the midst: a second of *Minerva* on the right hand; and a third of *Iuno* on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was set down in writing, That the chief and highest Pretor for the time being, should drive a spike or great nail neer unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place whereas it stood, is prophane: howbeit there remain yet to be seen, some tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken peecemeal.

CHAP. IV.

The Temples of Saturn, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Custos, *of* Fortune, *of* Vejovis Mercy. Juno Moneta, *and of* Janus. *The sepulchre of* Orestes, *the common Treasury, the house of* Manlius, *and chappel of* Carmenta.

SInce that we have described the temple of *Iupiter* K. of the Gods, in what place it was situat, and by whom built; meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houses in the capitol: and first of *Saturn*, *Iupiters* father.

Saturn in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the *Forum* up to the capitol, as some think. There be, that would have this temple or altar of *Saturn*, built by the companions of *Hercules*: others again say, that *Tatius* reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reason, because some affirm, that there were two temples consecrated to *Saturn*, but reared in divers places and at several times: one at the rock of *Carmenta*, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones also of *Orestes* brought from *Aricia* were bestowed:) the other in that very place, where now standeth the chappel of S. *Saviour*: where yet at this day there is a turret to be seen, which they call, the Tower in *Ærarium*: for there first was the common treasure house of *Rome*. In the temple of *Saturn*, dedicated by *Catulus Luctatius*, there stood *Janus* with four faces: signifying the four times of the year: of whom the first month *January* took name.

The temple of *Iupiter Tonans Augustus Cæsar* first built, on the capitoline cliff or side of the hill, South-east; upon this occasion: It hapned, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning slightly glanced thereupon, and killed the servant that was the guide; and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honor of *Thundring Iupiter*. A temple also to *Fortune* was built not far from it.

The temple of *Vejovis*, stood between the castle and the capitol, in that part where now the chappels are to be seen of conservators. In old time they called this Idol-devil, *Vejovis*, because he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they sacrificed a she goat: because he held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was *Apollo*.

Asylum, that is to say, the temple of *Mercy* stood likewise upon the capitol hill, neer a shadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the castle. Called it is the temple *Intermontium*, between two okerows. This, *Romulus* erected; that what offender soever thither fled, he should be priviledged as in a sanctuary. But *Tyberius* afterwards, supposing that this place ministred occasion of mischief, deprived it of that liberty. This *Asylum*, by report, the posterity of *Hercules* first erected.

The temple (as also the mint-house) of *Iuno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where somtime stood the house of M. *Manlius*. This chappel, some report that *L. Furius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicereius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Iuno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning; for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of *Iuno*, admonishing them of the future overthrow by the Senones. In this place now standeth a Senators house of *Rome*.

The

The temple of *Janus* keeper of the Capitoline castle, stood in that place, whereat that day is the goal and prison for malefactors and sellons, toward the Southwest, over against the *Forum Romanum*. This *Janus* upon the Capitol, *Romulus* and *Tatius* devised to have two faces pretending thereby the two nations. Others would have him to be pourtraied 2 faced, for his cunning and providence: for he was the first that invented the roiall crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; brasen coin and many other things. *Janus* took that name *ab eundo*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things else. For which cause he also named *Vertumnus*: In old time they beleeved there was but one *Janus*; but posterity in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Jupiter Custos*, *Domitian* (after he was invested in the empire) builte and placed his own image in the lap and bosome of that god. It stood where at this day the *Salare* or saltpits are, neer to the temple of *Janus*.

CHAP. V.

The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.

AMong those gods, whose determinat place assigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the first was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude and formless stone. Unto him *Tatius* first vowed a temple: and some say, that *Numa* de dicated it. How ever it be; no doubt verily ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause: when *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Jupiter*, he consulted with the Augurs about the place, because he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They shewed unto him the mount *Tapeius*, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chappels there, were consecrated and hallowed. These therefore were by certain sacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way to *Jupiter*. and to be translated into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yeelded their places up to *Jupiter* as their K. only *Terminus* refused to be displaced; and so remained there still. When he had finished the temple and fore-part of the roof which regardeth the said stone, was left naked and open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be enclosed, the augures therfore being sought unto and demanded, For what reason *Terminus* alone abode still with *Jupiter*; when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby signified, that together with religion, their empire also was eternall. To this god they sacrificed not but in open air and publickly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, that *Mars* also and *Juventus* together with *Terminus* would not agree to give place to *Jupiter*: for that the dominion of *Rome* should not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Ericina*, *Attilus* and *Q. Fab. Max.* being Dnumvirs, dedicated chappels upon the Capitol, severed asunder by one vault or cistern.

To queen *Iuno*, *C. Flaminius* in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple.

To *Ops*, *Tatius* the K. consecrated a temple; for that she is called the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The same *Ops* is called *Maia*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blasted with fire from heaven, as *Livy* testifieth.

Mars revenger, *Augustus Cæsar* erected a temple upon the Capitol, within the hill *Saturnius*.

To *Faith*, on the same hill, *Attilius Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Liberty*, and *Victory*, they built temples: and many there were within the city erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Primigenia* and *Obsequence*, *Tullus* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus* bald they also set up a temple in the Capitol, in memorial and everl sting praise of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engins, that during the Gauls war, were devised and made against the enemies.

Tarquinius Superbus built a temple to *Jupiter Sponsor*, and Sp. *Posthumius* dedicated it. Likewise to *Jupiter* * *Pistor* the old Romans consecrated a temple in the Capitol.

* The bakers

CHAP. VI.

Of the statues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.

OF statues in old time were sundry sorts, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble, some of brasse, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the capitol to the immortal gods for divers causes, and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had deserved well of the common-weal, the usuall maner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To *Jupiter* in the Capitol, Sp. *Carvilius* erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the Samnits, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of *Jupiter Latiarius* his image. *Plynius* maketh mention, that this statue was smitten with lightning. He also set up another to thundring *Jupiter*.

The old Romans set up in the temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* statues to *Victory* and *Faith*, to either of them one.

For Nemesis also was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddesse punished proud and faithlesse persons. She is named also *Rhamnusia* of *Rhamnus* a village in *Attica*, where she was worshipped: & *Adrastæ*, of *Adrastus*, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her.

Unto *Hercules*, for his notable and famous acts, they erected many statues in the Capitol: and namely, *Pub. Sulpitius* and *Pub. Sempronius* one; and Q. *Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the Tarentins by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of *Praxiteles*) were within the Capitol.

The image of *Apollo* with a diadem, and his *Colossus* thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents, *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Pontus*, into the Capitol.

An image there was of *Janus* likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of sixty five, to signifie the daies of the yeer.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, dedicated in the temple of *Jupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nilus* and *Tygris*, half naked, were set up in the forefront of the temple of Conversators: the one cary upon the shoulders, Sphynx: the other a Tygre; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plenty.

The personage of *Hercules* pourtraied naked, of brasse and double guilt, without board, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of Hesperides, was found neer the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of *Ara Maxima*.

There be certain portraitures also of the Parthian and Dacian triumphs, enclosed within wals which were taken out of the church now called *S. Martina*.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.

TO *Scipio* they erected in the Capitol, a statue * wearing a souldiers cassock and slippers or pantoffles in regard of his victory over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memorial of his worthy deeds.

To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitol, in habit of a footman.

For *Æmylius Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of *Rome* set up a statue, because he had in a battel vanquished the enemie, and saved a Citizen.

The like honour to the test they did to *Metellus*, for that he had preserved out of the temple of *Vesta*, being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image to *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers for that in a great dearth of corn, she served the people at 3 farthings a Modius. The same they did to *Trebius* the Ædile.

Fabius Maximus made for himself a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Hercules*.

Unto *Brutus*, for delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of *Tarquinius*, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the KK. statues.

Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unlesse it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certain weight.

The emperor *Commodus* took off the head from the colosse of *Nero*, & set upon it his own statue which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the houses of Conservatores.

In the said houses of Conservatores, is extant yet the brasen portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose dugs *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of *Rome*, are to be seen how they hang sucking.

The image of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths; the one, standing upon the feet in servil habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepheard or heardman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sole of his foot, which rankled and festered withall.

An infinit number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to *Rome*. For the Romans robbed the churches of forrein nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitol cliff, Tarpeia rock, the stone of Carmenta, and the gate Stercoraria.

IN old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundry opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the *Aventine*, where now standeth *S. Gregories* Church in *Velabrum*: others between the temples of *Saturnus* and *Concordia*, over to the arch of *Severus*, and at the stals and standings, called *Senatoris Stabula*. Now the arch of *Severus* was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of *Forum Romanum*: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was neer unto the Roman *Forum*: which by the Censors was paved with flint: who also set up a galleris from the Chappell of *Saturn* unto the Capitol Temple close to the *Senaculum*

* *cum chlamyde & crepundiis*. but for [crepundiis] read [crepidis] out of *Cicero pro Rabirio*: signifying the Greekish and Asian habit: for the Roman statues were *Togatæ*.

Senaculum and the *Curia* over it. *Cornutus Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose so many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*. In the place of the feast *Floralia* was in old time celebrated, whereof some tokens remain at this day to be seen. In it stood *Milos* house, which was full of shields and other armor, *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpey* rock which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past fellonious malefactors found guilty, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Carmenta stone, regardeth *Tyberis*, just over-against the Senators bridg.

The Dung-gate called *Stercoraria*, stood upon the Capitol cliff aforesaid; thither was thrown out all the filth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, for to be caried away and soon after to be cast into the *Tyberis*.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of the brasen columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.

IN the Capitol there were two sorts of tables; the one of Pictures containing the noble acts or battels, with the siege and assault of Cities, exploited by valiant martial men. For some of them were so desirous of praise and renown, that they could not be content to behold their own statues erected in the Capitol, unlesse their acts were described also and depainted in tables set up in publick place; and by that means left their glory behind them, commended likewise to posterity. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written in the most ancient laws, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other KK. Likewise the statues of the later lawgivers: the publick acts and ordinances; the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites and divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brasen tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by war, fire, and careless negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certain persons appointed, that in so serious and important matters, there should be no forgery and corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasse, were by *Domitian* set up in the Capitol; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Ægipt*, caused (of many brasen beak heads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columns, and brought them to *Rome*. *Sylla* likewise took out of *Jupiters* temple in *Athens*, certain brasen pillars, brought them to *Rome*, & there consecrated them to *Jupiter* in the Capitol.

The Portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the Castle by the Romans for perpetuall memory, because a goose by gagging gave warning of the enemies coming, to the warders of the castle and therby saved the Capitol. For which cause geese a long time after, were fed & kept in *Rome* at the Cities charges. There are besides, many other antiquities within the Capitol, cut in tables of brasse and marble both, and namely, Epitaphs, which here for brevities sake are left out.

CHAP. X.

Of certain edifices and buildings upon the Capitol hill, and of other things in general.

NOw that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting: something by the way would be said in the place, as touching the ancient houses there.

The court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built the Capitol, and covered it with reed. Into this place the King-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senat and people of *Rome*, that from him they might learn and know the daies of solemn game, plaies, and sacrifices.

Not far from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of *Metellus* and *Constantinus*. The Library also called *Majorum*, built artificially upon marbles pillars and besides the publick court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol from whence they gathered *Verbena*, or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the fæcials heralds and the *Pater patratus*: wherewith they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they sware by *Jupiter*, pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledg, then let* Diespiter *cast me out of all that I have (saving the City and the castle) as I hurl from me this stone.*

The Capitol had certain vaults like cisterns, into which were thrown all things over-worn, or so old that they were good for nothing. The six steeds drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which *Cneus Cornelius* set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that money wherein the Ædils condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoorded and kept in their corn. The shield also * *Martius*, set out with the image of *Asdrubal*; and the column garnished with ship beak-heads of brasse, whereof *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* there was a short cloak or mantle and purpole wollen, to which, of other purple garments were laid, they shewed the colour of ashes in regard of the excellent bright gloss and lustre that it caried. A present this was (by report) given to *Aurelianus* by a Persian K. who had it from the furthest Indians. The lintell, cheeks and sill of the Capitol dore, were made all of brasse. The brasen tiles likewise upon the roof, *Q. Catulus* gilded over: the place where *Numa* took his augories

* Toward the end of the 15. book.

was on the Capitol; but *Tatius* used rather the castle cliff: where also stood sometime the house of *Manlius*, but afterward, therupon was built the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. The books also of *Sibylla* were kept in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; by ten Wardens in a stone coffer under the ground. Over & besides so many edifices were there, so beautiful was the Capitol, and the riches thereof so great, so many goodly ornaments and shrines of the gods most artificially wrought, that right worthily of men in old time, it was called the earthly habitation of the gods & *Jupiter* himself. For during the upright and flourishing state of *Rome*: so curiously built and richly beautified it was: that as heaven surpasseth the earth, so far this edifice went beyond all other works and wonders whatsoever of the world; insomuch as it seemed to have been built by the gods: so far surmounted it all the device and reach of mans wit. But as excellent as these things sometimes were, now at this day they are to be seen, all naked, forlorn, and desolate.

CAHP. XI

The Temple of Concord, and Jupiter Stator: *moreover what the* Curia *is.*

BEtween the Capitol hill and mount *Palatine*, there lyeth a valley, whereof we have spoken before, The Temples and buildings wherof, as also the places behind the Capitol, by order and course we are now to describe. In this valley therefore the temple of *Concord* deserved to be visited first: which word, being derived (as it were) from the unity and agreement of heart, maintaineth, augmenteth, and preserveth alone, all things in the world whatsoever.

A temple to this *Concord*, *Camillus* vowed, in case he could reconcile the Commons to the Nobles. When as therfore the people were brought into grace and favour again with the Nobility, he built the church of *Concord*, beginning above the *Comitium* and so forward unto the *Forum*. The porches belonging to this temple, are yet to be seen at the foot of the Capitol. From it, there was an ascent of an 100 steps up to the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. That temple of *Concord*, slain long time to decay, was afterwards by the Senat reedified. Therein many a time the Senat met and sat in counsell, and orations were made unto the people. In this also there was a vault or shrond under the ground, wherein oftentimes theeves, armed men, cutters and hacksters were kept as in a prison, untill the assemblies of the people were dismissed. This house had many statues and images curiously and cunningly wrought, namely, of *Juno*, *Apollo*, and of *Latona*, bearing and holding her two babes *Apollo* and *Diana*. Likewise of *Æsculapius* and * *Hygia*, the handy-work of *Nicerates*. Also of *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and *Minerva*: likewise of the Dames weeping and adoring the said images all made of *Stones*. Moreover, the images of *Mars* and *Mercurie*; the workmanship of *Piserates*. Also of *Marsyas*-bound, made by *Zeuxis* the painter. Likewise father *Liber* and *Cassandra*, painted by *Theodorus*. As for the image of *Victory* in the porch and entrance of the said temple, it is to be seen how it was smitten with a thunderbolt.

* i Health.

To *Jupiter Stator*, *Romulus* in the Sabine war vowed a temple, that he might stay the flight of the Romans: whereupon he was called, the upholder of the Roman state. Therefore after victory obtained, he built a temple at the foot of the Palatine hill, just over-against the church of *Concordia*, where at this day be most high battlements of wals. In this house also, like as in that other of *Concord*, the Senat assembled oft. Likewise in other temples. The courts, wherein the Senat gathered together in councel, were temples all, and therein were there acts made: but in the sacred churches of the gods, neither met the Senat, nor any orations were made to the people. This temple of *Stator* was burnt to the ground in that fire of *Nerons* making, and never after reedified.

CHAP. XII.

The temple and grove of Vesta: *the temple of* Faith *and of Romulus.*

THe temple of *Vesta* was built by *Romulus*, between the Capitol and the *Palatine* hils, not far from the *Forum Romanum*; where at this day is to be seen, the church of *S. Mary of graces*. Neer unto it the palace of *Numa* was built. The Roman Pontifies, when they would consult of great matters concerning religion, met in the court-yard of *Vesta*; like as the Senat and people of *Rome*, debated in councel of their weightiest affairs within the temple of *Faith*. Now this was a most ancient temple built in *Palatium* by *Romulus*, or, as some will have it, by *Numa*.

There was a grove also consecrated to *Vesta*, which reached from the foot of the *Palatine*, as far as to the large street called *Novavia*. Out of that grove (before *Rome* was taken by the Gauls) a voice was heard, giving warning, that the City should be lost, unlesse the wals and gates were repaired.

The temple of *Romulus* was seated at the foot of mount Palatine, in the midst of that side which regardeth the Capitol, in that very place were now the church is of *S. Theodore*. In this said temple there is a most ancient monument, the portraiture of the she wolf, yeelding her teats unto the founders of the City, to be sucked.

CHAP. XIII.

Lupercal, *and the figtree* Ruminalis.

THe *Lupercal* was a cave at the bottom of the Palatine hill, overspread and covered with trees having springs deep beneath under the rock. In the most inward and secret place of this cave there

there was an altar consecrated to *Pan*. But as touching the etymology and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there go divers opinions; for as in times past the place was close bidden and unfrequented, so now it is inhabited on every side; insomuch as there remaineth no mark and token at all where *Lupercal* was. Howbeit the greater part of writers affirm, that it was in that quarter of the City, where at this day *S. Theodors* church is seen. For to this place upon a time the *Tybre* overflowing, made a creeke thither: and hard by it was, where the two infants were cast forth. In the *Lupercal* therefore, certain authors confidently avouch, that *Romulus* and *Remus* were laid to perish, and so carried by water to the place called afterwards *Ruminalis*, were under a fig-tree there, nourished by a she wolf. This wolf haunted & kept in the den called *Lupercal*, & from thence ran to the bank side under the fig-tree *Ruminalis* for to the suckle the said babes, and so gave the name unto the cave to be called *Lupercal*, as it were the lurking hole and den of the wolf. There be again that would have *Evander* to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was descended from *Arcadia*, where the people after most ancient rites and ceremonies, do right devoutly worship *Pan*, the god of herdmen. Vnto whom also a mountain in *Arcadia* to him dedicated, was called *Lycæus*, for that he keepeth, λυκὸς, i wolves from the sheep, and preserveth the flocks and herds. This *Evander* therefore coming upon a time into *Italy*, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to *Pan*, and according to the manner of his countrey, there honoured him. In the said cave therefore reared was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flocks: and seeing that he chased wolves from them, therfore the place wherein he was worshipped took the name * *Lupercal*.

* Quasi lupis arcens.

Now the feast *Lupercalia* was by *Romulus* and *Remus* instituted. For they having obtained of *Numitor* a plot of ground to build them a City on, in that very place where they had been exposed forth, called all their companions to a feast and merry meeting: where, after they had killed sacrifices, and refreshed themselves with meat, and withall taken their wine liberally to the full, they grew to disport, and in the merry fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had sacrificed, and then fell to hopping and dancing full jocundly. Hereupon their posterity, celebrating the memorial thereof, held a festivall solemnity called *Lupercalia*, which retained the name of the place where first they began. Hereof see more in *Valerius Maximus*, *Servius* & *Plutarch* in the life of *Antonius*. As for the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, it was so named of the river *Tyber*, called at the *Rumon*. Some would have it take the name of *Romulus*. Others of the milk given to the said infants, for that part of the throat which draweth milk is called *Ruma* in Latines. This place was over against the house of the two lords *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, on the side of the mount Palatine, opposit against the shew-place, called *Circus Maximus*. *Romulus* and *Remus* thus laid forth about *Lupercal*, and caried by the water to this place, were fostered for a while under the figtree *Ruminalis*, in the place where the *Comitium* after was. The tokens of this tree remaineth unto the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, as *Ovid* testifieth.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the new way, the streets Jugarius *and* Tuscane.

THe street called the new way over against the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, goeth along the valley between the Capitol hill and the Palatine, and reacheth to the *Forum Romanum*. This, however it be called new, was well known to be most ancient, and is different from that, which *Caracalla* repaired under his baths.

The street *Jugarius*, otherwise called *Thuscarius*, leadeth from the gate *Carmentalis*, along the foot of the Capitol hil, to the *Forum Romanum*. In it was the altar of *Juno Juga*, who was thought to make marriages, and to couple folk in matrimonies, and she it was that gave the name to *Vicus Jugarius*.

Vicus Thuscus beginneth at the *Forum*, and along the foot of the Palatine sheweth the way to *Velabrum*. The reason of the name was this. The Tuscans upon a time fighting against the Aricians, were by them overcome; and after many thousands of them slain in battel, the rest being few in number fled to *Rome*: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the City, & the commodiousnes of the place, determined there to remain. Whereupon having a plot of four *stadia* granted them by the Senat, between the Capitol and Palatine, they inhabited the same. Herupon the street was called by them *Thuscus Vicus*, & many a 100 yeer after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, whereupon it grew out of credit, and lost also the first name.

CHAP. XV.

The Arches of Romulus, *the* Senaculum, *and the dwelling house of* Ovid.

THe old arches (which some think *Romulus* erected) continued a long time built of brick, neither would the Romans suffer that any man should make them of marble: to the end, that the memorial of their City founder, should remain more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decaied and fell down, in that very place where now is the church of Saint *Mary of Grace*, and were never afterwards reedified. The Romans named that place *Senaculum*, between the Capitol and the *Forum*, wherein the Senat kept a consistory for counsell and consultation.

That

That *Ovids* mansion house stood under the Capitol, himself witnesseth, even where as now the church is of S. *Marry* of *Consolation*.

Thus much of the buildings of the Capitol and the valley to it. Now followeth the mount Palatine.

The third Book.

CHAP. I.

The divers etymologies of Palatine.

ALbeit the hill Palatine were along time inhabited before the City was builr, and namely, first by *Valentia* the daughter of *Italus*; then by *Evander*, who also therein set up a castle: whom there succeeded after the City was founded, KK. and Emperors; insomuch as scarcely any one place of *Rome* is more renowned by writing, then this hil: yet the certein reason of the name why it should be so called, and which a man may be bold to follow, can hardly be set down. Some would have it so called, because the Arcadians wandring with *Evander* disorderly, and the Palatines out of the *Rhoatine* territory (called likewise *Palatium*) came to that mount and it inhabited: others of *Palas* the great grandfather of *Evander*. *Livy* thought, that of *Palanteum* a City of *Arcadia*, it was first called *Palantium*, and afterward Palatine. There are besides, who of *Palatia* the wife of *Latinus*, fetch the original of the denomination: or of *Palatho*, the daughter of *Hyperboreus*, who bare *Latinus* unto *Hercules*, and inhabited this mountain: or of *Palantia* the daughter of *Evander*, who there was buried: or of *Palas*, who was himself interred in it. Some there was also, of the bleating of sheep, which pastured there in times past, before the hill was by men frequented and peopled, imagine it was so named: or else because flocks were wont there *palare*, that is, to wander and grase up and down. And hereupon it is, that *Nevius* called it *Balantium*, of *Balatus*; or *Palantium* of * *palare*. *Tremellius* calleth it the mount *Rumuleus*, of *Romulus* his *image*, found at the very foot of the said hill. This may suffice of the derivation of the name.

* *Balatus*, ie. Bleating.

CHAP. II.

The temple of Victory, Ceres, Juno Sospita, *and the mother of the gods: the temple of* Liberty *and the porch thereof, as also the house of* Cæsius.

NOw that we have declared the reason of the name of *Palatium*; we will go forward to shew the temples and houses of the mountain, like as we have done in the description of the Capitol hill.

When the Romans had performed fortunatly many martiall exploits, and oftentimes returned with victorie over their enemies, because they would not be found unthankfull to the gods, unto whom they were beholden for their happy atchievements, and thereby afterwards misse of the like fortunat successe; they consecrated unto the goddesse *Victory* a temple in that part of the Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of *Maria Nova* in the very bottom of the descent, hard at the gate *Romana*. *L. Posthumius* an Ædile Curule took order for the building thereof, out of certain mony raised by fines and penalties; and when it is finished, he dedicated it to the goddesse *Victoria*.

Neer thereto there was a chappel, consecrated to *Victoria*, which *M. Porcius Cato* vowed.

Besides in the same place was the temple of *Juno Sospita*.

The Arcadians, which with *Evander* came to the Palatine hill, built a temple also in *Palatium* to *Victory*, but as different from this above-named, as far more ancient and to the honor of that goddesse, solemnized yeerly sacrifices.

They built a temple also to *Ceres* in the Palatine.

In the fatall book of *Sibylla* there was a prophesie found, That the forrein enemy and strange born should be exiled out of *Italy*, in case the mother of the gods might be brought to *Rome* from *Pessinus*. Now a stone it was, which the inhabitants of that countrey so called. Sent therefore were Embassadours into *Asia* as far as to *Pessinus* a town of *Phrygia*: who brought with them that Great mother of the gods in *Italy*. Then *P. Cornelius* caried it from the sea into the Palatine, and bestowed it into the temple of *Victory*, until such time as one was built of purpose for her. Afterwards *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, took order for a temple to be made to this great mother of the gods, & the same set out with statues, pillars and pavement of divers stones of great price. And *Junius Brutus* dedicated it. The plaies also and games called *Megalesia*, wherof *Cicero* speaketh, were first instituted at the dedication thereof.

Unto *Liberty*, *P. Clodius* built a temple and stately gallery, in part of *Cassius* his house, neer the temple of *Jupiter Stator*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Chappell and altar * Febris *the temple of* Lares: *the chappel of the goddesse* Viriplaca, *of* Faith, *and* Jupiter Victor.

* The fever.

NOt to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romans consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those also that did them hurt; to the end, that they should do less harm, and punish them more gently. For certein it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple & altar both consecrated to the *Fever*: likewise to *Nemesis* the goddesse of vengeance; wherof before in the second book.

Besides, they erected a chappel of the *Lares* in the Palatine.

In like maner, there was a chappel in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddesse * *Viriplaca*; into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were fallen out before, they returned home again good friends from thence, and all was well.

* Not much unlike, but somewhat a better saint, then S. *Vncumbre* of Paris.

After that *Æneas* with his son *Ascanius* and daughter *Roma* came into *Italy*, they reared a temple to *Faith*, in Palatine: they which was dedicated notwithstanding in the name of the daughter, and the same was written in the forefront of the temple: and therefore many yeers after, when *Romulus* and *Remus* strove who should give name to the City, the Senat and people of *Rome* reading the name of *Æneas* his daughter in the frontispice of the said temple, resolved to name the City after her, *Roma*.

Q. Fabius in the Sabin war, vowed a temple to *Jupiter* conqueror: and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill. And there dedicated it.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of Heliogabalus, Apollo *and the* Penates: *the house of* Orcus; *the place of the* Paladium *or image of* Minerva; *and the temple of* Augustus.

ANtonius Heliogobalus consecrated a god in the mount Palatine, which he called *Heliogabalus*, and built a temple in the place, where before stood that of *Orcus* or *Pluto*. But to win credit and name to this new and counterfeit god with great reverence and worship; he endeavoured to translate into this temple of his, * the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of *Vesta*, the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, the heaven, scutcheons, and all things else which the Rom. honoured above the rest. The Christian and Jewish religion also he there counterfeited, to the end, that no man in the religious worship of that temple and god might alledg any pretence why he should not with good conscience so do.

* *Scyphum* or Father *typhum* & the figure.

Moreover, in the Palatine, there was built a most ancient temple of *Apollo*. This chanced to be overthrown by thunder and lightning; and when the soothsayers gave out, that the god misled it, & required another, *Augustus Cæsar* adjoined a porch to the ruins the of and re dified the temple a new that there stood: wherein himself, when he grew aged, many a time sat in councel with the Senat, and empanelled the decuries of judges. In it likewise were pendant candlesticks, branched with arms like trees, whereon the approved poets bestowed their writings. Certain marks and tokens of this temple are to be seen (although obscurely) neer to the vineyard of *Fedra*, where the house of *Tiberius* stood. Unto him were instituted the Apollinare games wherof read *Cicero*.

The temple of the City-protectors, called *Penates*, stood in that part of the Palatine which looketh into the North, even to *Velia* not far from the *Forum*. In it were the images of the Trojan gods. In the same are portraied two yong men sitting together, and holding a ball in their hand. In like maner, the crooked augurs staves called *Lituus*, of iron and brasse. Besides, an earthen Trojan vessel of potters work. *Apollo* also and *Neptune* were there to be seen.

When the temple of *Vesta* was on a light burning fire, the image of *Pallas* being saved out thereof, was transferred into *Velia*, and gave the name unto temple of *Palaca*, now S. *Andrews* church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in *Palatium* to *Augustus Cæsar* of famous memory by his daughter *Livia*.

CHAP. V.

The Palatine houses; and the court of the Salii.

THat *Romulus* and *Remus* being shepherds abode some time in these parts, the sheds and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of slight wood & reed, do testifie: which as any of them in continuance of time decaied and fell down, the shepherds repaired with the like matter, to their ancient form, that the perpetuall memorial of *Romulus* and *Remus* the City founders, what kind of persons they were, and what maner of houses they lived in, might be delivered to posterity. In that corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth unto the grand cirque or shew-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called *Casa Romuli*.

Tullus Hostilius, before he built his court dwelt upon *Velia*, in that very place were afterwards the chappel of the *Penates* stood.

Not far from thence, even in that part of the Palatine which regardeth the *Forum*, *Catiline* (by report) had his house built.

More-

Moreover, between *M. Scaurus* his house and *Catilins*, there was but a small step over. *Cicero's* house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount *Palatine*, above the Church of *Jup. Stator*, neer the *Palatium*.

Pliny testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the Orator, and *Viterbius*, in the *Palatium*, were in old time overturned.

One Captain *Varus* likewise had an house in the *Palatium*.

Also *Tiberius*, whereof we have written in the former chapter.

Augustus (born in the region about *Palatium*, in a place called *Capita bubula*, *i.* the oxe heads; and where after his death, they erected a chappel unto him) dwelt first neer the Roman *Forum*, above the round stairs called *Scalæ annularia*, in the house sometime of *Calvus* the Orator. Afterwards he built the stately Palatine at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the Patine hill in the small house of *Hortensius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salii*, built in the mount Palatine, chanced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staff of *Romulus* called *Lituus* was found, without any hurt.

Publicola dwelt in an house standing over the *Forum*, which was called *Subvolia*.

That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was neer unto the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, may soon be proved out of *Livy*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of Velia; *the statues in Palatine, and other things in general.*

THe pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of *Palatium*, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of *Mary* the new. Called *Velia* it was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep, the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wooll from the sheeps back.

Augustus set up a Library of Latine and Greek books in Palatine, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brass of that huge colossus of Tuscan *Apollo*. He adjoyned thereto a porch or gallery, which they called *Palatium*.

In it was erected by the Senat, a statue unto *Numerianus* the Emperor, and a singular oratory.

In the same porch the Romans also set up a statue unto *M. Varro*, whiles he lived.

The *Augurator ium*, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount Palatine. *Apollo Palatinus* likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in *Palatium*. *Latona* in the same was placed.

Titus the Emperor set up a golden statue in Palatine to *Britannicus*.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his spear, was in the *Palatium*. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount *Aventine*, lanced his spear from him into the Palatine, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was born, sprung with him and suddainly appeared, was in *Palatium*. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed garlands.

The Palatine bains, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration for *Roscius*, were in the same *Palatium*; and of them there remain yet some tokens, above the *Circus max.* not far from the vineyard of *Fedra*.

In the same mountain also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Jupiters* parlor.

The most beautifull streets called *Antoniaca*, paved with Lacedæmonian and Porphyret stones, were in *Palatium*. The streets also of *Pudis*, and *Fortuna respiciens*, were to be seen in Palatine. And there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palatual*.

CHAP. VII.

The Palatium *now called the Greater: the court-yard of the* Palatium *and the old gate of the very* Palatium *it self.*

HOw great a compass the *Palatium* took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins, the pictures, statues, and most pretious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built so great and stately edifices: who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height, as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount Palatine at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of Saint *Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yeeldeth grass and food, for sheep, caples, and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Balantium* of the bleating that sheep make, rather than *Palantium*.

This *Palatium* had also a place therein called *Atrium*, built in old time and hallowed by Augurs: in it the Senat sate in councel, because they might not assemble in any place unaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rams were sacrificed.

The old gate of the *Palatium* was neer the *Rostra*, over-gainst S. *Laurence* Church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Temples of Janus, Augustus, *and* Faustina.

AFter the description of the Temples and edifices of *Palatium*, the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman *Forum*. Therein is the most stately Temple of *Janus*, (for me thinks we do well to begin at *Janus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gates. For *Janus* himself, who was therein worshipped, had four faces: and from *Falisci* a city in *Tuscany* forced by the Romans, he was translated to *Rome* into the *Forum*, named after *Transitorium*. His Temple was built in that part of the said *Forum* which looked toward the Roman *Forum*. *Procopius* saith, that in his daies it was built in the mids of the *Forum* over-against the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Destinies. Other Temples there were besides of *Janus*, and namely, in the Capitol neer the theatre of *Marcellus*, with two fronts all of brass, and had two brasen dores, which in time of peace were shut: and against war, were set open.

The temple of *Augustus* was builded in the Roman *Forum*. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, but left unperfect. *Caligula* finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joyned the Capitol and Palatine together.

There remain yet to be seen certain monuments and marks of the temple of *Faustina*. *Hadrianus* the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the Palatine hill (where the brasen image of a bull standeth) for her sake that she might be honoured as a goddess. The same his son *Antonius Heliogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himself, or *Jupiter Syrius*, or else the Sun. At this day it is the church of *S. Laurence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. IX.

The Temple of Castor *and* Pollux, *and the* Rostra.

NO man doubteth but that the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was somtime in the Roman *Forum* before the *Rostra*, neer to that aboveseid of *Faustina*. This sacred house *A. Posthumius* the Dictator dedicated: and L. *Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the Dalmatian spoils. In it, as in many other, the Senat used to sit in councel, and therein were publick Orations made to the people. *C. Metellus* adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also he set up the portaiture and resemblance of *Flora*, a picture of singular beauty. A table besides, which contains the records and monuments touching the free burgeosie granted to the horsemen of *Capua*. The steps and greeces going up to this temple, *Clodius* afterwards plucked up, as witnesseth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or consecrate place called *Rostra*, at the foot of the hill *Palatium*, over-against that before-named of *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereas now is the little chappel of *S. Mary de Inferno*. From these *Rostra*, were the sentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.

The Temple of Cæsar, Venus Genitrix, *and* Mars *revenger: and the court of* Venus.

CÆsar of famous memory had a temple neer his own *Forum*, at the broad-street called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Faustina*. In it were set up as Saints, *Victory* and *Castor*.

In the same *Cæsars Forum*, there stood a chappel of *Venus Genitrix*, behind the said temple of *Faustina*. This, *Cæsar* vowed in the Pharsalian war, and dedicated it. After victory in the war against *Pompey*, *Cæsar* enclosed the temple of the said *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloister, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

Augustus Cæsar in the battel of *Philippi*, vowed a temple to Mars the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own *Forum*, wherein were certain iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of Saint *Martina*.

CHAP. XI.

The Temples of Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, *and* Venus Cloacina.

THe temple of *Vulcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the *Comitium* and *Forum Romanum*, at the bottom of the Palatine hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Vulcan*, as also of the Sun and Moon, of *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Vulcan* there was dedicated unto *Vulcan*, the brasen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of *Cocles* there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the yard belonging to *Vulcans* temple, *Fulvius*, the son of a Libertine or enfranchised citizen, 303 years after the building of the capitol, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of Usurers condemned, at the foot of the mount Palatine. *Optimius* the Consul

Consul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Pliny* testifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies.

Livia Drusilla in her open gallery, erected a chappel of *Concord*, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her: which afterwards *Tiberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Drusilla* first founded the said chappel of *Concord*, *Vespasian* afterwards with wonderful celerity and speed, (after the civil wars ended) finished the Temple of *Peace*, begun before by *Claudian*. A large building this was and four square, set out with most stately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richest. In it *Vespasian* bestowed the holy vessels and precious ornaments of the Temple in *Hierusalem*, which *T.* had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of *Ganymedes*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once suddainly was consumed whole: and never was it known to this day how this fire came; unless it were (as some imagine) by reason of an earthquake which hapned the same hour, the stones rubbed together and struck fire.

An altar of *Peace* was by *Augustus* first reared; but in what place, the posterity knoweth not. The same, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Between the Temple of *Peace* and *Faustine*, there is at this day a most ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren Saint *Cosmes* and *Damians*. Some think it was the Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the same that *Carvilius* the Consul, after he had subdued the Samnits, dedicated, and of the infinit mass of spoils adorned it.

That the Temple of *Venus Cloacina* stood neer the broad street *Sacra*, *Ovid* testifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privy or draught, called *Maxima*, and *Tatius* consecrated it. And because it was not known whose resemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples of Tellus, Salus, Victoria, *the Sun and Moon, the house of* Cassius, *and the Armory.*

WHere the Temple of *Tellus* stood, some say it is uncertain: others think it was not far from the *Esquilie*, neer the rising of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters* Church in *Vinculis*, where as now standeth the Temple of *Pantaleon*. *Sempronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battail with his enemy, at *Asculum* the head Town of the Picentins, the earth quaked: and because he would pacify the goddess *Tellus* (*i.* the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. Built it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of *Spurius Cassius* (who sought to be a King) was overthrown. Neer unto this Temple of *Tellus*, there was an Armory: where of *Cicero* also maketh mention in a certain place. Within the said compass, *C. Junius Bibaculus* the Consul, vowed a chappel to the goddess *Salus*, in the time of the Samnits war. The same was by him put forth to building when he was Censor, and dedicated by him Dictator.

L. Volumnius an Ædile, caused the Temple of *Victoria* neer the Roman *Forum* to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of *Apollo*.

Some would have, that the Temples of *Concord* and *Æsculapius*, were neer the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of *S. Mary* the new.

The Temple of *Mercury* also was in the *Forum*.

The Temples likewise of *Isis* and *Serapis* were in the Burse called *Emporium*. And some think, that these were the Chappels of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by *Tatius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum *of* Trajanus: *the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.*

THus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speak of those things, which shall concern the honour and memorial of mortal men, and first begin we will with that excellent Prince *Trajanus*.

Forum Trajani was built (with wonderful Art and industry of man) by *Apollodorus*, between the *Forum* of *Nerva*, the Capitol hill, and the mount Quirinal. The same workman built also (at the commandment of *Trajanus*) *Mesodeum* and *Gymnasium*. The roof of that *Forum* or Hall was of brass, within round about in every place the forms and images of horses, and military ensigns all guilt. Now were these foresaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deserved well of the common-weal, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praise of *Trajanus*, adorned this *Forum* or hall of his.

The porch of this *Forum*, built upon most mighty and high pillars, and resting upon large chapiters, yeelded so great admiration to the beholders, that they seemed rather the works of gyants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honor of *Trajanus*, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajans horse in like manner stood in the mids, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin also there is found the image of *Trajan*, with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. *Optimo Princi-*

Principi, The Senat and people of Rome *to the best Prince.* But hereof *Lampridius* writeth much.

He likewise is reported to have adorned the palace, made of sundry marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the midst of the *Forum*, there stood the column of *Trajan*, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summary of the acts of *Trajan* engraven and chased most cunningly, but above all the Dakes war: within there be 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light unto them that shall go up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Eutropius* writeth) 140. In the louver or lantern thereof were the bones of *Trajan* kept within a golden ball. This pillar *Trajan* himself never saw: for whiles he warred against the Parthians, the Senat dedicated it unto him in his absence. But he in his return from the Persians, died in the way at *Seleucia*, a City in *Syria*, of a flix of blood. His dead corps was brought to *Rome*: and of all the Emperors, he alone (as *Eutropius* writeth) was interred within the City. The reason why his bones are left in that Column in this sort, the manner in old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills: but there being no mountains enough whereupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it hapned that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies instead thereof.

CHAP. XIV.

The Forum, *the Palace, and porch of* Nerva.

NExt to our sight cometh the *Forum* of *Nerva*, and it is behind the Church of S. *Hadrian*. In the midst of it there stood a Column of brass of an huge bigness; covered with plate of latten or copper, and hath within it light every way. This *Forum* was garnished with divers statues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called *Forum Transitorium*, for that from it there was the way to the *Forum* of *Augustus*, and the Roman.

There appeareth as yet some part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the *Forum*: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certain obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the *Forum* of *Nerva*.

Part also of the Palace of *Nerva*, built of 4 square stones and pillars, together with the Church of S. *Blase*, are yet seen enclosed between the *Comitium* and the tower of *Militia*.

CHAP. XV.

The Roman Forum, *the* Comitium, *the prison* Tullianum, *and the Image of* Marforius.

THe Roman *Forum*, which also is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitoll, and reached in length to the Church now of S. *Mary* the new, which is in *Velia*. But at the first, the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof abovenamed, it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount *Palatine*. Many a year after, *Augustus Cæsar* enlarged it.

The *Comitium* joyned to the *Forum*, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of *Palatium*, and endeth at the Church of S. *Mary* the new.

At the foot of the Capitoll hill, South-east-ward, *Ancus Martius* built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him K. *Tullius* adjoyned to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge and mighty big stones, with narrow long holes, for to receive the shadow, as it were, and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, ugly for darkness, and loathsome by reason of a strong and stinking sent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. *Carcer* it was called in Latine *a coercendo*, because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble-idoll which they call *Marforius*. Some think it was the Image of the bakers god, others, of *Jupiter*, surnamed *Panarius*, of the tumours that bear out, like to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times past, when they were besieged by the Gauls in the Capitoll, had warning by *Jupiter* in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp. Whereby the Gauls despairing that the Romans could possibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the siege. Whereupon the Romans in perpetuall memoriall of this benefit, erected an altar and a statue to *Jupiter Pistor*.

This image is thought to be the resemblance of the river *Rhenus* in *Germany*, because it is upon a rock. But why it should be called *Marforium*, I know not, unless it be because it standeth in the *Forum* of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Secretary of the people of Rome: *the arch of* Septimius: *the Temple of* Saturn. *Of the Treasury, and the mint-house where they coined mony.*

BEhind the image of *Marforius*, overagainst the arch of *Septimius* is the Church of S. *Martina*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretary of the people of *Rome*.

Right against the said Church of S. *Martina* at the bottom of the rock *Tarpeia* standeth the arch

arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, sometimes of *Saturn*, now, S. *Hadrians* Church. The said Temple was of great antiquity. Some report *L. Largius* for the builder thereof; others *L. Tarquinius*: albeit more likely it is that *Largius* dedicated it. *Livy* writeth, that when *A. Sempronius* and M. *Minutius* were Coss. *Numantius Plancus* reedified it. The treasury of the people of *Rome*, no writer denieth, but that it was translated out of the Capitol into this Temple. But why men in old time would have the treasure to be within *Saturns* Temple, there be divers opinions. Some say, because in *Saturns* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miser nor lewd person laid wait for his neighbour, but all things were administred with righteousness, faith, and love. *Cyprian* alledgeth this cause, because *Saturn* was the first that in *Italy* ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the publike ordinances. Also the books called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, all the books of the Cities accounts: also the ancient writings and records of the old *Ærarium* and the City debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensigns of war. Over and besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conquest of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the Common-weal to be reserved, as laws, letters, and other common registers of a City. The Seniors likewise were put to take their oath in the Temple of *Saturn*.

Between the Church now of S. *Hadrian*, and that which sometime was the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, stood in old time the work-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. VII.

The golden Miliarium, *the bridge of* Caligula, *the* Rostra *and the* Curia.

Miliarium aureum stood in times past at the head of the Roman *Forum*, under the Temple of *Saturn*, near to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, so called, wherein all the high-waies of *Italy* were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

Caligula brought a bridg of marble through the Roman *Forum*, from the mount Palatine to the Capitoll. A more stately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: for the bridg was sustained with fourscore mighty pillars of most white marble: whereof at this day three are to be seen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in such manner as they were in times past by *Caligula* built for the bridg. In the midst of the *Forum*, over-against S. *Hadrians* Church there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horse of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horse was the resemblance of *Rhene*, a river in *Germany*; for that *Domitian* the Emperor had triumphed over that Province. And this is the Image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakheads of the Antiat ships, a pulpit was built in the Roman *Forum* by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which Temple they called *Rostra*, that therein the acts of the Senat should be made. Now of this *Rostra* there were twain, the new at the bottom of the Palatine, as is before said, and the old, near the *Curia* in the *Comitium*. In this *Rostra* were laws published, causes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same the manner was also to erect the Statues for most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the *Forum Romanum*, before *Rostra*, upon a lion of stone was the portraiture set for *Faustulus* the fosterfather of *Romulus* and *Remus*. For he, whiles he was desirous to part the fray between *Romulus* & *Remus* the founders of the City, was there slain, where, afterwards they erected unto him his statue. Behind the *Rostra* was the sepulchre also of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Rostra* stood the statue of *Hercules*, clad in a coat after the Eleans habit, with a grim and stern countenance. Three statues also of *Sibylla* in the same place. The manner of the Romans besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seen.

Two *Curiæ* or Councill-houses at *Rome* there were: one near the *Forum*, fast by the Temple of Peace, named *Hostilia*; the other in the mount *Cælius*, whereof we will speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Lake Curtius, *the great sink or town ditch, and the* Doliola.

THe lake *Curtius* was in the midst of the Rom. *Forum*, near *Domitian* his horse. This lake took that name of M. *Curtius*, who to save the Common-weal, willingly of his own accord cast himself headlong, armed as he was, together with his horse into a chink of the ground in the midst of the Roman *Forum*. Some would have it so called of *Metius* a Sabine, who through this lake escaped safe to his own company.

The vault or sink called *Cloaca Maxima*, was made by the commandment of *Tarquin*: for by reason that the hils were digged under, and the City stood hollow upon arches, it received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopped up, the third runneth with most clear water by the Lake *Curtius*, under the Roman *Forum*, along the foot of the mount Palatine into *Velabrum*, and from thence in a sink made of four-square stone, it discharged it self into *Tyber*. In old time there

there were many such vaults, and those for publike use. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, whiles every man made haste to rebuild his house, where he could meet first with a convenient place; they took no heed to the streets as they were before: so as neither the City was divided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the sinks which in times past went under the streets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under privat mens houses, whereby it came to pass, that each house almost at this day hath a sink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this author, whose epitome or abridgment we write, hath not divided the regions of the City, agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that those things which he setteth down might be sooner understood, and better remembred, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth and when he sheweth in what part of the city any place in times past was, he declareth them in those coasts which at this day are known to the Inhabitants. But as at first these sinks were common (as I have said) so there were appointed publike overseers to look unto them.

Near the foresaid great sink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called *Doliola*. This place was reputed so holy, that a man might not spit thereupon. In it were supposed to have been certain secret mysteries of *Numa*. And yet, there be that think verily the ashes of the French Senones were there bestowed.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, *the Temple of* Venus Genitrix. *The Statues and Images that were in the* Comitium *and* Roman Forum. Cæsars *statue and pillar.*

WHere the *Comitium* was, from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have shewed before, in the fifteenth chapter of this book. Called it was *Comitium*, as *Plutarch* saith, for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place, to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senat and people of *Rome* assembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C. W. and namely, when Consuls, Tribunes Consular, and such Magistrats were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was neat the *Senaculum*, at the very foot of the mount *Palatine*. This *Comitium* was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were empeached holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Annibal* came into *Italy*, they set a roof over it: and afterwards *Cæsar* repaired it again. In this *Comitium* the plaies were many times exhibired. In the same (as *Livy* reporteth) the books of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many lewd and outragious acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speak.

In the *Comitium* stood the statue of *Cocles*; which being afterwards stucken with fire from heaven, was translated into the court-yard of *Vulcan*. In the cantons and angles of the *Comitium*, were the statues likewise of *Pythagoras* and *Alcibiades*: Also in the ascent and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the *Curia* stood the Image of *Accius*, together with his whetstone and razor.

The image resembling the Mother goddess, was set up in the *Forum*. They that worshipped this goddess were of this opinion, that the stone whereof she was made, could not possibly be consumed with fire: which they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made in the night especially at her Image, yet it took no hurt thereby; and therefore gave they out, that there was such vertue herein, as I have said. And from thence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her, and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, as is shewed before, was in the *Forum*: Just before this Temple stood the statue of *Cæsar*, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like maner a Column of *Cæsar* made of Numidian marble 20 foot high there remained. Before the Temple of *Castor* there was the statue of *Q. Martius* in horsemans habit: of *Tremellius* clad in a side gown; of M. *Atticus* covered with a vail.

CHAP. XX.

The column called Mœnia: *the pillar* Horatia: *the houses of* Cæsar, Constantine, *and* Domitian, *The Temple and Court-yard of the said* Cæsar.

IN that part of the *Forum* was the Column *Mœnia*, where stood the palace of *Portius*. Called *Mœnia* it was, of *Mœnius* the Censor: for he (when as he sold unto *Cato* his house, and when *Flaccus* the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforesaid should there be built, reserved in the sale so much space for himself, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posterity might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this priviledge he obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might be allowed, were as industrious, and built them columns in the *Forum*.

There stood a rock of stone in the *Forum*, whereupon the spoils of the three twins *Curiatii* were hanged.

In like manner the pillar callar *Horatia*.

The houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the *Forum*.

Likewise the court and cloister of *Minerva*; and the shops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Cæsar* was brought out of the *Curia* into the *Forum*, and interred in that place; where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple.

Likewise in the *Forum* the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsars Forum: *the Palace of* Paulus, *and his Library.*

BEsides the Temple of *Saturn*, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap. of this book) in the Roman *Forum* toward the Northeast was *Cæsar's Forum*, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There was the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, about which *Cæsar* made a cloister and a *Forum*, not of wares and merchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this *Forum*, among other statues (whereof there were many and those most fair and beautiful) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The *Forum* it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood him in an hundred millions of Asses and above. *Cæsar* purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Æmylius* the Collegue of C. *Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him. *Paulus* having received this sum of money built in the midst of the *Forum* near to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, a most excellent and wonderfull Palace, of Phrygian columns which afterwards they named, *Basilici Pauli*.

A Library also the same *Paulus* erected, near unto his own *Basilici*.

CHAP. XXII.

The Forum *of* Augustus: *the galleries of* Antonius, Faustina, *and* Livia: Cæsars *house.*

THe Roman *Forum*, those also of [*Julius*] *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of *Augustus* they affirm to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of *Cæsars*, but excellently wel adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with the victory of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corvinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollo* in Ivory; and besides these, other ensigns and ornaments of vertue and valour.

In this Hall or *Forum*, publike justice was administred: and the judges from thence were empanelled: herein they debated in councill, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with soveraign command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensigns and tokens of their victory. This *Forum* being by time decaied, *Hadrian* reedified.

This *Forum* had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner. *Augustus* dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his neece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastful superfluity of riches, pulled it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void plot and court-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallery of *Livia*; which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it down, but *Domitian* built it up again under the old name.

The goodly galleries of *Antonine* & *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles wel built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The rafter or beam, called Sororium Tigillum: *the street* Cyprius, Sceleratus, *and* Patritius: *the house of* M. Antonius.

SOrorium *Tigillum* was a place hallowed for the expiation and assoiling of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up near the street *Carina*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprius* is near to the cliff or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the Church of S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the Sabins first, when they were franchised and made free denizons. Surnamed afterwards it was *Sceleratus* upon the wicked and devillish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livy* speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius* was so called, because of *Patritii*, who were by K. *Tullus* commanded there to dwel. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others: from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. *Antonius* dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonius*, the Church of S. *Pantalion* was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIV.

Busta Gallica, *and* Æquimelium.

Busta Gallica, was a place in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held *Rome*, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the

the Church of S. *Andrew* (in *Busta Gallica*.) Now they call it by an awk name, *Portugallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre. *Varro* setteth the *Busta Gallica* near the *Æquimelium*. As for *Æquimelium*, it was so called, because the house of *Melius* who sought to be K. was there laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.

The street called Via Sacra: *the arch* Fabian *and* Vespasian.

THis street beginneth at the old *Curia*, in the angle of *Palatium* near the arch of [Great] *Constantine*. *Varro* supposeth that it began at the *Carina* and the chappel of *Sternia*. Whereby a man may gather, that the *Via sacra* sometimes went through the gardens now of S. *Mary* the new, to the Temple of *Peace*, the *Forum* of *Cæsar*, and so directly up to the Castle of the Capitol. The name of *Sacra* it took for that the Augurs when they came from the Capitol hill, went through it as they took their Augury: or because monthly, they went in procession with sacred reliques along that way: or last of all, in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Anous Martius* in times past dwelt, near the chappel of the Lares.

In this street was the famous statue set up of *Cloelia*.

The arch *Fabian* likewise, near the Kings Palace, fast by the *Basilica* of *Paulus*, was reared by *Fabius* the Censor, who subdued the *Allobroges*. In which arch was the scutcheon with his arms, and other tokens of the victory engraven. Fast by it, *Scribonius Libo* erected a seat and Tribunal for the Prætor, named *Puteal*.

In the same street-way was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seen) erected by *Vespasian* after he had won *Hierusalem*. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the other, his triumphs and spoils; and namely, the golden candlestick: the seven other lights: the two tables of *Moses*, the vessels of the Temple of *Hierusalem*: the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof *Josephus* writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Græcostasis; Senaculum; *the* Curia; *the Palaces of* Opimius *and* Porcius.

Græcostasis is a place on the right hand of the *Rostra*, as men go forth of the *Comitium*; where, the Embassadors of forrain nations being sent unto the Senat, used to stand and give attendance until they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of *Opimius*, and the *Curia*, stood near unto the *Græcostasis*. Above the *Græcostasis* was the *Senaculum* at the Temple of *Concord*. Called it was *Senaculum*, because the Senat or the elders were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named Γερουσία.

Curia was in the *Comitium*, and some think it is all one with *Senaculum*; so called, because the affairs that required publike care were there debated. There was a *Curia* also of Priests, where Church-matters were handled and treated of. Now this *Curia* where the Senat met, was a Temple or hallowed place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat pass, but in the place set out and appointed by augury. Hereupon *Curia Hostilia*, *Pompeia*, and *Julia*, being profane places before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this *Curia* was the altar of *Victory*: and upon the stairs of the said *Curia* stood the image of *Victory*, made of fine pure gold.

Cato the elder in the time of his Censorship, built (with the City money) a palace near to the *Forum*, under the *Curia*, which after his own name he called *Portia Basilica*.

The palace also of *Romulus* (as men think) stood where the Church is now of S. *Mary* the new. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the *Comitium* toward the Temple of *Peace*, and the Church and gardens of S. *Mary* the new almost as far as the *Esquilia*.

The fourth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Temple of Janus *and* Piety: *of the publike goal of Rom. Commons.*

SEeing that four parts of the City are described, the fifth ensueth; which includeth those places that comprehend *Tybre*, part of the *Aventine* on the right hand, and the rock *Tarpeia* on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore begin we will at the memorable places, which are next after the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and so run through the plain and levell plot of the City. And with *Janus* first, whom men in old time believed to be the very door, and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto *Janus Numa* built a Temple at the gate *Carmentalis*, (afterwards the chappell of S. *Katharine*) at the bottom of the *Argiletus*,

close unto the theatre of *Marcellus*. This Temple had two doors: in time of peace they were shut, but in war opened by that Consul, who, as the worthier person, was first created. It is found in records, that this Temple was shut but only thrice. First, by *Numa* himself: secondly, by *T. Manlius* the Cos, and a third time by *Augustus*, after the battel of *Actium*. But why in time of war it stood open many reasons are given: and this is thought the chiefest, namely, an accident that befell when *Romulus* warred against the Sabins: for when the Sabins were now possessed of the gate *Carmentalis*, and about to rush violently into the City, all on a sudden unlooked for there issued forth upon the enemies a plenteous river and stream of hot scalding water out of the Temple of *Janus*, which stood near to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the City was saved. From hence it is that posterity coming after, open the doors for *Janus* that he might be at liberty, when he is called forth, as it were, to help in time of war.

Others report, that *Tatius* and *Romulus* both were the founders of that Temple: as who, when the covenant was made betwixt them, agreed together of that two-faced god as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contracted between two Kings and two nations: and so erected unto him this Temple in that very place where now the ruins of S. *Katharines* Church are to be seen.

Moreover there be who affirm, that *Cn. Duilius* vowed it, and *Tiberius* built it: but the variety of these opinions seemeth hereupon to arise; for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many *Jani* worshipped as gods by the posterity; whereas they in old time believed but one: so as that which is spoken of divers, is falsly supposed, as said of one. Which may be seen before, whereas we wrote of *Janus* with four fronts or faces, whose Temple was erected in the *Forum*. For it is said, that *Janus* was the first who erected Temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods; and therefore in sacrifices deserved the first place.

Pourtraied he is with a key and a wand; as who is the porter to keep the gates, and the guide to direct the waies.

Augustus besides, brought his image out of *Ægypt* to *Rome*, and in the herb-market built a Temple in the honour of him.

To *Piety* in the said herb-market, *M. Atilius Glabrio* dedicated a Temple in that very place where at this day standeth the Church of S. *Nicholas* in the prison: for even there *Ap. Claudius* the Decemvir by a decree of the Senat built a prison, for that the common goal (whereof we have written before) was not sufficient; and called it, The prison for the Commons of *Rome*: wherein himself afterwards being found guilty wrought his own death. In which also many years after, a certain silly poor woman of base and obscure parentage, being newly brought a bed, being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a milch woman, and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the goaler, that she might have leave to go to her mother: and when he had made streight search before, whether she brought with her any food; and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so she went and came many times. At the last, known it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milk of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and set free; and both mother and daughter were allowed their food ever after by vertue of a decree, at the Cities charges: and in regard of that kindness and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddess *Pietas*. *Livy* supposeth, that it was not the mother but the father that in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

CHAP. II.

The herb-market: the Temple of Juno Matuta, *and of Hope: the Oratory or Chappel of* Numa: *the Column called* Lactaria: *the Altar and Chappell of* Carmenta.

THis place hath the name of *Forum Holitorium*, for that therein is great store of worts and pot-herbs without the gate *Carmentalis*, where, where, in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it is the street *Montanaria*.

Within the compass or the said market-place, *C. Cornelius* the Consul, in the time of the Gauls war, vowed a Temple to *Juno Matuta*: which afterward being Censor, he put out to buildings, in that very place where afterwards stood the Church of S. *Andrew*, surnamed in *Mentuza*.

The same *C. Cornelius* built in the *Forum Holitorium* the Temple of *Hope*, and the same adorned with divers and sundry marbles: which afterwards *Collatinus* consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning; and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A Column also there was in the same market-place, named *Lactaria*: unto which the sucking babes that were to be nourished with milk, were presented.

The Oratory of *Numa* stood in the bottom of *Argiletum*, near the theater of *Marcellus*.

The Altar *Carmentalis*, consecrated by *Evander* to his mother *Carmenta*, stood before the gate *Carmentalis*.

In the same place also was the Chappell of *Carmenta* built by the matrons of *Rome*. At the first, she was called *Nicostrata*: but for that she delivered Oracles in verse, she took the name of *Carmenta*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fish-market, and Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

THe fish-market standeth along the *Tybre*, near to the [*Forum*] *Junium*, between the Churches of S. *Mary in Portico* and *Ægyptiaca*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, not far from the *Forum Boarium*, *i.e.* the ox-market.

The Church of S. *Mary Ægyptiaca* is at this day near the *Tybre*, and a bridg of the said name. Some go about to affirm and prove, that this was sometime the Temple of *Mercy*; others, of *Fortune* and *Chastity*; but all in vain: for those Temples were not in this place, but in the ox-market: as for this Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, whereof we now speak, it was near *Tybre*. In it stood the statue of *Serv. Tullius* made of wood and guilt all over, which in a great fcare-fire when all things else were burnt, remained only safe and sound.

CHAP. IIII.

The Temple of Vesta, *the* Saline, *and the arch of* Cocles.

NEar the Church of *Mary* surnamed *Ægyptiaca*, there remaineth at this day a most ancient Temple, now dedicated to S. *Stephen*, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and bear up the roof: which being one entire piece of work, carrieth the whole Temple. Consecrated it was in old time to *Vesta*: and *Numa* taking that circular platform, from the Temple which was at *Alba*, made it with a lover in the top, having a hole to give light.

Howbeit, of this goddess her self there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof she is the goddess, can have no certain and permanent form. As for *Vesta*, the Latines call her so, because she is arraied with divers and sundry things. Of the Greeks she is named *Istia*, for that her force and power appertaineth to altars and herths where fire is kept. This is not the Temple wherein the sacred fire is preserved: but that whereof we spake before, which *Romulus* built between the Capitoll and *Palatium*.

Salinæ were the store-houses of the salt which served the City; and they stood upon that bank side of *Tybre*, which from the foresaid Temple of *Vesta* reacheth into the *Aventine*.

The arch of *Horatius Cocles* stood at the very foot of the *Aventine* hill, where the rising thereof beginneth between the mount and the *Tybre*.

CHAP. V.

The Forum Boarium.

HItherto from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of the *Tybre* were worth the noting. Now forward we will after our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first, as concerning the beast-market.

The beast-market was near to *Velabrum* and *Janus*, between the mount *Palatine* and the Greek school, close to the Temple, now called S. *Gregories* Church. In it there was a most ancient image in brass of a bull, whereupon some think it took the name *Boarium*. Others, for that oxen were there sold: or because they used in old time to sacrifice those kind of beasts there: or else, for that *Evander* in that place killed an oxe in sacrifice to *Hercules*, for killing *Cacus* and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments wherewith the Ministers belonging to sacrifices, the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first sight exhibited of sword-fencers.

CHAP. VI.

The Temple of Hercules Victor, *and the Altar called* Maxima.

THe round Temple of *Jupiter Victor* was built in the beast-market, near the Greek school: where sometime *Evander* reared unto *Hercules* the altar called *Maxima*. This Temple (as they say) was so religious and venerable, that neither flie nor dog would enter into it. For *Hercules* at what time as he distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, prayed unto *Myiagirus* [the god that gathereth flies.] He it is therefore that driveth away all flies from this Temple: and at the door thereof he left his club behind, which as soon as the dogs see they run away far off: and thus unto the daies wherein *Pliny* lived it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and divine service of this *Hercules*, neither women nor bondslaves, nor yet freed men that had been in villenage might be present. At the last, this Temple was consumed in that fire which *Nero* the Empetour made.

Over and besides, *Evander* erected unto *Hercules* a statue, which was called, *Hercules* Triumphant, because so often as there was any triumph in the City it was clad with a mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that *Evander* raigned *Hercules* had no more but an altar which they called *Maxima*: and this *Evander* reared unto him for killing of *Cacus*, and restoring his kine and oxen again.

Upon

Upon this altar he sacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for *Hercules* had given out and promised, That they should live an happy life who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon cometh the name of *Decima Herculanea, i.e. Hercules* Tithes.

CHAP. VII.

The Temples of Chastity, Prosperous Fortune, Matuta, *and* Fors fortuna: *of the place called* Vicus Publicus, Velabrum: *and the sepulchre also of* Acca Laurentia.

NEar to the Temple of *Hercules*, well known it is that a chappell was built by *Æmylius* to *Pudicitia Patritia, i.e.* Gentlewomens chastity. Now the image that represented this Saint, stood in the beast-market. To the service and sacrifices celebrated unto this goddess, virgins that were Commoners daughters might not come. And therfore a certain maiden of commoners degree, reared a chappell also to *Pudicitia Plebeia*. From the service and sacrifices thereof, the Patritian virgins were likewise debarred. Many other places & Temples besides were consecrated to *Pudicitia*.

The Temples of *Prosperous Fortune* and of *Matuta*, *Servius Tullius* consecrated in the beasts-market: And that *Fortune* he called *Prospera*, which was not blind. In that place (say they) an Olive tree sometimes stood, and upon a time when honey dropped and flowed from it, the Soothsayers gave order, that a little coffer or box should be made of the wood thereof; wherin those lots were put and laid up which by the direction of *Fortune* were either handled or shuffled together by the hands of young boys: as if such should prove happy fortunat, & excellent. *Servius Tullius* ascribed all his acts whatsoever to *Fortune*, who being born of a bond woman, had many times found good by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignity. And hereupon he dedicated Temples to *Fortuna Primigenia*. *Masc*ula. *Conversens*. *Bene sperans*, and *Videns*, as who would say, she ruled and did all. Likewise, a Temple he consecrated to little *Fortune*, signifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, be it never so small, but we must attribute it, as coming from the gods.

A Temple to *Matuta Camillus* vowed in the Veientian war and dedicated it: which long before that time *Servius Tullius* had erected. To *Matuta* and *Fortuna Primigenia* the Romans did sacrifice upon one and the self-same day: and likewise in one and the same day both their chappels were burned and consumed with fire together. *Carvilius* the Consul caused a Temple to be made unto *Fors Fortuna*, or [*Fortis Fortuna*] near unto that of *Matuta*, of the money raised out of the spoil gotten from the Tuscans.

The street called *Vicus Publicus* began at the *Forum Boarium*, and went from thence unto the *Aventine*, as far as to the Temple of *Juno*. In this street near the said *Forum* was the Chappell of *Velabrum*, in that very place where now standeth the Church of Saint *Gregory* in *Velabrum*, so called.

Aventine hill was sometime separated from the other mountains by the *Tyber* between: for before that *Tarquinius Priscus* turned the chanell of *Tyber*, it brake out many times, and having found a frith or creek, it beat upon the foot of the *Aventine*. And therefore of necessity, whosoever would go to the *Aventine* was to make a fare, that is to say, by paying his quadrant, ferry over thither in a Wherry. Hereupon that place is at this day called *Velabrum, a vehendo, i.e.* ferrying over, where sometimes the *Tyber* had wrought out a frith.

Antias hath left in writing, that the sepulchre of *Acca Laurentia* was in *Velabrum*.

CHAP. VIII.

Vertumnus *and his Temple*; Janus *with four faces*; *the house of* Africanus; *the Court or Palace* Sempronia, *and the wooll-shops.*

MEn in old time called *Vertumnus*, not only the god of buying, selling, and of fruits; but also him that ruled mens minds, so named *à Vertendo*, for that oftentimes he turned & changed at his will and pleasure the purposes and thoughts of men another way far divers. His Temple & image they erected in the Tuscan street, near to the altars of *Ops* and *Ceres*. The festivall daies of this god, celebrated in the month of *October*, are called *Vertumnalia*. Some there be that would have *Vertumnus* and *Janus* with four faces to be all one; upon this reason, for that they affirm the Temple of *Janus* aforesaid to be in *Velabrum*, whereas they built that of *Vertumnus*. But now that Temple whereof we have before spoken, upon four pillars beareth up one roof, and hath four gates besides, and in each foretront twelve little windows, which signifie the four quarters of the year, and the twelve months. In old time they put *Janus* before, in all sacrifices, and gave him that name *ab eundo, i.e.* going and hereupon the entries and doors of houses be called *Janua*.

Near the image of *Vertumnus Pub. Africanus* had an house, which *Sempronius* afterwards bought together with the wooll-shops, and built the palace which they call *Sempronia*, near the Temple of S. *Gregory* in *Velabrum*

CHAP. IX.

Argiletus; *the house of* Cornelius: Æquimelium; *the Chappell of Surquedry or sloath.*

THe *Argiletus* beginneth at the bottom of the Tuscan street, and endeth at the *Theatre of Marcellus*. But *Fabius Pictor* saith, it began at the head of the said Tuscan street, under *Cælolus*, between

between it and the great Lists, and so reacheth to the Aventine. The name it taketh of a kind of clay or lome, whereof there is plenty in that place: or else of one *Argus*, who being entertained as a guest by *Evander*, laid await for his life, intending after he had murdered him, to be K. and raign himself. But the friends and company about *Evander* discovered his trains, and so he was by them slain. Unto him therefore *Evander* reared a tomb even there, and consecrated the place.

Now *Imus Argiletus* is just by the Theatre of *Marcellus*. In this street were divers shops of artisans or artificers, and especially of stationers or booksellers, and those they commonly called the Argiletan shops.

Cornelius Domitianus is said to have dwelt in *Velabrum*.

Æquimelium is between *Velabrum* and the Capitol, near to the staplers and wooll-shops. The name arose hereupon, for that *Sp. Melius*, a Roman Citizen who aspired to be K. sometime there dwelt: who being detected of that crime, was killed, his goods confiscat, and his house laid levell with the ground, and the plot where it stood by the Romans was made a void-yard.

The Temple of *Murtia*, goddess of Idleness, was under the Aventine, upon the ascent of the hill called *Clivus Publicus*; in that part whereas folk go up to the Church of S. *Prisca*. Hereupon the mount Aventine was sometimes called *Murtius*.

Moreover, some there be that in this place would have the *Asylum* to stand: but we have shewed before that *Asylum* was first built by *Rom*, upon the Capitol. But in proces of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitoll, and that other whiles the Senat used there to meet and sit in council; the Rom, thought it not with the safest for them that thieves, fellons, and other lewd infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thither, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their security to translate this priviledged sanctuary to some othre place. Whereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterwards there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at *Rome* only, but also in other quarters of the world.

CHAP. X.

Circus *what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause ordained.*

THe place where games & exercises of disport were performed, was called the Cirque: so named, for that the scaffolds were built in circuit round about to behold the pastimes; and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pomp was carried in shew, and the horses ran about the goals there. Built it was round, but long wise like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders, that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the midst were two marks or goals distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or *cárceres*, so called, because the horses stood there pent and kept in untill the Magistrate gave the signall to begin the course.

Now these solemnities of games and plaies are festivals in the honour of their gods: for ordained they were first, and still are observed and kept, either for their birth-daies & nativities, or dedications of Temples. And at the very first verily were hunting and baiting of beasts, which they called (*Munera*) to the honour of *Saturn*. But the stage-plaies were due to *Liber*: the Circensian games to *Neptune* and *Ceres*. Thus these pastimes were assigned, some to these gods, and others to those: and in honour and memoriall of them yearly solemnized. As for the games Circenses, they were so called, because when they were to be performed, they had the bank of the river of one side, and swords set to flank the other. But of these games, plaies, and solemn fights, *Sisinius* hath written at large.

CHAP. XI.

The great shew-place called Circus Maximus.

TArquinius *Priscus* instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereof between the two mounts *Aventine* and *Palatine*. But *Cæsar* was he that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was) three furlongs and an half in length, and four acres broad: it is thought that it was *Cæsar* and not *Tarquin*, who set it out to that largeness: and this soundeth like to a truth, considering that in *Tarquins* daies the City was not so populous, neither given so much to these shews and fights, as in the time of *Cæsar*, and therefore the place required not so great a compass of ground. Now this Cirque for three parts thereof to wit, the two sides and one of the ends, had a ditch digged ten foot deep, and as many broad: behind that ditch were galleries built three stories high; and these had seats made beneath with stone, and above of timber: all which galeries had one and the same bases for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fifty thousand men. See more hereof in *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Livy*, and others who have written of the Roman Edifices. This Cirque *Augustus* adorned and beautified afterwards: for he made the barriers of marble, and guilded the goals, and many other ornaments he set it out withall. Lastly, when it was decaied and fallen down, *Trajan* reedified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Yea, and after him, *Heliogabalus* set thereto besides most fair and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floor with *Chrysocolla*. But as touching the beauty of this Cirque, *Nazarius* writeth much. For, by report, so elegant it was, that men resorted to it, not so much to behold the exercises and masteries there, as the pleasant and delectable beauty of the place. *Maximus* therefore it was called, either because consecrated it was to *Vertumnus*, the

the greatest of the gods, or for the excellency and sumptuousness of the games: or else because in comparison of other Cirques, to wit, *Flaminius*, and the other called *Intimus*, *i.e.* the inmost, this was the biggest. For *Pliny* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and one in breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and sixty thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the Circus Maximus, *or about it.*

Consus is reported to be the god of Counsell, either for that he concealeth mens counsels, or openeth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great shew-place covered over: which betokeneth, that counsell ought to be cloie and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him consecrated. For they at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing lest they should have been detected before the time dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verily, either by some injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so forlet, as it the end it was altogether unknown where it stood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horse-runnings, and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called *Consualia*. And those disports and pastimes which they devised for the ravishment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Priests belonging to that god.

In like manner *Neptune*, surnamed the Chevalier, had a Temple in this *Circus Max.* which in the year of our Lord 1526 was found behind the Temple of S. *Anastasia*, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, in the very foundations of the *Circus*: for such marks and tokens were there to be seen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptune*, the games *Circenses* were by men in old time solemnized.

Also to *Genius* the guide and director of secret plots, they directed an altar in the great Cirque. Over and besides these, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods: a second to the Penats: and a third to those gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things arise and have their beginning. These gods aboveslaid, the Romans called *Genii*, *Penates*: Presidents, and keepers of the City.

Liber, *Libera*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*, had their Temples about this place called *Circus Max.* which *Posthumius* when he warred against the Latines, vowed and the same man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same compass were the Temples of the sun, and of *Flora*.

Moreover, a Temple there stood near this *Circus*, unto *Venus*: which *Q. Fabius Gurges* the Col. caused to be made of the money raised upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing false with their husbands.

Lucinus dedicated a Temple to *Juventus* without the great cirque, not far from that place.

In like sort, *Mercury* had a Temple near this *Circus Max.*

In *Plinies* daies there was seen in the *Cirque Max.* the image of *Fortuna Seia*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Naumachy *of the great Cirque.*

Naumachy is a place so called ὅτι ἀυτοῖς ταῖς ναυσὶ μαχόυται, *i.e.* for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places digged deep like ponds, where were represented some shews of navall fight for the exercise of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the cirques only, but also in the Amphitheatres.

CHAP. XIV.

The two Obelisks of the Cirque Max.

The Obelisk (as *Marcellinus* testifieth) was a very huge and rough stone rising like a spire or broch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might resemble a ray or sun-beam, it groweth smaller and smaller in fashion of a steeple, with four sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and smooth right artificially. In most of them are engraven and cut certain Hieroglyphick notes, and namely, such as testifie either the founder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same *Marcellinus* speaketh in this wise: Moreover, the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the ancient authority of the first learning did set forth and mark so. Thus much saith he. Now they drew and portraied therein sundry forms and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they reserved and kept for their posterity whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Ægypt* only, but also in other parts of the world, untill such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the first one letter implied a whole word and one word went for a whole sentence. But hereof ye shal find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as *Pliny* witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone *Simithes*. Them they erected and consecrated

consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams, as we said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was K. *Methres*. At *Rome* were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautifull shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the Cirque aforesaid, called *Maximus*, two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft, 80 foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachi*: it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, besides the base or footstall, which *Augustus* translated to *Rome* out of *Hieropolis*, a City of *Ægypt*: but when he would have set it up on end it fell down and brake in twain. This was hewn out of the quarry, by King *Sammefretæus*, in whose raign *Pythagoras* was in *Ægypt*.

CHAP. XV.

The arch of Settinius *in the Cirque. The place of the Tuberoes in the Cirque. The shews, the house of* Pompey, *and the fountain of* Juturna.

Sertinius having made conquest of *Spain*, brought great store of money into the City chamber: and of the spoils taken from enemies he reared two arches: the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*: the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus Maximus*. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and family of the *Helii* was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was so great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their (ngular prowess and worthy acts they were allowed by the Senat and people of *Rome* a scaffold by themselves in all the shew-places and Theatres, to behold all sights and masteries of activity.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the shews and brothel-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughty-packs kept, such as made profession of whordom. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompius* was near the *Circus Max.* & therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected.

The fountain or well of the nymph *Juturna*, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the *Velabrum* near the common sinck or vault called *Maxima*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Septizonium *of* Severus.

There should follow by course after the great Cirque, the sixt part of the City, namely, the mount *Cœlius*. But because we meet with the *Septizonium* of *Severus*, & the arch of *Constantine* (before we come to *Cœlius*) between it and the mount *Palatine*, something would first be spoken of them, especially being so excellent building as they are. The *Septizonium* therefore is a mighty mount or terrace raised from the plain ground 4 square, compassed about with seven articles, that is to say, courses of rows of pillars one above another, yielding as it were as many porches or galleries: and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and shorter they be. In the midst hereof, four wals arise, containing within them certain hollow places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of Kings and Emperors deceased. *Jul. Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Septodium*, for the Greeks call places much frequented; whereunto many waies lead, *Heptodia* of ἑπτὰ, *i.e.* seven, and ὁδὸς *i.e.* a way. *Pliny* calleth it *Septisolium*, of seven losts or solars. For in every coutse thereof the columns meet together in the head with marbles transomes. Other beams there be are besides, reaching inward from them to the mount it self, so as every such course yielded a stage like a gallery or walking place. Two of these *Septizonia* we read there were at *Rome*, to wit, the one of *Titus* in the street called *Via nova*, of right great antiquity, not far from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remain still, ouer against S. *Gregories* Church 3 Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious work: for the beauty and statelines of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia*, and built by *Severus* himself. That which now is left thereof, leaneth out so, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

CHAP. XVII.

The triumphant arch of Constantine *the Emperor.*

These triumphant arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces or conquered forrain nations & obtained braue & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triumph, and thereupon they are called Triumphant arches. Upon these arches for the perpetuall and everlasting memoriall of acts atchieved, were cut and engraven the portraitures of the very places where the war was performed; the resemblances of Fabricks and ranged battels, if the service was on land: and of ships if it were at sea. Howbeit, untill the time of the Emperors, no man raised any arches, and in *Plinies* daies they began first to be built: so as that of *Titus* is of all others most ancient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in proces of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest, at the corner of the mount Palatine, near the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments;

and

and remaineth at this day in a manner sound and whole without any hurt. This arch *Constantine* erected for himself, upon the victory which he obtained over *Maxentius* at the bridg *Milvius*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cœlius *the mount, and* Cœliolus.

THe mount *Cœlius* in old time was named *Querquetulanus*, for the number of oaks there growing: but afterwards it was so called of one *Cœlius Vibennus*, a Duke of the Tuscan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuscan people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named *Thuscus*. But such as were without suspition, kept the hill *Cœlius* or *Cœlicolus*, *i.e.* the little *Cœlius*; a place where sometime the goddess *Diana* was worshipped: and at this day there standeth the Church consecrated to S. *Evangelista* the virgin. This mountain afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Augustus*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Temples of Faunus, Venus, *and* Cupid: *the Court* Hostilia: *the forrain camp: the house of the Laterans: the Palace of* Constantine, *and* Cæsorianus: *the horseman statue of* L. Verrius.

VPon the ridg or side of the mount *Cœlius* there standeth a round Church, now patronized by S. *Stephen*, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to *Faunus*. *Faunus* he was called, ἀπὸ τοῦ φάναι, for that he foretold things to come by voice and not by signs. The Albans in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church stands of S. *Mary Dominick*.

In the hill *Cœlius* stood sometimes the Temples of *Venus* and *Cupid*, not far from the gate *Nævia*, where now is the Church of the holy Cross in *Hierusalem*.

The Court *Hostilia* was in two places of *Rome*, the one in the common *Forum*, hard by the Temple of *Peace*, where King *Hostilius* first dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of S. *John* and S. *Paul* was built.

A place there was in the mount *Cœlius* called *Castra Peregrina*, toward the Northeast and the *Esquilia*, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

The house of the Laterans also was built upon the same mount, at the Palace or stately Hall of the Laterans.

The Palace of *Flavius Constantinus*, near the house of the Laterans, stood between the gates *Celimontanus* and *Gabiusa*.

The Palace of *Cæsorianus* was built at the gate *Nævia*, and the Church of S. *Holy-cross* in *Hierusalem*.

In the street called *Lateranensis*, stood the statue on horseback of *L. Verrius*. Some say it was made for *M. Aurelius Antonius*, others, for *Septimius Severus*.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Amphitheatres, *and first of that of* Statilius Taurus.

NOw it followeth to speak of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, but before we write thereof, it would be briefly shewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word *Amphitheatrum* cometh ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφὶ, καὶ θεᾶσθαι, *i.e.* of looking round about: for two prospects joyned in one, make the form of an hemisphere or half circle. Some think, that *Titus* devised the Amphitheatre first, but some avow and prove, that *C. Cæsar* built the first that ever was in *Mars* field: but by the authority of *Suetonius* it is proved, that *Statilius* reared one Amphitheatre before *Titus*.

In these Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons likewise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearfull sight to behold, for thither were those prisoners brought by the Lictors, within that enclosure to wrestle and maintain conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in these Amphitheatres shews of sword-fencers at the sharp for life and death, to the end, that the souldiers should be acquainted with fight, and learn not to be affraid of weapons, of wounds, no, nor of bloudshed, nor to draw back and avoid the perils of war to come, for the novelty and strangeness thereof. A great part of *Statilius* his *Amphitheatrum*, is yet to be seen near the wals, at S. *Crosses* Church in *Hierusalem*. And at the same time he built it, when *Augustus Cæsar* encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of *Rome*, every man according to his ability to beautifie and adorn the City.

CHAP. XXI.

The water conduits why they were devised, by what means waters were conveyed into the City, to what purpose, by whom first, and how many.

THe *City* of *Rome* in the beginning, as hath been said in the first book, was but narrow of compass, and contained within small bounds: and the people for commodity and store of water, setled upon the river *Tyber*. But as the city daily more and more encreased, necessary it was that some should build them houses and habitation in one place, some in another, farther from the river: whereupon distressed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched so far off, and that with great pain and labour: besides, those places which had no current of running waters to wash away the filth, and carry it into *Tyber*, became (by the noisome air which was infected with their loathsome and stinking smels) unwholsome, and subject many times to the pestilence. Prince *Nerva* therefore (the Emperor) undertook to redress and remedy this mischief (and others after him by his example) and devise by the wit and subtile invention of men, conduit-pipes, to bring water into those parts of the city which otherwise had none. And this verily they did two waies, the one by arched work, when by digging certain rills or rivulets the water was carried level above ground, forced by certain weights, ballases, and counterpoises: the other by vaults under the ground, bringing water into the city by secret under-waies through pipes, spouts, and rocks. By which means it came to pass, that in the city every where such store there was of water, that each house almost had a well in it. But especially at the bottom and foot of the hill *Quirinalis*, and all the side thereof, in the street *Patricius*, *Suburra*, the Latine way, the Aventine, the Jews street, and in many other places: so as in this our age full it is of such water-works under the ground Now were these waters conveighed from divers places, and some conduits especially, such as were devised by arches were higher or lower than other. In the beginning and all the former times, there were (by report) five heights or depths: The highest of all was new *Anio*; next, the waters *Claudia*; in the third place the water *Julia*; *Tepula* in the fourth; then *Martia*, and after it old *Anio*, the levell or current whereof, *Virgo* followeth and *Appia*, and the lowest of all others, *Alsietina*, which serves that quarter of the city beyond *Tyber*, and other low places built upon the plain. These waters were first brought into certain great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certain measure distributed by the conduit officer, and so ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called *Castellum*; which receiveth first the common water, and afterwards sendeth it out into divers and sundry parts: and the keeper or officer that overseeth it is named *Castellarius*. There were besides levell or above ground certain cisterns or receptacles of water, which kept water to serve curriers, fullers, and other such artificers for their necessary use. Over these waters were appointed certain wardens and keepers, and a set number of labourers and workmen to see thereto. Finally, a grievous punishment was to be inflicted upon them that either marred and hurt the conduit-heads, or derived and conveyed water to other places than the laws or publike ordinances, or the Censors or Ædiles permitted; or took more water than at the first was allowed them. *Appius Claudius* (by report) was the first man that brought water into the city by arched work. But of the Roman waters, of the conduits, and other matters ordained thereabout, of the manner of conveyance, the instruments, measures, and weights thereto belonging, read *Frontinus*, who of these things hath written truly and at large. Also have recourse to *Sex. Ruffus*, who of the same argument hath made a good treatise. In the time of *Frontinus* there were but nine waters and no more brought into the City, namely, *Appia*, old *Anio*, *Martia*, *Tepula*, *Julia*, *Virgo*, *Alsietana*, called also *Augusta*, *Claudia*, and new *Anio*. *Ruffus* reckoneth ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after *Frontinus*.

CHAP. XXII.

The conduit or conveyance of Aqua Claudia.

Caligula began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died. *Claudius* the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the sources or springs called *Caerulus* and *Curtius*, was drawn to the City, he gave the name *Aqua Claudia*: the other, for difference sake of the two conduits of *Anio* he called his own, or the new *Anio*; and distinct it was from that which is named old *Anio*. The water *Claudia* therefore was brought from the gate *Nævia*, along the side of the mount *Cœlius* into the *Aventine*. A part also thereof *Caracalla* derived into the Capitoll hill.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those things which now in mount Cœlius *are not known where they stood.*

Brutus the Consul having expelled *Tarquine*, built a Temple to the goddess *Carna* in mount *Cœlius*, to which goddess also, upon the accomplishment of his prayer and vow, he offered sacrifice. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vitall members of the body, and to her tuition they committed those parts, and that she should preserve them safe, they did sacrifice upon her altars, and presented oblations.

Agrippina likewise began to build a Temple to *Claudius Cæsar*, which after her death *Vespasian* finished, and *Nero* utterly destroyed to the very foundation: this also was erected in the same hill.

Mamurra Formianus, Master of *Cæsars* Carpenters in *France*, was the first Roman that adorned and set out his house which he had in *Cœlius* hill with marble rough-cast. Moreover, the house of *Claudius Centimalis* stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the *Tetritici*, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewise the house of *Junius* Senator, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were consumed with fire, the image of *Tiberius* remained unhurt. There also it is said of *Titus Claudius Clypeus*, the maker of hymns. In this hill was the great *Macellum*, the cave or den of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the armory.

CHAP. XXIV.

The waies Appia, *and* Nova. *The Temples of* Isis, Vertue, Honour, Quirinus *or* Mars, *and the river* Almo.

NOw follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill *Cœlius* toward the *Aventine*. And therefore the way or street called *Appia* we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of *Constantine*, reacheth as far as *Brundusium*: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by *Caracalla*, it took the name of *Nova*, *i.e.* the new causey. But that which properly is called *Nova* beginneth at the gate of *Palatine*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* hill, over the great Cirque called *Maximus*, stretcheth out as far as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the Church of S. *Sixtus*. Many other streets there were, called *Nova*. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and lest ye think that to be spoken of one, which oftentimes was meant of many.

Between the Church of *Sixtus*, the Fish-pools, and the ruins of the Antonian bains, there was the Church of *Isis Antenodorica*, built by *Antonius Bassianus*.

The Temple of *Honour* and *Vertue*, not far from the street *Appia*, was vowed by the father of *Marcus Marcellus* at *Clastidium* in *Gaul*; and seventeen years after dedicated by his son *Marcellus*.

Two Temples there were of *Mars*, one called the Temple of *Quirinus* within the City, near to the gate of that name, the other upon the way *Appia* without the City.

The river *Almo* runneth along the way *Appia*, under the foot of the *Aventine* into the *Tyber*. It beginneth ten miles from the City in the territory *Marinum*; which commonly afterwards they called the river of *Appius*. In this river the goddess named the mother of the gods, was every year wont to be washed by her Priests, called *Galli*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of baths and bains in generall.

THerma properly hath the signification from a Greek word, θερμὸν, which betokeneth hot. But we use to call those places which either having hot waters, or without them are heat with a stouph, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat, by the Greek name *Therma*. That the Romans used in old to bath and wash themselves oftner than we now adaies, is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundry causes they were wont so to do [as yet the manner is amongst us] namely, to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health and pleasure: whereby it came to pass, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in a manner a privat bath or hot-house by himself: but the same were devised and contrived after divers and sundry sorts. For many publike baths there were ordained for the common people to use at their pleasure. *Servius Orata* invented first and made the pendant or hanging baths. But after that riot and superfluity abounded in excess, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keep no mean nor measure: as appeareth by the very reliques and ruins thereof at this day. And those places where they built these bains and hot-houses they called *Thermæ*; which contained within them divers places, and an infinit number of roomes, bearing sundry names, and serving to as many uses. For some were appointed to heat water (and those were round built) from whence hot water was let into the bains, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft: which water after they had done washing, being foul and good for nothing was conveyed by certain pipes and spouts into sinks. They had other rooms also called *Apoditeria*, wherein they that were to go into the bath put off their cloaths and laid them by. In the same places were court-yards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed roofs most stately; wherein were marble pillars, garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls seeled and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries, groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights so drew and allured mens minds, as that they would wash oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these bains the Princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons whosoever, as it fell out. They had besides private baths to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely, *Antoninus Caracalla*, at his own charges edified certain baths, which by his name were called *Therma Antonine*. The huge ruins thereof are yet to be seen: some of the pillars still stand, others are thrown down. Some say, they were begun only by *Antoninus*, but finished and adorned by *Severus*. They stood about the foot of the *Aventine*, near the street-way leading to *Ardea*, where now is the Church of S. *Balbina*. Under these baths there stood a most goodly Palace, built by the same *Antoninus*, but at this day there is scarce any example or shew thereof.

The

The fifth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Etymology of the mount Aventine.

THe *Aventine* is of the Roman hils the fourth in order. The compass and form whereof, because we have already described in the first book, needless here it is to repeat. But it remaineth to declare, how it came so called, what Temples of the gods, and what other edifices be therein. The *Aventine* therefore, some think, took the name of birds which were wont to flie unto this hill, there to nestle: others, of a * King of the Albans, slain and buried there. There be again who suppose, that the Sabins, who being by the Romans enfranchised Citizens, there setled and made abode, gave the name to this hill of *Avantes*, a river in their Province. *Varro* affirmeth that it was so called of a ferriage: For as it hath been said a little before, this mount was divided from the rest, and from the City by certain lakes and the *Tyber*, whereupon, they that would go to it used to ferry over in small punts or wherries. Some guess, that it came to have that name of resort unto it, for that the Latines used in great frequency to repair unto the holy Temple of *Diana* there. *Remurius* also it was named of *Remus* who chose a place in the top thereof to sit, for to take the flight of birds for Augury, and in the end was there enterred: *Romulus* therefore commanded that it should not be inhabited, because he would have had it wholly consecrated to his brother. This hill *Ancus Martius* afterward compassed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would there to dwell: howsoever, there be some that think it stood void untill the time of *Claudius* the Emperor of happy memory, as being an ominous place and unfortunat, by reason of foul birds that hanted it, and therefore not to be received within the wals. But the truth is, when the Romans grew populous, they joyned this mountain also to the rest of the City.

* *Aventinus.*

CHAP. II.

The Temples of Diana, Dea bona, Hercules Victor, *Queen* Juno, Moneta, Luna, Victory, Minerva, *and* Liberty. *The Altar of* Jupiter Elicius.

IN the top of mount *Aventine* toward the *Tyber*, there standeth the Church of S. *Sabina*, that very place where aforetime was the holy chappel of *Diana*. The feast and holiday of bondslaves was wont to be kept at *Rome* the thirteenth day of *August*, for upon that day *Servius Tullius*, whose mother was a bond-woman, consecrated a Temple to *Diana* in *Aventine*, and ordained it to be a festival day for bond-servants, who as yet were patronized by *Diana*. Some think that this chappel was built by K. *Ancus* of that money which the Citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been translated thither from *Politorium*. This Temple was common unto all the Latines, whereupon oftentimes they resorted thereunto.

Very near unto that place stood the Church of S. *Mary*, called *Aventina*. But in times past the place was consecrated to the goddess *Bona*, *i.e.* good. For *Claudia* a vestall virgin or Nun, built a chappel unto her in the honour of *Fatua*, * sister of *Faunus*, a most chaste maid.

* Or rather daughter.

Upon the same bank and brow of the hill, where at this day S. *Alexius* Church standeth, was sometime the Temple of *Hercules Conqueror*. And near unto it another of *Juno Regina*, built by *Camillus* with the pillage got in *Veii*. In the ruinat place of *Decius* the Emperors bains there was a Temple also of *Hercules*, where the Christians afterwards consecrated a Church to S. *Prisca*.

On the side of the *Aventine* hill, stood the chappel likewise of the Moon, as *Ovid* doth witness.

Thus much of those buildings in the *Aventine*, which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge: the rest following were doubtless in the *Aventine*, but in what part thereof they stood, it is unknown after so long time, and namely, the Temple of *Victory* built by the Arcadians, and in honour of whom they offer sacrifice yearly. *Minerva* and *Juno* had their Temples there in the same hill, by the testimony of approved authors. To *Liberty* a Temple was built and dedicated by the father of *T. Gracchus*, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloister belonging to that Temple was by *Ælius Patus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* Censors repaired and enlarged, and last of all by *Pollio* also re-edified. Now this S. *Liberty* the Romans honoured above all others, and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever shewed themselves most resolute and constant.

Upon the same hill, *Numa* reared the altar of *Jupiter Elicius*, so called *ab eliciendo*, *i.e.* of fetching out secrets and hidden mysteries.

In like manner there stood an old altar of *Murcea* in that hill. Now they named *Venus Murcea*, of the Myrtle tree consecrated unto her: or as some interpret, because *Venus*, immoderate and excessive, maketh a man to be *Murcus* or *Murcidus*, *i.e.* sluggish, sloathfull, idle, and good for nothing.

The Temple of *Juno Moneta* was likewise built and dedicated upon that hill.

Camillus in the same mount consecrated a chappel to dame *Matuta*.

The wood or grove, also called *Laurentum* or *Laurentina*, consecrated unto *Jupiter*, was there: in which Emperor *Valentinian* [the second] son of *Constantine*, and *Galla Placidia* was slain, as *Pliny* witnesseth.

CHAP. III.
Cacus, and his hole or Cave.

Cacus, by report of the Poets, was the son of *Vulcan*, whom they believed in old time to breath out of his mouth fire and smoak. This *Cacus* infested the places near unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a most lewd and theevish servant of *Evander*, and therefore the Arcadians called him κακὸν, *i.e.* naught. A cave he haunted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over-against the Church of S. *Mary Aventine*, whereas the river runneth nearest to the hill, and whereas there hangeth over a vast and huge craggy rock, as fit a place as might be to make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and near it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Hercules* had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Jupiter Inventor*, near to the said cave or den.

CHAP. IIII.
The Armilustrium, and some other things in general.

Armilustrium was a place where souldiers shewed themselves and their armor, and where they used to muster; where also in their arms they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with resounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the Cirque *Maximus*: but that matters not much. Hither the souldiers used to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harnes and weapons. For armor of their own and in their privat custody the Romans had not, to use in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the *Armilustrium*, or the tower or castle upon the rock *Tarpeia*.

In *Aventine*, near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, were the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, that is to say, a steep place with a downfall; where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime this hill, near the Temple of *Diana*, the house of *Phyllis*.

A part of this mountain was called *Remuria*; which *Remus* chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senat and people of *Rome* built in this mountain, to the honour of *Decius* the Emperor, the baths called *Decianæ* and others also near them, named *Variana*. Moreover, the bains of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Francis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Faunus* and *Picus* also were in the *Aventine*, as fables report. *Italus* likewise dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in generall were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tiberius*, sometime Emperor.

CHAP. V.
The sheard hill, and other things within that compass.

THe plain and levell ground between *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the City wall, hath four sides, but uneven; in which there riseth a little hill, commonly called *Testaceus*. The whole compass hereof will hardly be measured with 2000 paces: the height is about 160 foot. It resembleth in shew the form of a gourd; and the one side of it which regardeth the *Tyber* is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glass-makers street (and the potters) also the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon arose and grew the mount called *Testaceus*. For in old time, at *Rome* and elsewhere, as also in some places now adaies, much use there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numa's* daies there were four colledges or societies of potters: and these made of clay, not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and set out their Temples: pillars and walls were by potters work seeled in the outside, nay, the very dead bodies were bestowed in cophins of baked clay. Since then, in so great store of earthen vessels and potters work, much of necessity must needs be broken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corn-field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful; again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choaked up the chanell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the banks: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to fling all that was good for nothing, as filth, riff-raff, and broken sheards into one place: whereupon, in proces of time arose a mount which they called *Testaceus*. Among these potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Myrtea*, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.
The Pyramides; the sepulchre of C. Cestius, and the garners of the people of Rome.

THe *Pyrmides* were huge towers four-square, rising up in height, sharp like to a flame, whereof they have the name ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, *i.e.* of fire. But *Stephanus* supposeth they were so called, ἀπὸ τοῦ πυροῦ, *i.e.* of wheat, because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of

of all *Ægypt*; which made a great dearth of corn. These at the beginning were reared by the Kings of *Ægypt*, thereby to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had no use; for fear lest if they had gathered goods, and heaped up a deal of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some for to lie in wait to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idleness. Afterwards, at *Rome* likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to shew their vain-glory. There is yet one of them to be seen, standing upright at the gate *Hostiensis*. enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said, that it was the monument or sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, one of the seven Septemvirs, called *Epulones*. But *Blondus* would seem to prove, that it was the place for buriall of the whole Colledg and Society of those Septemvirs *Epulones*. Now were they called *Epulones*, who had the power to ordain and make feasts and solemn bankets to the gods.

It is written, that there were 140 garners of the people of *Rome*, between the mount *Testaceus* and *Tybre*.

In the same compass of ground near *Tyber* was the lake or pool *Hylerna*.

Some also affirm, that there stood sometime in that quarter a little town called *Capena*.

CHAP. VII.
The sweating steeple, and the image of Jupiter.

BY course the *Esquilia* should next follow: but because it lieth between the way *Labicana* on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breadth of 400 foot encloseth that way) on the West: we will rehearse what memorable things soever there be in the Labican way and the valley aforesaid, before we come to the mount *Esquilia*. In our return therefore to the triumphall arch of *Constantine*, whereof we spake before, we will as we go discourse of the rest. Near then unto this arch there appeareth the half rundle or circumference of an old steeple made of brick; which *Victor* calleth the sweating steeple: for that the report goeth, how sometime there gushed water out of it; whereby the common people, standing to behold the games and plaies in the next scaffolds of the Theatre until they were athirst quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brazen image of *Jupiter*, because their ancestors in old time were wont when they made solemn leagues to use the image of *Jupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or to send the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in far remote countries, therefore instead of the compleat image they took the scepter only; which might betoken *Jupiter* the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full and whole.

CHAP. VIII.
The Amphitheatre of Titus Vespasianus. The Temples of Fortune and Quies.

BEtween the two hils *Cælius* and *Esquilia* was there an Amphitheatre. This *Vespasian* built first, and afterward *Titus* his son dedicated and beautified it with the bains, built near unto it with right great celerity and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Colosseum*, of *Nero's Colossus*, which was set up in the porch of *Nero's* house. In the same place of the Theatre were the pooles beforetime of *Nero*, whereof we will speak hereafter in this very book. This *Amphitheatrum* they called also *Arena*, *i.e.* the *Sand-floore*, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand, that the wrestlers might fall softer and take less hurt, also that the bloud should be drunk up, to the end that the sword-fencers in combat might not be affraid upon the sight thereof, and so with less chearfulness and courage set upon their concurrents: and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were anointed with oyl being bestrewed with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it self within (which during those daies of the games was covered over with tent-cloath) would receive 80000 men. But hereof see more in *Pliny*, *Pompeius Lætus*, and other writers of the Roman acts.

Fulvius Flaccus built unto *Fortune* (fast by this Amphitheatre) so goodly a Temple, as for state and magnificence there was hardly another in all *Rome* comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chappels at *Rome* consecrated to *Fortune*.

Likewise a Chappell of *Quietness* and rest was built in the broad street *Labicana*.

CHAP. IX.
Of Esquiliæ.

THe mount *Esquilia*, as well by *Varro* as others, is divided into many parts, and each part thereof took name of those captains who in times past, before the City of *Rome* was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Cispius*, another, *Oppius*, and a third, *Septius*. But hereof *Varro* writeth at large. The posterity following changed those names, as we shall hereafter hear. Some think that *Esquiliæ* took the name of *Excubiæ*, *i.e.* watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great truth in *Tatius*, he used to have a standing watch by night for fear he should be secretly forlaied and killed, or else turned out of his kingdom. Others suppose it was so named of foulers, who there used to cast forth chaff, and such refuse of light corn, to beguile and catch the poor birds.

The side of the hill toward the broad way *Labicana*, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of S. *Clement*, S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, and S. *Martin*, was called by the name of *Carinæ*, as *Livy* seemeth to testifie. From that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall do well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.

The Carinæ, the old Curia and the new.

These *Carinæ*, according to their model and form were houses like to keels of ships, standing within the Temple of *Tellus*. Their ruins are yet to be seen near the Church of S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, *i.e.* in bonds.

Near to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*: but the new was erected near to *Compitum Fabricium*, *i.e.* the Quarrefour or crosse way of *Fabricius*.

CHAP. XI.

The bains of Titus and Philip: the statue of Laocoon: the Palace of Vespasian: the houses of Balbinus and Pompey.

There remain yet to be seen the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the Emperors bains, not far from the Church of S. *Martin* in the hils: for there be great cisterns to receive water, which at this day be called *Septem Sala*, according to the number of those cisterns: and so far reached the house of *Nero*, called *Aurea*, *i.e.* golden.

Not far from thence, in the year of our Lord 1506, one *Felix* a Citizen of *Rome*, chanced to find in his vineyard the statue of *Laocoon*, made by those excellent workmen, *Agesander*, *Polydorus* and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians, who with wonderful cunning portraied and cut most artificially in one intire stone, *Laocoon* himself, his children and the admirable windings and foldings of the serpents about them. And now at this day is to be seen at the Vatican, in the palace of *Vespasian* near the said bains of *Titus*. See more of this you may in *Pliny*. As for the story it self, most learnedly and lively it is set out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind these bains of *Titus*, between East and North, the ruins of others besides are thought verily to be those of *Philip* the Emperor.

Above the bains of *Titus*, some set *Hadrians* bains; for that this place is yet called *Hadrianus*.

By the testimony of *Lampridius* it appeareth that *Balbinus* his house was in *Carinæ*. There also was *Pompeys* house, in which *Lenæus* his freed-servant taught grammer.

CHAP. XII.

The cliff Virbius, the house of Servius Tullius, the golden one of Nero, and that of Virgil, Mecænas his tower and hortyards: the Temples of Fortune and Felicity.

That part of the *Esquilia*, which overlooketh the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbius*: there also is the grove *Fagutalis*, wherein stood the mansion house of *Servius Tullius*.

Nero's house, called Golden took up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now Saint *Gregories* Church standeth, lay between *Constantines* arch, the *Coloſſæum*, the *Carina*, *Esquilia*, and *Mecænas* hortyards. His house before was in his own fire wherewith he burnt the City, consumed also: and when he re-edified it anew, he called it *Aurea*. The spacious largeness whereof was such, that it had about it three porches of a mile compass apiece. It contained also a pool like another sea: walled it was about, and resembled a very City. There were to it belonging holts and hamlets country-like, vineyards, pastures, woods, and beasts both tame and wild, of all sorts. The house and the porches were double guilded all over, and set out with precious stones. And in one word there was nothing wanting that might serve for pleasure or prodigall riot.

In the entry of this house there stood an huge image giant-like, called a *Coloſſus*, 120 foot high. After *Nero's* death, dedicated it was to the sun, and then changed the name. Now men think it was called *Coloſſus*, after his name who was the first deviser of all such statues.

Within the same house, *Nero* included also the chappell of *Fortune*. This goddess being made of the stone *Phengites*, when all the doors were shut, gave light to the whole house within: such raies of radiant brightness casteth this kind of stone from it. This goddess *Servius Tullius* first consecrated, and of *Segetes*, *i.e.* standing corn, called her *Seia*.

At the bains of *Diocletian*, there is a street-way leading up to S. *Antonies* Church in *Esquilia*, where stood sometime a most noble tower of *Mecænas* within his own hortyards: for those most pleasant hortyards were in the plain of *Esquilia*. Here-within was *Priapus* worshipped: upon which ill-favored Idol *Virgil* hath plaied much in verse.

Near the hortyards of *Mecænas* stood the said *Virgils* house.

The Temple of *Felicity*, which took up a part of that plot where *Nero's* Gold-house should stand was by him burnt.

Above those gardens or hortyards of *Mecænas* was raised a wonderful piece of work, called *Aggeres Tarquinii Superbi*, *i.e.* *Tarquinius* bulwarks.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Palace of Sisminus: the plain and market place of Esquiliæ: the grove Querquetulanus: also that of Juno Lacinia, and of Mars: the chappell and altar of Ill-Fortune.

The palace of *Sisminus* in *Esquilia*, stood (as they say) where the Church of S. *Mary* the greater now is.

The plain or field *Esquilius*, near the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Inter montes*) i. among the hils, is between the foresaid bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times past called *Foculus*; because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the stinking steam thereof was noisom to the City, the Citizens and *Augustus Cæsar* by agenerall consent gave the field unto *Mecænas*, where he made his goodly hortyards and most dainty gardens. Of which *Cicero*, with other, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Esquilinum* was in the same hill.

That side of the *Esquilia* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus* had in it the grove of *Juno Lacinia*.

In the same *Esquilia* was the chappel and altar of *Ill-Fortune*.

In the way which goeth to the gate *Interaggeres*, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of *Tarquinius* stood the arch of *Gordian* made of marble, garnished also and set out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was S. *Gregories* Church in *Damasus* built.

CHAP. XIV.

The cliff Suburranus: the arch of Galienus: the shambles or flesh-market of Livia, or as some would have it, Livianum: the Prænestine way, and the Trophees of Marius.

At the top or upper end of *Suburra* was the *Clivus Suburranus*, so called of *Suburra*, yielding an easie ascent from thence up into the *Esquilia*.

Anon you meet with the triumphal arch of *Galien* the Emperor (where now standeth the Church of S. *Vitus*) making a goodly shew of the Tiburtine stone, whereof it was made. Near unto it was the shambles or market-place, called *Macellum Liviæ*, or *Livianum*. This, as some think, took the name of one *Macellus*; who being a notorious thief, and practising much to steal into the City, was in the end apprehended, and by the Censors condemned: and his house being seized as confiscat to the City was converted to a place wherein they sold meat and all other victuals; and so it kept still the name (as is said) of *Macellum*. Some are of opinion, that the said house was pulled down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name still of the former.

From hence beginneth the port-way *Prænestina*, and leadeth to the gate *Esquilina*.

In this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, half ruinat: upon which were erected two Trophies of marble; that is to say, certain posts [like *Quintins*] standing upright with spoils of enemies hanging thereupon: and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophees were set up by *Marius* in his triumph for the Cimbrian war: which when *Sylla* had cast down and overthrown, *C. Cæsar* (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called *Cimbrum*. As touching Trophees, look to read more in *Plutarch*, *Valerius Max.* and others.

CHAP. XV.

The house of the Ælii: the chappell Mariamum: the region or quarter called Tabernola: the bains and dwelling house of Gordian: the Palace of Caius and Lucius: also the Palace Licinianum.

The house of the *Ælii* stood in that place where now be the monuments *Mariana* and the chappel of that name.

The plain part of the *Esquilia*, between it and the mount *Celius*, and the *Basilica Lateranenſis*, is at this day called *Merulana*, for *Mariana*; and in old time, the region of *Tabernola*.

Near the Church of S. *Eusebius*, in the way of *Prænestina*, was built the bains and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruins of those hot-houses are yet to be seen, whereby a man may soon give an estimat, how fair, how stately, and large they were at first.

Between the gates *Esquilina* and *Nævia*, not far from the walls, there be to be seen certain notable ruins: this they commonly call, the bains of *Galutius*. But in that place stood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which *Cæsar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his nephews. Hard by the Church of S. *Balbina*, whereas now is the Bear called *Pileatus*, stood sometime the Palace *Licinianum*.

CHAP. XVI.

The water Martia or Trajana: and the Temple of Isis.

The current of the water *Martia*, passing by the gate *Trajana* through the plain of *Esquilia* went as far as to the bains of *Diocletian*, unto the hils next adjoyning. This in old time was called *Anfera*. It ariseth out of the spring *Piconia* in the mountains of the *Peligni*, and passeth by the

the Martians country and the lake *Fucinus*, and so runneth to *Rome*: the coldest and most wholsome of all other waters that run into *Rome*. This water *Ancus Martius* began first to bring into the City: afterward, *Q. Martius* surnamed *Rex*, took it in hand; and a long time after *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it read more in *Pliny* and *Frontinus*.

The Temple of *Isis* is by *P. Victor* placed in the quarter *Esquilina*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Suburra; *the house of* Cæsar *and* Lælia; *and the street* Patricius.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented: it beginneth at the *Forum Romanum*, and goeth on forward directly by the *Forum Nervæ* up to the hanging or rising of the hill called *Clivus Suburranus*, whereof we have written before in this book; and it endeth where the way *Prænestina* beginneth. Called it was *Suburra*, either for that it sustained and bare up the *Carinæ* and the wall under it: or because it lay under the old City: or as *Varro* thinketh, of the burrough or street *Succusanus*. In this street *Suburra* was the house of *Cæsar*, so long as he contented himself with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certain stews and brothel-houses, as *Martial* writeth.

The street *Patritius* windeth crooked from the hill *Viminalis*, and endeth at the bains of *Diocletian*. Of it more hath been said in the former book.

The house of *Lælia* likewise was in the same street, as *Martial* witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Subburra *in the Plain*; *and the Temple of* Sylvanus.

THe mount *Viminalis* on the West-side of it hath part of the *Quirinalis* opposite against it: and the vale lying between was named *Suburra* the plain.

In the same valley in times past were the ten *Tabernæ*; so called of the number.

The pit also of S. *Proba* was in the same hill; which *Proba* her self made near to the Church of S. *Maries* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill *Viminalis*, over-against S. *Agatha's* Church there stood the Temple of *Sylvanus*, as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX. &c.

Of the hill Viminalis; *the Palace of* Decius; *the Lavers of* Agrippina; *the bains of* Olympias *and* Novatus; *the dwelling houses of* Q. Catulus, Crassus, *and* C. Aquilius.

VArro reckoneth the hill *Viminalis* among the *Esquilia*. *Viminalis* it was named of *Jupiter Viminus*, whose altars were in that hill: or else of plenty of Osiers there growing.

In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there stood in old time, (where now is the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Paniſ-perna*) the Palace of *Decius* the Emperor, as may be shewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the same place, toward the Church of S. *Vitalis*, were the lavers or washing places of *Agrippina* mother to *Nero*.

The bains of *Olympias* were situat toward *Suburra*; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the bains of *Novatus* were built upon the hill *Viminalis*, where the Church of S. *Prudence* standeth.

The hill *Viminalis* had also three goodly houses of most noble personages, to wit, of *M. Crassus*, *Quintus Catulus*, and *Caius Aquilius*: the marks whereof are evident to be seen in the side of the said hill.

Upon the same hill in times past a certain feastivall sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Fagutal*.

CHAP. XX.

The bains of Diocletianus; *the Library* Ulpia; *the plain* Viminalis; *the gate* Interaggeres; *and the vale* Quirinalis.

THe bains of *Diocletian* are to be seen all ruinat on the side of the hill *Viminalis*: and by their ruins a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. These were begun by *Diocletian* and *Maximinian Herculanus*: in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to work many years together in most slavish manner.

These were afterwards finished and dedicated by *Constantine* and *Maximinian*, new Emperors. Of the vain and superfluous expences which the Romans laid out upon Bains, read *Seneca*, who depainteth out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same bains was the Library *Ulpia*, which by *Hadrian*, or (as some think) by *Trajan* was thither translated; wherein were the linen records, and those huge volumes, called the Elephantine books, in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the sanctions and ordinances of Senate were, as *Pollio* witnesseth.

Behind

Behind these bains, from above the rampier or bulwark of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plain field *Viminalis*, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate *Interaggeres* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth, that it stood in the plain *Esquilinus*.

In that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the *Vivarium*, or the park pit, within which park they kept enclosed divers and sundry kinds of wild beasts. The harbors and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen: whereupon it cometh, that those places or parks which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deer, we use to call *Vivaria*.

The space between *Diocletians* baths and *Constantines* arch is named the vale *Quirinalis*: in which they say, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

CHAP. XXI.

The mount Caballus: *the Etymology of* Quirinalis: *the tower* Militiarum: *the bains of* Paulus: *the chappell of* Neptune: *the bains of* Constantine: *the house and street of the* Cornelii.

THe hill which at this day they name *Caballus* was in old time called *Quirinalis*, as by many signs and reasons may be proved; so as no man skilfull in the Roman story, need to doubt thereof.

This Quirinall hill, the sixt in order of the mountains of *Rome*, (as *Varro* testifieth) taketh that name of the Temple of *Quirinus*: after others, of the *Quirites*, who coming with *Tatius* from *Cures*, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate *Collina* and *Collatina*. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraven with Ægyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called *Comitium*.

In the pitch and top of the hill, above the *Forum* of *Trajanus*, you shall see the tower called *Militiarum*; where in old time the souldiers of *Trajan* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridg were the bains of *Paulus* built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called *Bagnana-Poli*.

In the descent and hanging of the Quirinall hill toward *Suburra* stood sometime the chappell of *Neptune*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruins of the place do testifie.

The house of the *Cornelii* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still. But more hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The Temples of Saturn: *the* Sun, *and* Bacchus; Quirinus *his Temple and porch*; *the old Capitoll*; *the Chappels of* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva; *the house of* Pomponius Atticus.

IN the Cornelian street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gyant-like images, called *Colossi*, resembling two old men, naked, and holding *Cornucopiæ* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of *Saturn* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call *Mesa*. This, men think, was the tower of the Sun, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshipped the Sun above all other gods: and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription; *Soli invicto*, *To the invincible Sun*. His mother also, a Priest of the Sun, thereupon reared a Temple unto the Sun.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two horses seen standing; the handy-work of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Tiridates* the Kings, and translated to *Rome*.

That part of the *Quirinalis* which boundeth upon *Vallis Martia* was called the mount and Temple of *Clatra* and *Apollo*.

Not far from thence, behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent; where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old Capitoll stood, together with the chappel of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

Over-against these places, enclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of S. *Vestalis*, *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grandsire, and was called *Pamphiliana*. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of *Quirinus*, kept alwaies shut, to signifie that it was an unknown secret: whether *Romulus* were enterred and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name; where folk used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesses and contract espousals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The path-way or causey called Alta; *the house of* Sabinus; *the street and staine of* Mamurrus; *the Court and gardens of* Salust, *and the field or plain* Sceleratus.

THe high causey reaching from the baths of *Constantine* to the gate *Viminalis* along the side of *Quirinalis* was paved with foursquare stone.

Upon that causey, at a place called the *Pomgranat*, *Flavius Sabinus* had an house, wherein, by report, *Domitian* was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a street of *Mamurrus*: and that his statue there stood where now is S. *Susans* Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of *Salust*, and his most neat and fine hortyards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached near the gate *Collina*. Of those hortyards, as also of the hamlet *Tiburtina*, there yet continue some marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is seen the very house of *Salust*, which the people there inhabiting call *Salustrium*. Of this matter see more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the hortyards of *Salust*, near the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount: where in times past the vestall votary Nuns, such as were condemned for incontinency and incest, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Temples of Salus, *of* Dius, Fidius, *of* Fortuna Primigenia, *of* Honor, Hercules, *and* Quirinus; *also the Senat-house of women.*

THe mount *Quirinalis* had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they stood is not so well known at this day, namely, one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Pictor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudius*. By *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed over the Æquians it was vowed: by him (Censor) put to making, and in his second Dictatorship dedicated.

* Deus Triuminus Sabinorum.

* *Sanctus*, *Dius*, and *Fidius*, were the Sabins gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other houshold gods, they carried with them into mount *Quirinalis*. This god (forsooth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said. These three therefore had one temple built them upon this hill, and were called by one name, *Sanctus*. The opinion received of which godhead was such, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of sanctity and holiness, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity, avowed and sware thus, *Me Dius Fidius*.

Domitianus, a Prætor or Lord Chief Justice within the City of *Rome*, built a Temple upon that hill to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Besides, in that mount were the Temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*.

Likewise the Council-House of women was in the mount *Quirinalis*, at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain solemn set daies.

Moreover, it is recorded, that the feast *Agonalia* was celebrated in *Quirinalis*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Court or Forum Archimonium; *the pillar* Tiburtina; *the house of* Martial: *the Cirque of* Floralia; *the Temple of* Flora; *the shops of* Minium, *and the common ascent called* Clivus Publicus.

BEtween the hill *Hortulorum* (whereof ye may read before in the first book and the chapter next following) and *Quirinalis* there is a valley foursquare, but lying somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clæva* and *Apollo*, was the Court called *Archimonium*. For the very Church of S. *Nicholas*, which at this day standeth upon that place is named *De Archimonijs*.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There stood the house of *Martial*, as he himself witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round Cirque (*Floralium*) where yearly to the honour of the goddess *Flora*, the feastivall *Floralia* is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous curtezan or strumpet at *Rome*, who having by her whorish trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her last will made the people of *Rome* her heir, with this condition, That every year they should celebrate the memorial of her birth day. But the Senat thinking this a ridiculous mockery, to honour and dignifie so fi thy a thing with such a remembrance, they devised a goddess of flowers, forsooth, called *Flora*, and her upon those holidaies they seemed to please and content, that she would be good to the growth of tree: and corn, and that they might do well in their flowring and blooming time. To this goddess we read that a Temple likewise was consecrated: Anon you meet with the workhouses where they make *Minium*, *i. e. Vermilion*. Near unto which was the *Clivus Publicus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The hill Hortulorum, *the Temple of the* Sun, *and the sepulchre of* Nero.

THis little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of *Pincius* a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in these daies are called Mount *Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and marks of his house are seen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the same wals we meet with an huge building in form of an hemisphere or half circle, which men imagine was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the same hill over-against the tomb of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, fast by the monument of *Domitian* stood *Nero's* sepulchre also.

Now this hill *Hortulorum* took the name of certain hortyards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered were most fruitfull. Down this hill all they were wont (in times past) to descend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to sue and stand for any Magistracy.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in generall.

THat it may be understood more certainly in what place of the plain and levell part of the City every thing stood, let there be a streight and right line drawn from the Capitoll, through *Pantheon* to *Tybre*, near the Church of S. *Roch*. So shall the City be in manner divided into two equall parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the *Tyber*, the other from the *Forum* of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flumentana*, along the foot of the two hils *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated *Visorium*. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and those in regard of husbandmen, who on festivall daies visited the Temples of the gods: afterwards, at *Rome* they began to be taken up. The first, and that the greatest of all others was built of timber by *M. Scaurus*: for, the concavity within would receive 80000 men. After it, were Theatres made to turn about and and shew their front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in *Cassiodorus* and *Vitruvius*, who have written plenteously thereof, and namely, by whom they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of Marcellus *and the Library: the gallery and court of* Octavia.

Augustus built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in sundry works. And among the rest was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or cousin by his sister *Octavia*. A part hereof is yet to be seen between the Capitoll and *Tyber*, where now standeth the palace of the *Sabelli*. It was able to contain 80000 men. See more thereof in *Asconius*.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallery of *Octavia*, reared by the said *Augustus* for his sister *Octavia's* sake. Therein were certain curious pieces of work wrought by *Praxiteles*, and namely, the ravishing of *Proserpina*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* & *Satyrus*. Also *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the nine muses, the workmanship of *Timarchides*. Within this gallery or walking place, *Pliny* saith, there stood a chappel of *Juno*, and the image of the said goddess. Fast by the said gallery stood the court or palace of *Octavia*, and in it *Cupid* portraied with lightning in his hand. It took up in times past as great a space, as at this day the Churches of S. *Nicholas* in *Carcere*, and S. *Mary* in *Portico*.

After the death of *Marcellus*, *Octavia* his mother set up a library near his Theatre. Now the first that ever ordained, That books of all learning should be in some publike places bestowed for to be read of all that would come; was at *Athens Pisistratus* the tyrant, and at *Rome Asinius Pollio*.

CHAP. III.

The Cirque or Shew-place Flaminius, *and the Temple of* Apollo.

THat this Cirque *Flaminius* stood in that place where at this day the dark store-houses and sellars be, hard by S. *Katharins* church, the marks yet remaining testifie. *Flaminius* it was called, either because it was built about the plain called *Campus Flaminius*, or else by *Flaminius* the Cos. who was slain at the battell of the lake *Thrasymenus*. In it were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apollinares*: and therein the horse-runnings were performed. To it the Senat used oftentimes to come down from the Capitoll to sit in councill. *Neptune* also had a chappell there.

Apollo's

Apollos Temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now S. *Maries* Church is under the Capitoll, between the herb-market and the Cirque *Flaminius*, near to the gate *Carmentalis*.

CHAP. IIII.

The Temples of Vulcan; Mars, Bellona, Hercules, *and* Jupiter Stator: *the columne or pillar* Bellica: *the altar of* Neptune: *the gallery* Corinthia: *and the Colosse of* Mars.

WIthin the Cirque *Flaminius* stood most famous Temples of the gods, to wit, of *Vulcan*, *Mars*, and *Bellona*, to wit, that which was toward the gate *Carmentalis*. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romans called *Bellica*, for it shewed when war was to be made. The Romans in old time used and retained this manner in proclaiming war: The publike beadle, or one of the heralds called Fœcials, lanced a spear with some other ensigns of war, into that land upon which they meant to levy arms. But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defiance to nations far remote and distant, because they should not need to fling a spear or javelin, as I said before, into that land, they did but stick one in the pillar abovenamed, on that side which regardeth that part whither they were to make their expedition.

To *Hercules* the Great, protector and keeper of the cirque *Flaminius*, they built a Temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the Church of S. *Lucy* in the dark *Apotheca*.

M. Fulvius built another Temple of the allowance that he had of the Censors stock, to *Hercules Musarum*: for he had heard in *Greece* how *Hercules* was *Musagetes*, *i.e.* the leader and companion of the Muses. The same *Fulvius* translated the images of all the Muses out of the town *Ambracia* to *Rome*, and consecrated them under the protection and safeguard of that most potent and mighty deity, to the end that they might have mutuall help one of the other: namely, the quietness of Muses by the defence of *Hercules*; and the valour of *Hercules*, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This Church much decaied and disfigured by time, *Martius Philippus*, *Augustus* his father in law, *i.e.* his mothers husband repaired.

In the same Cirque they would have the Temple of *Jupiter Stator* to stand.

There also (as they gather by certain presumptions) was the altar of *Neptune*, which in old time ran bloud.

Octavius reared a porch or gallery, built and born up with brazen pillars, and thereupon named *Corinthia*. This stood between the Cirque and S. *Nicholas* Church, and was also called *Chalcaria*, *i.e.* brazen or copper.

The Colois or Stately of *Mars*, at the Cirque *Flaminius*, was in the Temple of *Brutus Callaicus*.

CHAP. V.

The porch or gallery of Mercury: *the Theatre of* Octavius: *his house, cloister, and gallery: and the Temple of* Venus Victresse.

BEtween the Cirque *Flaminius* and the *Tyber*, in the very entry of the Church of S. *Angell* in *Piscina*, there is a porch or gallery, consecrated sometime to *Mercury*, or, as some would have it, to *Juno*. This being consumed with fire, *L. Septimius Severus* reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Jews street called *Cenra*, they say was builded by the Emperour *Severus*.

Between the gallery of *Marcellus* and the mount reared by *Hadrian*, *Pompey* was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and shews were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre when *Pompey* had finished, comes *Caligula* and made an end of the rest. Afterward, *Theodorick* K. of the Ostragoths reedified it. This also received eighty thousand men.

Near unto this *Theatrum* there was a court or stately Hall, called *Atrium*, the same which at this day they name *Satrium*: also the house of *Pompey*. & a porch before it. These edifices of *Pompey*, at what time as *Philip* exhibited the stage-plaies, were consumed with fire. Near to the same theatre the emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, reared an arch of marble for memorial of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

In the foresaid Theatre (men say) was the Temple of *Venus* the Victresse.

CHAP. VI.

The bains Agrippinæ: Pantheon, *and the porch thereof: also the Temple of good speed.*

FRom the arch of *Pompey*, as you go northward, you shall meet with the baths *Agrippina*, the marks whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called *Cyambella*. Now, *Agrippina* they were named of *Agrippa* who built them: See *Pliny* hereof in his discourses of Nature.

Near unto the foresaid bains, there is a Temple of greatest antiquity, and among other old Temples of the city, the noblest of all the rest, which at this day remaineth in manner whole and sound. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name it *Pantheon*. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it S. *Maries* the round. Of this

the temple, *Pliny* and others have made mention, unto whom I refer the readers. In the very porch and entry of this temple, were the statues of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. The images of *Mars* and *Venus*. At the lappet of *Venus* ear, there hung as a pendant that most costly pearl of *Cleopatra*. Likewise there stood the image of *Minerva*, the handy work of *Phidias*. Moreover, *Hercules* at whose statue the Carthaginians in old time used yeerly to sacrifice mankind. They ascended up to this temple as in the rest, by many steps: for men in times past used to rear the temples on high and made but one way to go into them. A porch to this temple *Agrippa* joined: a peece of work worth all admiration, which of some was called *Prothyron*. For this word *Porticus*, betokeneth nos thing else but an ornament or porch. πρὸ τῆς θύρας, *i.* before the dore. Herof also have authors written much. This temple first *Hadrian* the emperor of happy memory, and afterwards *Antonius Pius*, reedified.

Certain reliques and remnants four angled and somewhat long, of Good-speeds temple, are evidently seen in the streets of *Minerva* and S. *Eustachius*. This god was long ago worshipped, that all things might fall out happily in the end. Portraied he was in habit of a poor man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in the left an ear of corn.

CHAP. VII.

The baines of Nero *and* Alexander: *the Cirque named* Agon.

BEhind S. *Eustachius* church, between *Pantheon* and *Lombards*-street, the remnants are seen of the baines and vaults of *Nero*.

Neer unto these *Alexander* built others new (by conveighance of water into them, which they they call *Alexandrina*) and those very fair and delectable: Wherof *Lampridius* hath written much.

Neer unto them (some think) were the baths of *Hadrian*: and they would have them to stand in that very place where now is S. *Aloisius* church.

In the plain part of the City there appear most evident tokens of a long and spatious Cirque: which they call at this day *Agon*. It took that name either of the games *Agonalia* instituted by K. *Numa* in the honour of *Janus*, which in that shew place are represented the 9 day of *January*; or because all manner of such shewes and disports, called by the Greeks Agones, were wont there to be exhibited. Some would have it to be built by *Nero* or *Alexander*, upon this reason, that other ornaments of theirs were to be shewed there. For the maner of the Princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to bestow their monuments and memorials in one place.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Neptune, Terentus: *the Altar of* Dis *or* Pluto: *the marish* Caprea.

ON the strand of *Tybre*, where now *S. Blases* Church standeth, sometimes *Neptunes* temple stood. The same was rebuilt by *Hadrian*. Therein were the painted tables hung, were represented the shipwracks.

Terentus is a place in *Mars* field, so called, for that in it the altar of *Dis* was hidden: or because the water of the *Tybre* running thereby, eat away and wore the banks of that side: or lastly by occasion of *Evander*, who arrived with a fleet in that place, and there abode. There also in time of the Alban war, they hid the altar of *Proserpina* under the ground, that they only might have knowledg thereof, where it was.

In the same *Mars* field (some think) was the fen or marish *Caprea*, where *Romulus* in a tempest which suddainly arose, was taken away. Of which matter *Livy* writeth.

CHAP. X.

The house Corvina: *the broad way or gate: and the temple of Isis.*

THe second part of the flat City, reached along the foot of *Quirinalis*, from the *Forum of Trajanus* to the gate *Flaminia*. In which part neer the Capitol, was the house *Corvina*, built by that name and family, and to this day keepeth still the old name; for commonly called it is *Marcellus Corvorum*.

From that house unto the bars or railes in *Mars* field, extendeth the way *Lata*, retaining yet the antique name: and there standeth the church of S. *Marses* in the broad way.

In the same way stood sometime by report, the temple of *Isis* neer the rails above-said, where now is the church of *S. Marcellus*. Now this *Isis* was a goddesse of the Ægyptians. She was honoured and worshipped also at *Rome*, together with *Osiris* surnamed *Serapis*: of whom the publick plaies in the quarter *Flaminia*, *Isæum-Serapeum* bare the name. It hapned in the temple of *Isis* that incest was committed; whereupon the Emperor *Tiberius* caused the Priests of that temple to be crucified, & the place it self to be demolished. Other temples of this goddesse there were at *Rome*, for *Caracalla* translated all her sacred rites and ceremonies to *Rome*, and daily with exceeding great reverence observed the same.

CHAP. XI.

The arch of Camillus : *the temple of* Minerva ; *and the swine market.*

AS a man goeth down from the broad-gate aforesaid toward the *Pantheon*, he shall see a most ancient arch. Some think (but untruely) that erected it was for *Camillus* : for many a fair day after his time, these arches were in no requeſt and uſe : and therefore it belonged to some other L. Generall. Between this arch and *Pantheon*, *Cn. Pompeius* built a temple to *Minerva*, wherein he compriſed in a compendious ſum, the memoriall of his acts and exploits. Other enſignes alſo in the honour of the City of *Rome*, he there ſet up, and thoſe he garniſhed and adorned. Whereof read *Pliny*.

At the foot of the mount *Quirinale*, in the hort-yards and the *Columnenſes*, neer to the aſcent & riſing of the hil which leadeth now into the mount *Caballus*, there was ſomtime the market-place *Suarium*, ſo called of ſelling of ſwine there. For *Varro* witneſſeth, that in old time they had certain ſet and appointed places for the ſelling of certain things, and thereof the markets tooke the name. Tous of oxen, the market *Boarium* ; of fiſh, *Piſcarium*, of ſwine, *Suarium* ; of wortsor herbs, *Holitorium*, was called, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the field called Martius, *or* Tyberinus.

FOraſmuch as in the former book it hath been ſufficiently declared as touching *Mars* field, where it lay, it ſhall be needleſſe to make any repetition thereof in this place : but why it was called *Martius*, would be here in briefe conſidered. Named ſo it was, becauſe it was conſecrated to *Mars* : for when the *Tarquins* were expelled out of their Kingdom, what ground or ſtanding corn they were poſſeſſed of, they divided amongſt thoſe Citizens who were not landed at all, reſerving only this field *Martius* : which becauſe it was conſecrated to *Mars*, that in it the games and plaies ſhould be ſolemnized and the youth exerciſed, they thought that the fruit alſo there growing ſhould likewiſe be counted facred and accurſed, and ſo deemed it unlawfull that any diſtribution thereof ſhould be made, but threw it all into the *Tybre*, wherof aroſe the Iland called *Tyberina*; of which we will ſpeak in the laſt book. In this field therefore (beſides the native beauty of the place and the delectable ſight of the medows) were erected the ornaments and ſtatues of brave & renowned perſons : yea, and out of the very Capitoll (when the place began to be peſtered and over-ſtriaght by reaſon of ſomany ornaments whichthither were daily brought, many of them were from thence tranſlated into *Campus Martius*. This field was called of men in old time, *Tyberinus*, like as *Tybre* alſo was named *Martius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The porch, the temple, Column, and Palace *of* Antonius Pius : *the rails or enclоſure, called* Ovilia.

BEtween the *Sciarra* & *Pantheon* ſtreets, neer to Saint *Stephens* Church in *Trullio*, there ſheweth a ſtately porch, which moſt men ſuppoſe was that of *Antonius Pius*, for that his temple ſtandeth ſo neer. The Column alſo of *Antonius* is not far off. This he raiſed of an exceeding height with winding and turning ſtairs, like that of *Traſanus*, whereof we have ſpoken before. Between this Column and the porch, the ſaid Emperor had (by report) a goodly palace. Between the ſaid Column and the water *Virgo*, they ſay, the rails or enclоſure within *Mars* field ſtood, called *Septa*. Now this place was encloſed within wooden rails, and ſtrongly fenced with poſts on every ſide, wherein the people of *Rome* when at the creation and election of magiſtrats they were to paſſe their voices were kept cloſe : and for the reſemblance of ſheep pens, *Ovilia* of ſome they were called. By *Livy* they are ſet down, neer the waies *Fornicata* and *Flaminia*.

CHAP. XIV.

The hill Citatorum : *the* Villa *Publica, temple of* Neptune, *and the bridg in* Mars *field.*

BEtween *Antonines* Colmn and *S. Laurences* church in *Lucina*, there is raiſed a mount, called now *Citorius*, for *Citatorum* ; not it was a mount indeed, but becauſe the people of *Rome*, when in the chuſing of magiſtrats they were to give their voices, as they were cited, went thither as it were unto ſome hill. Some ſay it was called *Acceptorum*, of taking the peoples ſuffrages : others *Septorum*, for the vicinity of thoſe *Septa* beforeſaid. This little mount, there be that would have to riſe and increaſe by the ruins of ſome porch or ſtately gallery ; or elſe of the common Hoſtelry, called *Villa Publica*. For there was in times paſt a place called *Villa Publica*, a large building in manner of a court or hall ; wherein were received and entertained all embaſſadors of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the City, or go into the publick lodging or Hoſpital called Græcoſtaſis.

Neer to the *Septa*, *M. Agrippa* (as *Denis* writeth) built a goodly temple with a moſt beautifull porch to it, in the honour of *Neptune*.

At this foreſaid hillock called *Citatorum*, and the Column of *Antonius*, there was a bridg paſt by

by the *Septa*, whereupon they that were cited, when they had given their voices, paſſed by and went their waies : and ſo were ſeverd from the reſt that were to give their ſuffrages, becauſe they ſhould not be entermingled amongſt them, nor be able to ſhew unto them, on whoſe ſide they had paſſed their voices.

In the ſame *Mars* field, it is recorded that in times paſt ſtood the temple of *Piety*, even whereas now the church of S. *Savior* is.

CHAP. XV.

The water Virgo : *the lake and chappel of* Iuturna, *as alſo that of* Piety.

THe water *Virgo*, which reteineth ſtill the pleaſant ſweetneſs to the taſt in drinking, and keepeth yet the old name, beginneth to gather to an head neer the bridg *Salarius*, and being carried in a moſt deep gutter entreth into the City at the gate *Collina*, and ſo is raiſed to the hill *Hortulorum* : where, by arched work it is conveighed through *Mars* field, and yeelds all the way to the inhabitants, water for their uſe ; and endeth at the length in the hortyards of *Lucullus*.

Moreover in *Mars* field, there was (as men ſay) a fountain and well or ciſtern of *Iuturna*, ſiſter of K. *Turnus*, yeelding moſt holeſome water. This water-Nymph, they avouch (and that right well) to have been called *Iuturna*, *a juvando*, *i.* of helping ; becauſe ſhe was thought to help the ſick. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named *Lorreglio*.

CHAP. XVI.

The arch of Domitian : *the obelisk of* Mars *field* : *the* Amphitheatre *of* Claudius *the Emperor.*

THe triumphant arch, ſo diſmembred (as it were) and bereft of all his ornaments, ſtanding between churches of S. *Sylveſtre* and *Laurence* in *Lucina*, and taketh up a peece of the way or ſtreet *Flaminia*, is attributed to *Domitian* the Emperor. And hereupon beſides others preſumptions) they appropriate it to him, for this emperor reared many ſuch arches in every place.

The Obelisk alſo there is in this *Mars* field, which *Auguſtus* tranſported from *Hieropolis* a City in *Ægypt* to *Rome*. Beſides, the native enſigns and wonderfull hieroglyphick inſcriptions which it brought with it of the own, therein to be ſeen, *Auguſtus* adjoined other ornaments no leſſe ormirable. But hereof it is better to read *Pliny*.

Claudius the Emperor built neer the *Septa* in *Mars* field an Amphitheatre, which he decked & adorned with fair ſtatues and moſt beautiful columns.

CHAP. XVII.

The vale Martia ; *the palace : the porch of* Auguſtus : *the Naumachie of* Domitian *and the temple of the family* Flavia.

THe vale *Martia* taketh the name of *Campus Martius* : it lyeth between *Tybre* and the hil *Hortulorum* : within the which, in a place lower then all the reſt about it, appear the Naumachies of *Domitian* ; where in old time he exhibited ſhews of naval fights. In which place before-time likely it is, that *Auguſtus* had his Naumachie ; which being cleanſed and ſcoured by *Domitian*, reteined afterwards his name. Read *Suetonius*.

Neer to the Naumachie, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kinred *Flavia*.

In this place, *Julius Capitolinus* proveth that the porch and palace of *Auguſtus* was built.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Mauſoleum *of* Auguſtus : *and the two obelisks neer it* : *alſo the tomb or ſepulchre of* Marcellus.

IN the vale *Martia*, between the way *Flaminia* and the bank of *Tybre*, hard by S. *Roches* church, *Auguſtus* made a *Mauſoleum*, to ſerve for a ſepuchre as well to himſelf and all the Emperors, as alſo for his whole houſe and name. This building is like unto a turret ſtanding at the gate called *Populi*, which ſheweth it ſelf ſpoiled now of all the ornaments that ſet it out. Men would have it to be the ſepulchre of *Marcellus*. And *Auguſtus*, named this ſepulchre of his, *Mauſoleum*, for the reſemblance it had of that of *Mauſolus* K. of *Caria*, which *Artemiſia* his wife built for him. Read *Caſſiodore Strabo*, and others thereof.

Cloſe unto the *Mauſoleum* of *Auguſtus*, were two obelisks, as the ruinat remnants thereof do teſtifie.

CHAP. XIX.

The way Flaminia : *the Trophees of* Marius ; *other goodly ornaments of the field* Martius *in general.*

CNeus *Flaminius* the collegue of M. *Lepidus*, having vanquiſhed the Ligurians, paved the cauſey or ſtreet *Flaminia*. This was led from *Placence*, through *Narnia*, *Fulignenum*, *Nucera*, *Callinus* to *Fortunes* temple, to *Piſaurum*, and ſo forward to *Ariminum*. See *Livy* and *Suetonius*.

Between the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*, and the hill called *Hortulorum*, were the Trophees of *Marius* over *Iugurtha*, Trophees as *Varro* witnesseth, were so called of σοφὸς a Greek word, which signifieth, slight; for that the manner was to hang up the spoils and distrobings of enemies put to slight and slain, upon trunks and posts.

In *Mars* field, were the sepulchres of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa*, of *Iulia*, *Britannicus*, *Drusus* the Emperor *Claudius*, and other right hardy and valiant knights, beside infinit ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this book.

The seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybre.

IT should follow by due course and order, to treat of *Ianiculum* and all that quarter of the City on the other side of *Tybre*: but because these parts are separate from the rest of the City by the river *Tybre* between; thereof also it is meet to say somewhat briefly. And first verily the reason of that name should be shewed. Some think therefore, that the river was called *Tyberis*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἕρεως. For the Sicilians when as in old time they had overcome the a Carthaginians in battel, and taken a number of them prisoners, enjoined them for the better fortification of their own City, to cast a trench about it, and to let water thereinto: and this ditch in reproach of their enemies, they called ἕρεν. And the same men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped neer *Rome*, gave this very name unto this river also, whereas before it was called *Albula*. Some think it was named so of *Tyberis* a King of the Tuscans, slain upon the banks thereof. *Varro* is of opinion, that it took the name of *Tiberius*, a neighbour Prince of the Veientians. In holy writings we read it *Tyberinus*. In vulgar speech they call it *Tyberis*: in poetry, *Tybris*. In old time it was termed *Rumon*, as it were, gnawing and eating the banks thereof. Also at one side of the City it was named *Terentus*, as a man would say, wearing the banks. It springeth from the Apennine, above *Arnus*. At the first it is but small and shallow, but before it entreth into *Rome*, it (having received 40 other rivers) is encreased to such bigness, that ships of burden and the greatest hulks may come up in it as far as *Rome*. This river divideth *Tuscan* from *Vmbria*, the Sabins countrey and the Latins, entreth at the North part of the City, and so passeth through Southwards, between the gates *Hostiensis* and *Portuensis*, leaving *Ianiculum* on the right hand and the City on the left, and so neer unto *Hostia* is discharged into one mean broad stream, and falleth into the Tyrrhene sea. Upon the banks thereof, as if they were consecrate to some divine power, it was not lawfull to set up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the chanell and the banks. But of this river, *Pliny* and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybre.

THe *Tybre*, as is aboveseid, being so deep as that it is navigable, and beareth the greatest ships, hath no foord in any place that can be waded through; and therefore necessary it was to make bridges over it, and so to join that part on the farther side of *Tybre*, to the rest of the City. *Hercules*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridg, where afterwards stood that which they called *Sublicius*. Also before the foundation of the City, there was a bridg over *Tybre*, called *Sacer*; upon which they sacrificed men to *Saturn* by throwing them down into the river. But when *Hercules* afterwards had put down that maner of sacrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of reeds and bulruthes (which they called *Argees*) should be cast down in stead of them. But after the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, *Milvius*, *Ælius*, *Vaticanus*, *Ianiculensis*, *Cestius*, *Fabricius*, *Palatinus*, and *Sublicius*. And all these, save the *Sublician* only, *Totilas* overthrew.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Milvius.

THe bridg *Milvius*, which men now call *Molvius*, standeth upon the way *Flaminia*, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troublesome times of *Sylla*, by *Scaurus* when he was Censor. Many a time they say it was cast down, and as often set up again.

CHAP. IIII.

The bridg Ælius, now S. Angel, the Vatican or Triumphal the Ianiculensis or Aureliauus.

THe bridg at this day called *S. Angel*, in times past *Ælius*, took that name of *Ælius Hadrianus*, for he built that brdg, and neer unto it a sepulchre, which they call *Moles Hadriani*.

Beneath

Beneath this is another which giveth passage into the mount *Vatican* and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it *Vaticanus*: also *Triumphalis*, for that over it they went up in triumphto he Capitol, to give thanks to *Iupiter* and rejoice. The piles are yet to be seen in *Tyber*, overagainst the spittle or the Capitoll of *S. Spirit*. The third bare the name *Ianculensis* of *Ianiculum* neer unto it, and *Aurelianus* of the port-way *Aurelia*, or the gate so called. *Antonius Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civil wars, was called the broken bridg. Afterwards Pope *Xystus* the fourth reedified it, and gave unto it his own name.

CHAP. V.

The brigdes Fabricius and Cestius.

BEneath the bridg *Aurelius* one furlong, over-against the Theatre of *Marcellus*, in the very midst of the channell of *Tyber*, there appeareth a shelf or Iland, this was united to the City by the bridg *Tarpeius*, so called first of the rock *Tarpeia* neer unto it, afterwards *Fabricius*, of L. *Fabricius*, who by that bridg conjoined the City and Iland together. The same at this day is called the bridg of four heads, taking the name of four marble images with four faces apeece, standing at the entry of the bridg, but that bridg which closeth the said Iland with the part within *Tyber*, was called *Esquilinus* or *Cestius* in times past, but now S. *Bartholmews* bridg.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Iland Tiberina.

OF this Ilands beginning, we have treated before in the description of *Mars* field. *Livy* and *Dionysius* also set down this story at largh. It resembleth the form of a bireme gally, and where it is broadest, it is not above a dart shoot over, in length it containeth about two *stadia* or a quarter of a mile. This was in times past called *Lycaonia*, and was hallowed to the honour of *Æsculapius*, whose image from out of *Epidaurus* was thither brought. Of *Æsculapius* and his temple read *Pliny*.

A temple also of *Jupiter* standeth in it, dedicated by C. *Servilius* the Duumvir, which had been vowed by *L. Furius* six yeers before the Gauls war.

In the same Iland were sick folk presented unto *Æsculapius* (in the field.) And neer unto the temple of the said god, was a lazar-house, for that this god was the inventer and maintainer of Physick.

In it also stood the chappell of *Faunus*, neer to the very river: but scarcely remain there any tokens therof. This *Faunus* (as men say) was reported to have been the first that consecrated chappels and temples to the gods, and for this cause, all such places consecrated to the gods were called *Fana*. By the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius* the statue of the emperor *Julius* stood there.

CHAP. VII.

The Senators bridg called also Palatine, and that which is named Sublicius.

BEneath the abovenamed Iland, as it were a darts cast off, was the seventh bridg, *Senatorum pons*, of the Senators, also *Palatinus*, of the mount Palatine neer adjoining: and at this day named it is the bridg of S. *Mary* in *Ægypt*, by reason of S. *Maries* church neer by.

Now followeth the last bridg *Sublicius*, and which also is counted the most ancient of all others. This was first made of timber by *Ancus Martius* at the very foot of the Aventine mount: framed only with a floor of planks without any iron spikes and nails or props to shoar against it, so as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in peeces one from another. Now *Sublicius* it was called *a Sublicis*, *i.* great strong posts, But afterwards *Æmylius Lepidus* made it of stone, and thereupon named the marble bridg. Upon it in old time sat beggers craving of alms of the passengers. From it also leud and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into *Tyber*. This brigd as well as other, was often demolished and built up again by one or other.

CHAP. VIII.

Of that side of the City which is beyond Tyber. The City and temple of the Ravenats and Fors Fortuna: the baths of Severus: the hort-yards of Cæsar: the water Alsietina, & the meadows of Mutius

THe region beyond *Tyber* in old time had the name of *Ianiculum*, the hill which overlooketh and commandeth the greatest part thereof. We find it also called of men in those daies the City of the *Ravenates*, who with a fleet having aided the Romans, were permitted to dwell in the *Ianiculum*, for fear lest at any time that mountain and hold should be seized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was enhabited by base people, such as followed vile occupations, there were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. *Severus* therein built certain baths: *Cæsar* made hort-yards and prepared also a fair pool called the Naumachie for ship-fight there. Also the temple of *Fors fortuna*, was (in *Tib Cæsars* daies) dedicated in that quarter.

The water called *Alsietina*, was derived out of the poole *Alsietinus*, by the high way or causey

Claudia into the foresaid Naumachie, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some *Augusta*. See *Frontinus*, who hath written much of the Roman waters.

Mutius, who willingly had exposed and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of *Rome* with land on the other side of *Tyber*. The place at this day is yet called *Prata Mutia*. Neer unto the Arsenal and ship-docks on the side of *Tyber*, were the plaies and games of Fishermen in times past celebrated.

CHAP. IX.

The sepulchre of Numa, *and* Cæcilius *the Poet. The Tribunal of* Aurelius, *the* Ianiculum, *and the hort-yard of* Marcellus.

THat the sepulchre of King *Numa* was under the hill *Ianiculus* a chist of his, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See *Livy*, *Solinus*, and others.

The Tribunall *Aurelia*, and the Arsenal was on that side of the *Tyber*, as appeareth by those authors.

The hill *Ianiculus* took the name of *Ianus* who there dwelt, & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called. This *Ianiculus* was also called *Antipolis* as *Rome Saturnia*.

Commonly also it is received, that *Cæcilius* the Poet was under the same hill *Ianiculus* buried. *Martial* the Poet, as himself witnesseth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable hort-yards in the same *Ianiculus*.

CHAP. X.

The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of Apollo *and* Mars, *the Naumachie, the cirque. hort-yards, and Obelisk of* Cæsar.

THe mount Vaticane and the plain thereto, were without the City, in the parts beyond the *Tyber*, and in that very place, where at this pay is the church of *S. Peter*, and the Popes palace. Called it was *Vaticanus*, of the god *Vaticanus* by whose instinct & inspiration it was beleeved in old time that prophesies were delivered. And this god they called *Vaticinus*, for that in power was the beginning of mans voice, for as much as infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of this gods name, *i.* * *Va*.

* *Va* from hence cometh *vagire* in Latine.

The temple of *Apollo* was in Vaticane, in that very place, as men think, whereon at this day is *S. Petronils* or *Parnels* church, also another of *Mars*, wherein standeth *S. Maries in Febribus*, upon the port way called sometime *Triumphalis*. *Gellius* writeth, that *Iulius Paulus* the Poet had hort-yards in the Vaticane.

The vale Vaticane is there also to be seen, wherein *Nero* enclosed a compasse of ground like a ring for to ride and break horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there he adorned. Moreover, *Nero* had hort-yards in that place, which he set forth for divers and sundry punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the Cirque. Also the pools made for ship-fight, called *Naumachiæ* were there, and the Obelisk of *Cæsar* in the way *Triumphalis* is yet to be seen standing upright.

CHAP. XI.

The way or street Triumphalis, *the water* Sabbatina, *the sepulchre of* Scipio.

OF the Triumphall way, there hath been some mention made before. Called so it was, for that the solemn pomp of triumph used to go that way up into the Capitol. This as well as others was paved with flint stone. It went on still to the back porch of S. *Celsus*, towards the plain field of *Flora*: and so forward to the temple sometime of *Juno*, now S. *Angelo*, and from thence to S. *Georges* church in *Velabrum*. In the pontifical hort-yards there be many antiquities found, brought thither from other places: and namely, the prottraiture and counterfet of *Nilus*, also of al sorts of creatures living and encreasing there. Likewise of *Tyber*, with the yeelding her teats to be sucked of the founders of *Rome*. *Apollo* with his bow and arrows; the statue of *Lacoon*, whereof hath been spoken before, *Cupid* hard by *Venus*. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those hort-yards.

The water *Sabbatina*, was derived to *Rome* from the Sabbatine pool, called *Angillaria*: and afterwards when the conduct and conveighance thereof was by *Hadrian* restored, it was brought into the palace of S. *Peter*, to serve the priests there.

In Vaticane plain, not far from the mount reared by *Hadrian*, there stood a Pyramis or steeple in times past, under which they say *P. Scipio Africanus* lay enterred.

CHAP. XII.

The mount of Hadrianus, *and the meadows called* Quintia.

A*Elius Hadrianus* reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre neer the bridg *Ælius*, overagainst the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*. In which were bestowed first his own ashes, and afterwards the relicks of all the *Antonines*. This is at this day the fort of the *Popes*. The same also is called the tower of *Crescentius*, because one *Crescentius*, a factious captain, held it a long time. The

See more in *Procopius*.

The meddows *Quintia* in the plain *Vaticanus*, took the name of *Quintius Cincinnatus*. Read *Pliny* hereof. Now they be called *Aprata*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate Flumentana.

THe first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate *Flumentana* is the port-way or causey *Flaminia*: which, as we have before shewed, was by *Cn. Flaminius* brought along as far as *Ariminum*. Within the City he paved it with flint or peble: without he laid it with gravell. And in that order be all the port-waies laid about *Rome*. Upon this way *Augustus* made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the causey *Cæsar* had a farm or manor house, which he called *ad Gallinas*. The reason of that name *Livy* sheweth. To the way *Flaminia*, another named *Claudia* joined upon which were the Hort-yards of *Ovid*.

The way *Æmylia*, made and paved by *Lepidus* the colleague of *Flaminius*, leadeth from *Ariminum* as far as *Bononia*. Now, two causeies there were of that name, the one which met with *Flaminia*: the other which *Scaurus* laid and made, which went through *Pisæ* and *Luna* to the Sabatii. In likemaner there was a way called *Tyberina* and *Cassia*, without the gate now called *Viridaria*, which passed along time by *Sutrium*, *Tetrella*, and *Viterbium* into the way *Vulsinenſis*.

Certain places there be in the way *Flaminia* somewhat hollow and flat like saddles, called therefore *Clitellæ*.

Without the gate *Collatina* there is a causey of the same name.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate Collona.

THe port-way from the gate *Collina* is called *Salaria*, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the City. There upon stood the bridg *Salarius*. And it reached to *Numentana*. In it was the temple of *Venus Erycina*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Portius*. There stood the image of *Venus Verticordia*, so called, for that she averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally, the monument or tomb of *Licinius* the barber of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XV.

The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates Numentana *and* Intraggeres.

WIthout the gate *Numentana*, there beginneth a causey of the same name, by which men go to *Numentum*. The same is called *Figulensis*, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddesse *Nænia*, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with dolefull plaints and lamentable mones, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like maner, other gods and goddesses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the lesse harm: and namely, to the *Fever*, to *Mars* the revenger, to *Nemesis* and such other. Upon this way *Numentana* there appeareth a most ancient temple of *Bacchus* about *S. Agnes* church, and over the same standeth the bridg *Numentanus*, built by one *Narsetes* an Eunuch. Between this way and *Salaria*, was a withdrawing house in the countrey of [Phanotus] *Neros* freedman, in which *Nero* killed himself. Without the gate *Interaggeres*, was a tower or castle called *Custodia*, where the souldiers of *Diocletian* kept a *corps de guard*. There also is a park called *Vivarium* (now *Vivariolum*) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

namely of ill fortune and sloth.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those things that without the gates Esquilina, Nævia, Cælimontana, *and* Gabiusa, *either have been or now are.*

FRom the gate *Tiburtina*, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City *Tybur*. Upon it there is a bridg *Mamæus*, commonly called *Mamulo*, and bearing the name of *Mamæa*, *Alexander* the Emperours mother, who repaired it. A place there is by it called *Puticola*, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridg *Lucanus*; without the said gate standeth over the river *Anio*. And without the same gate, the two riverets called *Anio* the old and new do gather a current and runto *Rome*.

Without the gate *Esquilina* are waies *Labicana* and *Prænestina*. In this way the water *Appia* hath his head and beginneth, which by *Appius Claudius* was brought into the City.

The water *Virgo* likewise, which in time past was shewed by a maid to the souldiers, is the way, and from thence is conveighed to the City.

But the Roman waters see *Frontinus*, who describeth right excellently, the source and beginning the conveighance and carriage, the end also and use of every one of them.

At the end of the way *Cælimontana*, beginneth another called *Campana*, which closeth with *Latina*, the Between the gate *Cælimontana* and *Latina*, standeth the gate *Gabiusa*. From which

there

there went away some time called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabii* (but it runneth soon into *Prenestina* for that the Gabians dwell upon it.

CHAP. XVII.

Of those things which were or are without the gates Latina *and* Capena.

THe gate *Latina* gave both name and beginning to the causey *Latina*, which through *Levicauum*, now called *Val-montone*, and *Latium* reacheth to *Campaine*, In which there stood in old time, the temple of *Womens-fortune*, and the image of the same goddesse. Of which writeth *Valerius Max.* In the said way the water *Tepula* gathereth to an head and current. From the gate *Appia*, beginneth a causey of that name, paved by Ap. *Clandius* as far as to *Capua*, whereof look in *Strabo*.

At the gate *Capena*, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior, or *Grandivus*; and therein the scutcheon of *Mars*. Hard by the same temple was the stone *Manalis* brought into the City of *Rome* in time of a drought, and presently there arose a showre of rain; whereupon he was called *Manalis*. In the way *Capena*, stood the oratory or chappell of *Dea bona*: and neer to it, they say, that *Clodius* and *Papirius* were slain. Neer to the gate *Capena*, was the altar of *Apollo*, the sacred grove of *Honour*, and the temples of *Hope* and *Minerva*. Likewise of *Tempest*, built by *Marcellus*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*: because *Annibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and scorned. Upon the way *Appia* was the bridg *Valentinus*, built by the Emperor *Valens*, and thereupon, neer the hill *Massica*, standeth the town *Sinnessa*.

This way had certain notable sepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipios*, the *Servilii*, *Metelli Tullii*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatii*, and other. And in that part is to be seen the plain, wherupon the *Horatii* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and well-spring, consecrated to *Mercurie*. To it upon a time when the people of *Rome* ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurell, and therewith besprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurie*; that as many as had this aspersion and sprinkling, might be assoiled of their sinnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove also of *Egeria* was this gate. The way *Laurentina* fell into *Appia*: wherein S. *Sebastian* (by report) suffered even in the very place where they used to solemnize the feast *Terminalia*, to the god of Meers and Bounds *Terminus*

CHAP. XVIII.

Of those things that be without the gate Hostiensis, *and others in gen era*

FRom the gate *Hostiensis* beginneth the way *Hostiensis* which leadeth to *Hostia*, built by *Ancus*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twinns brethren, or *Trigeminorum*: and without it, *Livy* setteth the purse or marchants hall, *Emporium*.

In that part of the City on the other side of the water, were three gates, *Portuensis*, *Aurelia Fontinalis*. At *Portuensis*, beginneth away of that name, and leadeth to the port town *Ostia*: where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens: and wherein the feast *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate *Aurelia*, the way also *Aurelia* taketh beginning; which along the sea-coast of *Thuscia*, leadeth to *Pisa*. The same was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein were the hort-yards of *Galba* the Emperor; and there also was his sepulchre.

At the gate *Fontinalis*, was the feast *Fontinalia* celebrated at *Rome*, namely, to the goddesse of Fountains, as saith *Sext. Pompeius*.

To the Reader.

FOr as much as Titus Livius *is prolix and full of variety: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to speak our language, yet most loth to forbear and forget certain Roman words wherwith so long time he had been acquainted: also for that now & then he saith one in his English tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought either to trip, or to have forgotten himself, and the fault imputed to his teacher: in these regards (me thought) I owed thus much for their sake and converse with English* Livy, *as to satisfie them in that behalf. A twofold Index therfore I have digested: the one directing and leading readily to the most material and principal matters conteined in the whole body of the History: the other expounding those things that may seem at first strange to the most: and withall, shewing here and there the reason of the foresaid disagreement, hoping that as use will make them more familiar in those strange phrases: so deeper and further conference with him in the primitive Latine (the only touchstone of his true speech) shall excuse and acquit me of just blame, who have endeavoured that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in Latine.*

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FINIS.

A Second Index,

Containing the expofition of thofe terms in *Livy* which are not yet familiar in Engliſh, and of ſome places omitted in the Marginal notes.

Whereunto the Reader may have recourſe, when he meeteth with any ſuch difficulty in the Hiſtory.

A A

Aulus, the ſurname to divers families in *Rome*.

Ædiles, certain inferior magiſtrats in *Rome*: who were of two ſorts; *Plebeii* and *Curules*. *Plebeii*, of the Commons only, two in number more ancient then the other, choſen by the people alone to ſecond and to aſsiſt the Tribunes of the Commons in their right hands. This name they took of the charge they had of temples, chappels, and oratories; albeit they regiſtered the Sanctions and acts of the people called *Plebiſcita* and kept the ſame in their own cuſtody; and were clarks of the market: alſo they exhibited the games and plaies called *Plebeii*. *Curules*, were likewiſe twain elected out of the order and degree of the *Patritii*: ſo called of the ivory chair wherin they were allowed to ſit, as officers of greater ſtate. They ſet forth the great ſolemnities called *Ludi magni*, or *Romani*; were overſeers of the buildings throughout the City as well publick as privat, in manner of the ἀγωνοθέτ in *Athens*; they had regard to the Publick vaults, ſinks, conveiances, and conduits of the City waters; looked to the Arſenal, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great perſons; and were charged to ſee unto the proviſion of corn and victuals. At the firſt, none but *Patritii* might be advanced to this place: but in proceſs of time, Commoners alſo attained thereunto. Theſe as well as the *Plebeii* were *Sacroſancti*, *i.* unviolable.

Ærarii, they were, who being citizens of *Rome*, were by the Cenſors deprived of giving their voices in their Century or Tribe; paid all tribute with citizens according to the valuation of their goods: and ſerved in the wars of their own charges: and either becauſe *æra pendebant*, or, *æra non merebant*, it ſeemeth they took that name.

Agmen quadratum: *Agmine quadrato ducere*, is taken in a three-fold ſence. Firſt, The ſame that *infeſto exercitu*, *infeſto agmine*, or, *inſtructis ſignis*: which ſignifieth the ordinary manner of enemies marching with banners diſplaied, either to a battail, or to the ſiege and aſſault of a fort: and this manner of phraſe addeth a grace only to the ſentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a four ſquare battaillon, though not alwaies with equal ſides & right angles: and the ſame not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, When an army is ſpread and diſplaied at large, encloſing the *impedimenta* or baggage in the mids, for ſafety and ſecurity.

Agraria, were laws preferred by the Tribuns of the Commons, as well for diviſion of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons: as to reſtrain the poſſeſſions of the Nobles within a certain limit and compaſs.

Ambitus, The inordinat and exceſſive deſire to be in office of ſtate, appearing by indirect and unlawfull means; either to their friends and kinſfolks, or to the people: againſt which, many laws in *Rome* were provided; namely, *Atilia*, *Bæbia*, *Æmylia*, *Licinia*, and others.

Ancilia: *Ancile* was a buckler or ſcutcheon, that (as they ſay) fell from heaven into the hands of K. *Numa* in time of a plague: and he being advertiſed by *Egeria*, That it was for the health of the City, and ought to be kept ſafe: cauſed 11 more to be made unto it, ſo like, as they could not be known from the pattern: which hereby was preſerved. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve *Salii*.

Annales, were brief memorials, Chronicles, or commentaries, containing the names of conſuls every year, the date of times, and all memorable occurrents happning therein. The high Prieſts, called *Pontifices maximi*, had the charge by their place to gather the ſame into tables, and to ſet them up in their houſes for to be ſeen: and hereupon they were called *Annales maximi*, & *Maximis Pontificibus*: and not of their greatneſs, as thoſe huge volumes, named *Libri Elephantini*.

App. Appius, a forename appropriate to the Houſe of the *Claudii* in *Rome*.

Appia via, A notable ſtreet or high-way, begun by *Ap. Claudius*, reaching from *Rome*, as far as *Capua*: and afterwards by *Julius Cæſar* and *Trajan*. it was extended to *Brindiſe* in *Calabria*. Of all other it ſeemeth to be the principal, by the teſtimony of *Papinius* the Poet, who writeth thus of it:

Appia conſtrarum fertur Regina viarum.

Called it was *Triumphalis* (as alſo the gate *Capena*;) becauſe through it the triumphs ordinarily paſſed at the ſaid gate.

Ara maxima, The great altar reared by *Hercules*, and took the name of a great heap of ſtones about it.

Arbor infœlix, Is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

Argiletus imus, Is the base or low part of a street in *Rome*; in regard of the upper end thereof, called *Summus*: in like sort as *Janus summus & imus*.

Area, is taken for some void place, whereupon nothing groweth, *quia aret*: as *Forum boarium* in *Rome*. *Area quæ posito de bove nomen habet*, and differeth from *Campus*, for that it is less. Also a plot of ground made levell and clean for to build upon: as in *Suetonius 26. Forum Cæsar de manubiis inchoavit*, the *Area* whereof, *id est*, the trimming and levelling of the plot, cost H.S. *millies*, *id est*, 100 millions of Sestertii. Last of all, the broad yards before temples, not covered but compassed about with columns, like a cloister with an altar in the mids, be called *Areæ*.

Aruspices, were wisards or south-sayers, directed by the bowels and inwards of beasts killed for sacrifice, called also *Extispices*, and in Greek *ἱεροσκοποι*, who prying into them, had especial regard of the liver: whereupon their whole Art and learning was termed *ἡπατοσκοπία*, albeit they observed also the heart, lungs, spleen, and kidnies.

As, or *Assis*, usually in *Livy* is taken for a Roman poise, or coin in brass, the tenth part in value of their silver *Denarius*. At first it was a pound weight of twelve ounces; but afterwards, the Sextans, *id est*, the sixt part therof, was valued worth the whole: and howsoever otherwise it altered in poise, it went alwaies for 3 farthings or thereabout of our english money.

Augurium, See *Auspicia*.

Aurei Romani, Peeces of gold coin currant in *Rome*: in round reckoning equivalent to our spur-roial of 15 sh. For 100 Sestertii made *aureum*, which amount to 15 sh. 7 d. ob. the 4 part of *mina*, *i.* a *lib.* in silver, and of an ounce of angel gold.

Auspicia: *Auspices* were properly the observation of the birds, either by their singing and flying in the air: or by their gesture and manner of feeding in their *cavea* or coup: whereby their Augurs & Pullarii knew in their learning, the pleasure and will of the gods, whether they favoured their enterprises or no. The birds that gave sign by their voice and singing, they called *Ossines. quasi ore canentes*, as the crow, raven, and owl: and therof came *Augurium*, *quasi avium garritus*. Those that shewed ought by their flight & wings, were named *Alites* or *Prapetes*, as the buzzard, eagle, crane, grype, swan, and broad-winged fouls. *παρὰ τὸ πέτεσθαι*. The good signs were called *Sinistra auspicia quasi sinistima, quod sinant fieri*. whether they came from the left hand or the right. In pullets or chickens kept in cages, they observed whether they came forth willingly to their meat (for to abstain from it was thought unlucky) whereas their feeding heartily, was a good sign, and called *solistimum tripudium, quasi terripavium & terrapudium*, when some of the meat falleth out of the mouth, *& serram pavit*, *i.* beateth upon the ground; as it must needs do, when they pecked either corn, or gobbets called *offa*.

B

Aliists, were certain wars-like engins for to send out and level mighty stones, to batter and shake City wals, made with ropes of sinews and womens hair especially twined together: as appeareth, by *Venus Calva* at *Rome*, unto whom, by occasion that the women of the City parted with their hair for that purpose, a Temple was dedicated. According to the weight of stones or bullets that this engin would carry, they were called *Centenaria*, or *Talentaria baliista*.

Basilica, were stately edifices or halls at *Rome*: at first serving to plead in under covert, wherein they differed from *Fora*: and also to minister justice, of *βασιλεὺς*, which signifieth a Judge, as well as a King: but afterwards they used to meet there in consultation; also to negotiate and traffique: and these had not only benches and bars like law-courts, but shops also for the better sort of wares and merchandise.

Bellona, The goddess of war; whose temple stood before the gate *Carmentalis*, and neer adjoining thereunto was a column named *Bellica*: from which the Romans were wont to lance a dart or javelin towards those parts where they intended to make war: whereas in former times they sent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to perform that ceremony.

Bigati, were the Roman *Denarii*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with two horses, called *Biga*.

Bœotarchæ, The chief magistrats of the Bœotians.

C

C. Caius. *Cn. Cneus.* } The forenames of sundry families in *Rome*.

Calendæ, was among the Romans, the day of the new Moon, which fell out with them ordinarily the first of every month: so named *ἀπὸ τοῦ καλεῖν*, *id est*, *a calando*, because the pretty Pontifs used then to call the people to the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies were to the Nones of each month, &c.

Candidati, were they that stood in election and sued for dignities of magistracy: during which time, they wore whiter and brighter gowns than ordinary, that they might be the more easily seen and discerned a far off among others.

Cataphracti, as well horse as foot, were they that were armed at al peeces with compleat harness: and such horsmen were named *Defensores*.

Catapults, were engins of war to shoot arrows or such like offensive weapons, far off: and by that name was called not only the instrument it self, but the arrow or whatsoever was shot out of it: as *Turneb.* writeth in his 15 *Adversar. cap.* 1.

Censors, Magistrats of State in *Rome*: whose charge was to value and estimate mens goods, and enrol them accordingly in their several ranges. Also to demise unto certain Farmers, called Publicans, the publick profits of the City for a rent, and to put forth the City works unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Likewise to oversee mens manners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senators of their dignity, take from gentlemen their horses of service and their rings; displace Commoners out of their own tribe, disable them for giving voices, and make them *Ærarii*.

Centuries, were ranges and degrees of men according to their worth, as they were assessed and enrolled by the Censors.

Centuriata comitia, were those assemblies and elections, wherein the people of *Rome* gave their voices and suffrages according to their behaviour & wealth, by Centuries. And such were at all times most favourable to the nobles.

Circenses ludi (as one would say) *Circu-enses*. For in the beginning before the great lists and shew-places (called Cirques) were built, the plot of ground wherein were performed the horse-runnings and other masteries, was flanked of the one side with the river, and environed on the other with swords. *Vide Turneb. Adversar. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

Cistophorus, A peece of silver coin in *Greece* and those parts neer adjoyning, less than *Drachma* or *Denarius*: so called of the stamp, representing a man carrying a panier or casket with holy reliques, in *Cybeles mysteriis*, in *Bacchi orgiis*, or *Cereris imitiis*. If it be true, that 7500 of them go to the Euboick talent, which containeth 4000 *Denarii*, it is just our groat sterling: but if *Denarius* have *proportionem sesquiartam* to it, and that 4 *Denarii* are 5 cistophors, (as *Glarean* collecteth out of *Budæus*) it cometh to our teston of 6 pence.

Cloacina, supposed to be the image of *Venus*, found by K. *Tatius* in the great vault or sink conveighed under the city, called *Cloaca maxima*. And for that it was not known what goddess it resembled, he gave it the name of that place. Others say, it is written *Cluacina*, of the old word *Cluo* (to fight:) for that the Romans and Sabins (ready to strike a battail) were by means of myrtle branches consecrated unto *Venus*, pacified and reconciled, in that very place where afterwards the said goddess was by that name worshipped.

Coemptionalis senex, *Paulus Manutius* upon the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, giveth this attribute to *Scaptius* in the end of the third book of *Livy*, whereas in all editions it is, *Concionalis*. Now these *Coemptionales senes* (saith he) were those old men, in whose tuition and authority, men by their last will and testament left their widows or daughters; and without whom they might not pass *in Dominium virorum per coemptionem*, *i.* be married according to the ceremony called Coemption, whereby the husband and wife seemed to buy one another.

Cohort, was ordinarily a band of 500 souldiers; although once or twice in *Livy* we read of *Quadragenariæ cohortes*.

Comitium, was a publick place or Hall within the *Forum Romanum*, where the people used to assemble for audience of justice, pleading of causes, and other occasions: whereupon *Comitiales dies*, were such daies upon the which they might so assemble and meet together.

Comitia, or *Comices*, were the solemn assemblies of the people at *Rome*, summoned by the magistrats lawfully; to choose officers, to enact new laws or cancel old, by their voices: whereof were three sorts.

Curiata, instituted by *Romulus*. *Centuriata*, by *S. Tullius*. *Tributa*, brought in by the Tribuns of the people: and the first author thereof was *P. Volero*.

Curiata and *Centuriata*, were *Auspicata*, *i.* performed with the solemnity of observing the approbation of the birds, and the Senators.

Tributa, were held by the Commons only, *penes quos non erant auspicia*, and required neither *Auspicia* nor *authoritatem*, *i.* the allowance of the *Patres*. And as in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, the richer and greater men had the vantage: so in *Curiata* and *Tributa*, the poorer sort (for their number) went away with the better.

In the *Curiata comitia*, at the first (until S. *Tullius* his reign) passed the election of KK. and other magistrats, judgements in capital matters, and laws. But in later times, they served only for two laws: *i. de imperio*, or, *de re militarium*; in which the consul or others (chosen to their magistracy in *Centuriatis comitiis*) had authority of command in the army: the other, *de adoptione*; and these laws were called *Curiatæ*.

In the *Centuriata comitia*, from the time of *Ser. Tullius*, passed the elections of consuls, Decemvirs, Tribuns consular, Censors, Pretors, and such greater magistrats; and confirmed they were by *Curiata*. Also, judgment of capital matters, & the laws named *Centuriatæ*. In this, there was one centurie drawn forth by lot out of all the rest, to give their voices first, and that was called *Prærogativa*. After which, were called to their suffrages, the Centuries of the first and second Classis, and they were named *Primo-vocatæ*: the rest which followed, were called *Iure-vocatæ*.

Tributa, served for the creation of Tribuns, Ædiles of the Commons, and other inferior magistrats. Also the laws as touching peace, or enfranchising allies, judgments penal and fines, and those ordinances concerning the good of the Commons, called *Plebiscita*.

Some have thought amiss, and *Curiata* and *Tributa comitia*, were both one: but *Curiata* were more ancient, and of greater state as being

being *Auspicata*, and *ex authoritate Patrum*. Herein only they agreed together and differed from the *Centuriata*, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and Curiæ were intermingled: wheras the Centuries were sorted and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and ability in the Censors book.

Congius, or *Chus*, A measure among the Romans containing 6 *Sextarii*, and every *Sextarius* about 20 ounces: so that *Congius* receiveth *X. librales mensuras*; as appeareth by the old pourtraict thereof in brass, with these two characters, X.P. *i.* ten pound. Whereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon or somewhat better. And for that great persons were wont at first to give dole unto the common people, of wine or oil by the *Congii*; all other donatives and largesses of that kind, were afterwards called *Congiaria*.

Consul, one of the soveraign yeerly magistrats in *Rome*, succeeding in the place of KK. so named, *a Consulendo* either of asking counsel of the people and Senate in State matters, and withal giving his own advice and providing for the good of the weal-publick: or else of judging, for so *Consulere* signifieth; as when we say, *boni consulere*. And *Livy* saith, that *Prætores*, *Consules*, and *Judices* may be taken one for another. Two of them were usually chosen every year, as appeareth by the law of the 12 Tables: *Regio imperio duo sunto: iique præeundo, Judicando Consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules, appellantor*, &c.

Corona, hath divers significations in *Livy*. *Corona urbem cingere*, *i.* to invest a City round about with armed men, and to give the assault from all parts at once. *Sub corona vendere servos*, *i.* to sell slaves in open market, either having garlands on their heads as the manner was; or environed about with a guard of souldiers, which also is called *Corona militum*. Sundry garlands or chaplets there were moreover called *Corona*, wherwith souldiers were rewarded by their captains, or they honored by their souldiers; (besides those that were presented to Generals by their friends and well-willers, or offered to the honour of the gods:) as *Obsidionalis* or *Graminea*, which was a wreath of a cuich grass called *Gramen*, given to him that delivered an army from streight sieges, and was by the whole army bestowed upon that savior. *Civica*, made of oke branches, for him that in battel saved the life of his fellow citizen. *Muralis*, resembled the battlements of walls: which he received of his captain, that first scaled the walls and mounted over in the assault of cities. *Castrensis*, in form of a pallisade or rampier made with pales or strong stakes: the honor of him who first entred the enemies camp. *Navalis* or *Rostrata*, pourtraied with the stems or beak-heads of ships, called *Rostra*: his reward that first boorded the enemies ship, and gave the first means of a naval victory: These were the principal. For, others there were not so ordinary, as namely, *Exploratoria* garnished and set out with the sun, moon, and other stars; bestowed upon them that did special service in espial and discovery of the enemies quarters.

Curiæ, were parishes in *Rome*, 30 in number, instituted by *Romulus*. Certain halls besides, appointed for assemblies and convocations about Church matters and Religion: whereof some were old, called simply *Veteres*; others new, named *Novæ*. As for *Curia Hostilia*, it was the ordinary ancient place of publick counsel within *Rome*.

Curio, the Priest belonging to each *Curia* or parish aforesaid: and *Curio Max.* the chief superintendent over them all.

D

D. *Decius*, a forename: for *Decius*, although it were the gentile name of a house, grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewise forenames at the first, came to name families, as *Posthumius*.

D. *Decimus*, a forename likewise, as of that *Brutus* surnamed *Alienus*, who killed *Cæsar*.

Decemviri, were magistrats, officers, or fellowships, ten in number.

Decemviri legibus scribendis, were ten men chosen to make laws in *Rome*: who afterwards usurped the soveraign authority, and tyrannized.

Decemviri sacrorum, were certain Priests, who had the keeping and perusing of Sibyls books of destinies, and thereout gave order for sacrifices and expiation of prodigies.

Decemviri; ten Judges or ministers of Justice, selected out of the great court or counsel of the 100 Centumvirs, and they were called, *Decemviri de litibus judicandis*: assistant they were to the Pretor or Lchief justice.

Dictator, a soveraign magistrat above all others in *Rome*, from whom no appeal was granted, mere absolute and King-like: but that his time of rule was limited within six months ordinarily: so named, either because he only said the word and it was done, or because he was *Dictus*, *i.* nominated only by one of the Consuls, and not otherwise chosen, usually in some time of great danger of the state. He was called also *Pretor Maximus*: and namely, when he was made for the ceremony of striking up or driving a nail: also *Magister Populi*, as *Cicero* 3 *de fin.* Moreover, he was sometimes appointed to ordain and hold solemn feasts, in regard that it had rained stones.

Duumviri, magistrats two in number, of divers sorts.

Duumviri capitales, judges to sit upon life and death: from whom it was lawfull to appeal to the people.

Duumviri sacrorum, out of the Patritians, ordained for dedication of temple, preparing the sacred beds for the gods, called *Lectisternia*; and for the books of *Sibylla*: these afterwards were increased to five, and so to ten. See *Decemviri*.

Duumviri Navales, two wardens of the navy, ports, and sea-coasts.

E

E *Pulones*, were certain Priests whose office was to prepare and set out the solemn feast for *Jupiter* called *Epulum*, and for other gods. Of them were three, called *Triumviri Epulones*, and after seven, *Septemviri Epulones*.

F

F *Æciales* were the Heralds: of whom there was a colledge of 20, the principal of them was *Pater patratus*, as it were their Dean. And according to *Plutarch*, he ought to be a man that had children of his own, and his father living: for having the charge of making peace and alliances, it behoved that he should be a person accomplished, and as well to look before as behind ἆμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, to regard what is past and what is to come: the one was signified by his father, the other by his children.

Fasti signifieth sometimes *festos dies*, *i.* holidaies: and in that sence *Ovid* entituleth his books *Fasti*, wherein he setteth down the ordinary feasts of every month. Otherwhiles they are put for law-daies, wherin the L. chief justice or Pretor might use these three words, *Do*, *Dico*, *Addico*, which betoken to give leave to the party for to plead, to minister law and justice between plantif and defendant, and to pronounce the sentence and award.

Flamines, certain Priests among the Romans: they took that name of *Filamen*, a filet of wollen yarn, that they used to wear upon their heads. Three of them there were Patritii, and those were called *Majores*, namely, *Dialis*, for the service of *Jupiter*. 2 *Martialis*, of *Mars*. 3 *Quirinalis*, of *Romulus* deified. Of Commoners were 12 more, called *Minores*, deputed to inferior charges, and the meanest of them all attended the service of *Pomona* the goddess of apples and such fruits.

Fortuna a great goddess in *Rome*, entituled with many and sundry surnames.

Fors Fortuna, a goddess of *Rome*, whose temple was in *Transtyberina* region, where she was honored & worshipped of idle persons, such as professed nothing, but lived of their rents only, and namely, for that she came unlooked for and undeserved.

Fortis Fortuna, strong fortune, so called for her power, especially in battail. *Publica*, when she favoured the common-wealth. *Mascula*, good to the male kind, and *Muliebris*, to the female. *Virilis*, kind to folk of ripe years. *Primigenia*, gracious to the first begotten or the eldest. *Equestris*, either for running to help with great speed, or assistant in horse-service. *Obsequens*, pliable and easily intreated to accomplish all their vows and desires. *Parva*, for advancing mean and obscure persons to wealth and worship. *Seia*, for the kind and seasonable ripening of corn and fruit. *Prospera*, which was alwaies present and vouchsafed her helping hand. *Mala*, when contrary-wise she was backward and evermore crossed their designs. *Viscata*, for that many a one hath been by her enticements snared & entangled. *Redux*, εὐόλκιος, *Bene Sperans*, *Respiciens*, *Propria*, *Virgo*, *Calva*, *Convertens*, *gracia* τύχη εὐεργ&., *quasi æstuans*, *cæca*, *Vitrea*, &c. See *Alexander ab Alexandr. Mavlian.*

Forum Romanum, or *Latium*, The great common place at *Rome*, wherein causes were pleaded, and audience given to publick Orations. Under the name of *Forum* were other places also and courts, as also markets, distinguished by their proper adjuncts, as *Forum Boarium*, *Olitorium*, &c.

Furca, Whereof slaves were called *Furciferi*, was a kind of fork or gibbet which slaves carried upon their shoulders when they were scourged by their masters, either about the *Forum* or Cirque: whereupon afterwards they were crucified and executed: howbeit, some think they bare it only for a publick shame.

G

G *Abinus cinctus* was a kind of habit and wearing of a gown after the Gabines fashion, when it was cast over the shoulder so backward, that it seemed to compass and gird round the whole body. In that manner the Consul clad, used solemnly to set open the dores of *Janus* Temple, before he went to the wars.

Genius,] *Genii* were supposed to be μέσιται and *pararii*, brokers (as it were) between men & the gods, or rather interpreters and *Salutigeruli*, messengers between, of a middle nature betwixt the one and the other, *Cœlius Rhodigin. lib. 2. cbap. 3.* But according to *Empedocles*, each one was thought to have his angel from the very day of nativity, unto whom they used to sacrifice upon their birth day, as to their protector. Also every place had their peculiar *Genii*, and then were they called *Lares*, as *Rurales*, and *permarini* in *Livy*.

Galli, Priests of *Cybele* that guelded themselves in a frantike fury, and used in their service to her, for to strike and beat upon tabers and drums.

H

H *Asta*, Besides the ordinary signification, signifieth the Centumviral or Decemvirall jurisdiction in supply or assistance of the Prætorian, for that they set up a spear to be seen at the place of judgement. Also it betokeneth port-sale, when they sold either goods or slaves to him that would bid most at such a spear. Moreover, the putting forth of the Cities works, called * *Illatio tributa*, to certain Publicans or undertakers by the great, at a price, and it was called *Subhastatio*.

* ἐργολαβίαι.

I

I *Anus* is a God in *Rome*, sometime represented *Bifrons* with two faces, signifying the time passed, and that to come: otherwhiles *Quadrifrons*, & betokeneth the four times of the year; having in his right hand a character resembling 300, in the left another, shewing threescore and five, according to the daies of the year. But in the plural number *Iani*, betoken certain hals or great foursquare buildings, with four prospects and cross thorowfares, whereof were divers in *Rome*.

Idus, Eight daies in every month: of an old word *Iduo*, to divide: for that they commonly fall about the midst of the month, namely, upon the thirteenth or fifteenth daies, according to *Horace*, *Idus tibi sunt agenda, qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ, findit Aprilem*.

Interdicted of water and fire, were they who for some crime were banished. Which judgement, although it was not by expres sentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man should receive such an one into his house, but deny him fire and watet (the two necessary elements of life) he was condemned (as it were) to a civil death: and this was called *Legitimum exilium*. But voluntary exile was, when a man to avoid the payment of a grievous fine, or imprisonment, went out of the way of his own accord, and left his native countrey.

Iugerum, which commonly I translate Acre, seemeth among the Romans, to be in measuring of land the *Basis*, ground, and foundation of all other measures in that kind; like as, the As or Assis, of weights: of which it borroweth the terms in sub-division and multiplication, whereof the least is *Semiscrupulum*. Now is the *Scrupulum* in land measure fifteen foot square, according to which, it may soon be gathered, how much *Iugerum* containeth; considering it hath that name, *a duobus actibus junctis*: by which reckoning it beareth 28800 foot of ground within the square. But for that, others think that *Iugerum* is asmuch as *uno jugo boum uno die exarari potest*, *i.* one daies work of a yoke or teem of oxen: for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journel) I have expressed it by our familiar term of an acre, which is not much under or over a daies work in plowing of oxen here in *England*.

Interregnum, or *Interregency*, is properly the time between the former King deceased, and the creation of a new: and he that ruled in the mean space, was called *Interrex*. Which terms continued afterwards in the free state when there were no Kings, in the case of vacancy of head-magistrats.

H-S. This Character compounded of two capital II, and the letter S, thus coupled together, is *Sestertius*, that is to say, a silver coin among the Romans, consisting of two Asses and an half, and thereupon it hath the name *Sestertius* as a man would say, *Semis tertius*, *i.* two, and half the third: and therefore you see the numeral note of two, and S, for *semis*, which is half. It is the fourth part of the Roman *Denarius*, and in value among us is three half pence farthing cue. But *Sestertium* in the neuter gender, betokeneth asmuch as *mille Sestertios*, *i.* a thousand Sesterces, so that *decem Sestertia* signifieth ten thousand *Sestertij*, and *decem Sestertium* is as much: for you must in this maner of speech understand *millia* for the *regimen* of the Genitive case. But if you add unto *Sestertium* the numeral adverb, it sheweth the same *Sestertium* in the neuter aboveseid, multiplied a hundred times so much as the said numeral beareth. For example, *decies Sestertium*, is *decem Sestertium*, a hundred times told, and as much to say as *decies centena millia Sestertium*, which is a million of Sesterces in the primitive signification: whereby a man may soon reckon how much is *millies Sestertium* and the rest, either under or over *decies*. The same is to be said of *Numus* and *Numum*, for it is the same that *Sestertius* and *Sestertium*. Moreover, *decies*, *millies*, and such like adverbs, whether you put *Numum* or *Sestertium* thereto, or no, is all one: so that by this form of speaking, *ejus bona fuerunt vicies*, is meant thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of Sesterce peeces. Thus much for *Livy* and other Historians and writers in prose: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the verse sake confound these two words many times, and put *Sestertii* for *Sestertia*, as *Georgius Agricola* hath well observed.

Iupiter Indiges, Indigetes were these called, *aut quia nullius rei indigeant*, because they need nothing, or *quasi in deis agentes*, *i.* conversing among the Gods, having been sometimes men; or by reason that they might not *indigitari*, *i.* be named; or rather for that they were easy to be entreated; and last of all, *quasi in loco degentes & ideo propitii*, *i.* the tutelar gods and protectors of this or that place: which I rather encline unto.

Iustitium, was the stay of civil jurisdiction and pleas for the time, upon some suddain troubles, as *Tumultus Gallicus*, &c. Which vacation, if we will be somewhat bold, may be called not unfitly a Lawsteed, as *Solstitium* the Sun-steed.

K

K. *Kaius*. } The forename of many Romans.

L

L. *Lucius*. } The forename of many Romans.

Latinæ sc. feriæ, Certain holydaies *Conceptivæ*, *i.* appointed by the Priest or Magistrate, as occasion required, and not set feasts. The solemnity was published and held by the Roman Consuls newly created, upon the mount *Albanus* to *Iupiter Latialis*: and a sacrifice was there offered which they call *Latar*, for the health of the Latine people: at which, the manner was to give a dole of flesh called *Visceratio* to the Latine States.

Lectisternium, is in some sort declared in the fift and two and twenty books of *T. Livius*, and is as much to say, as the solemn ceremony of trimming and setting out a bed, not for repose but repast, according to the ancient maner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, reared upon bolsters and pillows: the principal whereof was that in the honour of *Jupiter* at the *Epulum Jovis*, whereupon *Jupiter* was laid, *Juno* and *Minerva* sitting of either side by him.

Lectus is usually to be understood in *Livy* for the bed whereupon they laid themselves at ease when they took their refection, and *Triclinium* is taken for *Conclave*, *i.* the parlor where they were wont to lup, because the usual manner was to set three such beds or pallets together: (whereof the room had the name) and a table raised somwhat higher from the floor, and placed so, as it served all three pallets, and was open at one side for the servitors to come unto it, and either set meat thereupon, or to minister what was called for. Upon each of these beds there sate or leaned ordinarily three persons: so as nine was the full number of guests at the boord, according to the rule, *No fewer than the graces, nor more than the muses*. For *Horace* in this verse, *Sape tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos*, seemeth to glance at the niggardise of that would rather want meat than guests, and so set twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby also they were pent up together too streight.

Legati, are usually taken for Embassadors sent from one Prince or State to another. Also for Lieutenants in an army, having the charg of a legion under the General; and in his absence, the charge and command of all. Who likewise were sent as Nuntioes or messengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senat, of the success of their affairs. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputed delegats, or commissioners assistant to the Cos. or L. General, in matters of state; having their principal directions from the Senat, but commission to deal in the particulars after their own discretion: much like to those that be called *Legati à latere*.

Libitina, the goddess of funerals; and after a sort, the superintendent over sepultures; supposed to be *Venus Epitymbia*. In whose Temple were all things to be sold necessary for the interring and burial of the dead. Whereupon they also who were employed to carry forth and bury corpses, were called *Libitinarii* as well as *Vespillones*; in Greek νεκροφόροι and νεκροδαπάται. It is put for death in *Horace*, when he saith, *Non omnis moriar, magnaque pars mei, Vitabit Libitinam*: and in *Livy*, as well for the ministers as furniture to sepultures belonging. The Chappel to this goddess stood without the City, and a gate there was *Libitinensis*, at which they carried forth their dead. For at *Rome* they might not commonly bury or burn a dead corps within the City, unless it were upon a special priviledge: and the law of 12 tables provided therfore in these expres words, *In urbe non sepelito neve urito*: but in some barren part of their land, each man bestowed the ashes or bodies of their dead. The practise whereof is evident by many examples in histories: and at this day are monuments standing of their tombs reared neer the great causey *Appia*, and elsewhere about *Rome*. The consideration hereof, with some other circumstances of a place in the 3 book of *Livy*, gave me occasion hayly to translate amiss. There hapned to be a great mortality in *Rome* and the territory about it, not only of men but of cattel also; at what time as the Volscians and Æquians were encamped within three miles of *Rome*, with a purpose to give the assault to the City; but they were suddainly striken with a fear that they durst not approach neer, *tecta aque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avertere mentem eorum*, &c. where I have englished *imminentes tumuli*, tombs & graves neer at hand, in opposition of *tecta urbis* [*Romanæ*] *procul visa*: and the rather, because it presently followeth, *In deserto agro, inter tabem perorum atque hominum*: where *tumuli*, may wel be put for tombs and monuments; and [*imminentes*] neer at hand: as *Livy* and others do take those words. But if any man would have it meant rather of the 7 hills of *Rome* commanding and overlooking those houses aforesaid, I will not be against it, but rather my δευτέραι φροντίδες shall go with him: and pardon me I hope he will, if either there or elsewhere I have seemed to nod and take a little nap, *Nimque opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum*: seeing that I have taken my self in the manner, and not slept untill my neighbour awaked me.

Lictors, in *Livy*, are ministers or sergeants attending upon the magistrats of *Rome*; namely, Dictators, Consuls, Prætors: for those only were called somtime magistrats κατ' ἐξοχήν, as superior to the rest: so called (as *Festus* thinketh) *quod fasces virgarum ligatas ferant*, for that they carried rods tied up in bundles; which rods were of birch, willow, hazell, or the Carpine-tree, [a kind of Plane or Maple] and within them stuck an axe, all to signify whipping and death. These officers made way before those magistrats, and were ministers also of the execution.

Lituus, was the Augurs staff, much like a bishops croisier, crooked at the end.

M

M *Agister Equitum*. Master or general of the horsemen. This was an office or dignity among the Romans, incorporate as it were in the Dictator alone, who ever had the absolute naming and chusing of him: and ordinarily

narily he was subject to him, howsoever *Minutius* was by strong hand and a violent course of the people, made equal to *Q. Fabius* his Dictator. Commander he was under him of the Cavalry: also his Lieutenant-general and coadjutor with him in all executions. The same that *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the KK.

M. Marcus.

M'. with the note of Apostrophus, *Manius.* } The forenames of certain Romans.

Manipulus, in an army, was at the first a petty company of ten souldiers following one javelin, having a wisp of herbs or hay fastned to the upper end, as a man would say, an handful of men: used after, for a small band or squadron of souldiers: and Manipulares were they termed, who served in one such *Manipulus*.

Matuta, otherwise called *Leucothea* or *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. Into her temple, at the time of her solemn feast, might no maid servant enter: and if any did, they were sure to be beaten forth by the dames or wives there assembled: in remembrance of one *Antigera*, the chamber-maid of *Ino*, with whom her husband *Athamas*, as she thought, was more familiar than she liked well of.

Megalesia, were plaies or games at *Rome*, not (as the letter seemeth to import) *Magni*, which were *Romani*, but in the honour of *Cybele* the goddess, named also *Idæa*, *Magna mater i.* the great mother of the gods.

Mulcta decem millium æris gravis, &c. was no doubt, a fine of brasen mony set upon a mans head, after the weight of so much: every As weighing a *lib.* of 12 ounces. For before that silver was cast and stamped for coin, *Æs grave plaustris ad ærarium convehebant* (as *Livy* saith) when they paid tribute or subsidy to the City chamber, as they were assessed.

Mundus Muliebris, the Elegancy of women. *Nam quem χόσμον Græci nomine ornamenti appellaverunt, cum non perfecta alsolutaq; elegantia mundum.i.* the world. *Plin.* first book fourth chapter.

Murcea or *Murtia*, one of the names attributed to *Venus*, *quia præter modum, non moveret sed faceret hominem murcidum.i. nimis desidiosum & inactuosum:* contrary to that other goddess *Agenoria quæ ad agendum excitaret.* And hereupon it is that *Murtea* is put for the goddess of sloth and lithernes.

N

Novæ tabulæ, was an easment proposed in favour of debters at *Rome*, whereby the old debt-books and obligations were cancelled, or the *Nomina* dashed out. Among the Athenians this practise was called *Sisachtia.i.* an easing of burden, or *Chreocopia*, a cutting off or striking out of debts.

N. Numerius, a forename to some houses of *Rome*.

Nundinæ, were the market daies appointed every ninth day at *Rome*, for the peasants of the country to repair unto the City, to sell commodities or to buy their necessities. And hereupon *Trinundinum*, is the space of 27. daies, comprehending three market daies.

Nones, were daies in the month so called, because they began the *9th* day ever before the Ides: honored by the Romans both for the birthday of K. *Servius*, and also for the chasing out of the KK. for otherwise it was not festival (as *Ovid*, saith) *Nonarum tutela Deo caret.*

O

Ovales or *Ova*, were eggs set upon the goles in the solemnity of the horse-running, at the plaies *Circenses*, to reckon or score up (as it seemeth by *Livy*) the races, which were performed with 24 courses, to represent four and twenty hours of the day. Neither was it for nought, that choise was made of egs, rather than other things: for as egs are laid by birds (the swiftest of all other living creatures) so they also were to contend and strive to be most active, &c. or else because *Castor & Pollux* (those renowned horsemen) came of an egg, as Poets fable.

P

P. Publius, a forename to some Roman families.

Panætolium or *Panætolaik*, was a solemn diet or counsel, wherein all the states of *Ætolia* assembled to consult of publick affairs.

Patres, were at *Rome* 100 Senators or Noblemen, counsellers of state; chosen in this manner: 3 out of every one of the 30 Curio, and those make 90: 3 more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) and one by *Romulus* himself: and as this number made the body of the Nobility or Senat at the first: so, out of every Curia, he chose ten of the most personable and active yong men, to the number of 300, (which he called *Celeres*) to guard his person. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of *Rome*: a mean degree between the two estates of Nobles and Commons, as it were the seminary, to replenish the Senat, when the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called *Patres Conscripti, Ascripti, & Selecti*. And like as the former were named *Patres Majorum gentium*: so the latter sort, *Minorum gentium*: alluding to the several ranges of the gods, who were some of them, *Majorum gentium*, such as ever were counted in heaven: termed also *Selecti*: others, *Minorum gentium*, who had been men, and were after canonized gods. The off spring and progeny of the *Patres*, were *Patritii*, in opposition evermore of *Plebei, i.* Commoners.

Porticus, were either the porches & other stately buildings before temples, as belonging unto them: or else goodly galleries and walking places apart by themselves: under which men retired in the rain, and where they used to walk to cool themselves in summer.

Præda, booty, pillage, or saccage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts, goods, armor, &c. *Manubia*, the mony raised of such pillage or prey, sold.

Prætor, one of the superior magistrats of *Rome*. In the City he ruled as L. chief justice: in the province he commanded as L. governor and deputy; and was General in the field as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Pretor, and Judges, was all one.

Prærogativa centuria, were those centuries in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called *Primo-vocatæ* and *Iure-vocatæ*, and delivered their suffrages in their course.

Prætexta toga, a robe embrodered of purple, common to men and women, *Ingenuitatis insigne, & ornamentum.* *Cicero* in *Verrem.* 3. Whereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons; and, as *P. Manutius* writeth, to 6 sorts.

1 The children of the *Patritii*, until 17 years age.
2 All Senators upon festival daies. 3 Wardens at the games or plaies called *Compitalitii*.
4 All magistrats, as well in the City, as in the colonies or borrough Towns incorporate, called *Municipia*, and Masters of *Confraternities*. 5 All Priests, and among them, the Augurs. 6 They that triumph. And this differed from the rest, being wrought with gold and damask work.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guarding: laid broader or narrower: as also in the rich or deep colour, wherupon they were called *Dibaptra*: or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcel. And wheras the gentlemen of *Rome* are said *Purpuram induere*, it is to be understood either of *angusti-clavus*, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is scarlet. For that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christ, * one of the Evangelists called *κοκκινον*, and other two, *πορφυρεον*.

Pullarius, the Chickmaster or pullitier: one that had the charge and overseeing of the sacred chickens, kept in a pen or coup for *auspicia*: who by observing their gesture or feeding betimes every morning, related what was foretokened thereby good or bad. See more in *Auspicia*.

Pro-consul. *Pro-pretor.* *Pro-questor.* Some have thought, that they should be written otherwise thus, *Pro consule. Pro pretore. Pro questore.* but they are in mine opinion out of the way: for in deed Pro-consul is he, who having bin Consul, went out of his magistracy at the years end, and nevertheless was sent forth into his Province again with full Consular authority: whereas *Pro-consule* (to speak precisely) is the Viz-consul, namely, one that having never been Consul created, but some privat person, yet upon an urgent occasion, might for the while supply the place of the Consul. The same is to be said of the rest. And hereof you may read in the oration of *Cicero, pro lege Manilia*. Howbeit in my translation of *Livy*, I have somtime used Viz-pretor and Viz-consul, for Pro-pretor and Pro-consul: because that manner of composition frameth well with our terms in English. Moreover, we read once in *Livy* of a Pro-dictator, in the proportionable signification to the other.

Q

Quadrigati, were the *Denarii Romani*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with four horses, called *Quadriga*.

Quadrans, a peece of base brass coin or poise at *Rome*, the fourth part of As, which is a cue and a c.

Quæstors, were inferior officers in *Rome*, as treasurers to receive and lay out the City-mony, whereof there were *Urbani*, *Provinciales*, and *Castrenses*.

Quæstorium, a plot or quarter in the Roman camp, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the camp.

Q. Quintus, the forename of sundry Romans.

Quindecemviri, the same that *Duumviri* first, and *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. Their number was 15, and albeit they were encreased by *Sylla* Dictator to 60, yet they retained stil the name of *Quindecemviri*.

Quintana was a gate in the Roman camp, at which, provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English *Tacitus*.

Quinqueviri Mensarii, were certain men, five in number, appointed upon occasion to discharge the debts of the commons, so called of *Mensa*, a table set out in publick place; upon which they either counted or weighed their mony.

Quinqueviri muris reficiendis, were five officers at *Rome* chosen extraordinarily for repairing of the walls and turrets of the City.

Quinquatrus or *Quinquatria*, were certain feasts and games at *Rome* in the honor of *Minerva*. They continued five daies, and began the fift day after the Ides of *March. i.* the 20 of *March*: and these were called *Quinquatrus Majores*. For others named *Minores*, sel about the Ides of *June*, and that was the minstrels holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of *Livy*.

* *Math.* 27.
* *Marc.* 15.
Iohn 19.

Quintilis, the month of *July*, before *Julius Cæsars* time.

Quirinalia, was a festival day to *Quirinus*, appointed for them to sacrifice, who had neglected or missed to do divine service in their parish at the feast *Fornacalia*: and it was called the fools holiday: for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their own Curia.

Quirites, the name appropriate to the citizens of *Rome*: and so they loved to be called within the City: but in the camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great disgrace unto souldiers and men of arms.

R

Rorarii, were light armed footmen, resembling our forlorn hope: so called *à rore. i.* Dew. For like as there falleth commonly a drisling dew before a good shour of rain: so these *Rorarii* skirmished loosly, before the legionary souldiers came to the battail.

Rostra, were three-tined pikes of brass, set in the nose or beak-head of war-ships to offend the enemy, as appeareth by *Virgil*, *Rostrisq; tridentibus*: and thereupon by *Synecdoche*, the stems of ships were so called. And for that the publick pulpit for orations at *Rome*, was reared and adorned with such, it also was called *Rostra*.

Rudera, [*Cum milites religione tacti rudera jacerent.*] To make sense of this place, I have translated *Rudera*, peeces of brass mony: for that I cannot see what should be meant by rubbish stone in that place, which was not demolished by *Annibal*, for any thing that I can find; but only robbed of the silver & gold within the chappel of *Feronia*: in stead whereof were found *aris acervi*: by reason that the souldiers, who had some sence of religion & touch of conscience (whereof their leader *Annibal* had never any) cast from them [*Rudera.*] Now, probable it is that *Rudera*, is corruptly put for *era*, the later end of the word: or if we admit *Rudera*: it is well known that *Rudus* as well as *as* signifieth brass and brasen mony, as appeareth by *Rudusculum* the diminutive: for as of *as* came *Æsculum*, so of *Rudus* (no doubt) *Rudusculum*: and like as of *Æsculum*, *Æsculanus*, a god of the Painims, father of *Argentinus* (because copper & brass mony was before silver coin:) so of *Rudusculum*, the gate *Rudusculana* in *Rome*, set out with brass. Now that *Rudusculum* is put for a small peece of brass coin, it is proved by the form of words in buying and selling, and in manumission (*Rudusculo libram percute or feri.* By which I collect, that *Rudera* in this place may stand for *era*, *i.* peeces of coin. For there went afore, *eris acervi*, which *Horace* putteth for heaps of brass mony, and not for brasen images. And well it may be, that the souldiers upon some devotion, threw into the Church their oblations of such mony as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & construction of mine may serve, untill somewhat here may be made of rubbish stone, or better exposition come in place. The word (I am sure will bear it,) and the context in all sence and congruity, doth require it.

S

Salutare Deos] after a devout and reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they passed by, and withal, touched their hands: which *Lucretius* sheweth in these verses,

—— Tum portas propter, aliena
Signa manus dextras ostendunt attenuari
Sæpe salutantum, tactu præterque meantum.

Sceleratus Vicus, a street in *Rome* named before-time *Cyprius*, which in the Sabine language signifieth [good:] but upon occasion of a wicked act committed therein, it was by the contrary, called *Sceleratus*.

Secession, was a general insurrection and revolt of the commons in *Rome*, wherein they left the City, until such time as they had the authority of their Tribuns strengthned and confirmed: yea, and certain laws enacted and established by a solemn oath, with a curse denounced to all them that went about to abrogate or abolish the same: which thereupon were called *Sacratæ leges*.

Sex. *Sextus.*
Serg. *Sergius.* } All, forenames to Romans.
Serv. *Servius.*

Sextilis, the month of *August*, so called by the Romans before *Augustus Cæsar* his daies, for that it was the sixt in number: as *Quintilis* the fift, beginning at *March*.

Suburra.97 2. In Iuventutem grassantem in Suburra. It might well be that yonkers there made a fray or committed some riot and felony: for it was a street most of all others frequented; and besides, in it kept strumpets and curtisans, like enough to give occasion of much quarrel & misrule among youth, as appeareth by *Iuvenal* and *Martial* in this Distichon.

Fama non nimium bona, puella,
Quales in media sedent Suburra.

Suffrages, were the voices of the people given by Centuries, Curiæ, or tribes, which in *Rome* went affirmatively under this form, *Uti rogas, i.* be it according to your bill: and negatively thus, *Antiquo, i.* I deny or reject it.

Sordidati, were they that changed their weed in *reatu. i.* (whiles either themselves or their friends were in trouble and danger of judgment) that is to say, put off white, which was the ordinary colour, and did on black: but if they changed their apparel upon sorrow and mourning for the lois of friends or any publick calamity, they were called rather *Pulsati* and *Atrati*.

Sella Curulis, a seat or chair of estate. One of the regal ornaments at *Rome*, belonging to the Kings first: afterwards, during the free state, used by Dictators, Consuls, Pro-consuls, Prætors, and Propretors, Censors and Ædiles, namely, those called curules, for distinction from those that were Plebeii: and last of all, by the emperors in the time of the monarchy. This chair was made of Ivory: on which the abovesaid magistrats usually sat, not only in the Senat-house when they consulted or gave audience, or when they beheld the publik games & plaies, & rode either in triumph, or otherwise in the streets, mounted upon their Chariots: but also at home within their private houses, & wheresoever else it pleased them: & this badge or ensign of honor they had both in time of their magistracy, & afterwards: & as such Senators were called Curules (for the rest, who had not attained to those dignities, they named *Pedanei*, as some think, for that they went on foot to the Senat or places before mentioned) so those magistrats likewise abovesaid, were entituled by the name of Curule. And *Curulis* was that chair called either of *Currus* a chariot, for that they sate thereupon within their chariots; or, *quasi Curva*, because it was made crooked or curbwise, like unto our folding chairs.

Senator, A Counsellor of state. A name it was of honor, and not of age, as the word implieth: for to that place men attained often times very yong. Senat was the body of that degree and common Councel, opposite unto *Plebs* at *Rome*, namely, when it was *biceps* and the whole people comprehended under *Senatorius ordo* and *Plebeius*.

Sextans, a small brasen peece of mony at *Rome*, which being the sixt part of As, cometh to a cue or half a farthing.

Sextarius was the Basis of measures in *Rome*, as As of weights: and look how As was divided into twelve ounces, so *Sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*, and in measures *Sextans* was the sixth part of *Sextarius*, which weighed twenty ounces, much about a wine pint and a half among us.

Of *Sibyls* books so often mentioned in *Livy*, which being three in number, were bought of *Sibylla* by King *Tarquin* the proud, at the price of nine, after she had burned six of them before his face: which books were kept diligently in the Capitol: and whereout the Decemvirs by their learning made report of the will and pleasure of the gods, See *A. Gellius*, 1 book 19 chapter.

Signum, was the general name of all the ensigns in the field. But *Aquila* more particularly was the main standard to a whole legion: so called, for that upon the top of a spear was reared and fastned an Eagle in silver at full relief, and the same sometime was gilded standing upon a base or footstal of the same metal. The other ensigns, as well of cohorts, which were bands of five hundred men usually, as of centuries, *i.* companies of hundred, named more especially *Vexilla*, and were generally called *Signa*, had the portaiture of Minotaures, wolves, bores, horses, dragons, with sundry other devices according to the fancy of the Colonels or captains, containing also the name of the cohort or Century, and the legion to which they belonged.

T

Talentum Atticum, As wel *ponderale* which was weighed, as *numerale* or *nummarium*, which was counted in mony, was of two sorts: The less, of sixty pound Attick, and every one of them consisted of a hundred *Drachmæ* or *Denarii Romani*. If *Mina* then, be three pound two shillings six pence, sterling, the less talent Attick amounteth to 187 pound ten shillings of our English mony. The greater, or simply the great, talent, in *Livy*, is fourscore *minæ*, and hath *proportionem sesquitertiam*, *& minus*, which cometh to two hundred and fifty pound sterling. Now was the Euboick talent (whereof *Livy* also speaketh) half of *Talentum majus Atticum*.

T. Titus. } A forename to many houses of the Romans.

Testudo, A target-fence, which the Legionary Romans souldiers, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of Towns to give assault. In the former, after they had enclosed within them their baggage and light armed men, they rested themselves upon their knees, with their targets close, couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies shot: and after they had well breathed they would rise up all at once again, fresh and lusty to a new skirmish. In the later, they had the like target-roof, but pent-house wise, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and so they scaled walls without offence from above.

Templum hath in *Livy* three significations, 1. a sacred house or chappel dedicated to some god or goddess for divine service, as the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, &c. 2. An open place, from whence a man might see all about him, as having nothing to hinder his prospect, and which likewise might be seen from all parts, whereof cometh the verb *Contemplari, i.* to behold. And such did the Augurs chuse for to take their signs of bird-flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for divine service, yet for debating of serious human affairs, as their Curiæ and Counsel-Chambers, yea, and the Rostra at *Rome*.

Thalassio, An Auspicate or lucky word used at Bridals or weddings in *Rome*, like to this among the Greeks. *ὑμὴν ὦ ὑμέναε, ὦ ὑμὴν Hymen, O Hymenæe, hymen, &c. Catul.*

Thensæ, whereof *Livy* writeth in the fifth & ninth books, were certain petty chariots or dreyes of silver or ivory, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pomp upon certain high daies: and they who led the horses drawing the same, wore their richest apparel, holding in their hands and training the false reins stretched out at length in solemn wise, whereupon *Festus* thinketh they took the name *Thensæ quasi Tensæ*.

Trabea was a roial robe or mantle of estate, all of deep purple or scarlet only, at the first: but afterwards, embrodered richly with gold. *Livy* seemeth to confound it with *Vestis purpurea*, *Picta*, *Palmata*, and *Trimphalis*. And in truth, all one they were in the principal substance and matter thereof, namely purple or scarlet: but different in the setting out, being embrodered with gold, more or less, distinguished also with white among (for that was a roial colour) as may appear by the diadem, which was a white wreath, or band done about the head of Kings, or in the manner of the work: for either it was *palmata*, so called

called *à latitudine clavorum*, i. of the broad buttons of gold, *ad instar palmarum*, i. to the bredth of ones hand, as *Festus* thinketh: or branched and damasked with flour-work, like to the date-tree: or else *pictæ*, i. of tissew or embrodery.

Tribuni of the Commons were certain Magistrats, as Provosts or Protectors of the Commons, to restrain and keep down the excessive power of the nobility; chosen and confirmed by the general oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, i. sacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their person. They had a negative voice and power of inhibition, called *Intercessio*, whereby they might cross and stop the proceedings of the Senat, or any magistrat, save only the Dictator: even the very Consuls, whom in some case they might command.

Tribuni military in Consuls authority, or *Consulary*, governed the state of *Rome* many years in stead of Consuls.

Tribuni military in the army, were Colonels over a thousand.

Tribuni ærarii, were the keepers of the City chamber or common Treasure, as it were, the masters of the exchequer.

Tribes in *Rome*, first three, containing each of them ten *Curiæ*: but afterwards they were five and thirty, containing all the natural citizens of *Rome*.

Tribu moveri, was a kind of ignominy and disgrace, when a man was displaced by the censors out of his own tribe into another more base than it, and namely, *è rusticis in urbanas*; of which *urbanæ* there were four, *Suburrana*, *Esquilina*, *Palatina* and *Collina*: into which King *Servius* distributed those that were manumised, and *Rullus* afterwards *forensem turbam*.

Triumviri capitales, Three Judges delegat to sit upon life and death, touching fellonious crimes. They were called also *Quæstores parricidii*, &c.

Triumviri Monetales, Three officers for the mint of mony, either brass, silver, or gold. They are represented in old coins by these five letters stamped thereupon, Æ. A. A. F F. for *ære, auro, argento, flando, feriundo*: that is to say, for the melting, coining, and stamping of brass, silver, and gold. They were afterwards four in number, and named *Quatuorviri*.

Triumviri or *Trefviri nocturni*, Three overseers of the night-watch, for fire &c.

Triumviri Mensarii, Three Commissaries deputed for the time, and as occasion required, in stead of bankers or treasurers to receive a stock of mony, and to lay the same out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the second Punick war when the City chamber was without mony. Which stock was put into their hands out of private mens purses, by way of a voluntary benevolence and contribution, as appeareth in the six and twentieth book of *Livy*.

Triumviri [*Extraordinarii*] Three likewise to levy souldiers and able men for to bear arms (without the usual order of musters) throughout *Italy*, upon some special occasion.

Triumviri coloniis deducendis, three commissioners who had authority to enrol new inhabitants into any colony: also to set out and divide the City lands gotten by conquest, at their discretion among them.

Triumviri also there were three, Wardens to oversee the sacrifices, the oblations and offrings to the Gods.

Taurilia, certain feastival games instituted (as *Festus* saith) by King *Targuin* the proud, for to pacify the infernal gods: upon occasion of a contagious malady that hapned to women great with child, endangering both them and those they went with: which arose upon the corrupt flesh sold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for sacrifices: whereupon the mony employed about those solemnities, was called *Tauricum æs*.

Solitaurilia or *Suovetaurilia*, was a solemn sacrifice at the lustration, review, or purging of the City every fifth year: and this was called *Lustrum conditum*. It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a bore. At which solemnity all that were able to bear arms, assembled in order of battail.

Triumph, a solemnity in honor of them who have vanquished their enemies: so called, for that their souldiers resounded, *Io triumphe*; (as *Varro* thinketh) or of Θρ αμβῶ for Θρίαμβῶ one of *Bacchus* names, the first inventer thereof: or of τρεῖς ὀμφοὶ three voices: because it was granted by the suffrages of souldiers, Senators, and common people: as it may appear in *Livy*, by the triumph of L. *Paulus Æmylius*, who had like to have been disappointed thereof, by his own souldiers.

V

Venus Erycina, *Ovid. 4. Fast.* *à siculo nomina colle tenet*: she was so called of a promontory in *Sicily*, called *Eryx*, where there was a goodly temple built in the honour of *Venus*; and afterwards at *Rome* also in memorial thereof.

Versus Fescennini, certain licentious and unchast songs, used among the Painims at weddings; the manner whereof, came first from the city *Fescenninum* (as some think:) or as others, *Quia fascinum putabantur arcere*, because they were thought to have vertue to withstand witchcraft and sorcery.

Vestales virgines, were certain professed Nuns vowing virginity, who had the keeping of the sacred fire of *Vesta*. *Nec tu aliud vestam, quam puram intellige flammam*. *Ovid*. This *Vesta* was brought from *Troy* with the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and other holy reliques.

Vltro tributa, ἐργολαβίαι, were certain City works, for which the censors did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price.

Verbena, although it signifieth a speciall herb, called *Verbenaca*, *i.e.* verven in English, and in Greek ἱερατικὸν, because doves delight much to be above it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbs put to holy use among the Painims, which are called *Sagmina* in Latine, and in Greek ἱερόβοτανα. But *Dioscorides* describeth one sort thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not so high as our vervin doth, and it seemeth to be that which the Physicians, Herbarists, and Apothecaries call *Gramen ἀγρωστὶς* in Greek, *dent de chien* in French: and the coich grass in English: according to which saith *Livy*, *Fecialis ex arce puram graminis herbam attulit*.

Victoriatus, *i.e. quinarius nummus*, A piece of Roman silver coin, half *Denarius*, and a double *Sestertius*, having the image of *Victory* stamped upon it, either standing on foot crowned with a chaplet of bay, or else carried in a triumphall chariot drawn with four fleeds, holding forth in her right hand the foresaid garland, as is to be seen in divers antiquities of coin.

Veteres signifieth a place in *Rome* called *Veteres*: *Curiæ* in respect of *Novæ*, or certain shops called *Argentariæ* of bankers, in regard of others also, named *Novæ*.

A Table of all the Orations in *Titus Livius*, by way of division of the general into particular members, fitted for all sorts of speaking or writing, and digested according to the severall places of the three principall heads of all Causes in Oratory, to wit, the *Deliberative*, the *Demonstrative*, and the *Judiciall*.

To reconciliation and peace-making, between Romans and Albans, by *Metius Suffetius* Prince of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans. 14.H

Of *Appius Claudius* a Tribune military to the people of *Rome*, for the continuance of war and keeping souldiers in wintering camp at the siege of *Veii*, against the Tribunes of the Commons. 105.A

Of *L. Lentulus* the chief of the Roman Embassadors to the army and the Consuls that they would of their own accord yield themselves unto the Samnits at the place called *Caudinæ furcæ*, where there was no hope of escaping. 257.C

Of *Decius Mus* the Consul to the people, that there might be Augurs and Pontifies chosen out of the Commons. 290.H

Of *Acedux* the Spaniard to the captain of the Saguntins, for the sending back of the hostages into their own Cities, whom *Annibal* had demanded of all the States, and bestowed in safe custody at *Saguntum*. 359.F

Of *Minutius* the Master of the horse unto his souldiers for joyning camp with *Fabius*, when he perceived that both he and his were saved by the prowess of the said *Fabius*, after himself had unluckily fought against *Annibal*. 363.G

Of the Roman captives, in the overthrow at *Canna* to the Nobles of *Rome*, that they might be ransomed. 378.H

Of *Varro* the Consul, to the Campan Embassadors, that after so great loss and soil of the Romans they would so undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither *Annibal* might think himself conqueror, nor the Romans conquered. 383.G

The perswasion.

Of *Fabius Maximus* to the people, That the command in war being taken from *Otacilius*, they should consider what Generall should make head against *Annibal*. 414.G

Of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul to the people about removing the war into *Macedony*, and to aid the Athenians against *Philip*. 626.I

Of *Aristhenus*, a Prince of *Achæa* to the Achæans, for the demands of the Roman Embassadors, that they would stand for them against *Philip*. 658.H

Of *M. Porcius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*, which *C. Oppius* a Trib. of the Commons in the Punick war had made for restraint of womens apparell against the Nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the same. 684.H

Of *Annibal* in the councill of King *Antiochus* concerning the contracting of peace with King *Philip*, and the whole course of war, which *Antiochus* prepared against the Romans. 739.C

Of reconciliation by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* to *M. Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius* Consors, who for many years together had born a deadly malice and enmity one against another. 1088.K

Of *M. Servilius* for *L. Æmylius Paulus*, that he might have triumph granted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his own souldiers withstood the same, for that they were scanted in the pillage: and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* opposed himself against it. 1226.H

Dissuasion

Of *Cneus Martius Coriolanus* to the nobility against the Commonalty and the Tribune in distributing the old provision of corn. 55.D

The fraudulent dissuasion of *Accius Tullius* King of the Volscians, to the end that the Volscians might not be present at their solemn games, and so he might after stir them up against the Romans. 56.O

Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator, to the people against the Tribunes of the Commons, for going to dwell at *Veii*, when *Rome* was in a manner rased. 174.N

Of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribunes of the commons, that the laws concerning debt, the proportion or stint of lands, the elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the Consuls should be of the commons, might not pass. 52.I

Of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ransomed. 379.B

Of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, that the Province of *Affrick* might not be decreed to *Scipio*. 564.M

Of *L. Valerius* a tribune of the commons, in the behalf of women (against the sentence of *Cato*) that the law *Oppia* should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous expence of women. 686.L

Of *Tanaquil* the wife of *Tarquin. Priscus*, to *Servius* her son in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdered by two shepherds. 24.M

Of *Tullia* the daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus* to *L. Tarquinius* her husband, to aspire unto the kingdom, against her father. 27.E

Of *Accius Tullius* a Prince of the Volscians to his countrimen, wherein he stirred them up against the Romans, for that they were commanded by them to depart the City, so as they might not be present at the publike games. 57.D

Of the ancient Senators of *Rome*, for the putting down of the Decemvirship, and restoring the Tribunship of commons. 101.E

Of the legats of the commonalty of *Rome*, which was gone into mount *Sacer*, by reason of the obstinacy of the Decemvirs, who would not give over their Magistracy: that now having dispatched their business, they would return into their native country, to their own houses, wives, and children. 102.H

Of *Valerius* the Consul to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* joyned together in *Algidum*. 108.H

Of *Horatius* the Consul, Collegue of *Valerius*, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would set up such a shout, as at the charge of a battell. 107.C

With a grievous complaint, Of *Caius Canuleius* a Trib. of the Com. unto the commonalty, against the nobility, for the publishing of laws concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consul a commoner. 115.D

Of *Vettius Metius* King of the Volscians to his people against the Romans, that they would with sword make way, where they saw him go before. 130.L

Exhortation

Of *Mamercus Æmylius* the Dictator to his souldiers, being frighted with the strange sight of the burning fire-brands which the Fidenats and Veientians did carry. 132.M

Of *Sextus Tempanius* a Decurion of horsemen to his souldiers, in a desperat battell, by occasion of the rashness of *Caius Sempronius* the Consul. 135.E

Of *Camillus* being banished to the Ardeats, That they would take arms for the Romans against the Gauls, who had won the City of *Rome*, all but the Capitoll. 171.C

Of *Mar. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to his souldiers, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnats, Volscians, Latines, and Hernicks. 182.H

Of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* the Dictator to his souldiers, and to *Quintius Capitolinus* the Master of the horsemen, against the huge multitude of the Volscians. 184.N

Of M. *Manlius Capitolinus* (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whom by gifts and largess he had allured against the Nobility for suppressing and deposing of Magistrats. 188.L

Of M. *Popilius* a commoner consul and collegue of *Scipio*, to his souldiers: against the Gauls who had encamped in the Latine territory. 217.E

Of M. *Valerius Corvinus* the Consul to his men against the Samnits. 222.L

Of *Pub. Decius* a military Tribune, to *Aulus Cornelius* Consul, when there was no hope seen of escaping out of the hands of the Samnits. 223.F

Of *P. Decius* a military Tribune, to break in upon the enemy from the hill which he had seized. 224.L

Of *Mar. Valerius Corvinus* the Dictator to the mutinous and wicked souldiers (who being snared with the pleasures and delights of *Capua*, had plotted to dispossess the Capuans of their City) that they would not fight against their own country. 227.F

Of *Titus Quintius* the Roman, chosen captain against his will by the mutinous Roman souldiers, That laying aside anger and hope, they would not make triall of the fortune of a battell against them. 228.L

Of *L. Annius Setinus* a Prætor of the Latines unto his souldiers, to demand of the Romans, that if they would have them to be in league and society, they should elect from among them one of their Consuls and part of the Senat. 231.D

Of *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, to break upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Roman Citizens, and to recover the Colony from the Samnits. 269.F

Of *Virginia*, the daughter of *Aulus*, a Patritian, and wife of a Commoner Consul, to a laudable contention in vertue, at the dedication of the altar called *Ara Pudicitiæ plebeiæ*. 279.B

Of *Alorcus* the Spaniard to the Saguntins in exceeding great despair of their state about the articles of peace which *Annibal* at the point of victory did impose upon them as conquered persons. 323.G

Of *P. Scipio* the Consul to his men against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. 335.D

Of *Annibal* to his souldiers against *P. Scipio*. 616.H

Exhortation

Of *Cneus Lentulus* a military Tribune to *Lucius Æmylius Paulus* Consul, to save himself by flight at the overthrow of *Canne*. 373.C

Of *Lu. Æmylius* the Consul unto *Cn. Lentulus*, for fortifying of the City of *Rome*. *Ib.*D

Of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a military Tribune to his souldiers, who had escaped out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by sword and valour through the thickest troops of the enemies. 374.I

Of *L. Pinarius* captain of the Roman garrison at *Ænna* to his souldiers: for to prevent treason and treachery intended. 432.I

Of *L. Martius Septimius* the General, to his souldiers, That they would charge upon the army of *Asdrubal* to revenge the death of the *Scipio's* 466.L

Of *P. Scipio* to the old souldiers, to make war beyond *Iberus*. 508.L

Of *Scipio* to his souldiers at the siege of new *Carthage*. 497.F

Of *Porcius Cato* to his souldiers, That they would recover by arms and prowess the rule and government which the Romans had lost beyond *Iberus*. 691.A

(A cold exhortation) Of *T. Quintius* to his souldiers at the siege of *Lacedæmon*. 699.C

Of *Acilius* the Consul to his souldiers against *Antiochus*. 744.O

Of the Rhodians in the Senat, with a petition for reward, after *Antiochus* was overcome by *L. Scipio* with the help of the Rhodians. 977.C

Of *Cn. Manlius* the Consul to his souldiers against the gallogreeks, for that they had aided *Antiochus* against the Romans. 996.H

Of *Perseus* the Macedonian King, in regard of the hope of victory against the Romans. 997.E

Dehortation

Of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome* against the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruins of *Rome*, they would not go to *Veii* another City. 174.N

Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* Dictator, to the mutinous and rebellious souldiers from fighting against their native country. 227.F

Of *Pacuvius Calavius* the Campan to his son, not to kill *Annibal*. 386.K

Of *Vibius Virius* to the Campans, That they should not yield themselves to the Romans. 478.N

Admonition

Of *Metius Suffetius* captain of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans, about peace making between Romans and Albans. 15.K

Of *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans to his own souldiers, concerning the treachery of *Metius Suffetius*. 17.D

Of the two Delegats, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, about the demands of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount *Sacer*, for that they having finished the time of their government refused notwithstanding to leave their Magistracy. 102.M

Of *Appius* the Decemvir at the resigning of the Decemvirship. 103.A

Of *M. Duillius* a Commoner, for hope of liberty after punishment taken of the Decemvirs. 106.L

Of *Camillus* to the Tusculan Senators, about sending Embassadors to *Rome* for treaty of peace. 193.D

Of *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator to *Aulus Sempronius* the Generall of the horsemen, concerning the manner of war against the Prenestins. 195.B

Of *Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites, concerning the opposition of the Tribunes of the Commons. 200.L

Of the Roman Consul to the Campans that they should not take arms against the Samnits, with the answer of the Campan Embassadors. 221.F

Of *Furius Camillus* to the LL. of the Senat, as touching the Latines subdued, and by what means they might keep them quiet in continuall peace. 238.K

Of *Spurius Posthumius* the Consul (who was put under the yoke at *Caudinæ Furcæ*) in the Senat, of the peace made at *Caudium*. 259.E

Of *Aulus Cornelius Arvina* the Fæciall herald to the Samnits at the delivery of the sureties that undertook the peace. 261.D

Admonition
- Of *Annibal* to the Spaniſh ſouldiers, about removing the war. 327.B
- Of *Fabius Maximus* the Cunctator to *Æmylius* the Conſul, concerning *Varro*, and the order of war-ſervice with the enemy. 363.F
- Of *Maharbal* the captain of the ſouldiers to *Annibal* the *Victor*, that he would make uſe of his victory: with the anſwer of *Annibal*. 374.L
- Of *Perolla* the Campane to *Pacuvius Calavius* his father about the killing of *Annibal*, with the anſwer and deteſtation of the father from that wicked deed. 386.L
- Of *Annibal* to his ſouldiers againſt *Claudius Marcellus*. 514.I
- Of *P. Scipio* to *Maſaniſſa* King of the *Maſſeſyli*, who fell in love with *Sophonisba* wife of *Syphax*, King of the Numidians and daughters of *Aſdrubal*. 604.L
- Of *T. Quintius Flaminius* in the generall councill of *Greece*, for making war upon the tyrant *Nabis*, by reaſon of *Argos* the noble City of *Greece*, which by him was held. 694.M
- Of *P. Sulpitius* the Roman Embaſſador to *Minio* the chief of the friends of *Antiochus* who was fled, for that he refuſed conference with the delegates. 719.F
- Of *T. Quintius* to the Achæans concerning the Iſland *Zacynthus*, which they pleaded to be under their ſubjection. 749.B
- Of *T. Quintius* to *M. Atilius* the Conſul in defence of the Ætolians. 752.I
- Of *T. Quintius* to the ſtates of the Ætolians about reconciliation with the Romans. *Ib.*L
- Of King *Eumenes* to *L. Æmylius* the Prætor, that he would not conclude peace with *Antiochus*, but by the authority of the Senat and grant of the people of *Rome*. 765.C
- Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Heraclides* the Embaſſador of *Antiochus* for peace. 774.D
- Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Zeuſis* the Embaſſador of King *Antiochus* about conditions of peace. 778.M
- Of *P. Scipio Africanus* accuſed for robbing the common treaſure to the commons; as touching his exploits. 986.L
- Of King *Eumenes* in the Senat, concerning *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians. 1187.B
- Of *P. Licinius Calvus* to the people, that they would beſtow the honor of the Tribuneſhip freely offered unto him, upon his ſon that ſued for it. 999.F

Petition
- Of Embaſſadors yielding *Falerii* to the Senat. 163.E
- Of peace by the Tuſculan legats in the Senat. 203.C
- Of *Sextus Tullius* to the Dictator, that he would give the ſouldiers leave to fight. 211.D
- Of the Campan legats in the Senat for aid againſt the Samnits. 220.M
- Of *Annius Setinus* the Prætor of the Latines to the LL. of the Senat, that one of the Conſuls might be choſen out of the Latines. 232.I
- Of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* the Conſul elect to the people, that he might appoint *Publius Decius* a ſtaid and diſcreet man to be his collegue. 297.C
- Of *Minutius* the Maſter of the horſemen, to *Fabius* the Dictator, when he joyned camp with him. 364.I
- Of *Sophronisba* the wife of *Syphax*, to *Maſaniſſa*, that he would not ſuffer her to come in the proud and cruell hands of any Roman. 603.A
- Of *Annibal* to *Antiochus*, that he would account him amongſt his chieſeſt friends, in oppoſition to the Romans, againſt whom he had fought ſix and thirty years. 721.A
- Of peace by *Zeuſis* the legat of King *Antiochus* to the Romans. 778.L
- Of King *Eumenes* in the Senat, for reward and recompence of labour emploied, and charges ſpent in the Roman wars againſt *Antiochus*. 781.E

Prayer
- Of *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator* that he would aſſiſt the Romans againſt the Sabins. 8.N
- Of *Quintius Fabius* the chief of the City, to the Tribunes of the Commons, that Quinquevirs might not be created, for ſetting down laws and conditions concerning the Conſuls power. 88.H
- Of *Virginius* to the ſouldiers, whoſe offer of honourable dignity he refuſed. 100.L
- Of *Camillus* the Dictator to *Apollo* and *Juno* at the ſiege and aſſault of *Veii*. 159.G
- Of *P. Decius* the Conſul, when he devowed himſelf for the Roman legions in the Latine war, who afterward by his death recovered victory to the Romans. 235.D
- Of *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans, to *T. Quintius*, that he would deliver and ſet free from the tyrant *Nabis*, the moſt ancient City of the Greeks, *Argos*. 695.C

Thankſgiving
- Of *Romulus* to *Jup. Feretrius*, at the offering up of ſpoils, and dedication of the Temple. 8.H
- Of the Saguntins to the LL. of the Senat, with a gratulation for their victory. 563.D

Reconciliation
- Between Romans and Albans by *Metius Suffetius*. 14.H

An Intimation
- Of *C. Munius Scævola*, to *Porſena* King of the Cluſines. 43.B

Of

Congratulation
- Of *Papyrius* the Dictator to the people, about the abſolution and pardon of *Q. Fabius* Maſter of the horſemen, who againſt his Edict had fought. 251.B
- Of the Syracuſians to *Marcellus*, for killing of *Annibals* favourits, who held and oppreſſed *Syracuſa*, and for reconciliation with the Romans. 460.M

Commendation
- Of King *Eumenes* ſon of K. *Attalus*, for the Romans victory againſt *Antiochus*, with a petition of rewards for coſt and labour emploied in that war. 782.I
- Of *P. Scipio* to *Luceius* Prince of the Celtiberians, for rendring to him his ſpouſe. 503.F
- Of *Spurius Ligustinus* the Centurion to the Commons, with a requeſt that they would aſſign him a place of ſervice worthy his deſerts in the Macedonian war. 1057.F

Praiſe
- Of *Scipio* by *Annibal*, with a petition of peace. 613.A
- Of *Antigonus*, by *Philip* King of the Macedonians, whom he thought worthy to wear the crown of *Macedony*, diſinheriting his ſon *Perſeus* a parricide. 983.C

Diſpraiſe
- Of the arrogancy of *Caſo*, by *Aulus Virginius* to the Commons. 80.H
- Of the ſchool-Maſter of the Faliſcans Treachery, by *Camillus*. 163.B
- Of the filthy ceremonies of the Bacchanals, with a ſolemn invocation of the gods, by *Poſthumius* Conſul, to the people. 959.C

Accuſation.
- Of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the Conſul, to the people againſt *Aulus Virginius*. 84.H
- Of *Aulus Virginius* againſt *Appius* the defendant. 104.K
- Of *L. Sextius* a Commoner Tribune, againſt *M. Poſthumius* a military Tribune to the people. 142.H
- Of *T. Manlius* The Conſul againſt *T. Manlius* his ſon, whom he had beheaded, for that in the Latine war he fought againſt the enemy without his commandment. 234.H
- Or a recrimination of *C. Mænius* the Dictator againſt certain noblemen, who accuſed him of ambition or unlawful ſuing for dignities, becauſe they might not come to their anſwer when they were accuſed. 272.H
- Of *P. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons againſt *App. Claudius*, who within the lawfull time that is to ſay, eighteen months, would not reſign up his office of Cenſorſhip. 276.K
- Of *Hanno* againſt the Carthaginians, about the league broken with the Romans by *Annibal*, whom the Roman Embaſſadors required to have puniſhed, as the author guilty of that crime. 322.I
- Of *P. Scipio* againſt the mutinous ſouldiers, who in his abſence had thruſt the Colonels out of the camp, and beſtowed the ſoveraign command upon the chiefeſt heads of that ſedition. 556.H
- Of the Legats of King *Philip* in the Councill of the Ætolians againſt the Romans, with a diſſwaſion that the Ætolians ſhould not ſide with them. 637.A
- Of *L. Furius Purpurio* and *P. Æmylius*, againſt *Cn. Manlius*, that he might not have a triumph granted. 935.C
- Of *Perſeus* the ſon of *Philip* the Macedonian againſt his brother *Demetrius*, whom he accuſed of Parricide. 957.F
- Of *Q. Martius* the Roman Embaſſador againſt *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians, for the covenants of league broken. 1045.G

Defence
- Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* before *Corn. Coſſus* the Dictator, and the LL. of the Senat. 186.M
- Of *Sp. Poſthumius* againſt the Tribunes of the Commons, who hindered the ſubmiſſion made unto the Samnits at *Caudine Furce*. 297.C
- With a perſwaſion, Of *Hanno* to the Carthaginians, that they would think that joy vain which was riſen upon *Annibals* victory over the Romans at *Canne*. 388.L
- Of the Embaſſadors of thoſe ſouldiers who remained after the Cannian overthrow to *Mar. Marcellus*, concerning the diſgrace offered to them by the Senat, with a petition of a better ſtate and condition. 442.O
- Or a recrimination, Of *M. Marcellus* againſt the Syracuſian Embaſſadors, who complained of injuries done unto them by him. 490.O
- Of *Cornelius Scipio* Conſul, againſt *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who diſſwaded that the province of *Affrica* ſhould be granted to *P. Scipio*. 567.D
- With a recrimination, Of *Annibal* to the Carthaginians, who blamed him when he laughed in the generall mourning of the City. 607.F
- Of the Roman Legats in the Councill of the Ætolians againſt *Philip*, with a perſwaſion, that the Ætolians ſhould abide in league and amity with the Romans. 927.G
- Of *Philip* the King, to thoſe imputations which the Romans and others did challenge him for. 666.H
- Of *Nabis* tyrant of the Argives to *T. Quintius* in the generall Councill of *Greece*. 698.L
- Of *Cn. Manlius* the Coſ. againſt *L. Furius* and *P. Æmylius*, who interpoſed their negative, that he ſhould not triumph for the war which he managed againſt the gallogreeks. 975.D

Of

Defence
- Of crimes objected to the Achæans by the Lacedemonians, by *Lycortas* their Prætor, before *Appius Claudius* chief of the Roman Legats. 929.E
- Of *Demetrius* K. *Philip* his son, accused of parricide, against his brother *Perseus*. 933.B
- Of *Areo* brother of *Xenarchus* the Prætor of the Achæans, for *Perseus* K. of the Macedonians against *Callicrates*, who had perswaded that no society was with him to be contracted. 1087.A
- Of *Perseus* the Macedonian K. to *Quintus Martius* the Roman Embassador. 1021.F
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* for making delay in his going into *Macedony*, with an admonition to the people, that they would not feed the rumours of war, but keeping in their prattling, for that it was a great hinderance to them that were to be employed in war-affairs. 1015.C
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* to his souldiers, wherein he sheweth the reason why he delayed battell. 1019.G

Excuse
- Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Annibal* concerning the conditions of peace. 614.L

The upbraiding
- Of *P. Horatius* to the people of *Rome* for his son accused of felony. 16.L
- Of *Himilco* a man of the Barchine faction, against *Hanno*, who accused the Carthaginians for the breach of the league with the Romans by *Annibal*. 388.L

Invective
- Of *Lu. Quintius Cincinnatus*, against the licentiousnes of the Nobles in creating of Magistrates. 84.H.85.D
- Of *C. Pontius* Generall of the Samnits against the intolerable pride and inhumane cruelty of the Romans, with a perswasion to a just and lawfull war. 255.B
- Of the same *C. Pontius* to the Roman Fæciall herald at the delivery of Consuls, Captains, Treasurers, and Colonels, sureties for the Caudine peace. 697.G
- Of *M. Ruffus Minutius*, Generall of the horsemen against *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, for his delaies and cowardise against *Annibal*, besieging *Sinuessa* a Colony of the Romans, even before their eyes. 355.E
- Of *T. Quintius* against *Nabis* the Argive tyrant, for that he accounted of the Roman allies as enemies, and had joyned himself with their enemies against the Romans. 699.C

Exposulation
- Of *Veturia* to *Coriolanus* her son, making war upon the Romans for the Volscians. 58.L
- Of *Minio* the principall friend of *Antiochus*, to the Roman Embassadors. 719.D
- Of Rhodian Embassadors in the Senat with a clearing of crimes objected. 1014.O

Purgation
- Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul to the people, in the case of seeking to be King. 82.H
- With a challenge, Of one of the Carthaginians to the Roman Legats, shewing upon what plot and advice *Annibal* had besieged *Saguntum*. 325.E

Complaint
- And lamentation of *Lucretia* to her husband, her father and friends, for the violence offered her. 34.I
- Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul, to the Tribunes and the whole Communalty against *Appius Herdonius*, who with banished men and slaves had in the night seized the Roman Castle. 82.M
- Or a grievous lamenting with an exhortation of *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time Consul to the Commons, touching the discords of the Citizens. 108.M
- Of *Perolla* the Campan, to *Pacuv.* his father, that he had thrice betraied his country. 386.B
- Of *Magius Decius* to the multitude of the Campans gathered about him, untill by the commandment of *Annibal* he was bound and led to execution. 387.C
- Of the Samnit Embassadors to *Annibal* that he would aid them against the Romans. 405.F
- Of the Locrensian Embassadors in the Senat, against *Q. Pleminius* Captain of the Roman souldiers, for the great injuries offered to them by him and his souldiers. 581.G
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian to the Roman Legats. 892.L
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children. 899.G
- Of *Callicrates* the Achæan against *Perseus* King of Macedony. 953.B
- Of *Lu. Æmylius Paulus*, as concerning his wonderfull calamity and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stock of this worlds mutability. 1113.F

Rebuke
- Of the Volscians to the Roman Legats, who after the loss and ruin of *Saguntum*, required of them to stand firm in league and society with the Romans against the Carthaginians. 404.N
- Of *M. Marcellus* to his souldiers, in that they abandoned their camp with that fearfulness, whereby they lost the opportunity of fight, which *Hannibal* refused. 637.A
- Of *Aristhenus* Prætor of the Achæans against them: for that in their Councill they were silent, and answered not to the Roman Legats. 620.I
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* to K. *Perseus*, because he submitted to the Roman Legats, with an admonition to his men of the change and alteration of this world. 1205.F

Humble intreaty.
- Of *L. Virginius* to his souldiers, whereby he refused the majesty of a Decemvirship offered unto him without his seeking. 122.H
- Of *Titus Manlius* the Consul to the Latine Embassadors, requiring of the Senat, That one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines, and that they might have a part in the Senat. 283.E

Commination, or threatning.
- Of *Icilius* against the Decree of *Appius* the Decemvir, to the end that *Virginia* his Spouse should not remain without her fathers house. 118.H
- Of *Lu. Virginius* the father against *Appius Claudius* for his daughter *Virginia*. 119.A
- Of *Cornelius Cossus* Dictator against *Marcus Manlius Capitolinus*, for that by his excessive gifts he had stirred up the people against the nobility. 224.L
- Of *Caius Fabius* the Dictator, touching the rashness of *Rufus Minutius* Generall of the horsemen. 519.C
- Of *P. Cornelius Scipio* against *Cacilius Metellus* and other young men of *Rome*, who plotted to abandon *Italy* for fear of *Hannibal*. 495.E
- Of *Tib. Gracchus* to his souldiers, of penalty to be inflicted upon those slaves who refused to fight. 519.C

Interrogative.
- Of *Caius Junius*, a Tribune of the Commons, To *Tempanius* an horseman, about *Sempronius* the Consul, who had shamefull abandoned his Camp in the war against the Volscians. 194.M
- Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to the gods, when he was led to prison for a sedition. 231.B
- Of *Lu. Papyrius* the Dictator, to *Fabius Maximus* General of the horsemen, for that against his Decree he had fought with the Samnits. 304.H
- Of King *Philip*, and of *Titus Quintius* the Consul, touching conditions of peace. 829.D

FINIS.

A SUPPLEMENT OF THE SECOND DECAD OF LIVIE'S ROMAN HISTORY.

Written in LATINE AND DEDICATED TO CHRISTINA, QUEEN of SWEDES, GOTHS, VANDALS, &c.

BY J. FREINSHEMIUS.

Newly Translated into ENGLISH.

LONDON,
Printed for *Joshua Kirton*, *Abel Roper*, *Gabriel Bedell*, and *George Sawbridge*, 1659.

To the High and Mighty Princeſs, and his moſt Gracious LADY,

CHRISTINA,

By the Grace of God Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHS, VANDALS *and the adjoyning Provinces.*

Madam,

IT hath happily faln out, that your wonderful Humanity and Learning, rarely to be found in ſo great a Majeſty, have given me advantage of omitting one of thoſe two ſubjects which uſually are the Contents of Dedicatory Epiſtles. For I have ſo many reaſons to declare why I preſent this Supplement to your Majeſty, that if I were forced likewiſe to declare the Argument of the Work, to what End, and in what Manner it is contrived, I could not accompliſh it without a long and tedious Epiſtle. But now thoſe Your two Virtues I mentioned, have freed me of this Neceſſity, ſeeing out of your Humanity you condeſcended to read the Work while it was in Compoſing, and by your Learning more fully underſtood, then I or any other could expound what was ſuperfluous, and what wanting in it. I will not therefore accuſe the meaneſſe of my Wit or Learning, or any other thing, that this my Deſign hath no more happily ſucceeded, (Let thoſe men pretend ſhortneſſe of time, multitude of buſineſſe or incommodities of ſickneſſe, who aim at other Glory beſides that of Obedience) it ſufficeth me, I am conſcious, that in writing this, I have obſerved the benefit of your Studies, and in making it Publick been Obedient to Your Will. For when in compiling the Relicks of LIVY'S HISTORY, which at that time you diligently read, I had finiſhed this Work as a Bridge over a broken Paſſage, You were pleaſed (according to Your excellent and well known Goodneſſe) to expreſſe Your liking of my Endeavors; and, as Your Self thereby had reaped Benefit, ſo to judg them fit of Publick View, that others might likewiſe be profited by them. Wherein You manifeſted both your Wiſdome and your Bounty: Your Bounty, in that what was ſolely intended for your own ſervice, you were willing ſhould be uſeful unto all: Your Wiſdom in that, in this new beginning and encreaſe of Learning, which by your example and Help the North doth greedily receive and happily improve, you have encouraged other men to exerciſe their Wit and Induſtry in publiſhing more Accurate and Learned Writings, when they ſhall have underſtood with how much Candor and Clemency You accept this rude and unpoliſhed Piece of mine. When therefore I ſee not only thoſe who are born unto your ſervice, but many alſo of ſtrange Nations moſt willingly entertain and execute your Commands: Should I at all be backward in my Duty, who, if not alone, yet amongſt a few of your moſt Faithful and neareſt ſubjects, am in a peculiar manner obliged by your Majeſty? I am indeed His

who created all things, neither from any other do I expect a True and Lasting Felicity; neither do I bear a mind inferior to so great a Hope: But as to the Offices of this Life I am by him bestowed upon your Majesty, as by infallible Arguments, to your self not unknown, may be demonstrated. Wherefore my constant and resolved Rule of living (which, if I attain not unto, as I am willing and ought to do, yet I aim at and endeavour) is, to attends God's will only in those things which are expresly commanded or forbidden; in Actions indifferent and arbitrary to be guided by your Majestie alone; which I the rather strive to perform, because I know it is your Pleasure. And truly this were a sufficient tie of my Obedience and Reverence, if you had not otherwise both by your Virtues and Deserts obliged me, both which are so ample and of so effectual an Influence, that it is hard to say whether in Contemplation of them I am more willing to serve you, or for other Reasons more strictly bound to it. I find my self now involved in a very doubtful Case, and on both sides much perplexed: For if I say what I have intended, as my desire is, and as is Just and Right, I may happly not be relished by your Majestie, who do more freely exercise your Virtues, and fasten your Favours, then willingly hear them repeated. And if, in the Mention thereof I shall omit any thing, I shall fail in my Duty, and Detract from Your Praises, which (with as fervent a desire and good will as I prosecute them) had I liberty to expatiate, I could in no wise according to their Dignity set forth, much less being streightned within the narrow limits of an Epistle. Nevertheless I am confident, that the Temper of the business (which your self cannot disallow) is agreeable, as to the present purpose, so to both our Dispositions. For I abhor Flattery as doth your Majestie; neither am I more willing to speak any thing in such a strain, then Your self to hear it. And, according to your discerning Spirit, you are not ignorant that I am of this mind, that if it were in my choice whether to offend You in doing You Good, or please You by Flattery, I should without scruple chuse the former, which few Subjects can do and few Princes endure. Hinder not therefore my desires which cannot offend on that part: Give us leave to acknowledge what we have received; and if miserable men are freely allowed to complain, why should your Majestie forbid us modestly to boast of our Happinesse under such a Prince as Your self? Neither ought this, the only Reward of your good Deeds, or the Fruit of our Thankfulness to perish; we then again a fresh receive benefits when we repeat them. But I see what is happened, whileſt I beg leave to Write I loose both Time and Space. What therefore I am about to say, shall be into a few Periods digested, and I shall of every kind speak somewhat only in Summe. As to those your Virtues wherewith you have magnificently Adorned this Empire; that I may briefly declare what I think, I shall borrow a Sentence from our beloved Tacitus; in which Author, You know, Tiberius reproacheth C. Cæsar, That he had all the Vices of L. Sylla, but not so much as one of his Virtues: which may justly be inverted as to Your Majestie, that You have acquired all the Virtues of Your Predecessors, omitting what Vices were in them, insomuch as You have augmented their Ancient Honours by Virtues new and heretofore unknown to this Kingdom. I believe that former Ages wanted not excellent Kings, yet, however it came to pass, the Swetick affairs never ascended to any illustrious or durable greatness in their dayes; the Praise of that work properly belongs to the Gustavides, of whom not any one ever Reigned without some Memorable profit to the Countrie: for even the Error of some have proved of good use; the Case of Ericus and Sigismund instructeth Posterity wherein Kings may offend: and others are admonished by the severity of Charles, how unsafe it is to provoke Princes to Anger. But what Pen or what Oration can sufficiently declare the

Immortal benefits reaped from the two Gustavi? They were both so great, that if you compare them with others, you will easily prefer them before others; but if you compare them between themselves, you will rather conclude that this was Greatest and the other Greatest, then discerne which of the two excelled. For it is a great Error and blindnesse of judgment to measure the Greatnesse of Kings by the outward Splendor of their Actions, and respect that only.

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It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had Ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glorie of this Kingdom, even by Gustavus the Great, and his Daughter Christina. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most Accurately and Skilfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your selfe, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You for so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessitie of War, You could not complain of any thing wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. For whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perlexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulness in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of your Reigne, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Hast declare; I shall only name the encrease of the City, many Towns built and well constituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amended, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreased, the Universities enriched, Schools erected, Merchandize flourishing, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adhibited toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-wayes, building of Inns, and indeed toward all things which we see, which we are sensible of, and the benefit whereof we enjoy; so that I may justly account those my Countrymen of Germany happy who shal hereafter rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no sign surer of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eys by reason of the misery of times past, or are so hindred by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatnesse of so Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy thereof. For the Splendor of it is not derived, as that of a Candle or Torch, which failing, the remaining substance appears fouler; but like that of the Sun, True, and Pure, and Innate, neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to denie they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolixe in the Commemoration of your benefits bestow-

bestowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Monuments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwaies found most manifestly present in this business. When for many years in Germany I *continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto perswading me) as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer it self: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idlenesse, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understood) I was from my infancie ordained. The time now grew on,* Madam, *wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and* Benedict Skytte *came to* Argentoratus, *whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favors, and lastly with the Dignitie of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessitie of my present Office, before the sweetnesse of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm, upon occasion of a Funeral You came to* Ubsal. *And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron* John Skytte *Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulness of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princesse of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to* Ubsal, *you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Posterity the Memory of things done or to be transacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones; For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civil and Moral VVisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your Instructer therein, being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the sudden I found you had Learnt so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a Study (being a Queen actually Reigning, waging VVar, often holding Parliaments, every day Councels, and constantly distracted with other businesses) you made such an improvement that after Trial in* Polybius *and* Plutarch, *you read* Plato *also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most sig-*

significant Expresions, and of Your self observe and for true reasons Correct the Error of Translations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I reaped so great and various fruits of purest pleasure, as I could not but often ingenuously confesse to my most intimate acquaintance, That whatsoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I bestowed in this employment (for Trouble, I call my Conscience to witnesse, I never felt any) I thought all abundantly recompenced with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the presence of so great a Prince, to be seen and countenanced by You, to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happinesse seemed so great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off these my worldly Accoutrements, as knowing I must one day leave them or they me, yet out of impotency of mind I might by too great happiness have grown insolent, but that by certain Arguments I learnt in time to know that so great a fortune was not conferred as Due to any man's Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this so high and great an Happinesse there are many excellent Circumstances particularly considerable, I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am so free that I am not employed and wearied in any service not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but also of my Modesty and Bashfulnesse: I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, to stand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly loosing time, or boldly vaunting of my Liberty and Familiarity Neither is my work base or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuse; whosoever will not betray his own ignorance must needs confesse the employment on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hitherto I have related part of the Favours you have bestowed on my Person; it remains likewise I should acknowledge those Favours (as much more bestowed on me) which you have conferred on others by my Intercession: In which confession I have cause to fear, that I shall not only contract Envy to my selfe, but give Occasion to others to accuse your Majestie, as being two Facile in granting what is requested. To these I shall answer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodnesse, which hath far exceeded my Deserts, and that others also may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the same Respect that I have done: as first, I never desired any thing but what was Just and Equal; nor secondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majestie of my Prince; thirdly, by all those Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this strait, wherein it is easier to think of more things then to write them, many things come into my mind which I am forced to pretermit. This I shall say, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majestie for small favors bestowed at my Request, or for the great ones; for as these carried the greater Price, the others did more manifest your Humanitie. That your mind capable of highest things would condescend to so little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Philosopher *asked of him a Groat, said,* It was too little for a King to give; *when he presently asked a Talent, said,* It was too much for a Philosopher *to receive. Your Majestie hath more magnificently used the same Method, in Your smaller favours, regarding what was fit for me to receive; in the greater, what became Your self to give. With the like Clemency You have had compassion on some miserable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majestie because none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet scarce speak, both for the Greatnesse of the Thing, and for the Greatnesse of the Thanks due, which*

cannot

cannot at present be expressed. But I may happly be accused of Folly, that I should think your favours may be more Elegantly declared or praised by any man's Oration, then by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Commendation for having bountifully remitted to the City of the Vangiones the greater part of their Taxes, by which benefit I believe the City was preserved, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majestie as a second Foundress; You have hereby for ever obliged the Commonwealth of the Vangiones, and me in particular, making us your everlasting Debtors. For I know not who of Right oweth most to you, they who received the benefit or he who procured it at your Hands. Is there any thing can be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? Yes surely, even this, In that you have promised to make me a better man, not, as all men are improved, by Laws and Manners, nor, as many, by Example, but, as yet none, by Your care and Diligence in Conversing with me: For you have promised to make Enquiry with me (that is to direct and shew me) how Wise and Prudent men ought to be qualified, and by what signes they may be discovered; which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better then now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I would not free your Majestie from your Obligation for half your Kingdom: And I shall not refuse, whensoever You Command, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will, I suppose, be neither unpleasant to You, nor yet Difficult, seeing You tend forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find more who pretend to teach then do indeed truly know & understand it. In this thing I may wel boast whereby I am more happy, not only then ordinary men, but the servants of Solomon himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom, but would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person; which we read not he ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the very Paper admonisheth me to make an end. I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring your Majestie, and giving You to understand, That not only this Book is Dedicated to Your Majestie, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affections thereof, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply ready to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.

MADAM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

At Holmia the 15th of the Calends of December. Anno Dom. 1649.

THE

THE SUPPLEMENT OF LIVIE'S HISTORY

By *J. FREINSHEMIUS.*

THE FIRST BOOK.

In place of LIVIE'S XIth Book.

Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.

THE Power of the Samnites was now by many Battels much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his spirits. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Consul, now in the heat of his Youth, and assuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marcheth incontinently with his Army into *Campania*. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrows brought rather into Despair then Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to *Rome* attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the Relicks of their former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and because they knew the Plague was at *Rome*, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Marshal affair, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and wasted the Territories of the Campanians whom they had alwayes hated, but now more vehemently, looking on them as the Authors of the dangers and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his *Fabian*-Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite scouts, who upon sight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole Host, without any consideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all hast that may be the Battel to be begun, as if the hope of Victory consisted only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumspect, had seized on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souldiery with their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battel was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great business to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder then to fight. Three thousand of *Fabius* his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of the Night was the total destruction of his Army prevented. Then retiring to a more commodious place, as well as in such a Consternation may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence then in the field, the Weary had no conveniencie of rest, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp:

In the yeer from the foundation of the City 661. *Zonaras. Tom. 2.*

Livie Book 7 ch. 31

Zonaras

Eutropius B. 2. *Suidas in Fab. Maximus.*

Zonaras.

So that the whole night was passed away with the Groans of the dying, and the Complaints of the living, every one with horror and despair waiting for the next day as their last. For being tired with labour, distempered with long watchings, weakned with wounds, terrified with an unlucky overthrow, and their number much diminished, they thought it impossible to resist the enemy, whom when they were sound and entire both in body and mind, and filled with hopes of Victory, they were not able to encounter upon even terms. Things being at this ill passe, the Remedy (as it often happens) proceeded from the enemies mistake, who daunted with the Rumour of the other Consul's approach, and fearing lest while he assaulted *Fabius* his Camp, the new forces would surround him, contented himself with what successe he had above his hope obtained, and diverted his course another way. The Enemy being removed, the Romans likewise betook themselves to a safer Refuge: when these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the City was exceedingly moved, not so much with the losse, as the disgrace of the business, and took it deeply to heart, That the longest war they were ever troubled with, when it was now just at a period, should by the rashness of one Consul be revived again, and that more formidably then before, by reason of the great hopes and confidence which the Samnites would assume in contemplation of this their success. Neither was this the sense of the Tribunes of people alone, whose proper art it was by their frequent Orations to fill the Citizens minds with envy and hatred, but even the Fathers, upon discuss of the business, pronounced very heavy and severe sentences, and a Decree was made by the Senate, *That* Fabius *the Consul should be commanded at a certain day appointed to come and plead his cause at* Rome. He was no sooner at *Rome*, but a swarm of accusers flew about him; and indeed the fault could not be excused, and what was only left of moment on his behalf, even the esteem of old *Fabius*, was made use of as an argument against him; for they thought him least of all men to be pardoned, who being extracted from so Illustrious a Parent, and brought up in the midst of his Fathers triumphs, had, by his Imprudence with so foul an overthrow, cast a stain not only on the Roman Glory, but on the renown of his own Family, and the many victories of his Ancestors obtained. Their minds being thus exasperated (that it was not likly the Defendant should have a fair hearing) were first by the consideration of his Fathers eminent Piety, and afterward with his Oration totally appeased. For he fearing least for this miscarriage his person would be removed from his Command, insisted not at all in excusing the Crime, but modestly recounting his own and his forefathers merits, desired there might not be in his old age so ignominious a Character imprinted 'on the *Fabian* Family: Neither did he require that for the sake of so many other *Fabii*, who 'almost from the foundation of the City, had by their virtue and counsel augmented the Roman 'Empire; nor that for the sake of those three hundred *Fabii*, who by their own deaths, and 'almost the total loss of the *Fabian* Name, had protected the Commonwealth, the error of one 'single person should be forgiven, if it were found remediless, and that a greater commodity 'would accrue from the punishment then the preservation of his son. But whatsoever was in 'this young man to be feared, is already come to pass, whereas unless we cut off our own hopes, 'I cannot say by an unjust, but by an untimely severity, Those many good deeds which his spirit 'and lively Genius, which likewise his virtue (by me, in your esteem, none of the worst Tutors, being disciplin'd and directed) doth fairly promise, are yet justly to be expected. It hath 'turned to the improvement of many mens wisdom and circumspection, that they miscarried in 'the beginning of Affairs, who being admonished of their error, have often recompenced small 'losses with larger successe; and I doubt whether it ought not rather to be imputed to the Envy 'of Fortune then to any man's fault, that the constant felicity both of the Commonwealth, 'and our Family, is by a small detriment thus interrupted; though indeed it is rather to be ac'counted the good will then the envy of the Gods, by whose providence it is come to pass, that 'with this overthrow, not so fatal to the City as effectual to our instruction, we are put in mind 'of our humane condition, to abate that deadly pride which is usually the effect of excessive 'Prosperity. Whatsoever the matter is, Countrymen, I did certainly foresee some ill luck, when upon 'the Convention of the Senate, I did earnestly solicit you would not create my son Consul. For 'when I considered that my Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, and other my Ancestors 'had frequently, and my self five times born that Office, I began to mistrust whether the Gods 'or Men would willingly, and with an equal mind, suffer the supreme Honour to continue in the 'same Family. And I wish my prayers had then prevailed, or that you would be pleased still 'to continue the benefit bestow'd, lest what against my will, you confer'd on my son as a To'ken of Honour, prove an occasion of unheard of Infamy to us both; nay, lest your selves be 'suspected of Rashness, for posterity will judge, that either you conferred the command on '*Q. Fabius* without cause, or that without cause ye deprive him of it, if by a contrary Judg'ment ye shall destroy your former Sentence. But if you will please to decree things more fa'vourably, both your own Authority, and the reputation of the *Fabian* Family shall yet stand 'found and his youthful folly, as it was committed with some loss to the Commonwealth, shall 'be amended to its greater emolument and profit. But who dares promise these things? Truly, 'Countrymen, I will, even I will engage my self to the Commonwealth for my son, and happy 'may it prove to the Senate and People of *Rome*, and our own private Family; I will also go 'Legate to the Consul, and partake of whatsoever fortune he shall happen either to find or 'to make. My spirits are yet vigorous, neither, considering mine age, is the strength of my body 'much

Livie's Epitom. 11

Dio apud *Valesium.*

Polyænus Stratagem 8.15

Valerius Maximus 4.1.5

Valerius Maxim. S.5.7.1

'much decayed, I can performe a souldiers duty, I can stand in Battel, and if to all things else I 'were impotent, yet with the Memory of my Former victories I can both terrifie the Enemy 'and Encourage our own Souldiers; and, which is of greatest concernment, I can with Coun'sell and Caution temper and direct the impetuous Heat of the Consull's youth which is the on'ly Cause of the last Misfortune; If I knew not the Disposition of my sonne, and were not 'assured he would embrace any good direction, I would not certainly now neer the end of my 'life hitherto led without Blemish, after the bearing so many Consulships both to my owne 'likeing and yours, after signal victories and illustrious Triumphs, I would not hazard all my Glo'ry pur chased with so many yeares travel and danger, at home and abroad, by trusting it to the 'Rashness of one in considerate young man.

This Oration did both move the mindes of all who were present, and also ingenerate a Confidence of better succes for the future. Old *Fabius* was by an Unanimous consent created Legate, all preparations were made with what diligence care and Expedition might be; and the Consul took the field with no less favour and Hope of the People, then he had lately returned with their indignation and reproaches. Henceforward both in their march and in their Camps nothing was omitted either of good Discipline, or what the art and experience of an old General could ordaine, and those Companions whom *Q. Fabius* the Father had by good turnes, or by the admiration of his virtue obliged to himselfe, were very ready to perform whatsoever was enjoyned them; the Souldiers also greedy to blot out their former disgrace, and confiding in the Counsel of a Leader, under whose conduct they remembred the *Samnites* to have been often beaten by themselves: and their Fathers did earnestly desire opportunity of encountring the Enemy. On the other side the *Samnites* were no less elevated with contemplation of their late victory; so that one Party striving to retaine their purchas'd Glory, the other to repair what was lost, they joyned issue most vehemently with all the force and might on both sides; And now behold the *Romans* in a worse condition then before, *C. Pontius Herennius* the Enemies General having hemm'd in the Consul with a select band; when *Maximus* observing the danger his son was in, setting spurre to horse flings himself into the thickest of the Enemies Troopes: He was followed immediately by a Party of Horse, who beside the motion of their own Courage were ashamed to see one Old man assault with a resolution to overcome so many spiright-ful young Lads in the flower of their strength. This sudden storme govern'd the Fortune of the whole Battel; The *Roman* Legions animated with the boldness of their Cavalrie, at first well received the Enemy, and straightway repell'd them: *Herennius* in vaine resisting, who, that day performing all the Offices both of a good General and a good Souldier, endeavouring to rally his files to retaine the Cowardly, and withstand the assailants, could neither hinder the Flight of his men, nor afterward find opportunity of escape for himself. Four thousand *Samnites* were taken with their General, The Battel and the flight swallowed up 24000. The Enemies Camp was likewise seized on with vast plunder in it, which was quickly much encreased by Forrage of their Grounds, and taking in of Towns both by storme and upon Mercy; This great change of Affaires was wrought by the accesse of one onely Person, insomuch that the lately Victorious army is now routed by the Conquer'd party, and the Consull carries away captive that General by whom he was formerly himselfe shamefully beaten, which was a pleasing spectacle to. the *Romans*, and a great Ornament to his Triumph, which by the ready good-will of the People he made into the City the next yeare. While the *Fabii* thus order'd things in *Samnium*, the other Consull *D. Brutus* (whose Province was among the *Falisci*) had the like happy successe: For being assisted by *Sp. Carvilius* his Legate (for 'twas thought fit to joyne a Legate also with him, a man as skilful in war, so one that had experience of the Enemy, against whom last year he did fourtunately mannage affaires) he did wast no small of the Residue of *Etruria*, and overcame in a set battel the Falisci daring to encounter with him. These newes being brought to *Rome*, when the time of Conveneing the Senate was come, and it seemed not fit for the Common-wealth to withdraw the Consulls from their charges, an Interregnum was agreed upon; The Regent *L. Postumius Megellus*, in a Court of his own holding, was himself declared Consull; a precedent till that day unheard of, unless in the Person of *Appius Claudius*, which nevertheless no good man approved. But *Postumius* behaved himself in his Magistracy with as much arrogance as he assum'd it; Being vainly puff't up with the Nobility of his Extraction, and this his third Consulship, he did utterly despise his Colleague for this year, *C. Junius Brutus* as one much below him, being but a Plebeian. When the Provinces came to be disputed on, he would not suffer *Brutus* to be compared with him, nor lots to be cast; out of all Order claiming the Administration of the *Samnitick* warre as his Due, insomuch as according to his own saying, *he had in his two former Consulships done great things against that Enemy.* The business being canvas'd with much contention in the Senate, when *C. Junius* perceived he was not able to maintaine his Right against the Grace and Power of his Colleague, did at length declare *he would desist, lest by the discord of the Consulls the Publick good might be hindred.* The Pestilence did still continually rage both in City and Countrey, for which having tried all remedies now for three yeares, they could not either with their divine or humane applications allay it. Wherefore consulting either with the books of the *Sybills* or the Oracle of *Delphos* (for this also is reported) they sent Ten Ambassadours to fetch *Æsculapius* to *Rome* from *Epidaurus* where it is said he was borne; For though the Answer were doubtful, neither could the Fathers foresee the

Dio apud *Valesium*

Orosius 3. 22.

Zonaras

Eutrophius lib. 11.

Zonaras

Liv. 27. 6.

Liv. 3. 35.

From the Foundation of the City 661.

Dionys. apud *Valesium.*

Liv. 9. 44. and 10. 33.

Suidas in Post-bum.

Val. Max. 1. 8. 2.

Ovid Metamor. 15.

Pausanias. B. 2.

event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by. A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appeares by the structure of the Chappel in *Tibur* then erected and consecrated; When the Roman Embassadours had deliver'd their Message, the Epidaurians entertain'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the *Gracians* was most commonly in open and high Places; the *Epidaurians* also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those dayes, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence; Being brought hither, while they stand in admiration of the Largeness of the Statue which was cut by the excellent skill of *Thrasymedes* the *Parian*; Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their minds with horrour and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cryed out, *The God himselfe is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it always imports a good and healthful Omen.* Two dayes was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectatours and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel attended them; and entring into the Ship, he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabbin of *Q. Ogulnius* President of the Embassy. There is an antient story that *the same Æsculapius having assumed the forme of a Serpent was carried from Epidaurus to Sicyon by a Yoake of Mules, one Nicagora, the wife of Echetimus driving the waine.*

Val Maximus.

Flutarch. Quæst. Rom. 96.

Livie, 45. 28.

Pausan. Autb. de viris illust. c. 22.

Pet. Diacon. Hist Miscella. 2. 18.

Liv. Epit. 11.

Pausan.

The *Romans* rejoyceing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them; hoised sail, and in a few dayes with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at *Antium*; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindred; the serpent which had kept it self still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Porch of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole dayes together: The *Romans* much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted sustenance; but at length having regained, him with much cheerfulness they conveyed him to *Rome*: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices slain. They were now just come to that place, where *Tibur* a little dividing it self, suffereth an *Island* to appear in the midst of it; when the Serpent forsaking the Ship betakes himself into that *Island* by swiming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the *Island* of *Æsculapius*. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to *Æsculapius*. The sickness whether by this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly inriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its renown wonderfully spread abroad by those who profest to have received help in their diseases from this God. *L. Posthumius* the Consul carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Colleague at home: For whereas *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the last years Consul, did by order from the Senate mannage affairs in *Samnium* as Proconsul: *Posthumius* arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart the Province, in as much as himself was sufficient to wage that War. *Fabius* answering with the Decree of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to desert a business imposed on him by the Senate; the Romans upon this news feared lest by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be damnified: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Consul, to desire in the Senates name that *Fabius* might be suffer'd to continue with the Army in *Samnium*. *Posthumius* having returned an absurd and broken Answer; added withall a speech of singular impudence: *That during his Consulship, he was not obliged to obey the Senate, but they him*; and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he marcheth with his Army to *Cominium*, which City *Fabius* did then besiege; resolving (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Armies had afforded the enemy a foul spectacle, if *Fabius* had resisted with the same he was assaulted; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having profest *that he yeilded not to the Consuls fury, but to the good of the Commonwealth.* *Posthumius* in a few dayes reduced *Cominium*, whence leading his Army to *Venusia*, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns; many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred casting down their arms, yeilding themselves to the mercy of the conquerors. The Consuls atchievements were no way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters advise the Fathers that the City and Territory of *Venusia* was very convenient for a Colony therein to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduct of the Colony of twenty thousand men; for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceeding belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet unsubdued they should think of placeing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the *Apulians* and the *Lucanians*. Now the stubbornes of *Posthumius*, as besides other grudges and offences, it contracted him much envy; so it tended much to encrease *Fabius* his Favour and good opinion with

Aust. de viris Illust.

Ovid.

Val. Maximus.

Ovid.

Sueton in Claudio. c. 25.

Tab. marmorea apud Mercurium de arte gymnastica. l. 2.

Diony. apud Vales.

Dion apud Valesium.

Horatius satyr. 2. 1.

with all men, so, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily assented unto. Being now Proconsul he did on the Calends of *August* make his triumph over those *Samnites* who are called *Pentri*: Old *Fabius* followed his Chariot on horse-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not onely an Assistant, but the author of the Victory. He accumulated all the glory of the enterprize upon the peoples Consul, using himself as the name, so the modesty of a Legate; beholding his sons honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one, he did in his own triumph carry him about in his Chariot. Part of the plunder was by the Consul divided among the souldiers, the rest laid up in the Treasury; and *C. Pontius* the Samnite being first led in Triumph was afterward beheaded: A stout man he was and of worthy memory, who in those dayes did a long time sustain the Roman violence, gave them many considerable overthrows, but of all the most shameful one at the Caudine Spinnies: He was reported to say, *That had he been reserved to those dayes wherein the Romans should have learn't to receive money, he would no longer have suffered them to bear sway.* It seems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by their industry in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time *Posthumius* fretting no less at the honour had been granted his Rival, then that the like had been denyed him, by weakness of mind opposing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exasperate the wound of his own spirit, and imitate those imaginations against him, which ought by modesty of speech and carriage to have been assuaged. He abstained not from complaints against his enemies, nor from reproaches against the Senate, and to spite the Fathers, he destributed the whole prey among the souldiers, and disbanded his army before a successor could be sent him. He triumphed likewise contrary to the pleasure of the Senate, which, though some refer to his second Consulship, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is so affirmed by authors of no mean credit in Historie: By these doings he drew new hatred upon himself, and he was no sooner out of office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a set day accused him: Besides what hath hitherto been mentioned, 'twas objected against him, that *before he march't armed out of the City, he employed two thousand choice men out of his Legions to digg up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembring they were his souldiers, not his slaves, and were leavied to enlarge the Publicks Land, not to manure his.* Being earnestly press't with these Crimes, and in vain striving to clear himself, he was by the suffrage of all the Tribes condemned; his suit was valued to stand him in two hundred thousand pieces of money. Now *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* entered their Consulships. Each of these with his Legions did utterly waste *Samnium*, depopulating their grounds, and ruining their Cities, and in many set battels having the upper hand compelled them at length to sue for peace, for having in so many battels lost the prime of their Youth; and in *Pontius* the chief counsel and conduct, they did by their Embassadours sent first to the Consul, and by their leave to Rome, obtain that now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely too the Romans even weary with beating, were willing to conclude a difficult and miserable War, with the tranquility of a certain peace. I find the war with the *Samnites* to have begun when *M. Valerius* was the third time Consul, *A. Cornelius Cossus* being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Consulships, with various success continued (only by some shortliv'd truces suspended) it held both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether *Cornelius* triumphed for this War is uncertain; as for *Manius* there is no doubt, for his fortune being more eminent in that he subdued other enemies, he Triumphed twice in the same Consulship: For the *Sabines* a Warlike Nation, now grown wealthy with a long peace, whether they were moved with their own proper compassion, and Entreaties of the *Samnites*; or whether willing timely to prevent those miseries, which (having swallowed up their neighbours) they foresaw approaching to themselves, having put their young men into Arms, invaded some places under the Roman Jurisdiction: Against these did *Curius* lead forth his Army; and that he might both divert the enemies, and give the *Sabines* some tastes of the miseries of War, he sent part of his forces by privy journies into their territories with instruction, that spreading themselves as much as could be, bringing terrour and vastation on every place: This straight did soon dissolve the formidable Army of the *Sabines*, several troupes running several wayes to the defence of their own substance; so that the Consul had an easie Victory over the dispersed forces. In this Expedition they proceeded as far as the Adriatique Sea, gaining the possession of so much ground, and so many men, as the saying of *Curius* began to be famous, who (according to the genius of those times being more ready in deeds then in words) when he could not express every singular circumstance, in gross expressed himself, *That he had taken so much ground, it must needs have turned into wilderness, but that he had taken a proportionable number of men; and that he had taken so many men, they must of necessity have perished with hunger, but that he had taken a proportionable extent of ground.* When the *Sabines* sued for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewise the Freedome of the City, (though without the suffrage of the Tribes) this favour was in memory of their old Affinity under *Tatius*, the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Consulship (underwent by *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*) we have arrived to little understanding; onely I find some Colonies about this time deduced to *Castrum Adria* (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to *Sena* in *Gallia*: Nevertheless consider-ing those Regions were not as yet to such a purpose sufficiently setled, I think fit rather to encline

Livie Epitom 11.

Livie. 10. 37.

Dionisius.

Liv. Epitom. 11.

From the foundation of Rome 663.

Eutropius. B. 2.

Orosius. 3. 2.

Livie Epit. 11.

Livie 7. 29.

Livie Epit. 11.

Florus B. 1. 15.

Aust. de viris Illustr. c. 33.

Florus vellein. 1. 14.

From the foundation of the City 664.

Florus.

to

to other Authors who refer the beginning of those Colonies to after-times: But in the City for restraining many villanies and outrages daily committed, there was a new Magistracy constituted under the name of *Capital Triumvirs*, who were appointed Judges and Moderators to take cognizance of offences, to imprison the guilty, and, when occasion was, to inflict punishments.

Cicero de Legibus 3.3. l.2 §.30.ff.de O.I. *Liv.Epit.*11.

The words of the Law in that case made by *L. Papirius*, Tribune of the people, I find to be these, *Whosoever shall hereafter be Prætor to give Judgment among the Citizens, let him require of the people three Capital men, and those three men, whoever shall be chosen, let them exact sacraments, let them judge, let them be of equal authority, as by the Laws and decrees of the people they ought to Exact, to Judge, and to Be.* In which clause commission is likewise given of requiring Mulcts or Fines, for in those dayes that piece of mony which was disbursed by way of punishment, was called a Sacrament, because (the publick sacrifices being many, and the Treasury but low) it was destin'd to be expended in sacrifices.

Of the Taxes that year, there is no other memory left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand Citizens were rated. That this years Censors did likewise choose *Q. Fabius Maximus* Prince of the Senate, there is a likely conjecture, which is otherwise confirmed, for that honour did constantly remain in three of that Family successively; as for example, *Maximus* received it from *Ambustus* his father, and transmitted it to his son *Gurges*. While affairs were in a good state abroad, they were troubled with discord and sedition at home. The Comminalty being far in debt required a general discharge by publick authority for all debts and bonds passed aforetime, without any satisfaction; this was an old divice, and for two hundred years and upwards variously agitated, even as any turbulent Tribune should exasperate them, or the Extortion of Usurers move their indignation. Under the former Consuls, the fear either of the Pestilence or the Enemy did smother these contentions in some measure; but *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* being Consuls, and the year ensuing *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus* bearing office, they broke out most violently, for the appeasing whereof, more then for any other occasion, a Dictator was created, whom I take to be *Appius Claudius*, who was afterwards firnamed *Cæcus*, in as much as among ancient monuments I find him to have been Dictator.

*Plin.*Nat.Hist. 7.41.

Zonivar.

Florus 1 From the Foundation of *Rome* 465,466

Besides the harshness of unconscionable usury, the villanous lust of *C. Plotius* added fire to the peoples minds now already hotly disposed, causing them the sooner and more vehemently to break out into flame. *T. Veturius* (the son of that *Veturius* who being Consul was deliver-red up to the Samnites for an unworthy League made with them) by reason of his domestick calamities, overcharged with debt and not able to pay, was forced to yield himself slave to *Plotius*, patiently performing all servile duties. *Plotius* not content to have reduced to this base condition a young man of excellent Beauty, of a Consular Family, and likewise of great hopes, did moreover attempt to corrupt his Chastity, having before deprived him both of Estate and Liberty.

Tab. Marmorea apud *Onuphrium* in fastos. *Val. Maximus* 5.1.9. *Dion.* apud *Valesium.*

But *Veturius* disdaining and resolveing to suffer any thing rather then commit so horrid a wickedness, was with most grievous stripes tormented, whereupon he thrust himself forth into the publick, and being by the multitude conducted to the Consul's Tribunal, he complains of the cruelty and lust of his Creditor, shewing withal the bunches and fresh marks of the lashes. The Consuls therefore judging it a business not to be neglected, informed the Senate thereof, where upon sentence past, *Plotius* was condemned to prison, and by a Law in that case established, All men whosoever through the whole City had bound themselves slaves for debt, were set at liberty. I am not ignorant that instead of *T. Veturius* some Authors make mention of *Publius* the son of a Colonel, who was one of the contrivers of the Caudine peace. Forty years before this, for the like cause, was a Law made for the annulling such Indentures; nevertheless the Usurers growing so hard-hearted, and the former Law, by the patience of Debtors (refusing nothing in the midst of their penurie) being by degrees neglected, 'twas though fit they should be admonished by so fresh an example to provide more full and diligent caution for the future. But the people desiring to be freed not only from their Indentures, but from the Extortion of Use mony, were not satisfied with that Law though favourable to their revengeful minds. And (as in some more accute diseases, the pain is rather intended by a gentle application of medecines then remitted) not long after the matter was so Exulcerated, that when the Tribunes of the people with their greatest endeavours contended for a Law concerning Letters of Protection from Creditors, and that the Creditors did with equal force and animosity resist: The Commonalty after the example of their Ancestors, quitting the City, retired cross the water to Mount *Janiculus*, resolving never, without obtaining their request, to return to their own houshold-Gods. The Consuls finding little remedy against this combustion (*M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Ælius Paetus* are thought then to be Consuls) they were fain to flie to the last refuge in distressed times, and create a Dictator, who was *Q. Hortensius*; he applying what the Time and the Cause seemed to require, and understanding the main breach of peace to consist in this, That the people were sensible of the violation of their Decrees, and the Publilian Law, thought fit to yield to the times, (though many strove against this opinion) and by a new Law made in the Esculete, he diligently provided, That whatsoever the Commonalty should ordain, all the Romans should be obliged unto. With these Lenitives the people being reduc'd to concord, and returned to their own houses, the Dictator, either by the sudden force of his disease, or overwearied with

*Dionysius. Liv.*8. 28

Zonaras.

Livie Epit.11 From the Foundation of *Rome* 467

*Plin.*16.10 *Agellius* 15.27

care

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. Henceforward for a while there was less dissention at *Rome*; but the Dignity of the Empire began insensibly to decrease, in as much as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any motions, and decreed many things tending to the disgrace of the Publick, and at last struck at the very Foundation. A singular Lesson to those who are invested with the guidance of affairs, seeing the vulgar, if their own private business proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppressions of great ones to aspire to a Dominion they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning sufferages, which the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorize. For hitherto it had prevailed that no man executed any magistracy by the peoples votes, unless the Senate assented thereunto.

Augustin de Civ.Dei.

Livie 1.17 *Cicero* pro Pla.

The Improvident vulgar did for some time contain themselves within their former bounds, and though they seldom contradicted the Fathers Sentences, yet they were always feared as having power to do so. But then *Manius* the Tribune made a Law whereby the peoples Authority was much augmented, but the wholsome, and honourable severity of the Senate much weakned. *Q. Hortensius* the Dictator being dead, some report another was chosen to administer affairs, to wit, *Q. Fabius Maximus*; if so, this was his third Dictatorship. *L. Volumnius, C. F. C. N.* is said to have been Master of his horse; For there was war at this time with the Volsinians of the *Etruscan* Nation, which was very seasonable to clear *Rome* of the seditions, and those who retained the spirit of the former Discord. There was likewise occasion found of waging war with the Lucanians, who being troublesome neighbours, had by many injuries compelled the Thurines (a City of that part of *Italy* called *Great Greece*) to betake themselves to the Roman Protection: And *C. Ælius* the Tribune propounding a War against the Lucanians, the people decreed it. The armies therefore were drawn into the field, and in each place things performed, the memories whereof, with the Annals of those who wrote them, is perished. The Thurines bestowed on *C. Ælius* a statue and Crown of gold. Next follows the Consulship of *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whereof no memorable thing is delivered to posterity; only the Etruscan and Lucanian war seem to have been still in being. There is also on Record an Oration of *Curius* concerning the Lucanians, which is to be referred to one of his four Triumphs, for so often I find he Triumphed. But in what yeare, or with what Magistracy invested, he manag'd those affaires is uncertain.

Cicero in *Brutu* *Pigghius* in Annal.Rom. anno 466

Livie Epit.11

Plinie 34.6

468

Aufl. de viris illust.cap.33

But things of greater weight were now ingendring, which were attended with a very considerable slaughter, for a war was now arisen against the Senones a people of *Gallia*. They had often warre and often peace with the Romans; and now, after their last overthrow in the fields of *Sentinas*, where, *Decius* haveing Devoted himself to Death, a great Number of their men were slaine, had lien still for almost ten yeares; Onely they had suffer'd their young men to be hired by the Etruscans against the Romans. But now marching into *Etruria*, with a greater power then they had usually done, they Besieged *Aretium*. Now the Aretines had before this requested a league with the Romans, which beeing denied they did nevertheless obtaine a Truce, whose Terme was not yet expired. But herein did their chiefest Hope of succour consist, because the Romans always thought it mainely concernd them to have the *Gaules* beaten. Where-mean time the yeare was gone about wherein *C. Servilius Tucca* and *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls, in stead of *Cæcilius* some annals mention *Calius*; But the lesser Nobility of the Cælian family is thought not to have attained the Consular dignity till the yeare from the foundation of the City six hundred and sixtie.

Polyb. 2

Livie 10.27

Polibius.

Livie 10.37

Anno 469.

BOOK

BOOK II.

470. *Polibius* *Marianus Scotus*

PUblius *Cornelius Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* being Consuls, when the Terrour of the Gallique warre began again to move it selfe, and news was brought that many of the Tuscans had joyned forces with the Senones, the Fathers thought the Danger of the Aretines a thing not to be neglected by them: And because they could neither recall *Dolabella* from the Volsinians, nor *Domitius* out of Lucania without great hindrance to their affaires, *The* Fathers *ordain* L. Cœcilius Metellus *the last yeares Consull, and now Prætor, with all haste to Leavy an army, and raise the siege of* Aretium; Nevertheless lest the warre should seem to be rashly undertaken, they thought fit to send Embassadours before, to Declare that Aretium *was under the Roman Protection, and that the Gaules being in League with them would do more justly, if they would not lead their Army against their Friends and Companions.* The message being proclaim'd among the Senones, *Britomaris* a fierce young man of the Royall Blood, whose Father had been slain by the Romans amongst the Etrurian auxiliaries, burning with desire of Revenge, caused not only the men, but the Enfignes of their sacred Office to be hewne and torne in Pieces. The Rumour of so horrid a fact being related in *Rome* and in the Camp of *Dolabella*, their mindes were vehemently incensed, and warre proclaim'd against the Senones; and *Dolabella* forthwith leaving the Etrurians, marcheth with his Army through the Sabines, and Picenians territorys with very long journeys into the Countrey of the Senones, who terrified with this sudden Invasion, now in the absence of their main strength, taking the field with a small and inconsiderable body were easily routed and overcome. The Consull giving the Enemy no Breath, Burnes up his Townes, demolisheth his Buildings, wasteth the whole land, and having slain the youth and carried away the weaker multitude of Women and Children, left very little signe that ever that Countrey had been inhabited by Mankind. *Britomaris* himselfe being taken and punished with various and exquisite Torments was reserved for the Triumph: At the same time things succeeded not so prosperously at *Aretium*; For *L. Cœcilius Metellus* had ill fortune in his fight before the Town with the Senones and Etrurians, seven Colonells with many other men of Note, together with the *Prætor* himselfe were slain, and of their Legions and Auxilliaries about Thirteen Thousand were wanting.

Appianus apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Livie Epit. 12.* *Appian* *Dionis* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Appian.* *Mist. Miscell. 2.13. Polybius. Aug. de Civ. Dei. 3.17. Orosius 3.22.*

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not so much with the Gaules, as sorrow and Consternation for the Lamentable Desolation of their Country; Wherefore gathering together all their Country men then in Armes in Etruria, full of Grief and Anger, void of counsell and hope; having no habitation whereto to be received at home, (I know not what Fate drawing them to their destruction) in a heat of Resolution they drive toward *Rome*, thus Computing, *That there is no other way to recompence the desolation of their own Countrey, but by forcing the Romans to see the like Ruine of their City; That their Spirits and Forces were now no whit inferiour to, nor the cause of their March from Aretium of less importance, then that of their Ancestours who marched from Clusium of the same Etruria and took Rome*: With the like speeches incensing themselves they Rush on, by nature impatient of Delay, and now hasty in their Counsels, that they might overwhelme their Enemies unawares; But travelling through an Enemies Countrey, they met with many obstacles, so that the Romans had Leisure to provide against this Fury. At length wandring through unknown and unfriendly places, guided by no certaine Line, they light upon *Domitius* the Consull, and immediately joyne Battell with him; But their unhappy rashnes confounded both their Reason and Discipline: many being slaine in Battel, the Residue growing mad with Rage and despaire sheathed in their own Bowells, those weapons they had in vain drawn against the Enemy. Insomuch as so sudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late most flourishing People for their villany in murthering Embassadours, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceased any more to be numbered among Nations, whose laws they had violated and Transgressed: For even the small Remnant of the Senones who had betaken themselves to their Neighbours, and Kinsmen the *Boii*, were the next year by *Dolabella* the Consull with an universal slaughter clean swept away. For whereas the Boians and Etrurians were involv'd in these late disasters, and possessed with fear of the same Calamities, they were at the Lake called *Vadimonis* in a set Battell overcome, many of the Etrurians slain, few of the Boians escaped, the very name of the Senones so utterly extinct, that

Appian. *Florus. 1. 13. Polybius.*

that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had set *Rome* on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in *Sena*, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Countrey, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of *Italy*. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventred once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Then it was I believe by *Q. Æmilius Papus* that they were beaten, for his and *C. Fabricius* his first Consulship hapned that year, and 'tis certain the Province of *Etruria* fell to *Papus* by Lot. But in most Annalls yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Intervening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continuall fights and victories very mightily encreased their Virtue and Power, all the free Cities and Nations in *Italy* being brought into feare, conspired in a great and most dangerous warre; joyning together all their Counsells and forces as against a Common Enemy, and Plunderer. Neither thought they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurians sufficed to distract the Roman Powers. And first of all the Samnites, again breaking their League and openly joyning force with the Lucanians and Brutians, commenced the Warre. But these were overcome by *C. Fabricius* in many pitch'd fields; especially in one most remarkable when they joyn'd battell neer the City of the Thurines, which *Statius Statilius* had again streightly besieged; where the Enemy was with a very great slaughter beaten, and their Camp likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was strenuously defended, A young man of large proportion of Body was seen to bring Ladders to the works, whereby the Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thousand are said to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Prisoners, and twenty Colours. The next day the Consull resolving to reward those whose valour had been eminent, and promising a CORONA VALLARIS *to him who first entred the Enemies Camp.* After diligent Enquiry made after the man, the souldier was not to be found (if so be he were a souldier) who would claime this Honour; 'Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad *that Mars was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory*; And by the Consull's order supplication was made unto him, which the souldiers with Laurells on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladnes. The Tarentines had not as yet assisted the Accomplices with any open aid; for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let the Roman forces be provoked and the Fortune of warre tried with other men's danger then their own. But this Dissimulation served not their purpose, for a meer accident provokiſſg the Rarshnes of the Giddy rabble betrayed all their Counsels. Even at this Time, that part of the Italian shore, after the Manner of the Græcians (by whom *Tarentus* and most of the other Cities were builded) did excessively delight themselves with sights, and stage playes: The Tarentines above others were most Luxurious in this kind, insomuch as it is said they had more Feasts and Solemn Playes then Dayes in the Yeare. It hapned they were then set at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when *L. Valerius* (some say *Cornelius*) one of the Admiralls of the seas was descryed entring the Haven with ten Roman Vessels; A Fatall Errour to both Parties; For the Romans ignorant of all things betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; the Tarentines on the other side Conscious of their own Privy practises interpreted this Navy to be sent with an hostile Intention. There was then present one *Philocharis* whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd *Thais*; He mentioning the articles of some former Leagues, said it was not lawful for the Romans to saile past the Promontory of *Lacinium*, *that therefore they should go out and meet the foole-hardy Barbarians, and suppress their Pride with a Mischiefe.* The giddy Rout befotted with continual drinkings manifest their assent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous persons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and without further Consideration they take up armes, and assault the Ships: The Romans as not dreaming of any such Encounter, being utterly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly pursuing, Five ships onely made their Escape; as many being hemm'd about were brought into the haven, whereof Foure with the *Admirall* were drown'd and one taken; The Men, as many as were of age and strength fit for Warre, were slaine, the rest made slaves. Presently with the same vanity they wage warre against the Thurines, accusing them, *That the Romans came into these parts by their meanes, who though they were Græcians; had yet in the time of their distress chosen a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector, rather then the Tarentines their Neighbors and Kinsmen.* The City is taken and plundred, the Chief men cast out and banish'd, and the Roman Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the Newes, were according to the Greatnes of the Injury most exceedingly incens'd, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassy was decreed to complain of the Outrage, and instruction was given the Legates to Require, *That the Captives should be set at Liberty, the Thurines goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Exiles call'd back, and the Authors of these Misdemeanours deliver'd into the hands of the Romans.* The Tarentines according to the Greeke Custome were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassadours being with much Difficulty admitted, they find a Rabble-rout totally debauch't with Drunkennes and Idlenes, for this likewise was a great Holy-day with the Tarentines. There when *L. Posthumius* the Prince Legate begin to declare his

Florus. *Polybius* *Plinie.* *Polybius.* 471. *Dionys.* apud *Fulvinum Ursinum.* *Livie Epit. 12.* *Plinie. 34 7.* *Val. Max. 1. 8.* *Ammianus Marcellius 24. 15. Val Maximus.* *Ammian. Marcellia.* *Val. Max.* *Strabo. 6.* *Florus 1.* *Appian* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Zonaras.* *Appian.* *Florus* *Dion.* apud *Fulvium.* *Appian.* *Orosius 4.5.* *Zonaras* *Appian.* *Dio.* *Livie. Epit. 12.* *Appian.* *Dio.* apud *Ful. Ursinum.*

Dionys. apud Fulvium Ursinum. Dionysius. Dionysi.

Appian apud Fulvium Ursinum. Valerius Maximus 2. 2. 5

Dion.

Dion. Zonaras.

472

Appian

Dion.

Appian Zonaras

Eclog. ex Diodori b. 12

Eliens 1. 14

message, he was entertained with such mocks and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred then he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding any thing else he spoke; when, as being a Roman, he chanced to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they jear'd and flouted at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the priviledge of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular license, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the croud of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain Buffoon, one *Philonides* (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to the r good manners, the Names of their Jesters were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, piss'd upon the sacred Vestments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken society did own it, and the whole Theatre resounded with laughter, and clappings of the hands, as approving the fact. *Postumius* lifting up his voice, *We accept this, O men, O Jupiter* (saith he) *seeing ye bestow those things upon us we required not at your hands.* And when he turned himself to the multitude shewing his defiled garment, they renew'd their laughter, and began to dance, singing scurrilous and reproachful Verses against the people of *Rome*, wherefore *Postumius* again crying out, *Laugh on*, saith he, *laugh on, Tarentines, while ye may, for hereafter ye shall weep sufficiently*: Whereat the Tarentines being nettled, *Nay*, saith he, *to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment shall cost you much blood the washing.* After this, receiving no other answer, they sailed home. Now at *Rome*, *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, had begun their Consulship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robe defiled, as it was, being shew'd by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their spirits were in as high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many dayes even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, *That nothing should be enterprized before the other Cities, at least those near Tarentus were reduced*; others contended, *That the war should incontinently be commenced*; at last, numbring their votes, it was decreed, *That the business of the Tarentine war should be referr'd to the people.*

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to *Æmilius* the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into *Samnium*, *That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and holy War.* The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, rouzing themselves out of their accustom'd softishness, began seriously to enter into counsel, what was to be done; to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoide both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, *'Why do we thus, O Tarentines*, wast the time in vain altercations? the times are come which require Deeds rather then 'Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech 'and sincere Counsel. Neither am I much moved that heretofore, by a strange disease incident 'to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended 'to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the 'fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to 'hit you in the teeth with past misdemeanors; for unseasonably to object old crimes is the part 'of an enemy, and one who want only insults over others infirmities: And an honest man that is 'careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unlesse the remem'brance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we 'are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much pride: But often to 'fall at the same stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly chastiseth our rash'ness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning all shrewd and drown'd 'the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinsmen the Thurines; because they 'had rather be protected by the Romans, then swallowed up by the Lucanians and Brutians; 'moreover, we have suffered shameful indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so 'that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in a 'most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch'd in our fields, and 'and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it be safer to accept a formi'dable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, laying aside 'all self-flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we 'might freely and truly consult together, where might certainly a way be found of making an 'honest league, or a safe war. But now (for you clearly divide into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or as the state of things requires, but every man 'by-

'byassed by his own inclination. For how comes it to pass that so few of the young men, and 'poorer sort stand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men desire war? what *Zonaras* 'other reason can be given of so equal a division in the City, but these that would fain in quiet reap 'the commodity of their Lands and Usury, the other in time of war, hope for command and 'liberty of plunder? This is an old disease amongst us, neither of a long time hath our Com- 'monwealth wanted such men, who even with the danger and detriment of the City have stu- *Diodorus* 'died to increase their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I must 'speak what I think at present most conducible) if ye will neither buy peace on such base condi- 'tions as shall infringe the priviledges of a Free City, nor yet trust singly to your own Forces in 'so difficult a war. Our Ancestors have often committed the conduct and command of their *Appian* 'Armies to foreign Leaders: Either out of *Peloponnesus* or out of *Sicilie* we have sent for *Strab.* book 6 '*Archidamus* the son of *Agesilaus*, afterward for *Cleonymus*, then presently for *Agathocles*. 'Even in our own memory when we were infested by our Neighbours, our Fathers made use of *Liv.* 8. 24 '*Alexander* the Epirot: By which means they did not only themselves succeed prosperously, 'but left things in a flourishing condition to us. There is at this day the same friendship between 'us and the Epirots, neither are they now lesse potent in an Army and a Commander: And the 'benefit is fresh in memory, which *Pyrrhus* received from us, in that with our whole Navy we 'assisted him in his attempt against the Corcyræans. Therefore esteem this not as my counsel, *Pausan.* book 1 'but as the counsel of the wisest men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, 'which ye ought therefore at least to follow, because in the former example you may discern 'both the reason and ground, as also the issue and successe of it. And yet otherwise, there may 'be arguments most evident and sufficient to the same purpose: There is no man amongst us so 'singularly eminent, to whom all the rest will willingly submit themselves, and what danger there 'is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are not ignorant. And 'whosoever ye shall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his am- 'bition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to say, that 'tis not safe to 'commit a war into the hands of any ordinary person against the Romans, an hardy stout Na- 'tion and inur'd to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that *Pyrrhus* is not by 'any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Mashal affairs. But perhaps he will not come? *Plutarch. in Pyrrho.* 6. 25 'Certainly, being a man desirous of action, and having no other war at present, he will not only 'come himself, but bring a formidable strength, and that of no fresh-water souldiers. And if 'ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on such conditions as 'the Commonwealth may be secur'd. By this means ye may either obtain an honourable peace, 'or bestow a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the least of my hopes, that the Romans 'will rather beforehand deal with us on equal terms then admit of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, having 'heretofore feared a King of much lesse glory and renown out of the same *Epirus*. This counsel prevailed not only so far, as to make them see a probable way opened to the publick safety, but likewise the assembly being divided into two contrary opinions, neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimously concur in this, as seeming indifferent to both sides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was spread about the Citie, that a decree was made for *Plutarch. Pyrrho.* 6. 26. the invitation of *Pyrrhus* that one *Meton* a coveteous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chapplet upon his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his minstrel, entred the Theatre; the people according to their idle custome, commanded him to sing and his woman to pipe, after a while silence being made, *Meton* crys out, *Ye doe well, O Tarentines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that please, to sing and Dance; for when* Pyrrhus *once comes into the Citie we shall scarce be allow'd to live after our owne minds.* The People being somewhat moved at this saying, and murmurings and whisperings arising; Those who were authors of the injuries against the Romans (fearing lest if peacefull Counsels prevailed they should be delivered up to punishment) having chid the people, *That they would suffer themselves to be unworthily derided by a rash fellow*, forcibly thrust *Meton* out of the Theatre; so that afterward without contradiction the Decree was ratified. But the Roman Consul, hearing nothing from the Tarentines *Zonaras* tending to peace, and understanding that Embassadours were sent with presents to *Pyrrhus*, *Orosius* 4. 1. sets himself to the War, wasteth their grounds, taketh their Cities some by force, some by composition, and fills all places with losse, and terrour. The Tarentines send forth forces *Zonaras* to hinder the spoile, but, after a sharpe conflict, the Romans having the better, the Græcians are droven backe into the Citie with great losse. Then *Æmilius* without resistance wasteth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarentines terrified with these calamities, (like a people, the more insolent in prosperity, the more dejected and fearefull in adversity) submit themselves to the Goverment of *Agis*, who was a constant authour of maintaining the Roman friendship. Their desire and hopes of peace were much augmented by the discourse of some prime men who were dismissed by the Consull, and declared his Humanity, *With what Indulgence and candour he entertain'd those who were taken in severall places of the Countrie, or in the last fight.* But the confidence of *Cineas* who was now come with Auxiliaries from *Epirus* changed their minds, and erected their spirits. For *Pyrrhus* being a man of vast conceits, and in emulation of *Alexander* the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accomplish all his designes, as if the Fates themselves had invited him.

Aug.de.Civ. Dei.

'Tis said he was much confirm'd by the Oracle of *Delphos*, whose words were indeed of an ambiguous sense, which yet the Kings ambition did favourably interpret. For consulting about the War he was now to undertake, Answer was made, *Posse eum Romanos vincere*, that he should overcome the Romans, or the Romans him. But I think his chiefe encouragment was from the Tarentine Embassadour who affirm'd, *That out of their own Cities, with the help of the Lucanians, the Messapians, Samnites and other the confaederats, they could easily raise twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot.* With this strength, when he should once have brought the Romans under subjection, he hoped with little paines to attaine the Lordship of all *Italy*; then a short cut into *Sicilie* would present him with an Island much at discord and void of a Ruler (the families of *Agathocles* being destroyed) and this he thought he might claime by right of Inheritance, as having begotten Children on *Lanassa* the daughter of *Agathocles*; these things happily succeeding he was resolv'd to make War with the *Carthaginians*. Tis reported that *Cineas*, a man of excellent wisdome, willing to have the King by his own confession acknowledg that his immoderate desires, whereby the enjoyment of his present felicity was disturbed, were in reason to be restrained, asked him, *What he would doe when he had overcome the Romans? Pyrrhus* then declaring how one victorie would beget another, *And what shall we doe*, saies he, *when all these things are accomplish'd? Why then*, saith *Pyrrhus*, *we will enjoy the fruits of Peace, the benefit of ease and Idlenesse.* To which *Cineas* replied, *And why, O King, can we not at present enjoy the same things, while they are in our hands? whereas the undertakeing of new Wars may utterly deprive us of them.* But a second embassy comeing from the Tarentines, *Pyrrhus* overcome by his own ambition, answer'd, *That 'twas the custome of the Epirots to wage War, not only for themselves, but for their companions and friends also.* But to dissemble his more secret counsells, he articles very presisely with the Embassadours, *That assoone as he had reliev'd them, he should be suffer'd to returne home; and not be detain'd in* Italy *any longer then necessity should require.* Then with all might and maine intending himselfe upon preparation for the War, he causeth a great number of long ships to be made ready, and likewise trims up others for transportation of men and horse. Now having Employed most of the Italian Embassadors (whom under a pretext of honour he detain'd as hostages and pledges) in levying and conducting of forces; he sent the rest beforehand to *Tarentum*, with three thousand armed men, and *Cineas* for Commander. By their arrival all hopes of peace were broken off, *Agis* his government abrogated, and by decree of the people the guidance of affairs committed to one of them who were now returned from *Epirus*. Not long after *Milo* being sent by the King, secures the Tower of *Tarentus* with a Garrison, and claims the custody and defence of the walls, with the very good will of the multitude, who were glad to see strangers undertake all the trouble and labour, while they safely enjoy'd their rest; they therefore chearfully decree Corn for the souldiers and Mony for *Pyrrhus*.

Ennius apud Cicer. de Divin. 2.20

Justin. 18 1

Justinius. Diodori Eclog. book 22

Zonaras

Pausan. B.1.

Zonaras. Plutarch

Zonaras

In the mean time *L. Æmilius* understanding of the Arrivall of these beyond-sea souldiers, that he might have the safer winter quarters, resolv'd to draw his army into *Lucania*. His journey was by certain narrow passages shut in on the one hand with the Sea, on the other with ragged and impassible Rocks. The Tarentines having intelligence of his purpose, fail'd by that shore with their ships furnished with Cross-bows and Slings, assaulting the souldiers as they passed through strait and open paths with stones and darts. But *Æmilius*, not being able to help himself by virtue, secur'd his passage by cunning; the Captives which before he had placed in the Rear, he now draws to that side of the ranks which was obnoxious to danger, in pity of whom, the Tarentines fearing to hurt their own men, spared also the enemy. These things were done at *Tarentus* this year. At *Rome C. Fabricius Luscinus*, who in his Consulship had egregiously overcame the Samnites, and Lucanians entred the Capital in Triumph. *Q. Marcius* not many daies after obtained the same honour, being returned out of *Etruria* with prosperous success. The reason why, the Etrurian war not as yet being finished, he was called out of his Province at such a time of year (for *Fabricius* triumph'd the third of the Nones of March) is not recorded. I conceive he was recall'd by the Senate, who being troubled with expectation of *Pyrrhus*, did from every quarter gather together what strength they could. The *Proletarii*, the sixth and last rank of Citizens, who of old were priviledg'd from going to war, were now listed, and being not able by reason of their poverty to provide themselves with arms, they were furnished by the publick; for at this time war being on every side commenced, it was necessary the Commonwealth should be defended by many Armies. These mens office was, while the Legions were otherwise imploy'd, to guard the City with watch and ward, being disposed in several stations upon the walls, and in the Market-place. Neither by all these contrivances could the Imminent calamities have been averted, but that the fortune of a City ordained to Rule did in these most dangerous times produce men of so great Excellency, as I know not whether ever she could boast of better: Men, not so eminent for their Riches or Extraction, as truly ennobled by their Virtue and contempt of wealth. This Age had its *Curii, Fabricii, Coruncani*, men of no great Ancestors or Possessions, but of most ample fame, which they obtained by their upright example, exact skill in Marshal affairs, and an answerable innocence of Manners; who were every where helpful to their Country, which had now need of Champions, which were able not only to resist the sword of the enemy, but to scorn his gold, having to deal with a King who was potent in both. In the mean time *Pyrrhus*, not waiting for the spring, coming with

Frontinus 1,4

Zonaras.

Capitolin Fragments

Aug. de Civ. D. 3.17

Orosius 4.1

Ennius apud Agellium 16.10

with two and twenty Thousand foot, three thousand horse, twenty Elephants, and a considerable band of slingers and archers, was in the midst of his Voyage so tossed with a Tempest, that he narrowly escaped being cast away. For the Navy being dispersed, and most of the ships distressed, when the Admirall was in danger, *Pyrrhus* leapt into the sea, and with very great paines at length hardly swam to shoare: But the strength and spirit of his minde did much helpe the weaknes of his Body, together with the dilgence of the Messapians, on whose shoare he was cast, who with all offices of humanity did foment and cherish him: with their assistance likewise, some few ships, which had escaped the violence of the storme, being brought into the Haven, there were gathered together some few horse, with two Elephants, and under two thousand footmen, with this force he marched to *Tarentus*, being met by *Cineas* who came forth with his souldiers to conduct him thither, and being entertained with much joy he took his rest for some dayes; In which space having observed the Manners of the City to be so order'd, that unless they were amended, there was no possibility of protecting it, but that rather the Patrons themselves would likewise be undone by it, he took no open notice at the present. But a while after, his dispersed ships meeting together, when he had strength sufficient, he shut up their wrestling places, and Porches, where the idle youth use to spend whole dayes in walking and fooling; he forbad their Banquets and Drinking-matches, and reduced their solemn Games from Intemperancy to a just Mediocrity.

Frontinus Strat. 4.1.

Zonaras

Plutarch

Zonaras

Plutarch

Appian apud Valesium.

Zonaras

Val. Maximus. 5.1.3. Ext.

Zonaras

Plutarch in Pyrrho. C.16.

Zonaras

Justine 18. 1.

Zonaras

Dio.

Zonaras

Zonaras

Dion. apud Fulvium Ursinum.

After this he made a very strict Leavy of their young men, commanding his Pressers *to choose out those of the larger size, he would make them valiant*; Mixing these among his own Companies, lest being apart they should prove seditious, he trained them up with the same hardness and severity of Discipline, threatning pain of Death on those who should fly from their Colours. Those who were not in armes he compell'd to be most part of the day in the Market-place; by which strange usage the Citizens borne and bred up in shameful Luxury were grievously perplexed, calling it a slavery to be thus served against their wills, choosing rather to perish with idleness and Lust. The offence was aggravated by the Insolence of some of the King's Guard who choosing Quarters at their own pleasure, possessed them against the will of their Landlords, using much license towards their Wives and Children. Wherefore many being wearied out, forsook the City, and settled themselves in the Country, till at length that likewise was forbidden, the Ports being shut, and guards appointed. Then indeed the Tarentines perceiv'd that instead of a Companion they had got a Master, and what onely Comfort was left them, when they had any handsom occasion of meeting, they bewailed their Condition with indignation and Complaints, and that more freely, when besides their other Passion, they were heated with Wine; There wanted not those who informed *Pyrrhus* of this, and some of them being sent for, were accus'd for having spoken dishonourably of their *King* at their Banquets; But one Man's simple and ingenuous Confession freed them all from Punishment, for saies he, *We said these words indeed, and should have said worse but that we wanted Wine*; whereat *Pyrrhus* smiling, dismist them, being willing the fault should be imputed to the wine rather then to the men; But not consiling either in the Mindes or manners of the City, what men he observed to be of greatest Note for Authority or Counsell amongst them, he either found or made some Cause arise to send them to his Son *Ptolomy* (who being then fifteen yeares of Age he had left *Viceroy* in his Realme) others by secret Ambush he cut off, and some to make them suspected to the People, he did with much seeming humanity embrace, as if he held them among his deareſt Friends. Of this number was *Aristarchus* a principal Man much beloved of the Citizens, and of great repute for his Eloquence, *Pyrrhus* perceiving him to be very Popular, upon a certain emergent Occasion commands him to saile into *Epirus*. *Aristarchus* (knowing it was present Death to disobey the King; and that to obey him was, though not of so sudden, yet of as certain ill Consequence) taking ship, after he had sailed a little way, steer'd his course to *Rome*, where being received into credit, he inform'd the Senate of many Affaires of great Concernment: While *Pyrrhus* thus busied himselfe at *Tarentus*, the Romans were no less careful in making Leavys for the warre, they had raised Money, and sent *Fabricius* to their Confederate Cities, either by his Authority or Grace to restrain them from Innovation in State; Those who were most suspected were kept in awe by Garrisons conveniently placed amongst them. For the strength of so many Nations combining themselves against one Commonwealth, and their expectation of so Warlike a King, had very much moved the humours of the Italians who were either desirous of Change, or provoked with the perswasion of Injuries receiv'd; which made the Romans the more diligent to provide for their own safety by a timely suppressing all Occasions of sedition. About this Time an Accident befell the *Praenestine* Nobles very remarkable, for they being brought to *Rome* late in the Evening were for Custody's sake lock't up in the Publick Treasury, whereby at length they understood the Deceit of an Oracle, which they did make use of to stirre up their Countrymen to Rebellion, often averring, it was Decree'd by the Fates, *That the Roman Treasury should be possessed by the Praenestines.* The Fathers being already much perplexed, had further Intelligence that *Fabricius* was detained by their Confederate and Companions as a Pledge to secure the safe return of their hostages from *Rome*, and that Embassadours were sent to incite the Etrurians, the Umbres and the Gaules against the People of *Rome*; whereat they were infinitely troubled as at a fact in it selfe horrid, so of ill Example, lest in such a Dangerous time the *Roman* faith and honesty should be call'd in question, and held suspected by all

all the Italians. In the utmoſt part of the *Italian* ſhoare over againſt *Sicilie* is ſeated the City of *Rhegium*, (by a Græcian name ſo called) very wealthy and flouriſhing in
Polybius. thoſe dayes: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of *Pyrrhus* that a great and terrible warre would enſue, and frighted likewiſe with the *Carthaginian* Navy floating up and down in thoſe ſeas, not truſting in their own ſtrength, thought fit to ſend for a Guard from
Livie Epit. 11. *Rome.* The Romans ſent them Four thouſand ſouldiers (which being leavied out of the Co-
Livie 28.28.3. lonies of *Campania*, were call'd the *Campanian* Legion) under the Conduct of *Decius Jubellius* their Colonel; Theſe at their firſt coming were very faithfull, and very diligent in defending the City. At length ſeeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauch'd with idleneſs and imitation of the Greek Cuſtomes, they began to compare the Advantage they had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much Covetouſneſs and Envy did frequently diſcourſe in all their meetings and quarters of the con-
Polybius. venient ſcituation of the City, and the happineſs of the Inhabitants. *Decius* was well pleaſed
Dion. with this, who being himſelf grown as Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward deſire of ſeizing upon the City. The deſign was favour'd by occaſion of the preſent warre, which ſo wholly took up the Romans, that they had no Leiſure to mind the affaires of *Rhegium*; Beſides on the oppoſite ſhore were the *Mamertines*, an Example of the like ſucceſsfull villany, and ready no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, eſpecially being tyed with the Relation of the
Polybius. ſame Common Country; For they likewiſe were of *Campania*, and of late yeares going to
Diodori ex excerpta ex. lib. 21. warre amongſt the Auxiliaries of *Agathocles*, and being entertained by the Meſſenians as Friends, having ſlain and caſt out the Citizens, poſſeſs'd the place themſelves: ſharing likewiſe among themſelves their houſes, wives and Eſtates. They called to mind alſo the Campanians of old, who by the like wicked art got *Capua* from the Tuſcans. When they had now agreed upon the Buſineſs, there was nothing left to be conſulted on, but only the Manner, how ſafely to execute their Deſign, leſt in ſo populus a Citie, the leſſer number ſhould be ſurrounded and ſlain by the greater. *Decius* counterfeiteth Letters as wrote from the Rhegians to *Pyrrhus*, to betray the *Roman* Garriſon to him; theſe Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the ſouldiers in private, *Decius* bitterly complaining of the Perfidiouſneſs of the Rhegians; and ſome ſouldiers being ſubborned to it, cry out, *'Twas time to provide for their own ſafety by the ſword, and turn that Deſtruction which was deſtin'd to them, upon the heads of the Authors*; and as the buſineſs was ſet, a Meſſenger comes in with newes, *That Pyrrhus his Navy was ſeen by the ſhore, and ſecret diſcourſes were had between him and the Rhegians.* The ſouldiers now beſide their former Covetouſneſs, were much incenſed with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is therefore by Common Conſent reſolv'd upon, *Th at the Townesmen ſhall be oppreſſed unawares and unprepar'd, that having ſlain the Men, all the Publick and Private wealth of the City ſhall be diſtributed to the Legion.* Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; *Decius* having invited ſome of the Prime men to Supper, againſt the holy Rites of Hoſpitality, takes away their Lives; others were every where ſlain in their own houſes; the greater part of the Rhegians being thus murthered, the reſt were baniſhed their Country, even by thoſe whom of late they had entertain'd under the Name of Friends and Companions, for preſervation of themſelves and their Countrey. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affaires; the houſes and Eſtates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongſt the Thieves; and while the Blood is yet freſh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to Marry the murtherers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to it ſelfe the Title and Rights of the City of *Rhegium*. But it hath pleaſed God well to provide for Mankinde, that ſuch rare examples of high Miſchiefe ſhould prove likewiſe as manifeſt Examples of Vengeance and Divine Juſtice; Leſt we ſhould onely by conſideration of the ſucceſs be animated to the like Villany, and not by the Iſſue and event be deterr'd from evil doing, ſo that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madneſs then for any man to perſwade himſelf that he can grow happy by doing Miſchief: For ſuppoſe there were no Puniſhment after Death, which all wiſe men acknowledg to be the greateſt, (for the folly of ordinary men is ſo great they will ſcarce believe what is before their eyes, much leſs be moved with the terrour of things unſeen and afarre off,) yet let all things as to outward ſhew ſucceed proſperouſly, nevertheleſs the Conſcience of offences committed doth by ſecret wounds continually lacerate and torment the minde: the Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is had in perpetual hatred and Deteſtation among men: and what is by ill meanes gotten, and with care and labour preſerved is moſt commonly to their great grief ſnach't away again, neither God nor men ſuffering Wickedneſs to go long unpuniſhed. It will not be amiſs briefly to relate the
Livie 28. 28. puniſhment of *Decius Jubellius*, and his mad Accomplices, as in theſe dayes it befell, for their Final
Diodorus deſtruction after great variety of trouble ſome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as ſhall in fit time be declared. Theſe Raſcalls did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongſt themſelves; The feare of the Romans and *Pyrrhus* they did indeed avoid, as by reaſon of the preſent Conjuncture of Affaires, ſo by holding ſtrict ſociety with the *Mamertines*, and reſolving to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought ſafeſt in their firſt beginnings to abſtain from warre at the preſent, while their New City which had ſo violent and ſudden an Original, ſhould have time to ſtrengthen, compact and knit it ſelfe well together: they ſaw that without Danger they could not moleſt the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from the

the Romans, if they bore not arms againſt them. The firſt cauſe of diſſenſion, as is uſual among Thieves, aroſe from an unequal diviſion of the Plunder. *Decius* in the ſedition was caſt out and betook himſelf to *Meſſana*, the Souldiers at *Rhegium* choſe *M. Caſius* his Secretary for their Commander, and *Decius* carrying with him a great bank of mony, was honour'd with the ſame dignity by the *Mamertines*, though his fortune was neither proſperous nor of continuance. For it hapned, that being troubled with ſore eyes, he cauſed ſome Eminent Phyſician to be ſought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with moſt ſharp and bitter puniſhments: A Phyſician was therefore brought unto him, who prov'd to be by birth a *Rhegian*, but becauſe he had lived ſo long at *Meſſana*, his original was not only unknown to *Decius*, (who would never have truſted himſelf to the mercy of a *Rhegian*) but likewiſe to moſt of the inhabitants of the City. *Val. Maximus 2.7. 15* *Diodorus*

He being mindfull of his Country and reſolving now to be revenged for its Calamites, perſwaded *Decius* that the remedie he brought, was indeed ſtrong in Operation, but of quick and moſt certaine efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of Cantharides, and giveing order it ſhould not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he taketh ſhip, and flyeth from *Meſſana*. *Decius* being along time ſufficiently tormented with incredible paines, ſeeing his Phyſician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being waſhed off, he perceived himſelf to be ſtarke blind. So that being now a blind Exul, infamous and diſpiſed, he is reſerved to judgement, as if he were bound in Chaines; by a wonderfull Method of Divine Vengeance, in that he received this Plague from one to whom he had truſted his health, even as he himſelfe had by Crueſty and treachery circumvented thoſe whom he ought to have protected. Tis fit ſuch Examples as theſe ſhould be recorded in Hiſtory and tranſmitted to poſterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never ſufficiently convinced how farre theſe Cunning practiſes are different from wiſdome and right reaſon; ſo that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honeſty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of falſe and onely ſeeming good things by foul and villanous luſts involve themſelves in true *Evills*. *Diodorus* *Appian*

BOOK III.

NOW at *Rome*, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reſerve againſt the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Conſuls. *P. Laverius Lævinus* was deſigned againſt the Tarentines and *Pyrrhus*, and *Ti. Coruncianus* ſent to finiſh the *Etrurian* War. *Lævinus*, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, ſo to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them firſt; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth, to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into *Lucania*, did there fortifie a Caſtle in a convenient place, furniſhing it with a ſtrong Garriſon, both to retard the proceedings of *Pyrrhus*, and to keep the Lucanians in awe, whoſe treachery was feared, leſt they ſhould dare to revolt to the enemy. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of the Roman Conſul's approach, though his forces were not yet aſſembled together, judging it both diſhonourable and hurtful now in the beginning of the War to manifeſt any token of Fear, with what ſtrength he had at preſent, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find ſome colourable pretence to draw out the buſineſs and gain time, he ſent a Meſſenger with Letters of theſe Contents: Pyrrhus *the King wiſheth Health to* Lævinus; *I underſtand that thou art come forth* 473 *Zonaras*

forth with thine army against the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me With a small Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even those who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right. To this *Lævinus* answer'd, *We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controversies, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou seemest to do very absurdly in assuming to thy self the Judgment of other mens Causes, who art thy self guilty of a Crime, and hast not as yet received due punishment for entring* Italy *without our consent. Know then, that I come no lesse against thee then the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a Just army, by the Judgment of* Mars *the Author and Founder of our Nation.* And without delay moving his Ensignes, he sits down between the Cities of *Pandosia* and *Heraclæa*, in a Champian ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River *Siris*.

'Tis reported that *Pyrrhus*, walking downe to the River side to view the Roman campe, when he had well and diligently consider'd it, said to one of his freinds, *Megacles* by name, *These Barbarians have martiall'd their Army after no barbarous manner, but wee shall soone try what metall they are of.* Then having placed strong guards upon the bankes, to hinder their Zonaras Passage through the Fordes, he resolved to expect the comeing of his Companions; not onely for the Reason of War, hopeing the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of necessary accommodations, but as much regarding the spirit and confidence of *Lævinus*; whose admiration was by a new Testimonie encreas'd with him, in that he had freely without punishment dismissed those spies, which were sent to view his Campe, telling them more- Frontidus
Zonaras over, *That he had another Army bigger then this.* In the meane time the Campe being so neer, Gotefridus. there were many Pickeereings and light skirmishes which tended nothing to the main chance. Viterbiensis. Almost fifty dayes being now spent in these light skirmishes, the Consul being moved with the Otto. same reasons to hasten the fight, as *Pyrrhus* was to deser it, assembling his Souldiers together, Frisingensis gave them to understand his Intentions, and encourag'd them against the fear of a new enemy, Zonaras extenuating, as much as might be, the fame of *Pyrrhus*, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himself for all assayes, he resolves either to fight the enemy by Consent, or compel him to Battel. Therefore seeing *Pyrrhus* still continue in his resolution, he sendeth out beforehand all his horse, as if to forrage the Country, himself with his Legions in Battel Array, expecting till the tumult and noise on the other side of the River should give them warning. The horse fetching a compass far from the Camps, cross the River where no Guard was, and Plutarch immediately advance to the enemies stations on that side the River: The *Epirots* terrified with their sudden approach, betook themselves to their Camp. *Pyrrhus* understanding the enemie was so near, marcheth in all hast to the River with his whole body of horse, consisting of three thousand, hoping the Romans in their passage through a blind Ford, striving with the stream and unevenness of the ground, and breaking their orders, might there be vanquished. But the Roman horse interposing themselves, *Pyrrhus* riding at the head of his Troops, conspicuous in his shining armor, of singular strength of Body and Resolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correspondent to his Fame and Reputation. He so exactly order'd the whole Battel with his Counsel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occasion serv'd, he would charge and fight in person, as if to him belong'd only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General issue were another man's business. In the mean time one *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, having observed a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himself only against the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horse to whatsoever quarter he spied him in, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, who answer'd, *No man can avoide the Fate of Mortals, but neither this* Italian, *nor any other, shall grapple with me without his reward, and due punishment.* He had scarce spoken the words, when *Oplacus* (so was the man named, a Captain of one of the *Frentan* Troops) wounded the Kings horse with his Spear, *Leonatus* likewise wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round besetting him killed *Oplacus*, stoutly fighting for himself, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be slain: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewise to decline dangers Zonaras intended against him, he changed his Armour and weapons with *Megacles*, and leaving him in Plutarch the Fight, went himself to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battel a long time fiercely continued with so doubtful success, that 'tis reported Fortune seven times changed, sometimes the Romans sometimes the Epirots turning their backs.

But the death of *Megacles* had like to have reduc'd *Pyrrhus* his affairs even to a most desperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was assaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of slaying the King: And at length an Horseman, *Dexter* by name, having Frontinus Strategem. 2 kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud crys carried them to the Consull, Plutarch thereby ingenerateing a beliefe in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the *Grecians* were full of Terrour and Consternation, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Feild, but that *Pyrrhus* assoone as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voyce Zonaras witnesseing, *That he was a live, and present amongst them*, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as feare and Despaire from his owne souldiers. *Lævinus* perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmost Remedie, gave the Signe to his Horsemen whom he had placed in Ambush, to fall upon the backe of the enemie. But *Pyrrhus* against this

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewise reserved for the last Terrour to the enemie. This one Contrivance dash't all the Romans hopes, and gave the Issue of Frontinus 2 2 the Battaile cleerly on *Pyrrhus* his side. For the men themselves being astonished at the vast bulk of their bodies, and the terrible shew of armed Warriers on their backs thought they had rather seen some strange and formidable Monster, then the shape of any Creature by Nature Pausan. 1 produced; and as for the horse, they being frightned with the sight, smell and noise of beasts Florus 1. 18 they had never before seen, did forthwith, confounding their ranks, flie every one what way Plin. 8. 6 was most open; and either shaking off their riders, or against their wills forcing them to flight, they ran upon their own battel, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Rectors of the Elephants following the persuit, many of those that fled were wounded from those who stood Zonaras in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beasts themselves. The Consul making use of his best skill, did as yet keep his main battel together, Plutarch till, by the command of *Pyrrhus*, the Thessalian wing being sent amongst them, did rout and scatter them, not being able to resist. And no question but in the place they were hemm'd in, they had every man been slain or taken prisoners, but that, besides the Custom of *Pyrrhus*, who Frontinus 2 6 thought it not General like too severely to press upon those who fled, lest by despair of safety they should be provoked to make more sharp resistance, the evening likewise being far spent compelled them to relinquish the persuit. Fortune likewise favour'd the remnant of the unfortunate Eutropius b. 2 Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with its braying confounded the Gotefreidus. rest. This putting a *Remora* to the enemy, gave liberty to those that fled to cross the River in- Viterbiensis to *Apulia*, where they sheltered the mselves in a fenced City against the present danger. I find that in this fight there were fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy foot of the Romans and their friends slain, with two hundred and fourscore horsmen; there were taken in all eighteen hundred and twelve, in which number were eight hundred and two horsmen; there was lost likewise two and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why some Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were want- Orosius 4. 1 ing on the Kings side; whereas *Dionysius* writeth, that *Lævinus* lost little lesse then fifteen Plutarch thousand, and that on the Victor's side thirteen thousand fell. But *Hieronimus Cardianus*, an impartial writer of those times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but seven thousand, and of the Kings army under four thousand. But this is by all agreed on, That the Victory cost *Pyrrhus* the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard Orosius to say, *He was no lesse Conquer'd then Conqueror in that Battel.* And when he offer'd the spoiles and gifts to *Jupiter* of *Tarentus*, he confessed as much, inscribing that sentence in the Title, and when his friend complain'd, he repli'd, *Of a truth, if I obtain such another Victory, I shall return into* Epirus *without e're a Souldier.* I have likewise an Author that the King himself re- Justin. 18. 1 7 ceived a grievous wound in this fight, but because others report no such thing, and that I often see the circumstances of several battels confounded, I dare not in the general silence of so many and those more accurate Authors, give credit to one single one.

That it was fought with great animosity and valour, this one argument is sufficient, That Liv. Epit. 13 when *Pyrrhus* next day view'd the slain corps (which for the reputation of his Humanity and Eutropius Clemency he caused to be buried) he finding that all the Romans died with honourable wounds, Florus 1. 18, 17 having their faces turn'd to the enemy, he cry'd out, *How easie were it for me to gain the Em-* Dio. apud *pire of the whole world, if I had but Roman Souldiers!* Neither did he deser with any compli- Valesium ment and large promises to court those who were in his power, to receive pay under him, and not being able to perswade them, he did, nevertheless treat them with great humanity and clemency, freeing them from chains and whatever other reproach usually attends the fortune of prisoners. But the Romans thus batter'd by the late fight were terrified with another misfor- Orosius tune, though not of so great loss, yet which caused more fear and Religious horror. For it was imputed to the manifest anger of the gods, that their men who were sent forth for forrage and relief, were overtaken by a sudden and most violent Tempest, wherein four and thirty were amidst the stupendious noise of the Heavens, struck dead by Thunderbolts, and two and twenty smitten and left half dead, their Cattel also by the same storm were most of them slain or made of no use.

Pyrrhus in the mean time having taken the empty and forsaken Camp of the Romans, made quick use of his victory, wasting all the Neighbour Countries, and turning many people from the Roman friendship. The Lucanians and Samnites then come in to him, whom lightly chiding, *That they had not assisted him in the battel*, he nevertheless gave them part of the spoils; therein much rejoycing and exulting, *That by his own strength, with no other aid but that of the Tarentines, he had slain so many of the Romans. Pyrrhus* being thus intent in reaping the fruit of his Victory, *Lævinus* on the other side curing his wounded, and recollecting his dispersed men, had gathered together a force no way contemptible, and the Senate (though many imputed the losse only to the Consul's default, and *Fabricius* said, *It seem'd to him, that the Romans were not beaten by the Epirots, but* Lævinus *by* Pyrrhus) decreed a recruit and supply to be sent him. When the Cryer proclaimed, *That they who would serve their Country in the place of them who were slain, should give in their names*, they listed themselves so fast, that presently they compleated the number of two Legions.

The Consul recruited with these forces, follow'd the steps of *Pyrrhus*, vexing his Army with what inconveniencies he could. And understanding the Kings Resolution to seize upon *Capua*, leading his Army thither in hast, he prevented him, and preparing all things for Defence, he deterr'd him from assaulting the City. *Pyrrhus* turning his Course to *Naples*, and there likewise being frustrated of his Expectation, forthwith by long journeys marcheth toward *Rome* in the Latine high way, and now having passed through *Anagnia*, and the Hernician Territories, taking in *Fregella* by the way, he was come to *Præneste* within Twenty miles of the City; But the Magistrates there, assoon as they understood of the Overthrow, had by Order of the Senate armed their choice young men: and the Fortune of the Roman People had in this the time of their Necessity, provided them another very strong help and succour; For the other Consull *Tib. Coruncianus* encountring the Etrurians with better success, had tied the whole Nation to new Covenants, and being called back by the Senate to the Defence of his Countrey, having no other Enemy to distract him, came home with his Victorious Army. *Pyrrhus* having in vain attempted to draw the Etrurians again into Armes, and considering that, besides a City secure with its own guards, he had two Consulls with their Armies, one on the Front, the other on his Reare, returned back into *Campania*; where meeting *Levinus* with greater forces then before his Overthrow; he said, *He had to deale with a* Lernæan Hydra, *whose heads being lately struck off, spring up again in a greater Number*; yet confiding in his former Victory, he drew out his Army and martiall'd it as resolving to fight, and that he might discover the Cheerfulness of his souldiers, and likewise terrifie the Enemy, he caus'd his men to shout and the Elephants to be provoked to bray. But the Romans returned a farre greater and more terrible shout, whereby conjecturing the Spirits of each, he judged it fit to abstain from sight at the Present, and complaining of ill omen in the Entrailes of sacrifices, he drew back his Army first into his Camp, and afterward with much plunder and a great Troop of Captives, to *Tarentum*.

Appian.
Florus. l. 18. 24.
Plutarch.
Zonaras
Appian.
Eutropius
Zonaras.
Florus l. 18. 19.
Zonaras

The Romans (who in their hardest times had remitted nothing of their Constancy, but as to the main Issue of the warre alwayes spake high, as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a most fit time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to *L. Æmilius Barbula* for those exploits performed in his Consulship. He triumphed *A. D.* the fourth of the Ides of *July*, over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But *P. Valerius* was order'd *to draw the Remnant of his Conquer'd Army into the Setine fields, there to fortifie his Camp, and cause them to winter in their huts*; About the same time the Senate disputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, resolved affirmatively; that which chiefly perswaded them, was 'I believe the Horsemen's Case, for they had stoutly maintained the fight during the absence of the Elephants, at whose approach the horse without any fault of the Riders yielded them up to Death, and to Bonds; upon this Errand were sent Embassadours of Principall Dignity, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for his Desolation of *Sena* in *Gallia*, *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who two yeares since were Colleagues in the Consulship: *Pyrrhus* by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inseparable Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encrease by his Ambition, according to the Vulgar Errour, esteeming all Virtues the servants to Domination, to which onely being intemperately given, he did direct all his Counsells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferiour to any Commander of that Age in Boldness of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all meanes before he came to Blows; he would solicite the mind of his Enemy as he saw most opportune with Feare, or Desire, or Pleasure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Conditions. Therefore understanding Embassadours were coming from *Rome*, and judging so many Consular men were not sent but upon some Grand Affaires, he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their access might be the safer and the more honourable, he sent *Lyco* (by nation a Molossian) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himself on Horseback with rich Caparisons met them without the Gates, and having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Respect, liberality and plenty that might be.

Tabula Capitolina Frontinus 4. 1.
Dionys. apud Fulvium
Cicero Brutus c. 14.
Polyænus Stratagemat. 6. 6.
Zonaras Val. Max. 5 1. Dion apud Fulcium Ursinum.

They premising somewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, *as how great the Inconstancy of Fortune is, how sudden the Changes of warre, and that future Contingents cannot be foreseen*, deliver their Message, *That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would suffer them at a Certain price to be redeem'd*, or *to be exchanged for Tarentines and others. Pyrrhus* whose Custom it was, not to transact any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together; and *Milo's* Opinion was, *That he should detain the Captives, make use of his fortune*, and *not cease the Warre till he had throughly subdued the Romans*; *Cineas* his Counsell was very different, for, *speaking first of the Constancy of the Senate and People of Rome, which they had often shewn even in the hardest times to be invincible*; he added moreover, *As for other Enemies 'tis likely we may hate their manners or contemne their Armes*, but *with this Nation, O King, 'tis better making Friendship then Warre, and 'tis convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to dismiss them without Ransome; Neither is any delay to be made, but that you send back the Embassadours with Presents, to conclude Peace upon equall Termes: For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit you may accomplish a Business (in my judgement) very necessary. For now your affaires having succeeded prosperously, you*

Dion,

you shall both more easily by Treaty obtain what you desire, and *likewise seem for no other Cause but the innate Greatness and Goodness of your mind, to offer Peace unto those whom you might by force have reduced into slavery. And farre be it from Thee, but that Thy Designes should prosper as they have begun; Yet We are but Men, and if Fortune change her side, neither will it be so easie a matter to Obtaine Peace, neither can it with so much honour be treated on.* When the rest agreed in the same Opinion, the King himself like wise assenting, commanded the *Roman* Embassadours to be called, to whom he spake in this Manner; *Your Errand, Romans, seemeth to me very unworthy, for having no Consideration of entring into Friendship with me, you require back the Prisoners of Warre, whom being restor'd, you are ready presently to make use of against me. If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counsell, beneficiall to both Parties, and make a League and Society with me, I will restore all your Citizens and Companions in Armes without price or Ransom; otherwise if you continue hostility, I shall think it no wise part, to strengthen your Hatred against me with the hands of so many Valiant men. Neither is Money so scarce with me as to need any from the Romans whom it would better become, if we were Friends, to be enriched by my bounty*; Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Embassadours, *with promise he would bestow more and of greater Price.* These things were spoken and acted openly in the Presence of all the Embassadours. But with *C. Fabricius* he had afterward a longer and more serious discourse. Neither shall I think it unfit to relate what I find in good Authors; When therefore they had speech together in secret without witness, among 'other things 'tis reported the King said thus: My desire is to have all the Romans my Friends, 'but especially your selfe, whom I esteem above all others, as most eminent in Civill and Military 'virtues, onely one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having but slender substance 'you are not able to maintaine that Port and Splendour which justly attends Great men as their 'Due; But I will not suffer you any longer to be sensible of this Injury, and dispite of Fortune, 'I will freely bestow so large a summe of Gold and Silver, as you shall easily exceed the Reve- 'newes of the Richest. For I am perswaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the 'hard Wants of Worthy men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory then Wealth: 'Truely I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more 'illustrious monument of Kingly Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto 'the Gods: so that I shall rather think you do me a Courtesie, then receive one at my hands, if 'you will suffer your selfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truely would I urge this to you 'if on my side onely the Bounty should seem Glorious, on your side the Acceptance dishonou- 'rable But now seeing I tempt you not to Treason or the commission of any Fact misbecom- 'ing your Grave Manners; what Reason is there why you should with a resolute and obstinate 'mind refuse a small Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I desire nothing of 'you, but, what may, nay of duty ought to be done by the best of Men, and most tender of 'their Countrys Good, that you would perswade the Senate to forsake their wilful stubborn- 'ness, and recall their mindes to Equity and milder Counsells, giving them to understand the 'Truth; that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Loss and Danger, neither 'can I (having promised help to the Tarentines, and proved Victor in the first Battell) without 'manifest breach of faith, and dimunition of mine Honour relinquish it; Neither indeed do 'I delight in fighting with you whom I judge farre more worthy my Friendship then my Hatred, 'and had much rather return home into mine own Kingdom, where many businesses in the inte- 'rim arise, which require my presence. And for this I will give you what assurance you shall de- 'sire, whereby you may be satisfied concerning my Intentions, and resolve the Doubts of o- 'thers; if any shall think it not safe to trust to Kings, by reason of the fault of some, who, 'standing to their Agreements and Covenants so long onely as it seemeth for their Profit, when 'they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have chosen rather to break their Faith then 'lose an Advantage. And when the Peace shall be concluded, there is nothing will please me 'better, or be more commodious to us Both, then that you would bear me company into *Epirus*, 'where you shall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and 'Partner of all my Fortunes. For I esteem no Possession more precious then that of a Valiant 'and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the Splendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majesty of Roy- 'all affaires will well become your great Mind. These things if we shall in Common conferre, 'mutually helping one the other, we shall without any difficulty attain to the greatest Happiness 'that man is capable of or can imagine.

Dio. apud Ful. Ursinum.
Appianus apud Ursinum.
Zonaras
Plutarch in Pyrrho. C. 43.

When the King had thus made an end of speaking, after a little distance *Fabricius* answer'd, '*Concerning my Vertue*, if any could be observ'd either in my military or Civill employments, 'it is needlesse for me to discourse seeing you have already trusted the Relation of others concern- 'ing it. Neither is it necessary to declare my poverty, that, being the master of a little ground 'and a small Cottage, I maintaine my self neither by usury nor the sweat of servants, but by 'the labour and excercise of my owne Body, seeing this also you have truly learn't by the dis- 'course of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, 'you judge me, by reason of my poverty, to be in worse condition then any other Roman, you 'are wonderfully deceived. For despising Riches, embracing Vertue, and doeing my duty, 'I was never sensible of any misery; neither in private or publick businesse did I ever repine at 'my Fortune. For what Reason have I to speake ill of fortune, unlesse I should impute it as a

'crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to greate and high spirits are most desireable,
'not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest hon-
Amm'ian. Marcell'inus 24.9 'ours our country affordeth, The heaviest wars are committed to my Charge, I am entrusted
'with the care of our most holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked con-
Dionysius 'cerning the most weighty affairs, I am commended and chearfully imitated by many; neither
'am I of less esteem then the most potent man in the City; I seem unto others an example and
'pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this bestowing no cost either of mine own or
'others. For in other places, where particular mens wealth is great, and the publick stock but
'small, the Magistrates sustain the dignity and splendor of their office by their own expence:
'In our City the custome is much different, no private mans fortune being on any side bur-
Zonaras Dionysius 'thened. All this great and glorious pomp, wherewith our Citizens, who are chosen to the
'administration of grand affairs, are so magnificently set forth, is of publick allowance; which
'order maketh all men equal, so that the pooreſt man shall want nothing for the maintaining
'either the publick or his own grace, neither shall the richeſt in any thing abound. Wherefore
'seeing, though I am the pooreſt of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richeſt of all;
'why should I complain of Fortune? should I desire to be equal with Kings, who may hoard
'up vast sums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have spoken in reference to my life in Pub-
'lick, even in private also my indigence is so far from being a burden or inconvenience to me,
'that contrariwise, as often as I compare my self with the rich ones, my condition seemeth in-
'comparably more happy, and I reckon my self among those few who have attained to as
'much Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mightily rejoice and give thanks to
'my Poverty. For it seeming to me idle and foolish to pursue after things superfluous, and that
'my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yieldeth all necessaries; I know not to what
'end I should be solicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes sweet to me, and thirst
'my Drink; after labour my sleep is easie and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from
'cold, are of proof sufficient; and my houshold stuff, according as it is apt and fit for those
'uses it was ordained to, so it very well pleaseth me. So that herein also I should be injurious
'to accuse Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger substance then nature desires, which
'hath neither ingenerated in me a covetousness of what is too much, nor a dexterity of scrap-
'ing it together. Wherefore with this my poverty I judg my self more wealthy then the rich-
'est men, yea, then thy self also; for I have so much that I desire no more, whereas unlesse
Zonaras 'you thought your self poor notwithstanding your possession of *Epirus*, and all other your Te-
'ritories, why came you over into *Italy*? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair op-
'portunity of doing good to mankind, and that I in my poverty can be bountiful to no body.
'Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things also I do not abound: That the
'gods have not endowed me with knowledg superexcellent, and the Art of Prophecying, and ma-
'ny other the like things, whereby I might benefit those who in these kinds want help. But if I
'freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens those things which are in my power, and
'suffer every one in common to participate of what may any way pleasure them, *I shall think*
'my self free from that crime of being useless or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I
'have you esteem those things small and contemptible, because others seem greater in your
'eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for supplying
'the necessities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be desired, and that in this respect the
'possession of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings seem to be per-
'swaded; which, think you, were the better way of purchasing wealth, that I should now with
'disgrace receive it at your hands, or that I should, when it was in my power, have long agoe
Above in the year 471 *Dionys.* 'gather'd it upon most honest accounts? For my prosperous management of Publick affairs,
'hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich; as often at other times, so especially when
'four years since, being Consul, and sent with an army against the Samnites, Lucanians and Bru-
'tians I overcame those large and fertil Territories wasting and spoiling, when being conqueror
'in many Battels, I took by force and demolish'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Souldiers being
'largely rewarded, and all debts paid which the Commonwealth had contracted with private men
'for carrying on the War, there was yet so much remaining that I carried into the Publick
'Treasury four hundred Talents. Now after I have scorn'd to acquire just and honest Riches
'by those spoils which were in my hands, and by the example of *Valerius Publicola* (and others
'who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before mony, shall I receive gifts
'of thee, and embrace a shameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neg-
'lected a fair and honourable means? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleasure,
'and good conscience have expended in just and honest uses, which what I receive of you I
'cannot do: For that money is rather to be accounted lent then bestow'd which proceeds from
'another's bounty, and however it be given and received under the specious pretence of hospitality,
'friendship or good will, 'tis burthensome to an Ingenuous and high Spirit till it be restored. And
'what do you think will be the issue of this business when it is known (as conceal'd it cannot be)
'if the Censours, who with ample authority exercise the superinspection of Manners amongst
'us, shall (according to that power wherewith they are invested to enquire into the Lives of the
'Citizens, and punish those who deviate from the Institutions of our Fathers) publickly summon
'me to give an account of the reasons, why I received any *Gifts from thee?*

Many

Many report that *Pyrrhus*, resolveing at any rate to winne a man of such Excellent vertue, did yet more earnestly tempt his Constancy, and after other magnificent promises, makeing a profer of half his Kingdom could not therewith move him, but that still he persisted to deny the Accomplishment of the Kings desires, *For*, saies he, *if I am an evill man, why doe you court me? If good, why would you corrupt me?* adding moreover, *That this businesse would prove neither pleaseing nor profitable to* Pyrrhus *if it should succeed, for if he should make use of his liberety, 'twould be hatefull both for the King and his Friends, as for his Justice and Abstinence, if the Epirots once had experience of them, they would forsake the King and apply themselves wholly to him.* These things, and what hereafter I shall add, being by various Authors related, I thought neither inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and sense of those men may be known, who supported the Roman State in most difficult times, and improv'd it to that incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may be apprehended, what Virtues and Manners ought to be practis'd by those men, who would become objects of Admiration, and transmit to their posterity a more flourishing Commonwealth then they received from their Ancestours. These things being spoken and heard on both sides, the King at present contented himself, but on the morrow, causing *Fabricius* to be sent for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who standing at their backs behind the hangings, as they were discoursing, the hangings being on a sudden withdrawn, at the Masters command laid his snout on *Fabricius* his head, making a most horrid noise; but he, being a man of a setled spirit, gravely turning himself about, smiled, saying, *Neither yesterday did your gold entice me, nor to day your beast terrifie me.* Afterwards being set at supper, when he heard *Cineas* discoursing of the *Grecian Philosophers of the Sect of* Epicurus, *that they esteemed Pleasure the greatest good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefest hinderance of Felicity; That the gods in their opinion led such a life free from the care of humane affairs, free from all affections either of anger against the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themselves over wholy to idleness and pleasure: Fabricius* thereupon is said to cry out, *The gods grant that* Pyrrhus *and the Samnites would practice this wisdom while they wage War with the people of* Rome. These were the manners of those times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counsel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither were these sudden Motions and fits, or speeches premeditated out of hypocrisie for the present occasion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the constant Tenour of their Lives, whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The same *Fabricius* when all his silver plate consisted of one Salt-celler and a little dish, which yet was sustained by an horning foot, the Samnite Embassadors presenting him with a gift of money and very rich houshold stuff, set his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at length to his belly, saying, *As long as I can command these, nothing shall be wanting to me, carry ye back your mony to those who stand in need of it.*

Eutropius Florus. l.18,21 *Auth. de viris Illust. c.35* *Zonaras.* *Appian apud Fulvium Ursinum.* *Plutarch Pyrrho. C.44.* *Plutarch c.43* *Cu. Catiline c.12* *Plutarch c.42* *Val Maximus. 4.3.6* *Val.Max.4.4.3* *Florus 1.18* *Iul. Hyginus apud Agellium 1.14*

After the same manner he spent his whole life, insomuch as in all his Patrimony there was not sufficient whereby to raise Portions for his Daughters; (an Honourable poverty!) so that the Senate caused money for that purpose to be disbursed out of the Publick Treasury, being asham'd to let those Virgins passe without Dowry, whose Father was not ashamed to leave so. The same vertue and continence was found in other Princes of the Senate; among the rest *Q. Fabius* who had so often been in Chiefe command, and having once borne the Censourship denied to be made Censour againe, saying, *It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that the same men should often be chosen Censour*; he died with the same Testimony both of his poverty, and the peoples Love; for after his Death they bestow'd so much money that his son *Q. Gurges* did bestow a dole of flesh upon the people, & likewise made a publick Feast. *Curius* out of the same gallantry of mind refus'd the gifts of the Sabines as *Fabricius* did the Samnites: *Æmilius Papus*, who was in most offices Colleague with *Fabricius*, also *Tib. Coruncianus*, and many other men of great note, by reason of their likeness in manners, lived together in great love and friendship: So that the Poet seems to me to have conceived in his mind the *Idea* of those times, when he said, *The Roman State was upheld by men and manners of the old Fashion. Pyrrhus* seriously considering and pondering these things, was inflamed with a great desire of composing all differences with this Nation, and immediately restored two hundred of the Captives without Ransome, and gave leave likewise to all the rest to go to *Rome* and visit their friends at the Feast of *Saturn* now approaching, relying only on the word of *Fabricius*, who promised, *That when the Holy-dayes were past they should return, unlesse peace were in the mean time concluded.*

Val.Maximus 4.4.10 *Author de viris illust.* *Cicero in Lelio* *Ennius apud Cic. de Repub. l.5 Citante Aug. de Civ. Dei. 2. 21* *Justin. 18.1* *Plutarch Pyrrho c.44*

And such was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every single Person, that at a Day by the Fathers appointed, they every man redelivered themselves up to *Pyrrhus*, having in vain urged their Country-mens obstinate minds to Articles of Peace. For the Crafty King, thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpose, while the Romans being mollified with the sight of their deareſt friends, and desirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hostility, resolved now to send an Embassage to *Rome* to Treat of Peace on those Conditions he had propounded to *Fabricius* in Person. He desired, *That the Tarentines might be comprehended in the League, That the other Gracians inhabiting Italy might continue free, living according to their own Lawes: That whatsoever the* Romans

Appian apud Fulvium. Florus 1.18,14 *Justinius. 18.2* *Appian*

Romans had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians might be restored; and in Lieu, the Romans should receive their Captives without Ransom. *Cineas* of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with *Pyrrhus*, a man as of great knowledg in Civil affairs, so of very honest principles, and who had by exercise improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For these his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, *He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of* Cineas, *then by his own Armes.* This man being sent Embassador to *Rome*, with much cunning delay'd making his addresse to the Senate, till he had in *Pyrrhus* his name distributed many gifts in the houses of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, *Extolled the virtue of* Pyrrhus, *and his inclination towards the Romans*, he discourse of the Equity of the conditions he brought, insomuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: because beside other conveniencies, he promised, If they would desist molesting his friends, he would furnish them with aid sufficient for the Conquest of all the rest of *Italy*. But, because the Consultation lasted many dayes (the Fathers being very solicitous in a business of so great consequence) and thereby a suspicion and rumor was spread, that peace would be concluded, *Appius Claudius*, who by reason of his Age and blindness, had of a long time been absent from the Senate, caused himself now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no sooner appeared, but his sons and sons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being silent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the respect they bore his person, and expecting for what cause, after so long absence and retirement, he should now come into the Senate: he beginning his discourse with the affliction of his sickness, said, 'His *Blindness* had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now 'he was not only delighted in it, lest he should behold those things which were doing, but was 'sorry that his eares also were not deaf, that he might not hear things so sordid and unworthy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whither are your 'spirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of *Alexander* the 'Fortune then his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, 'and likewise his esteem amongst men would have proved far different. But now, behold how 'ye are degenerated from that your Magnanimity; ye once thought ye were able to conquer 'the Macedonians, and now ye stand in fear of Molossians and Chaonians, the perpetual prey 'of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned *Alexander*, and now are frighted by *Pyrrhus*, not 'the servant of *Alexander*, but his servants servant, who flying from his old enemies rather 'then seeking new, is come over into *Italy* with a resolution, should it please the gods, to obtain the Empire of *Rome*, with those forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his 'little share of *Macedonia*. Unless therefore we send him back well beaten, laden with great 'misfortune, assure your selves, any other Party, deservedly slighting and scorning our Power, will greedily venture into *Italy*, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can 'be thought of us, but that we are a cowardly slothful people, if *Pyrrhus*, being received into 'friendship, shall carry back a Reward for that Disgrace he hath done us, in as much as by his 'means it is come to pass that the Romans are become a Laughing-stock to the Tarentines and 'Samnites?

Plutarch Pyrrho c.28

Cicero Philip 1.5

Plutarch

Appianus apud Fulviam Ursinum.

Ennius Plutarch

This was the main scope of *Appius* his Oration, which did so inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a severe Sentence, they with one consent decreed, *That the War should be prosecuted, that* Cineas *should the same day depart the City, that* Pyrrhus *should be given to understand, That neither he should be admitted into the City,* (for that also was desired) *neither would they so much as treat of friendship and society, till he had quitted* Italy. A like sad decree by *Appius* his motion was made concerning the Captives, *That they should not be led in War against* Pyrrhus, *neither should they any where be joyned in the same company, but that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a note of infamy, change their manner of fighting, that they who before served on horse-back, should now be listed among the foot, and they who were of the Legions, should now serve in light armature; That no man should recover his former order, till he had brought in the spoil of two enemies.* 'Tis reported, when the Embassadors returned with this sharp answer, the King astonish'd at the wonderful constancy of the Romans, asked, *What they thought of the City and of the Senate?* and that *Cineas* answer'd, *The City seemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Assembly of Kings.*

Liv. Epit. l.3 b.2. b.36 de O. I. Eutropius b.2 B.1. S.5 de Pollul. Zonaras

Val. Maximus 2.7.15 Frontinus strat. 4.1 Plutarch Justin. 18.2

After these Transactions, some think, *Fabricius* was sent an Embassadour to the King: but they are easily convinc'd of Errour as by the Testimony of other Authours, so by a right Consideration of the Series of Affaires. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and busied themselves on both sides all winter in making diligent preparations. These I take to be the Times wherein *Pyrrhus* is reported, (for the avoiding the Dangers of shipwrack, and a more convenient passage of the *Italian* and *Epirot* Succours one to the other) to have had thoughts of making Bridges between *Hydrunt*, where *Italy* gets farthest into the sea, and *Apollonia*, a Town scituate on the adverse shore, some fifty miles distant: For that is the Bredth of the Sea in those places between the Græcian and Italian shoares. *M. Terentius Varro* is said afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being *Cn. Magnus* his Lieutenant

Flor. 1.18 2.2 Liv 9.17.12 Plutarch and Appian. Zonaras

Plin. 3.11

tenant in the warre against the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas with his Navy. In the midst of these doings *Tib. Coruncianus* the Consul Triumphed *A. D.* of the Calends of *February*. This year was a remarkable Censoursship in that a Lustration of the army was then first made by one of a Plebeian stock. There were cessed two hundred seventy eight thousand, two hundred twenty two Citizens. About these times it was that *Q. Fabius Maximus* was wont to be chosen Prince of the Senate; and by conjecture we gather, his son *Q. Gurges* was Censour at that Time. *Cn. Domitius* certainly was, for he lustrated the Army, and his name is famous for enlarging the Priviledges of the People. *Pyrrhus* in the beginning of the spring, calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into *Apulia*, where he took many Towns, some by Force, some by Composition. Against whom the two new Consuls *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* went forth with two Armies pitching Camp against Camp, neer *Asculum* a City of *Apulia*, of the same name with that City of the Picentes. No doubt was made of Fighting, but they were many dayes hindred as by a deep Torrent running between them, so by mutuall fear on each side. The Romans were troubled with remembrance of the former Battell wherein *Pyrrhus* was victorious: The Epirots were daunted at the Roman obstinacy, but chiefly at the name of the other Consull, so fatall to the Enemies Legions: For it was given out that *P. Decius* after the Example of his Father and Grandfather would purchase the Victory with his Death; and the issue of those Battells whereinto they died, did make the expectation of the *Decian* Devotion to be terrible to all men.

Appian in Mithridatick Tabula Capitolin. Epit. Livie 13. Plinie 7.11. Panvin in Fastis.

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Eutropius Cluverii Italiâ. Zonaras

Pyrrhus thinking it a matter not to be neglected, assembling his souldiers together, Thus in-'structed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddess 'Earth, or the Infernal Deitys, who were invoked by that Charme, that they ought not to 'believe the Gods to be so unjust as to alter the fates of Armies, and bestow conquests for one 'mad-man's sake; that victories are not obtained by jugling tricks, and superstition, but by 'fighting onely; as appeares by the Testimony of the Romans themselves, who come not into 'the field with troopes of Priests and Prophets, but with Legions of armed souldiers to oppose 'the Enemy: But because the ignorant are commonly more terrified with these superstitious 'delusions, then with true causes of feare, he shewed that this feare might be prevented, by 'shewing the Habit wherein the former *Decii* had Devoted themselves, and warning the soul-'diers if they met any Man in the like accoutrement not to assault him with any weapon, but 'to take him alive. He caused likewise a Message to be sent to *Decius*, *That he should forbear playing the foole amongst armed men, neither should his Plot take Effect, that if he came alive into his hands he should perhaps endure more torments then he was willing.* 'Twas answer'd by the Consulls, *They had Confidence enough in their Armes, neither had any need of so desperate a Design, which that he might be assured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would come over the River interjacent, or Expect the Romans on his side the water; that they would willingly withdraw their forces to give him a safe passage over, or, if he would retire, they would bring over their men, that on each side encountring with their strength entire, demonstration might be made; that they reposed all their hopes of victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no other thing:* *Pyrrhus* was ashamed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted therefore of the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of foording the River. The Terrour of the Elephants was not now so great to the Romans, as being accustomed to see them, so having had Experience that their snouts might easily be cut off, as one was in the last fight at one blow by *C. Minucius* the foremost Pikeman of the Fourth Legion. But now they bethought themselves of safer guards and Defences; They caused horses cloathed with Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewise full stuck with spears fastned in Iron sockets; in the Chariots were placed souldiers who with darts or fire should avert the fury of the Elephants. The Legions with this furniture having passed the River, *Pyrrhus* in a singular and Excellent manner martiall'd his Army, according to his Custom wherein he was thought to exceed all Commanders of his Time. Observing therefore the Nature of the place, which by reason of the Ruggednes of the Ground, and the multitude of Osiers thereabouts growing, would well admit of a foot Army onely; he placed his horse and Elephants in the Reserve. The Right wing he strengthned with his own souldiers and the Samnite Auxiliaries, The Brutians Lucanians and Sallentines he placed in the midst, the Tarentines, whose virtue he least confided in, he order'd in the midst. The Consull's main body consisted of their Legions, some of the light Armature being conveniently intermixt; and with the like Discretion they distinguished the Orders of their Reserves. The horse were distributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the Foot fight, and yet upon occasion offer'd, ready for Action. The Armys being equal, not only in Courage but in number (for they were fourty thousand strong on both sides) disputed the business with as much heat and animosity as could be expected, and the Victory inclining to neither side, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morning *Pyrrhus* when he had guarded the most difficult places, forced the Romans to descend into a more even and open ground; there he had some use of his Elephants, which being suddenly brought in to that part of the Battell where the Chariots were prepared against them, they frighted the horse (even as it hapned in the last fight) and caused them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this Fight is much different from that of the former, for some Authors affirm, The Romans

Livie. 8.9.

Zonaras

Plin. 8.7. Flor. 1.18. Orosius 4.1. Vegetius de Re militari. 3. 24. Zonaras. Ammianus Marcellinus Prin. lib. 24. Livie 35.14. Plutarch Pyrrho c. 46. Frontinus Strat. 2.3.

Plutarch

Plutarch Zonaras Frontinus Eutropius b. 2 *Plutarch Florus.* 1. 18 *Orosius* 4. 1

mans had the upper hand, their Victory being occasion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order sent against those who came to surprize the carriages) by their departure seeming to fly, by a mear error and false fear caus'd all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly indeed. The number of the slain is likewise expressed, *That on* Pyrrhus *his side twenty thousand, en the Romans side five thousand were wanting, that the King with a dart shot through his arm was grievously wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to stay the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the last; that on his side three and fifty Colours were lost, on the Romans eleven, and that* Fabricius *the other Consuls Lieutenant was likewise wounded.* But contrariwise, others say, *This Battel had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reason of the vicinity of their Camps sustained not so much loss; but that they did confessedly fly, and lost six thousand men; that* Pyrrhus *lost three thousand five hundred and five, as is in the Kings Chronicles registred, by the Testimony of* Hieronimus.

Justinius. 18. 1 *Plutarch*

Livie Epit. 13

And not only variety but Repugnancy of Authors moves me rather to incline to those who report the event of this Battel to have been doubtfull: for 'tis ordinary after an equall encounter for each part to attribute the victory to themselves, which by the negligence or Impudence of others is committed to writing, doing very ill to deliver to Posterity for true and undoubted, those things which are grounded on idle report only, or for affection are partially related. Wherefore their history seemes more probable who affirmes, *That there was but one Fight neere* Asculum, *and that, after an hot dispute and much blood-shed, the Sun being now set, the Kings wound and the losse of the Baggage did with much adoe breake off the fight: That then both Armies sounded a Retreat, when on both sides there were slaine about fifteene thousand; and that this was the time when* Pyrrhus *answer'd one who congratulated his victory, If the Romans are thus to be Vanquished we are undone our selves.* And indeed the sequel confirmes this Opinion, for *Pyrrhus* retired to *Tarentus*, and the Consuls, making no pursuite after the enemie, distributed their forces into winter quarters in *Apulia*, whereas the time of yeare gave them leave, and Reasons of War might well have perswaded them, to have prosecuted so glorious a victory. Moreover I find not that these Consuls made any Triumph, and many think that *P. Decius* in this Battel devoted himselfe, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himself the Third sacrifice, without intermission out of the same family, for the good of the Commonwealth: Which as I had no thoughts to gain-say, So should I not have related in the general silence of all Historys, but that a grave Author *M. Tullius Cicero* in his bookes of Physiosophy more then once maketh mention of it. The fight at *Asculum* thus ended, the rest of the yeare was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time spent in Consultation and preparations. *Pyrrhus*, having lost most of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, sent into *Epirus* with order for a supply of Men and money for next spring. But before that Navy could be set forth, new hopes arising alter'd the Kings Counsels. *Pyrrhus* had sometime the possession of *Macedonia*, wrestling it out of the hands of *Demetrius*, and again lost it by the Power of *Lysimachus*; Now while *Pyrrhus* waged war in *Italy*, *Ptolomeus Ceraunus* being slaine by the Gaules, there seemed a new way open into *Macedonia*, being destitute of a Prince and the state of affaires in Confusion. This Reason perswaded him not to leave *Epirus* naked of souldiers, left it should be obnoxious to the injurys of the Gaules who now oppressed the Neighbour nation *Macedonia*. But *Pyrrhus* did not as then steere his Course homeward, being upon other Occasions (as shall be related) call'd into *Sicily*. The winter being past over in these Cares the New Consuls came to the Army *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus* (who before had born a Consulship together) which *Pyrrhus* understanding drew forth his forces, intending to observe the Marches and Counsels of his enemy. Their Camps being not far distant, there hapned an Accident very remarkable, and by most men related much after the same manner; One *Timochares* an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, secretly came to *Fabricius*, and promised him, if he would give him an answerable reward to Poyson the King; which he thought was easie for him to accomplish by his sons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. *Fabricius*, no way delighted with the Treason, informed the Senate of it. the Senate, not discovering the Treason of *Timochares*, who had (by what means soever) intended the Roman profit, sent Embassadors to *Pyrrhus*, who should only in general warn him, *That he should look well about him, and take heed of what mens service he made use of, and enquire into their faithfulness and honesty.* Thus *Valerius Antius* relates the business. But *Claudius Quadrigarius* in stead of *Timochares* make *Niceas* the undertaker of this Poysoning, and that notice was given not by the Senate but by the Consuls, reciting also the Letter of the Consuls, wherein they discover *Niceas* his design, *That they are unwilling to fight by craft, or with money, and wish the King safe from Treason, hoping he will become an Illustrious Ornament to their Victory and Triumph.*

Zonaras

Tuscul. quest. 1. 13 *de Finibus* 2. 19

Plutarch Zonaras Plut. Pyrrho c. 20, 24 *Plutarch Diodori Eclog.* book 22

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Agellius 3. 8 *Cic. de Offic.* 3. 22. *Val. Maximus.* 6. 5. 1 *Zonaras Agellius Livie* 39 51 *Agellius Ammian. Marcel* 23. 5 *Tacitus* 2. 28 *Plutarch Pyrrho* c. 4, 5 *& in Apophthegm. Claudian in Bilio Gildon* v. 271 *Florus* 1. 18 *Eutropius Frontinus Strat.* 4. 4. 2

Some Report it was the Kings Physician who treated with *Fabricius* either in person or by Letter, and that upon his discovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in these Circumstances, so no question they are deceived who say that *Curius* sent back the Physician to the King. Tis said that *Pyrrhus* at this time wondring at the Experience of so great Vertue in Enemies, cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *who can with no lesse difficulty swerve from the Rules of Justice and Honesty, then the Sun be turned out of his Course.* He did immediately, left he should be Overcome with Kindnesse, return the Romans all the prisoners he had, and sent *Cineas* again to

to obtaine peace and friendship. It seemed dishonourable to receive a gift from the enemie, whereby they might be thought to have abhorred wickednesse more for gain then for the love of Vertue, they therefore sent back an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites that their captives might not be receivd *gratis*. This publick abstinence was to their greater Credit seconded by the vertue and resolution of private persons, when the gifts of *Pyrrhus* (which *Cineas* in great Number and those very pretious had Carried to Rome for both sexes) were refused not only by the Men but by the women. For when upon the refusal of some, he profer'd them to others, and others again, there was not so much as one man or woman to be found so mean or covetous as to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The Former answer was now again returned to the Embassadours, *That until* Pyrrhus *had quitted* Italy, *they would esteem him an Enemie to the people of* Rome. While *Pyrrhus* was much perplexed at these passages, not knowing how to prosecute the War with any cheerefulnesse, nor willing to depart *Italy* with any losse of Reputation, the Sicilian affaires did seem to help him, the management whereof (after long and doubtfull deliberation) he resolved to undertake. For so he thought the Roman war might with credit be declined, and the command of a most Rich Island obtained, he had also an earnest desire of being revenged on the Carthaginians, as being first provoked by them. For they suspecting the Kings designs, had a little before hand sent *Mago* with a Navy of an hundred and twenty ships, saying, *The Romans ought by Forreigne aid to be assisted against a forreign enemy.* And though the Romans used not their assistance, making answer, *That they were not wont to undertake any War but what could be managed by their own forces*; Yet now this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

Livie, 34. 4 *Justin.* 18. 2 *Val. Maximus.* 4. 3. 14 *Zonaras* *Appian* *Justin.* 18. 2 *Val. Max.* 3. 7 ext. 10 *Livie* Epit. 13 *Polybius* 3. 25

To the former Articles it was added, *That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace with* Pyrrhus, *it should be specially excepted, that they might assist one the other, which soever of them were provoked to War; And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthaginians should provide ships, each party pay their own souldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans by sea, but not be compelled against their wills out of their ships.* Which being agreed upon, *Mago* went to *Pyrrhus* under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to discover the Kings Counsels, whom the Carthaginians had understood to be invited into *Sicily*: And they offer'd their Navy to the Romans not so much out of any good will or care of their safety, but further to involve *Pyrrhus* in his *Italian* War, lest he should spoil their successes in *Sicily* which flourished so prosperously. They had then also guarded the passage into *Sicily* with a numerous fleet, pretending the siege of *Rhegium*, but indeed resolving to hinder *Pyrrhus* from transmitting his Army. For these causes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affairs, which filled him with great hope, as by the state of things, so by the frequent Embassies which came one after another out of the Island, affirmed, *That he was desired by the prayers of all men, as the only remedy of their calamities wherewith they were more sharply afflicted then the most miserable Nation under the heavens.* For after the death of *Agathocles*, more lamentable then undeserved, one *Mæno*, born at *Ægesta*, a City of *Sicily*, who had poison'd the King, endeavouring to usurp the government, was by *Hicetas* the Pretor expelled the City, and fled to the Carthaginian forces: Hence arose an heavy war and unfortunate to the Syracusans, by which never the less *Hicetas* in particular strengthened himself, and turning his forces against *Phintias* of *Agrigentum*, he held the Island long time in trouble, till by the boldness of one *Thænio* he was deprived of his Domination which he had held for nine years. *Thænio* endeavouring to retain the Soveraignty, was resisted by *Sosistratus* a Syracusan Nobleman. These two along time contested, *Thænio* possessing *Nasus*, an Island which is part of *Syracuse*, *Sosistratus* exercising the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by these discords they saw nothing but destruction likely to ensue, with one consent they decreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, who being the son in law of *Agathocles*, and next in succession, as having a son by *Lanassa*, was thought fittest to bear rule, as being able by his courage and his forces to settle their affairs. Moreover, the principal men of *Agrigentum* and *Leontium*, offering the Government of their Cities, and consequently of the whole Island, unanimously intreated him, *To come into Sicily as soon as may be, to succour them with his presence, being wearied with labouring under the heavy burden of a Barbarous slavery.* For the Carthaginians having wasted their grounds, had besieg'd the City of *Syracuse*, both by sea and land, with a Navy of an hundred ships, and an Army of fifty thousand men. *Pyrrhus* therefore without delay sendeth *Cineas* before (whose wisdom and faith he much trusted to) to agree upon Conditions and Articles of friendship with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian confederates, promising, *That if they were oppressed by the Romans he would in speed come out of the neighbour Island much encreased with new forces.* But when he was about to leave a Garison in *Tarentus*, they taking it in ill part, desired, *He would either perform his promised assistance on those conditions he was call'd in, or that at least he would leave their City free.* They could obtain neither, *Pyrrhus* returning no other answer, but commanding them, *To tarry his leisure.* The Epirot King being thus imploy'd, the Consuls had the easier war against their other enemies. I find they had about this time good success against the Etrurians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites. It appears there was no great matter done against the Etrurians, in that there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engaged, who re-assumed against the Romans those arms they had so lately laid down, being solicited by the Samnites, who found themselves left naked by the departure of *Pyrrhus*. Among the

Diodori Eclog. book 22 *Diodori* Eclog. b. 22 *Livie* 25 24 *Diodorus* *Appianus* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Plutarch* *Justin.* 18. 2 *Diodorus* *Plutarch* *Appian* *Plut. Pyrrho* c. 54 *Livie* Epit. 13

other nations as the war was more heavy, so was the Victory more Illustrious over them. *C. Fabricius* the Consul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into *Etruria*, inasmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Consular Army was thought sufficient) overcame the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites: Some Cities, among which were *Heraclea*, he drew into Covenants, and over those people he Triumphed before the Ides of *December*.

Eutropius b. 2 *Cicero pro Balbo. Fab. Capitolina*

An assembly of the people being held, New Consuls were chosen for the year ensuing, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* again, and *C. Junius Brutus* again. Other Nobles were *Candidates* with *Rufinus*, but by *Fabricius* his favour he was chosen. Wherein *Fabricius* considering the times, preferr'd the publick safety before private quarrels; For by reason of their difference in Manners there was Enmity betweene these two, *Fabricius* being of proofe against Mony was guided only by his care of the common good; *Rufinus* more greedy of wealth then ordinary, many times order'd his counsels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwise Industrious and a good commander, *Fabricius* judged him to be preferr'd before his Competitours who were far inferiour to him in Marshal affaires. 'Tis reported, when *Rufinus* gave him thanks, *That being at enmity with him he had helped him to the Consulship, especially when so great a War was on foot*; he answer'd, *'Twas not much to be wondred, if he had rather be pillag'd, then sold to the enemy*. For there was great War remaining in *Italy*, and *Pyrrhus* finding all things goe according to his desire in *Sicily* (whether he now was gone) 'twas reasonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Accesse of the strength of so Noble an Island.

Quintilian l. 12

Dion apud Valesium.

Cicero de Orat. 2.66 *Agellius* 4.8

BOOK IV.

WHILE these things were doing in *Italy*, *Pyrrhus* having shipp'd his Army and Elephants, sailed from the Tarentine Port into *Sicily*, after he had continued two years and four moneths in *Italy*. Being conducted by *Thenio*, who met him with his Navy, he was received by the *Sicilians* with wonderful chearfulnes, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their Mony and their Ships. Being thus in a short time possess'd of the dominion of the Græcian Cities, he did also by force of arms extort from the Carthaginians all whatsoever they held, excepting only the City of *Lilybæum*, which the Carthaginians being helped by its convenient scituation, defended against all his assauls. Whence justly conceiving great and vast hopes in his mind, he resolved, leaving his eldest son the Patrimony of his Father, to settle the other two, the one King of *Italy*, the other King of *Sicily*. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the Sicilians having for many years sustained both forreign and civil wars, and a plague worse then both, the tyranny of usurpers, seemed willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raise moneys against their wills, and put to death some of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreased by the covetousnes and arrogance of his Officers, whose vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the first and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themselves Egregiously good, 'tis for their honour and safety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, seeing private men are blamed only for their own faults, but other mens crimes are imputed to Princes. But these things

Iustin. Epit. 14 *Appian. Diodori* Eclog. b. 22 *Dio. apud Valesium*

Diodori Eclog *Iust.* 23. 2

Plutarch Pyrrho c. 5 *Dionysius*

things hapned afterwards. Now at Present, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the highest Honour and magnificence received, first by *Tyndarion* Prince of the Tauromenitans (for in that part of the Island he landed) then by the People of *Catanæa*, and so passed with his foot-Army to *Syracuse*: His fleet he commanded to be brought about not farre from the shore, ready prepared for fight, as thinking the Carthaginians would not suffer him to approach the City without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the *Carthaginian* ships were upon other Employment gone from the Navy, which because they were not return'd the Admirall refused to venture on the Fight with the Rest. Wherefore Entring without Resistance, *Thænion* and *Pisistratus* yielding Possession, he took into his hands the Publick Treasure, an hundred and twenty Covered ships, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre.

Dionys. Diodorus

In the Interim came Embassadours from the Leontines, whose Prince *Heraclides* offered the City and all his Forces, Four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Neither were other Cities slower in their submission, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. *Pyrrhus* treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, sent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more Ample Hopes in his mind, intending if affaires proceed so favourably to pass over into *Africke*. Things went not so well with his Confederates in *Italy*, for *Milo*, who was left at *Tarentus* with part of the Army, was not able to protect them from the hostility of the Romans, now in the absence of the King and his main strength. But as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the *Tarrentine* warre, both the Consulls converted their forces against *Samnium*. The Samnites (seeing their Fields burn't, their Castles surprized, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forsaken by their Friends) being inferiour both in strength and Courage, forsaking their Townes and Villages, betook themselves to the high and craggy Mountaines, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of most value they could in such a Tumult and feare convey away. Among the Romans besides the Emulation of their Commanders, there was arisen great Negligence and Carelesnes (the Inseparable Companion of Prosperity) caused by their own Constant good success, and their Enemies Fear. Hereby they suffered some Loss and more Disgrace; for their Souldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult passages were beaten back and destroy'd by the Samnites, who had possess'd themselves of advantageous places; many were slain, being overwhelmed with stones and Darts, or tumbled down the Precipices; others having no convenience either of retreating or fighting were taken alive. This Accident caused the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Misfortune upon his Colleague, boasted he could have managed the business with better success if he had been alone. *C. Junius* with his Legions remained in *Samnium*, *P. Cornelius* drew out his forces against the Lucanians and Brutians; where carrying about the Terrour of his Armes, wasting the Grounds and burning the Villages, he had occasion offer'd of greater Attempts. In the utmost parts of the *Italian* shore, towards the East and the *Jonian* sea, where the promontory of *Lacinum* stretcheth forth it selfe, is seated *Croton* of old very famous, and now also considerable for it's Wealth; Through the midst of it in those dayes ran the River *Æsarus*, on each side whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encompassed with a wall of Twelve miles circumference. This City the Consull not daring to beleagure, had thoughts of obtaining by Treachery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now destitute of forreign Aide, he might easily take it by the help and assistance of those who were weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination. But it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or suspicion of Treason, which is seldom long hid, the Crotonians had procured aid from *Milo*: *Nichomachus* came to them with a strong band of Lucanians, who issuing out upon the Consull (not aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) beat him back with the slaughter and wounding of many of his Men. *Rufinus* desiring by Counsell to remedy that loss he had by his Rashnes sustained, on set purpose encreaseth the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might seem strucken with the greater fear pretends to desist from his Enterprise, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a sudden Departure; This News was quickly blaz'd about the City (as from a Camp so neer must needs be) and besides a probable cause of the business, their Credulity was help'd forward by their desire to have it so; when on a sudden (their mindes being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being thereunto suborned by the Consull, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as if in this hasty departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Escape; He informes them *that* Cornelius Rufinus, *having not strength enough to force* Croton, *was gone to* Locri, *being invited by some who promised to betray it to him*. By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, *That the Romans were now on their March*. And withall they discover his Ensignes and Troopes moving that way which leadeth to *Locri*. *Nichomachus* being deluded by this Wile, marcheth swiftly with his forces the neerest way to *Locri*, intending likewise to defend it, which when *Rufinus* by secret Messengers understood, he turneth back presently to *Croton*, as upon better advice, so with better success then before. His diligence was made prosperous, not only by the security of his Enemies, but by the favour of Fortune also, for a thick mist chanced to furround him, so that he was almost within the walls with his

Ovid Metam 15. *Livie* 24.3. *Zonaras*

Frontinus Stratagem. 3.6.

Zonaras

Frontinus

Zonaras

Victorious army before the Crotonians understood he was returned. The joy of this victory, of it selfe ample enough, was abundantly encreased by other as glorious successes; Fortune seldom observing a mean on either hand. For *Nicomachus* perceiving himself to have fallen into a remediless Errour, not knowing what to doe, as he returned to *Tarentus*, was met by *Rufinus*, lost great part of his men, and very hardly escaped himself with the Rest; When not being content to defend one Citie he lost two. For the Locrians likewise being animated with this successe, having slain the garrison *Pyrrhus* left among them, with the governour of it, whose oppression they could no longer endure, betook themselves to the friendship of the Romans. Notwithstanding this Processe of affaires, the Samnites and other nations were not so far dejected, but that still they resolved to endure the worst that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, beside their own innate obstinacy, with their Hops of *Pyrrhus's* Returne, hearing the news of his victorys in *Sicily*. For *Pyrrhus* (that we may relate his actions out of *Italy* also, which were performed in those times and places, having influence upon, and being joyned with the Roman affaires) having setled things at *Syracuse* and *Leontium*, went about the same time with his Army to *Agrigentum*, meeting Messengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Garison was thrust out of the City, and that the Agrigentines yielded themselves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For *Sositratus* (who had delivered up *Syracuse* to him) together with the Citie, presented him with eight thousand foote, proper young men, and eight hundred horse, a force nothing inferiour to the Epirots *Pyrrhus* brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which *Sositratus* had the command of, did by his means submit themselves to the Kings discretion.

Zonaras

Appian apud Valesium.

Diodori Eclog. b.22

These things thus transacted, he sent to *Syracuse* for all sorts of weapons and engines, which were of use in the siege of Cities. For now his design was to assault the Cities under the Carthaginian Jurisdiction, having an army of thirty thousand, besides fifteene hundred horse, and the Elephants he brought over into Sicily. The first he tooke was *Heraclea*, where was a Punick garrison, then *Azone*; After which the Selinuntians, Halicyæans, and Ægestians following his fortune forsook the Carthaginian party, giveing an Example to many other Townes in the same quarter of doing the like. The Erycines, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and strength of the place, he was resolved with all his power to assault, having therefore order'd his men, himselfe armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to *Hercules*, if that day he should manifest himself to the Græcians a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the signe was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrowes being driven from their stations, gave way to the placeing ladders upon the walls, the King himselfe first of all men entred into a most noble fight against all opposers, tumbling some down with his sheild, slaying others with his sword, and terrifying all with the greatnesse of his Courage and strength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every consideration prosperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gained the Citie at that one storm, his souldiers being no lesse animated by his Example then fearefull of his danger, for both which reasons they fought with the greater contention. He then did sacrifice to *Hercules* according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of several kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the Lucanians and Brutians before the Nones of *Ianuary*. But I wonder to find it ascribed to *C. Iunius*, seeing *Rufinus* his Province was amongst them, and that he tooke two famous Cities, and that other Authours stile him a Triumphal Man.

Diodorus

Plutarch

Triumphi Capitolini. Plinie l.8. 6 & 33 11

Rome being not very secure, considering the progress of *Pyrrhus* his affairs, was otherwise much terrified with Prodigies and Pestilence; The most horrid Omen was, that the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus* being smitten with Thunder, the head thereof was strucken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the art and care of the South-sayers. The Plague likewise committed great slaughter amongst them, taking away man and beast by a common Murrain; but was most formidable in *Abortions*, for there was no young ones almost of man or beast which came forth safe and entire, insomuch as it was believed the anger of the gods would consume all living creatures. Which Affliction made the other Consulship of *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges* very famous, wherein he had *C. Genusius Clepsina* for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war against the Samnites and Lucanians; and two certain arguments there are that they made great slaughter of their enemies, for the same year *Q. Fabius* the Consul Triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians in the Quirinals; and those people sent Letters to *Pyrrhus* and Embassadors, declaring, *They were utterly undone without speedy help; that they could no longer sustain the power of the Romans, but must of necessity prevent the uttermost extremity by yielding up themselves.* This thing much inclined *Pyrrhus* to depart the Island and transport his forces again into *Italy*, seeing also his affairs now to be more difficult in *Sicily*, by reason the affections of men grew cold; and, by the consideration of some injuries received, were turned into hatred against him.

Liv. Epit. 14

Aug. de Civ. Dei. 3. 17

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Zonaras

Capitol. Trium.

Plutarch Pyrrho c.5.2 *Iustin.* 23.2

Which his resolution, and the series of ensuing affairs, that they may the better be understood, I have thought good more at large to relate his Actions at the present. When therefore he had possessed himself of *Eryx*, and placed a Garison in it, he marched to the City of the *Ægins* which is of a very convenient scituation, near the Haven of *Panormus*, and well fenced with works; there being received with the good will of the Citizens, he removed his Camp

Camp to *Panormus* it self, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewise taken a place called *Epirite*, seated in a pleasant mountain, but upon hard passages, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, he had now the possession of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only *Lilybæum*. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Mœtians, whose town *Dionysius* the Tyrant had in the Punick War demolished. Wherefore the Carthaginians, seeing that of all their dominions in *Sicily*, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, resolved with their utmost strength to defend it against the preparations they understood *Pyrrhus* made for the siege of it. Wherefore bringing in thither a considerable strength of Souldiers, with plentiful provision, as likewise amunition of all sorts (which they had opportunity enough to do, having the command of the seas) they diligently adhibited all care possible to fence it on every side: Especially where it lay open to the land they erected many Forts and Towers, encompassed with large ditches: Their work was the sooner finished, in regard the town being for the most part of it built upon the Rocks of the sea, needed no artificial Bulwarks in those places. Now, though they made great preparations for the War, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, so from *Italy* also; yet they sent Embassadors, promising, *If they could obtain peace upon equal conditions, to assist him with mony and ships.* *Pyrrhus* would hear no mention of money, desiring only to retain those Cities he had taken, seeming willing to allow them the possession of *Lilybeum*. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforming him, *That so long as the Carthaginians held* Lilybæum, *(as a ladder ready prepared whereby to scale all the rest of* Sicily) *the Island would never be void of the fear of them*; caused him to return answer, *That there was but this one condition of peace he would agree to, to wit, That they should clearly quit* Sicily, *and suffer the sea to be the bounds of either's dominions.* The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he draweth his forces forthwith toward the City, and Marshalling his army not far from the walls, in such order as those who were tired might (by turns) be relieved by fresh men, he began the assault. But the Lilybætans having a sufficient number of souldiers to defend them, and being provided of Engines and Amunition kept the City safe. For the Carthaginians had brought in so many Catapults and Scorpians that the whole compasse of the walls was not able to receive them.

Polybius 1.56 *Dionys. apud Valesium* *Diodori* Eclog

Zonaras. *Plutarch* *Pyrrho* c. 1.58 *Diodorus*

Diodorus

When therefore a shower of all sorts of weapons and darts overwhelmed the Kings Men, slaying many and wounding more, they desisted from their Enterprize. *Pyrrhus* likewise set himselfe to work to make Engines of Battery, beside those he brought from *Syracuse*, and digging Mines under ground, he attempted all arts belonging to a siege: But the Carthaginians stoutly resisting, when he had for almost two months wearied himself in vaine, and saw that the besieged having free egresse and regresse at sea, the Citie could not be taken, he broke up his siege and employ'd his forces other where. For some Greek Cities, besides other heavy oppressions, being compelled to pay tribute, implored his assistance against the Mamertines, living upon the sea coast. *Pyrrhus* therefore leading his Army in hast, when he had taken and slain some Mamertines he found gathering Taxes in those places, Encountring their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demolish'd many of their Garrison. And hitherto the King by his illustrious performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beside his other Vertues, with his singular Humanity not only won, but deserved the Love and Affections of the Cities. But this so great Felicity, which one would think so firmely grounded, was in a moment destroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, so chiefely by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adversity irreprehensibly good, was puffed up with pride in his prosperity, in which Condition Mens minds are indeed generally found to be weakest. When therefore, as we have said, he esteemed a Fleet necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ships, yet they were not well furnish'd with Sea-men, he very much offended the City with a strict Press of Sea-men; being now on a sudden changed, and from his former gentleness proceeding to proud commands, threats and extreme punishments; these things nevertheless were tolerated, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they saw those very men to be slain, by whose good will and assistance chiefly he had obtained *Sicily*, many people, not by degrees, or interposing delayes, but on the sudden changing their minds, revolted from his friendship, and applied themselves (as for every one was most opportune) some to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines. So that cruelty, which when it is alone is always grievous, doth then become utterly intolerable, when being exercised against the well-deserving, it contracteth (beside the hatred properly due to it self) the detestation of an unthankful and perfidious mind. He seemeth to have brought himself to this necessity of governing by violence, being too much over-ruled by the naughty Affections and counsels of his own men, for unto them (being no whit better) did he bestow the riches which were sequestred from the friends and kinsmen of *Agathocles*. The chief Magistracies of Cities he committed to his Pensioners and Captains, not according to the statutes and customs of the Cities, nor for the due time prescribed, but in what manner, and for as long as he pleased. Law suits, and controversies, and the whole administration of publick businesses he assumed to himself, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avariee and luxury, a like intent upon gaining and spending mony by wickednes, who being greedy to satisfie their own lust, make no distinction

Plutarch

Polybius 1.8

Plutarch

Fazellus Hist. Sic. dec. 1. b. 1.

Plutarch

Dion. apud *Valesium*

between

between Right and Wrong. Mens mindes being hereby incenſed they begun firſt to murmur, afterward openly to Complain, *why they had repented of their former Condition, if now the very ſame things were to be born withall? that in vain was* Pyrrhus *invited and received, if he ſtudied to imitate thoſe manners he came to puniſh; that no injury can poſſibly be of ſo ſharp ſenſe and Apprehenſion, as that whereof he is the Author who ought to have been the Avenger.* And now many began not very obſcurely to move ſedition, and cauſe a Revolution of things, whereas he hearkning to pernicious Counſell, choſe rather to encreaſe cauſes of Offence, then take them away: as if what evil was by Injuſtice committed, were by Cruelty to be mended. In the meane time the Carthaginians, obſerving that *Pyrrhus* was not very ſtrong in his own Country forces, and was daily leſs affected by the Sicilians, conceiving hopes of recovering their loſt Province, had ſent over an new Army which found buſineſs enough for the Epirots, many flying over to them who ſtood in fear of *Pyrrhus*'s cruelty. *Pyrrhus* under pretence of the Punick War, introducing Garriſons into the Cities, reſolved by falſe accuſations of Treaſon to take away the lives of the greateſt men, thinking afterward the more eaſily to keep the people in awe. At length he aimed at *Thenio* and *Soſiſtratus*, the principal men of the whole Iſland, by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly (as we have declared) he obtained the command of *Sicily*. *Thenio* was ſlain, *Soſiſtratus* fled to the enemy affording him no leſſe help and authority to the caſting *Pyrrhus* out of *Sicily*, then he had before to the bringing him in and confirming him there.

Plutarch
Zonaras
Dionyſius Zonaras Dionyſ.
Plutarch Pyrrho. C. 5 2.

Upon this many Cities revolting, greater part to the Carthaginians, ſome to the Mamertines, *Pyrrhus* his affairs were reduced from a moſt flouriſhing Condition to a very narrow and evil ſtate. In this Conjuncture the embaſſage of his Italians confederates came not unwelcome to him, complaining, *That haveing loſt all things, they had very few Cities left which were able with much adoe to keep the Enemy from entring their walls.* This gave him a faire and honourable Pretence of departing, that he might ſeeme, not expelled out of *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, But to return into *Italy* for the Relief of his oppreſſed aſſociates. Being now juſt going, when he ſeriouſly conſidered the ſcituation and wealth of the Iſland, and diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, *O* (ſaith he) *what a fair field do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in for Superiority!* And his Preſage proved true, as was witneſſed by the wars ſuddenly enſuing, wherein ſo many Navies were deſtroyed, and Armies routed.

Illuſt. 13 2
Plutarch
Appian apud Valeſium
Plutarch.

But the Enemies Courage increaſing with their Fortune, *Pyrrhus* had neither a ſafe departure out of *Sicily*, nor a quiet Voyage to the Tarentines in *Italy*. The Carthaginians aſſaulting him in his Paſſage croſs the ſea, ſunk ſeventy of his ſhips, and made the reſt uſeleſs (the Epirots almoſt utterly unskilful in Maritime affaires, being not able to grapple with men of ſuch Experience therein) ſo he fled out of the Fight with Twelve ſhips into *Italy*, who had come thence, with above an hundred, beſides a greater number of ſhips of Burthen. But gathering together thoſe ſouldiers who made a ſhift from the Overthrow to eſcape to ſhore, he had preſently a ſtrength ſo great that he conceived hopes of taking *Rhegium* by ſtorme. But being beaten off by the Campanians who defended it, he preſently fell into a great danger. For as he led his Army through blind and difficult paſſages, the Enemy out of Ambuſh fell upon his Reare, and ſlew a great Number of his Men, with two Elephants. 'Twas no contemptible force, neither for Number nor the quality of the Warriours, which thus aſſaulted him; they were little leſs then ten thouſand old ſouldiers, moſt of them Mamertines, who truſting in their friendſhip and cognation with the Rhegians, having underſtood that *Pyrrhus* intended to return for *Italy*, had croſſed the ſea before him, and in hope of prey had privily diſpoſed of themſelves in advantageous places to make a ſudden irruption upon him.

Pauſan. b. 1
Appian
Plutarch Appian
Zonaraſi Plutarch Pyrrho. c. 53

Pyrrhus, according to his wonted Boldneſſe fighting in the front of his Battel, received a wound in his head, which when he was gone aſide to dreſs, one of the enemies of large ſtature, and gallant in his Armour, advancing before the reſt of his Fellows, Challeng'd him with a loud Voice, bidding him, *If he were a live, to come forth.* *Pyrrhus* burning with anguer, and Terrible in Countenance, the blood running about his face, his men not being able to hold him, made a ſudden aſſault upon him, and with a blow on his head ſtruck him to the ground. 'Tis reported, his ſword was ſo well temper'd and his Arme ſo ſtrong, that at one ſtroke he cleft the Man in ſunder, even from the head to the bottom of his body, his parts on each ſide divided falling to the ground. The enemie terrified with the ſtrange novelty of this ſpectacle, and admiring him as above the ordinary Ranke of Men, left off the fight. *Pyrrhus*, being rid of this trouble, had notwithſtanding little joy. For, inaſmuch as he now loſt part of his Carriages, and that the wealth he had gather'd by the ſpoils of the *Sicilians*, was loſt in his laſt fight with the Carthaginians, he was in great want of moneys, ſo that his ſouldiers murmuring for pay, knowing not how elſewhere to provide it, he was compell'd to ſeize upon the Treaſury of *Proſerpine*: Her Church at *Locri* was in thoſe dayes moſt famous for the Reputation of its holineſs; which town, when *Pyrrhus* had taken by the aſſiſtance of his faction within it, he committed many horrid facts by ſlaughter and rapine, more then the juſt revenge of his ſlain Garriſon did require. But there being nothing left which men would or could contribute to him, he laid hands on the holy money, being urged thereunto by his worſt friends, who had moſt commonly been the authors of every pernicious counſel: Theſe were *Evagorus* the ſon of *Theodorus*, *Balacer* the ſon of *Nicandar*, and *Dinarchus* the ſon of *Niceas*. They did not only perſwade

Polyb. 1. 18
Plutarch
Liv. 29. 18
Appian apud Valeſium
Dio. apud Valeſium

ſwade *Pyrrhus*, telling him that all things muſt yield to Neceſſity, but were themſelves inſtruments in the ſacriledge, diging up a vaſt ſumme of Gold, which had many years been preſerved in vaults under ground. *Pyrrhus* rejoycing ſaid, *there is nothing more fooliſh then unſeaſonable Devotion, and not to accept of Money ready prepar'd to one's hand is the part of a mad man.* And putting it into his ſhips he gave order to have it carried to *Tarentus*, himſelf going by land.

Suidas in Ἀλλος
Appian.

But this his fact was not more foule in the Commiſſion, then it was unhappy in the Iſſue. A ſtorme ſuddenly ariſing upon the change of Wind, in the night time, turned about the ſhips in the dark; breaking ſome into pieces, and forcing others into the Maine. The ſhips which conveighed the Holy Money being ſhatter'd and torne into pieces, were ſunk with all the men in them, but the money it ſelfe lying upon ſome looſe planks, was by the waves carried to the ſhore very neer the Temple, from whence it was the day before taken. *Pyrrhus* underſtanding the Accident, commanded the money to be diligently gather'd up and returned to its former place, thinking thereby to appeaſe the Angry *Deity*. Nevertheleſs henceforward he had no better ſucceſs, Fortune Eluding all his Deſignes whatſoever, even thoſe which were upon good advice, and Virtuouſly undertaken. Which he did alwayes after conſtantly impute to the Anger of the Offended *Goddeſs*, as *Proxcinus* the writer of his Hiſtory, and himſelf in his Commentary do affirme; and when the thing was newly done, not being able by many Sacrifices to make propitiation to *Proſerpina*, he put to death all the Authors of that unhappy Counſell, the inſtruments of the Fact, and every one who had but lightly conſented to the Commiſſion of it. And theſe being executed according to their Deſerts, *Pyrrhus* proſecuting his Deſign had afterward a quiet journey to *Tarentus*; The Romans being ſtill more afflicted with the Plague, and fearing a new war upon *Pyrrhus* his return into *Italy*, attempted all Meanes both Divine and Humane for their Reliefe. 'Twas an old opinion, that the Peſtilence might be ſtayed by the Dictatours ſtriking in of a Naile; for the Experiment of which hopes 'tis probable that *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was choſen Dictatour, for as the greatneſs of the Calamity might well provoke them to try all Remedies, ſo we find that *Rufinus* was the year after taken notice of by the Cenſours, when he had been twice Conſull and twice Dictatour, neither can there be found a more certain monument of, or a more convenient place for that his Dictatourſhip. Againſt the ſickneſs providing what Remedy they could, their Chiefeſt care and diligence was required in matter of Armes, eſpecially in regard of the Difficulty in raiſing Men. For beſides the length of the Warre, the continuance of the Peſtilence had made men weary of entring into action, inſomuch as the young Men did with wonderful Obſtinacy decline the ſervice. But the ſeverity and conſtancy of *M. Curius Dentatus* the ſecond time Conſull overcame this their wilfulneſs, for he now had entred the Magiſtracy with *L. Cornelius Lentulus* his Colleague. When therefore in the Capitoll he firſt began his Leavy, becauſe no man anſwered, he cauſed the names of all the Tribes to be caſt into an Urne, and the *Pollian* Tribe coming out firſt, he cauſed the firſt man of that Tribe whoſe name was drawn to be ſummon'd; and when he refuſed to appear, he ſequeſtred and ſold his Goods; when afterwards he appealed to the Tribunes complaining of the Conſulls Injuſtice, he told him alſo, ſaying, *The Commonwealth had no need of ſuch Citizens who knew not how to obey.* The Tribunes nevertheleſs did not relieve him, and afterward the example being judged very wholeſom grew into Cuſtome, that when a Leavy was rightly and duly made, he who would not be a ſouldier ſhould be ſold for a ſlave. Others being terrified by this Precedent did the more readily give in their Names, and having filled up their Legions both the Conſulls marched into the Enemies Country; *Lentulus* into *Lucania*, *Curius* into *Samnium*. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of their motion, muſtered his army at *Tarentus*, and found himſelf almoſt twenty Thouſand ſtrong in Foot, together with three thouſand horſe.

Liv. 29. 1. 1.
Appian.
Diodorus.
Livie 29. 8.
Livie 29. 18.
Val. Max. 1. 1. 1 Ext.
Suidas in Φαρσαλικον μεγ
Livius Dion.
Appian
Plutarch Pyrrho c. 55.
Livie 7. 3.
Pighius in Annal. Romanis
478.
Varro in Satyra Τριφαλης Διακοσιοι.
Val. Max. 6. 3. 4
Livie Epit. 14.
Plutarch Pyrrho c. 54.

With theſe and the choice young men of the Tarentines he entred *Samnium*, but found not the Inhabitants ſo obedient as heretofore, they came not in ſo freely and readily as they had done, not only becauſe their courage was over-wearied with the great and many loſſes they had ſuſtained, but becauſe they were juſtly exaſperated, imputing all their calamities to *Pyrrhus*, which they had not ſuffered, had not he by his departure into *Sicily* betraid his Italian aſſociates. Nevertheleſs he gathered together ſo great a ſtrength, that he ſent one part into *Lucania* to buſie the other Conſul, while himſelf encountred *Man. Curius*, thinking if he once overcame him, he ſhould eaſily complete his Victory over the reſt. But the Roman very well underſtanding, that there is no *Batralia* comparable to the Macedonian Phalanx, when it hath *Rome* to ſpread and expatiate it ſelf, kept himſelf in craggy and difficult places; and becauſe he expected help from *Lucania*, and that the Auguries alſo and Entrailes of beaſts promiſed no good ſucceſs, he declined fight as much as might be: ſo much the more earneſt was *Pyrrhus* to engage before the two Conſullar Armies were joyned together. Chuſing therefore out of his Army thoſe who were moſt forward, he reſolved to aſſault the Roman Camp in the night time, when he might not be diſcovered. But while he prepared all things for his intended purpoſe, he fell into a deep ſleep and dreamt, that the greater part of his Teeth fell out, and that an abundance of blood flowed out of his mouth; in conſideration whereof being much perplex'd, he intended to deſiſt from his enterprize; but his friends earneſtly perſwading him, *Leſt he ſhould never again have the ſame opportunity offer'd him*, he gave order to advance. Near the City of *Male-*

Frontinus Strat. 2. 2.
Plutarch Pyrrho c. 54.
Dion. apud Fulvium
Culverius Italiæ antiquæ 4. 8.

Maleventum (for that was the name of it in thoſe dayes) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees ſtretching themſelves into ſomewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the *Taurafine Fields*.

Plutarch

Now *Pyrrhus* beginning his journey from the Lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wildred for want of knowledg in the wayes, in ſo much that (the day breaking) he was diſcovered from the Roman camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemie, yet, (becauſe there was no doubt made but fight they muſt, and their ſacrifices now proveing more favourable) with the Conſull's conduct cheerefully iſſued out, and falling upon the foremoſt of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and not in very good order) drove them backward, killing no ſmall number of men, and taking ſome Elephants which the enemy left behind. This ſucceſſe encouraged *Curius*, to follow his Fortune and deſcend into the open field in Battel-aray prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both ſides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmiſh, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, *Pyrrhus* now again ſought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire even to their Reſerve. There had the Conſul placed a ſtrong force (reſolving upon this occaſion to engage himſelf) which he commanded, being now freſh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an eaſie and ready way to oppoſe theſe beaſts, that they were ſooner diverted by fire then the ſword: Againſt them therefore were provided Iron inſtruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being ſet on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beaſts, or on the wood of the Towers, they ſtuck faſt by reaſon of their hooked ſharp points. Theſe inſtruments and divers ſorts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, ſo that their maſters not being able to govern them, they ruſhed back upon their own battel, filling it with fear and ſlaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young Elephant, which being wounded in his head, ſent forth a querulous noiſe, at which known voice the Dam was firſt ſtartled, and ſhe increaſing the tumult, at length the reſt were all in confuſion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the ſlain and the fruit of the victory. For *Pyrrhus* being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the reſt of *Italy* long hold out, neither, after *Italy*, was any other Nation and King able to ſtand againſt them. 'Tis ſaid the King in that Battel had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourſcore thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; of theſe they who report the moſt ſay, ſix and thirty thouſand were ſlain, they who report the leaſt, ſay ſix and twenty thouſand; thirteen hundred were taken priſoners, and eight Elephants. *Pyrrhus* with a few horſmen eſcaped to *Tarentus*. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, as it cauſed admiration, ſo was it of great uſe to the Romans. For they heretofore, as other people, ordered their Camp ſcatteringly by companies in the manner of Cottages: *Pyrrhus* is held to be the firſt who rightly meaſuring and dividing ſpaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being aſſiſted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that moſt perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they uſed.

Oroſius

Plutarch

Florus. 1.18

Zonaras

Plutarch
Florus 2.1
Dionyſ. apud
Valeſium
Oroſius
Eutropius b. 2
Frontinus Strat. 4.1

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reaſon alſo of Domeſtick affairs, and the notable ſeverity of their City Diſcipline. *Q. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, being Cenſors together, took away from many the Publick horſes, and paſſed by many in calling the Senate. But moſt remarkable was *Cornelius Rufinus* his note of Infamy, who having been twice Conſul and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Cenſors, and this reaſon given of his Puniſhment, *That they found in his houſe the weight of ten pounds in plate to ſerve at meals*: And in this Condition not only himſelf but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the higheſt honours, before *Sylla* the Dictator.

Plutarch
Sylla c.1

Such was the Parſimony of this Citie in thoſe dayes, and afterward ſo great the extravagancy, that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would ſhortly eſteem but a baſe and contemptible piece of houſhold-ſtuffe: Every mans eſtate being ceſſed and valued, the Army was purged by ſacrifices; there were ceſſed two hundred ſeventy one thouſand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Conſuls entred the Capitoll in triumph, firſt *Curius*, whoſe triumph was the more illuſtrious, as for the ſame of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, ſo did it exceed in Pomp and ſplendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were ſet out only with broken armes and Gallick waggons, nor any ſpoiles led but flockes and herds of Cattel. But now there was a worthy ſhew both for the varietie of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the ſpoyls. Epirots, Theſſalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, Brutians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond ſea rarietie, and the inſtrument of the Tarentine Luxury. But the moſt wonderful and joyful ſpectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs. (for the reſt were dead of their wounds) This was the firſt time they were ever ſeen at *Rome*; the common people called them *Luca-Buls*, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto beſt acquainted with, and their deno-

Val. Maximus 2.9.3
Liv. Epit.

Faſti. Capitol.

Florus 1.18

Seneca de Brev. vitæ c.13
Eutropius
Plin. 8.6

denomination from the place they firſt ſaw them in; within few dayes after was the other Conſulls Triumph nothing ſo gallant, though his performances were not to be deſpiſed; he had overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in compariſon of *Curius* his Glory the Eſteem of theſe things were not ſo high. Among the reſt who had Rewards beſtow'd on them for their Courage, he gave to *Sev. Cornelius Merenda* a Crown of Gold out of the ſpoiles, becauſe by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Samnites was taken. While the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different poſture. They had been long weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination, but now after this unhappy fight, their mindes were ſo filled with fear and Indignation that they could take no Reſt.

Plin. 33. 2.

The King having been a long time averſe from the Roman Warre, now utterly deſpairing of the Conqueſt, thought of nothing more then how to get ſafely and honourably out of *Italy*. But keeping his Counſell to himſelfe, he encouraged his Aſſociates, *That they ſhould not be caſt down by one unluckly Overthrow, that they had not received ſo much loſs by the laſt fight, as by the former they had cauſed to the Romans, who notwithſtanding could not be perſwaded to Peace upon equal Conditions; That now they ſhould imitate the Roman Conſtancy, and reſerve themſelves for better fortune, and all would yet go well; That there is yet ſtrength ſufficient left, whereby to maintain a long Warre; That in* Greece *he had many Potent Friends, from whom he might certainly expect ſuccour.* Neither were theſe things incredible, For he had already, eſpecially by *Ptolomy* (who was then King of *Macedon*) been manifeſtly aſſiſted; he being then in great Eſtimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honour'd by the Etolians (then a moſt powerful Nation) as alſo by the Macedonians and the Kings of *Illyrium*, having obliged ſome by Courteſies, others by Fear. Yet all his boaſting was more with intent, to retain his Confederates (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the ſeas were open for his Returne, then to continue the Warre in *Italy*, or that he put any Truſt in Forreign Aid. Sending nevertheleſs his Embaſſadours to the Kings of *Aſia* and *Macedonia*, of ſome he craved moneys, of others Men, of *Antigonus* (who was then King of *Macedon*) he craved both. With theſe hopes keeping his aſſociates firme to him (having in the mean time underhand provided all things for his Departure) his Embaſſadours now returned from *Antigonus*. Aſſembling therefore his own and the *Italian* Princes, he read unto them not thoſe Letters which now he received, but others which came before from *Antigonus*, promiſing plentifull Aſſiſtance ſuddenly to be ſent; By this Craft having deluded both his own Aſſociates, as alſo the Romans who garriſon'd neer him, the night following without any hindrance he hoyſed ſaile, and made the *Ceraunian* Mountaines a Promontory of *Epirus*. But that he might ſeem not diſhonourably to have relinquiſhed the war, and ingenerate a beliefe of his Return after he had accompliſhed the Deſign he was call'd aſide for, he left behind him *Milo* to defend the Caſtle of *Tarentus*, and that he might not onely by hope of Reward, but by fear of the like Puniſhment, continue faithfull, he gave him a ſeat whoſe cover mas made of *Nicias* his skin, whom he had put to death for his Treaſon againſt him. Leaving therefore with him a garriſon of ſouldiers, with the Reſt (to wit eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe) he returned into his Kingdom, having been ſix yeares abſent. At *Rome* not knowing but that *Pyrrhus* would renew the warre, they did at their Aſſembly chooſe *M. Curius* Conſull again, becauſe he onely having had good ſucceſs againſt the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with greateſt Authority, and beſt fortune, of the Patricians *Ser. Cornelius Merenda* was choſen, being promoted by his late purchaſed honour, and the Commendation of his Countreymen, under whoſe command he was laſt year; Theſe being made Conſull, reconverted the heat of the warre againſt the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, who defending themſelves rather by the Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occaſion of any Memorable action like the former. Neither was *Curius* his Glory hereby diminiſhed; every one ſtill judging, that that Valiant K. *Pyrrhus* fled not ſo much for the overthrow ſuſtain'd, as fearing ſuch a Captain as *Curius* now again coming forth againſt him. To him therefore was attributed the Glory of having chaſed *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, and finiſhing the Warre. In that year which followed *Curius* his Third Conſulſhip, there came Embaſſadours from the *Alexandrine* Kings with gifts to *Rome*, and in the Conſulſhip of *C. Dorſo* and *C. Claudius Canina*, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* hearing of *Pyrrhus* his flight, ſent to congratulate with the Romans, and to deſire *to be Eſteemed their Friend and Aſſociate*. The Romans thought it very honourable that their Friendſhip was ſought by Kings ſo Potent and farre diſtant, therefore courteouſly receiving and entertaining the Embaſſadours, they agreed to enter League with *Ptolomy*, for the Confirmation whereof, and to return the like Kind office to the Kings, they ſent Embaſſadours to him choſen out of their Principal Men, of the Conſulars *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and with him *C. Fabius Pictor*, and *Numerius Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulinus*. Theſe being gone, the Conſulls had good ſucceſs againſt the *Italian* People, who ſtill out of Neceſſity and Deſpaire kept up their Armes. The Triumph which *Claudius Canina* made in the *Quirinalls* over the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Conſequence: But the Joy of all this Proſperity was ſomewhat diminiſh'd by *Sextilia* a Veſtall Virgin, who againſt the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Inceſt, was thought to provoke the Anger of the Gods.

Plin. 33. 2.

Juſtinus 17. 2.

Dionyſ. apud *Valeſium.*

Pauſ. nias. b. 1.
Juſtinus 23. 2.

Polyænus Strategemat. 6. 6.

Plutarch Pyrrho. c. 57.

Livie Epit. 14.
Eutropius. b. 2.

480.

Zonaras
Euſebius
Numb. 1729.
Dion. apud
Ful. Urſinum.
Epit. Livie.
Zonaras.
Val. Max 4.9.3.
Livie Epit.
Capitolin.
Marmora.
Livie Epit.

But appeasing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buryed her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Consuls there were Colonies planted, *Cosa* among the Volscians, and in *Lucania Pæstum*, which the Greeks call *Posidonia*; this City the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius* the second time Consuls, having *Lucania*, *Samnium*, with the Brutians and Tarentines for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfil the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Consuls was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquer'd by *Carvilius* the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. *Lu. Papirius* with great slaughter having overcome the Brutians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territories were interchangeably mixed) *Papirius* had to do also with the Samnites, *Carvilius* with the Brutians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines routed and put to flight, but their City also recover'd into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehendeth the death of *Pyrrhus*, the subtilty of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Pyrrhus, when two years since he failed from *Italy*, left a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentus*, thereby to beget hopes of his return, which afterward being the more confidently expected by reason of his success in *Macedonia*, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce stirring spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon *Antigonus*, because he sent him no assistance into *Italy*, and overcoming him in a set battel, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear least he should return into *Italy* with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being insatiably desirous of encreasing his power, under pretence of resetling *Clcomenes* in his Kingdom of *Sparta* (being then at odds with *Areus*) he entred *Peloponnesus* with a purpose to keep it in his own hands; and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he afflicted the Lacedemonians with great calamities: In *Argos*, in the mean time, there being two Factions, *Aristippus* the head of the one called in *Antigonus*, *Aristias* Patron of the other invited *Pyrrhus* to his relief and for the pulling down his adversary. For *Antigonus* was also come into *Peloponnesus* to assist the Lacedemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. *Pyrrhus* understanding his men were hard put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Brass Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was presently possessed with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an antient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and souldiers coming in to his succour, meeting *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus*, quite stopped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise fore pressing upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedæmonians who came along with *Areus*, some Elephants also, all crouding and being crouded one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pyrrhus in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of *Argos* lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (sitting among others upon the house top to behold the fight) when she saw *Pyrrhus* in fury and violence setting upon him who wounded him, being astonished at her son's danger, suddenly snatched up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was *Pyrrhus* his death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Counsel or Skil in Marshal affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroy'd the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumspection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

This news, being brought into *Italy*, did diversly, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what termes they could; But the Garrison of the Epirots, and *Milo* governour of the Castle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees from lighter injurys and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadours to crave succour from *Carthage*. The Carthaginians, who possessed great part of *Sicily* and wished the Coast-

Orosius 4. 2
Velleius 1. 14
Plin. 3. 5
Strab. b. 2

481

Livie, 24. 9
Zonaras
Livie 31 32

Liv. Epit.

Plutarch
Pyrrho 6. 57.

Pausan
Plutarch

Strabo

Ovid in Ibim.
Dionys. apud
Valesium
Justin. 25. 5
Justin. 25. 4

Zonaras.

Orosius 4. 2.

Coast-Towns of *Italy* rather in their own hands then the Romans, readily came with a mighty Navy, pretending only to cast out *Milo*, but resolving, if they gained *Tarentus*, to maintain it against the Romans. When therefore *L. Papirius* the Consul was also come, *Tarentus* was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguring that part of the Citie and Castle by land, the Carthaginians besieging the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affaires, being no lesse solicitous lest the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should loose it, subtilly attempting all means of victory, treated with *Milo* by Convenient Messengers, *That if by his means they obtained* Tarentus, *they would suffer himself, with all his Men, safely to depart with bag and baggage.* *Milo*, sending nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the Tarentines. *That joyning Counsels together they might deliberate on their Common safety*: and at length perswades them, *To send himself Embassadour to Papirius, diligently to conclude on Articles for all their Benefits.* As they had willingly hereunto assented out of wearinesse of Cares and dangers: *Milo* accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contrived his Designe, brings back pretty faire conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous Tarentines hereupon with much fecurity and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving *Milo* opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the Citie it selfe up to the Romans. The Carthaginians no whit contented with this Event, nevertheless pretending, *Themselves friends to the Romans, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel* Milo, hoised sails and returned. Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, *That if they intermedled in the Tarentine affairs, they would make a breach of the League*, and that they not only slighted this admonition, but sent Auxiliaries to stand in Battel against them; upon which account chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*; though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, *That they did nothing With evil or deceitful intent.* As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly discourse so, while the Romans brooked not the others presence, and the Carthaginian endeavoured to keep close their design; so I think there afterwards arose more probable causes of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the Mamertines account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians.

Livie Epitom. 14

Frontinus Strategem 3. 3

Zonaras
Orosius 4 3
Livie Epitom

Gotofreidus.
Viterbiensis
Paulus diac.
Hist. Miscel. 2. 23

The Consuls returning home, were received with the joy and salutes of all, and triumphed in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and the others who were sent to *Alexandria*, relate in Senate the Result of their Embassage, *That they were received and Entertained with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, that great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that they thought it to become the Roman dignity and abstinence, modestly to refuse the first, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that at* Alexandria, *when being invited to publick feasts, they had Crowns of Gold sent them according to custom, they did for luck's sake receive them, but in the night time put them upon the King's Statues.* The Senate wonderfully rejoicing, both at the Success of their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassadors, giving them thanks, *That they had by their Continence rendred the Roman Manners Venerable to Foreign Nations*, commanded the gifts they had conveighed into the Treasury to be restored them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, *The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the base means of growing rich by Publick employments were taken away*: And the Questors, according to command, willingly restoring the money, the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Ægyptian gifts as they had refused them. *Q. Fabius*, who was prime man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before so many Egregious men, and chosen Prince of the Senate by *M. Curius* and *L. Papirius* the Censors, being now, by reason of the Nobility of his Family, his Fathers Merits, two Consulships, and as many Triumphs, Inferior to none in Honour. The same men being Consuls, *M. Curius* the Censor was at cost, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River *Anien* to *Rome*: So much scorning to encrease his private wealth by them, that being on a time by some ill-willers taxed of having perverted the publick mony, producing a piece of wood which he was wont to use in sacrifice, took Oath, *That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house.* He was a man indeed of high deserts, as for the greatnesse of his Exploits, so for his many Illustrious examples in other Vertues; as we shall by the by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings; For I count it not unworthy or unbeseeming the Office of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to undertake the management of publick affairs may be no lesse instructed to the attaining Felicity by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the *Sabine* War (when there was such plenty of spoils that *Fabius* the writer of the History, thinketh the Romans then to have had the first taste of Riches) *Curius*, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but the conscience and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardinesse of life.

Capitolina Marmora.
Iust. 18. 2

Valer. Maxim. 4. 3. 9
Tacitus 2. 87
Justinius

Zonaras

Val. Maximus.

Frontinus de Aquæductibus
Plinie 7. 11

Strabo b. 5

For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Common wealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contented with the same Measure he had meted to others, said, *He*

Was no good Citizen who would not be satisfied with as much as others were. This was afterward the Curian Cottage among the Sabines, where when the Samnites (being lately overcome) found him frying of Carrots, and presented him with a vast summe of Gold, *I had rather*, sayes he, *eate these out of my Earthen platters, and rule over those who are rich in gold.* Near this place *Cato* the Elder having a Farm, went often thither, and contemplating in his mind the poore Tenement and Little Ground, which so Eminent a Man after three Triumphs, tilled with his own hands, together with the Temperance and abstinence of his Life, did thereby provoke himself, out of the Æmulation of his vertue, to the like Constancy and simplicity of Manners. And truly there needed such men to lay the foundations of a future Empire so firm, as it might bear the weight of the superstructure, and not only resist the storms of the Enemie from abroad, but scarcely and with much adoe be ruined by its own inbred Vices.

Plutarch in Apophthegm. Frontinus strat. 4.3 Plinie 18 3 Plutarch Auth. de viris illust. Cicero Cotone Plutarch Cato Major

BOOK V.

THE most potent enemy of *Rome* being now after many battels vanquished, and peace setled throughout all *Italy*, The Senators entred into Consultation how to make a good use of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had born Arms against them; the loss of part of their Territories, taking a more severe revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended; they were therefore commanded to resign up all their Arms and Ships, their Walls were demolished, a Tribute imposed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was now nothing of an old score more to be intended, then to punish the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years possessed their City. They foreseeing that the Roman affairs proceeding so prosperously, their wickedness would not passe unrevenged, had very diligently taken care for whatsoever belonged to strengthening the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conscious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the same arts be maintained. Besides their own innate Fiercenes, they much confided in the friendship of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their success against the Carthaginians and *Pyrrhus*, whereby they had sufficiently made experiment of the strength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulsed the enemies from the siege. They sored therefore to such an height of Rebellion, that daring to take *Croton*, which was by some betrayed to them, they slew the Roman Garrison and demolished the City. Wherefore *L. Genucius* the Consul, who was that year Colleague with *C. Quinctius*, had commission to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was besieged. But while they strongly resisted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Consul having sustained some incommodities, and become in want of necessary provisions, was assisted with Corn and men by *Hiero*, who was at that time Prince of *Syracuse*. For he, being offended with the Mamertines, did likewise hate their associates of *Rhegium*; he was likwise moved by the encrease of the Roman power, to preoblige them to future benefits, as occasion should serve.

The Citie being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Consul dismiss'd upon certaine Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a sanctuary,

Zonaras Livie Epit. 15. Polybius 1.7

Zonaras Orosius 4.3 482

Zonaras.

Liv. Epit. 15 Zonaras Orosius

ry, were put to death: The Legionary souldiers were carried to *Rome* that the Senate might passe Judgement upon them. Herein was shewed a notable Example of publick severity, for the Senate decreed, first, *They should all be secured in prison, and afterward, be led to Execution*: And when *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declaring, *They ought not to take away the Lives of so many Citizens, contrary to the Laws and Customes of their Forefathers*, The Senatours persisting in their Resolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Justice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But left by so severe an act they might contract an odium, and the sorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if such a multitude should at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty, first scourging, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies should be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. *Decius Jubellius* (who had lived unto that day, after the Losse of his sight, that he might die with the more griefe) took away his own life in prison. Following the greatest number of Authours I have reported the whole Legion, even foure thousand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at *Rome*; but I think it more probable what is related by *Polybius*, *That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the Romans power, that the rest, at the taking of the City, desperately fighting, chose rather to be slain; as well knowing that after such hainous villanies, nothing could be expected upon surrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death.* The City of *Rhegium* with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was restored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

Val. Max. 2.7 15

Frontinus strat. 4.1

Appian apud Valesium

Liv. 28. 28

Polyb. 1. 2

Appian Zonaras

Livie 31. 31.

This act of Justice did much increase the Reputation of the City of *Rome*, and thereby was gained no lesse Love from all the Italians and neighbouring People, then their armes had caused fear. In the Consulship of *C. Genuncius*, and *Cn. Cornelius* there was war with the Sarsinates, a people of *Umbria*, inhabiting the *Appennine* Mountains: By what reason provoked, or in what hopes trusting, they now opposed the Formidable power of the Romans (those writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine; Likewise the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly lost, and of the memory of these things, nothing else is come to our knowledg, but that *Cn. Cornelius* Triumphed over the Sarsinates. 'Tis reported there was a most sharp winter in these Consuls time, in so much that the Sap being chill'd Trees withered; That *Tibur* was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattel perished for want of Fodder; so great and vehement was the coldnes of the air, that monstrous hills of snow lay unmelted in the Market place for forty dayes together. The thing being unusual in that Climat, and by many look'd upon as a Prodigie, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being not long after much encreased, when *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor* being Consuls, many strange unheard of sights were seen, and many more reported. At *Rome* the Temple of *Salus* with part of the walls was smitten with thunder and lightning; three Wolves before day brought a carkass half eaten into the City, and being themselves feared by the noise of men, left it in the market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

483

Polyb. 2. 16

Columnæ Capitolinæ. Zonaras

Aug. de Civ. Dei 3. 17

484

Orosius 4. 4.

At *Formiæ* the walls were said to be often struck and cast down with thunderbolts; and news was brought that in the Calenian fields, the earth opened, and fire suddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to ashes, insomuch that not only all the fruits on that place were blasted, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. These things caused more feare then misery at *Rome*; No great matter ensued, but that a War was made against the Picentians, which being the next yeare finished, added likewise that province to the Roman Jurisdictions. Now in the Citie began the Coining silver, (their wealth being encreased by their victories) whereas before Brasse only was used in all Exchanges; but then pennies and half-pennies were made of silver, which went for ten, and five pounds of brasse; there were likewise lesser pieces which being esteemed at two pound and an halfe of brasse, were from their value called, *Sestercies*. It was called, *Moneta*, because it was coined in the Temple of *Juno*, to whom that Name was given, by reason she did *Monere*, that is, admonish the Romans when in the War of *Pyrrhus* and the Tarentines they Consulted about their wants, *That money would not be wanting to those, who observed Justice and prosecuted Wars.* The Consulls *C. Gallus* and *C. Fabius* went forth to apprehend *Lollius* the Samnite, who having been Hostage at *Rome* had privily escaped, and now possessing a certain Castle, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, stirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were scarce well composed by the last peace.

Eutropius b. 2

Livie Epit. 15

Zonaras

Plin. 33. 3

Suidas in μονήτα

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the most part unarmed) could not long resist: The greatest difficulty and danger was in the Province of the Carcines (a part of *Samnium* near the Frentanes) where the Romans assaulted a well fenced place, the Receptacle of *Lollius* his spoils; and from great hopes falling into as great fear, did at length obtain the Victory. Some of the Garrison upon condition of Pardon, let the Romans into the walls in a bright Moon-shiny night, and the Townsmen mustring themselves together upon the tumult; when they first began to fight a great drift of snow fell and took away their sight: This accident was a great help to the Carcines against the Romans, who were ignorant of the Passages, in so much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much loss) when on a sudden the snow ceased and the Moon shone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to Vi-

Ptoloma

Victory. These combustions were the cause why the *Picents* were not vanquished in those Consuls time.

485 *Eutropius* But the year following *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Crassus* the son of *Caecus* being Consuls undertook the War, and happily finished it. About these times was a Colony planted at *Ariminum* in the Picene grounds, which belonged to the Senones of *Gallia*, and another at *Maleventum* in *Samnium*, but changing the Name, which seemed Ominous, they called it *Beneventum*. The Sabines who were many years agoe admitted into the City, had now the liberty of Votes granted them. *Claudius* had also business in *Umbria*, where he took *Camarinum* and sold the inhabitants for slaves. But because the war seemed not very honestly to be managed by the General, the Romans preferring Justice before their own profit, decreed, *That the Camertes should be sought out and redeemed, that they should be received into the City, have a place of habitation allotted to them in the* Aventine *Mount, and their ground restored to them.*

Velleius 1. 14 *Liv. Epit.* 15 *Velleius* *Livie* Epitom.

Fabius in an. 485 Greater was the joy for the Picentine Victory, which was thought worthy to be Coined in their new Pieces of silver, that it might the more publickly be known, and the Memory thereof transmitted to Posterity. *Q. Caditius* the son of *Quintus*, by order of Senate, took care for coining the Money, representing on one side *Picus* the son of *Saturne* (for he is thought to be the Father of that Nation) on the other side a Roman Magistrate reaching forth his hand to a suppliant. And that, by subduing of that Country, a great accesse of strength was made to the Romans is Manifest, in that three hundred and threescore thousand Picentians subjected themselves unto them. For that War the Consuls, as they deserved, did Triumph, but *Sempronius* his Glory was the greater, in that with more dangers and hazzard he had fought against the stronger enemie; For a suddain Earthquake, being very prodigious, happened, as the battles were set in array now ready to encounter; But the Consul composed the souldiers feareful minds, by an oration very fit for the occasion, telling them, *The enemie was no lesse troubled with unnecessary devotion then themselves, that theirs would be the Victory who first, shaking off fear, valiantly charged the enemie before he was well come to himself.* And vowing a Temple to the Goddesse *Tellus*, if she would grant Victory to the Romans, he began the Charge, which was as Courageously received and so great a slaughter made, that, 'tis reported, the lesser half remained even of the Victorious Army. After this fight (as other the Townes of the Picentians, so likewise) *Asculum* the Metropolis yeelded it self to *Sempronius*, and by its example the whole Nation submitting it self in obedience, obtained peace of the Romans. All that part of *Italy* being now subdued, which lieth toward the Sicilian and Jonian sea, there remained onely the Sallentines to be brought in, who live upon the utmost coast where the upper and Ionians seas meet, to these therefore as by a Contagion did the war proceed from the Picentians, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Julius Libo* being Consuls: The quarrel was pretended because they had received *Pyrrhus* into their Havens and Towns when he came first out of *Epirus*. But indeed the much truer causes of the war were thought to be the Conveniency of the Haven of *Brundusium*, where ships may go in and out with the same wind, the easie passage from thence into *Illyrium* and *Epirus*, and that they esteemed it very opportune to have the same Bounds both of *Italy* and their own dominions. Both the Consuls triumphed for this war in one day, which was the eighth of the Calends of *February*.

Plinie 33.13 *Colum. Trium.* *Eutropius* *Frontinus Stratagem* 1.12 *Florus*. 1 19. *Orosius* 4.4 *Florus* *Strabo* b.6 *Livie* Epitom. *Flor.* 1.20. *Eutropius* Anno 486 *Eutropius* b. 6 *Zonaras* *Colum. Capitol.*

Having overcome the Sallentines in a set battel, they took *Brundusium*, the most famous Town in those quarters; other successes also they had, being assisted, as is reported, by *Pales* the Goddess of Shepherds, who of her own accord, as a reward of the Victory, desired to have a Temple dedicated to her in *Rome*. The greater part of the Sallentines being vanquished by these, the war was finished and the victory completed by the next years Consuls, who were *Numerius Fabius C. F. M. N.* and *D. Junius. D. F. D. Nepos Pera:* To these both the Umbrians and Sallentines yielded themselves. All *Italy* even between the River *Po* and the seas being generally setled, the Roman greatness began to be famed and taken notice of by the neighbour Islands, and the Continent adjoyning to the *Jonian* and *Adriatick* sea, causing in some hopes, in others fear.

Flor. 1.20 487. *Livie* Epitom.

For they who by violence and injury to their neighbours enlarged their own power, feared the Romans would prove an hindrance to their proceedings, the others contrarywise looking on them as a Succour, sent to them from heaven against the Oppression of their adversarys. The Apollonians were the first, who sending Embassadours to *Rome* craved their friendship; their Citie is seated threescore furlongs from the sea, being built by the Corinthians and Corcyræans, having a very commodious haven, where the neerest passage is from *Brundusium* into *Greece*. The Illyrians and Macedonians are adjacent to them, so that against strong and Coveteous neighbours they had much adoe to preserve their own liberty. The message was wonderful welcome and with much Humanity received by the Romans, not so much for the wealth of the Citie which was but small, as for Future hopes in that they thought a way laid open and occasion given them of greater designes hereafter: Insomuch that very severe punishment was inflicted on certain noble young men who upon a quarrel arising had struck the Embassadours. *Q. Fabius* was not protected either by the Dignity of his office, for he was then *Ædile* or the greatness of his Extraction, but was delivered up to the Apollonians for his offence. *Cn. Apronius* who was likewise *Ædile*, was given up for the same crime, the Senate decreed, *they should by He-*

Strab. book 7 *Livie* Epitom. *Dion.* apud *Valesium* *Livie* Epitom. *Dio.* apud *Valesium* *Zonaras* *Val. Maximus* 6.6.5

Heralds be delivered up into the hands of the Embassadours that a Quæstour should goe along with them to Brundusium *left their friends and Kindred should rescue them by the way.* This was a great testimonie as of their publick faith, so of their wisdome; For having a desire to draw forreign Nations into their friendship by the Reputation of their Justice, it much concerned them most precisly to punish the injuries done to those who first came to enter into their society. Neither would any thing have proved more destructive to their designs then that the Appollonians should have repented themselves of their act, and others of their example. And hence sprung that custom, which was constantly in after times observed, That they who had struck the Embassadours of a free Citie should be delivered up to it. But the Appollonians, when they were brought into their Citie, wisely considering they should gaine more by Clemency and humanity then Revenge, sent them safe home again. This year each Consul triumphed twice; *D. Junius* the fifth of the Calends of October, *Numerius Fabius* the third of Nones of the same Month over the Sarsinates, a people of *Umbria*. Againe they tryumphed over the Sallentines and Messapians who had assisted the Sallentines, *Fabius* on the Calends of *February*, *Junius* on the Nones. And this was the Conclusion of all their Italian Wars; For what was acted in *Volsinia* next year, *Quintus Fabius Gurges* the third time Consul, *L. Mamilius Vitulus* being his Colleague, was not so much a war against a just enemy, as vengeance inflicted upon slaves in behalf of their associates. 488

B.17. ff. de Leguis. *Zonaras*

The Volsinians, the richest people of all *Etruria*, did implore the Romans assistance against those who were formerly their servants. For by very ill and foolish advice (whether it were, that thereby they thought to increase their strength so much broken in the late wars, or that themselves tumbling in delights were loath to trouble themselves with the labour of Arms) they made their servants free of the City, and committed the *Militia* into their hands. Afterward they began to be chosen Senators, and to bear Offices of State. In short time oppressing the old Citizens, and usurping the whole power of the Commonwealth to themselves, they did most insolently exercise their Liberty against their Masters who gave it them. It was now grown common to Ravish Virgins and honest Matrons by force, to heap Contumelies and Indignities upon Parents and Husbands, crying for justice according to Law; and all things were confusedly hurried according to the pleasure of the vilest most petulant Knaves. And that we may not pass over in silence a rare Precedent, to what issue the beastly impudence of slavish minds will proceed to when it hath gotten power, they made a Law, *That the Libertines might have licence of Copulation with the wives and daughters of their Patrons, and that the Maidenhead of a Virgin designed in marriage to a true Freeman, should first be prostituted to one of their Order.* Wherefore the old Volsinians being neither able any longer to endure these miseries, nor by their own power to repulse and avoid them, secretly consulting together, resolved to send Embassadors to *Rome*. They having by private solicitations prevailed that the Senate would meet in some private house (for they saw unavoidable ruine over their heads if the business was known) they did by a very sorrowful discourse make them acquainted with their sad condition, wherewith the Fathers being moved to compassion, promised them assistance for the recovery of their lost Rights. *Florus* 1.21. *Johannes Antiochenus.* apud *Vales Florus.* *Val. Max.* 9.1.2 ext. *Zonaras* *Aust. de viris Illust.* c.26

But these things which were thought to be agitated in secret, were by a Samnite discovered to the parties complained of; For he, a guest to the master of the house where the Senate met, being then sick, was by forgetfulnesse left in a place where he overheard all their discourse and betrayed it. Therefore the Embassadours, after their Return from *Rome*, were called into question, and the whole business being found out, were with other prime Men of the Citie cruelly put to death. The Romans, now having a juster cause of War, sent *Q. Fabius* the Consul with an Army against them, whom, daring to encounter him in open field he put to flight, and slew a very great Number in the Pursuit: The Rest who betooke themselves into their place of defence, he resolved with counterworkes to besiege. But they making strong Resistance, The Consul (as there were frequent Pickerings and light skirmishes) unwarily venturing too far in the fight, received a wound whereof he dyed, which the besieged understanding, made a Sally with the greatest strength they could, hoping if they suddenly assaulted the enemy now in trouble for the loss of the Consul, to force them to break up the siege. But the event of the battel was contrary, for being roughly received by the Romans, they were beaten in again with losse. *Iulius obsequens de Prodigiis.* c.27.

In this fight I suppose *Decius Mus* to have had the Command; for he might happily have been *Fabius* his Lieutenant, and after his death be chief in managing the War till a successor was sent. And hence I conjecture it comes to passe that some negligent Historians have ascribed to *Decius Mus* both the beginning and finishing of this War. *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Blasio* and *C. Marcius* were created Censors that year, and this last having before born the same Office, was from this his Magistracy called *Censorinus*. The moderation of this *Marcius* was very remarkable, who being invested with Power which he sought not after, assembled the people together, and in a grave speech chid them, *That they had twice intrusted that Office to the same man, whereas their forefathers did in this very consideration limit the time of it, because the power was too Great.* Hereupon a Law was made, *That the same man should not be made Censor the second time.* The same year the number of the Questors was encreased; in former times there were but four, two for the City, and two to assist the Consuls abroad in the Wars. But afterward *Auth. de viris illust.* c.36 *Capitolina Marmora* *Val. Maximus* 4.1.3 *Plut. Coriol.* c.1 *Livie* Epit. 15

Tacitus 11.12.6 489 *Agellius* 17.21

ward their Taxes and Customs encreasing with the Commonwealth, there was a necessity of doubling the number. *Appius Claudius* who in the time of his Magistracy was surnamed *Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius* were Consuls the yeer ensuing, which was very memorable, in that then first began the war between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*. Then first brake out Hostility between two most potent Cities, which after many years, after many bloody overthrows given and received, could not at length be ended without the utter ruine and destruction of one of them.

But, before we enter upon the History of the War, it will be necessary to relate something of former times concerning *Carthage*; for in the ensuing Narrative many things will occur, hard to be understood and judged of, unless both the Original and encrease of that City be first known.

BOOK VI.

Justin. 18.5 *Appian Libyc.*

Strabo b.17

Livie 34.61.

Justinius. Strabo

THAT *Carthage* was built by the Tyrians of *Phanicia* (besides the constant agreement of old Historians) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners doth clearly testifie. 'Tis reported that *Elisa* (who was likewise called *Dido*) the daughter of *Agenor* the son of *Belus*, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred she bore to her brother *Pigmaleon* for the unjust slaughter of her husband *Sichaus*) entred that Creek of *Africa*, and possessed that *Peninsula* where *Carthage* was afterward built; her small beginnings promising little hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained: For 'tis believed *Dido* purchased no more ground then might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender thongs contained a larger space, then the sellers did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to Erect a Castle, which from thence is thought to be called *Byrsa*. Afterward seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick sake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men so rich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkned to the counsel sent from *Utica* (which was also a Colonie of the Tyrians) which advised them, *After their example to build a City*. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the *Phanicians* in recompense thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

Cato apud *Solin.* חדשה קרת *Bernegger*us ad *Justinum* 18.6.9 *Justinus*

The work being finished, *Dido* gave it a name in her own Language, *Carthada*; the Greeks called it *Carchedo*, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, *Carthago*. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Industrious people, and what was above all, a Wise Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increase. These things seeme to have been acted some seventy years before the foundation of *Rome*; for about so ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. *Jarbas* a Petit King of some African Province, sought to marry her, threatning upon refusal to raise war against her. But as she was averse from marriage by reason of her singular Chastity and love of her former husband, so she very well understood that in these tender beginnings of affairs, a war would prove fatal and destructive; therefore taking time to deliberate, as if she had at length overcome her own Resolution, and were inclined to marry the African, caused, a *Pile*

Pile of wood to be erected before her intended marriage, whereon to sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behalf of her husband Sichæus; And after many Sacrifices offer'd, she did at length ascend the Pile, and killed her self with a sword she brought with her; her love to her Husband and Subjects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipped her as a Goddess, raising a Temple in the place where she lived, calling her *Dido*, which in their language signifieth a *Virago*.

Silius Italic. 4.3 *Servius Fuldensis in Virg. Æneid.* 1. 344

When after her death no man was thought worthy to succeed her in the Kingdom, the Citie began to be governed by the Mixed Power of Nobles and Commons. The Name of Kings still remained, but they were like the Lacedæmonian Kings; but that the honour was not to any Certaine families annexed, but conferred on any Prime Man who exceeded others in Virtue and Riches. These had the management of Wars abroad (wherefore the Romans called them Pretours and Dictatours, comparing their power with the usuage of their own Commonwealth) at home they were Princes of all publick Consultations, with their advice the affaires of the Citie were ordered: Things of heigher concernement were referred to the people, their sentence decided all controversie between the Kings and Senatours: They also had authority to alter the Laws made by the Kings and Councel, if they seemed contrary to the good of the Publick, which any man had Liberty to question. Which too great power of the Commons, being augmented to an intolerable height, by flattering Parasites and Orators, did in after time infinitely wrong and obstruct the Carthaginian affaires. Moreover in the Senate there were thirty of the more Antient appointed as a Supreme Councel, and these had greatest authority with all Men. There was likewise a Superinspectour of Manners, invested with the same power as the Roman Censors, to maintain publick Decency and Discipline. In processe of time, after many victories, their greatnesse being encreased, they chose a greater Number of Commanders for the War: Among which *Mago*, the most Egregious both in courage and fortune, having left behind him two sonnes well educated and instructed in the art of Warre, and they also to their more numerous offspring, as it were by hand, delivering the same skill and knowledg, it was thought fit by some meanes to curbe the too great power of that Family; to this purpose an hundred men were constituted to passe sentence upon the Generals themselves: Their power was very formidable, as for the largeness of their Commission, so for the continuance, which was dureing life, whereas even the Kings now, were not for so long a time but yearly created, whom at home they commonly called *Suffetes*, that is to say, Judges, much like to the Roman Consul. But when the *Centumviri* or hundred men behaved themselves with much insolence, *Hannibal* by a Law reduced them into Order, it being decreed, *That the Judges should Yearly be chosen, and that no man should continue in office two yeares together*. Their gods and holy Rites they brought most from *Tyrus*, some they did afterwards add. *Juno* they chiefly adored, and *Æsculapius* not a little, in whose honour they erected a Magnificent Temple in the Citie; *Apollo's* house was likewise very rich, covered with plate of Gold, wherein was a famous statue which after the Ruine of *Carthage* was carried to *Rome* and placed in the great Shew-place called *Circus Maximus*. But to *Hercules* at *Tyrus* they every year sent a ship, with great care well trimmed, with the Tithes of their yearly fruits, and spoiles gotten in War.

Polyb. 6. 49 *Livie*, 30. 6 *Cornelius Nepos. Amilcar* c.3

Justin. 19.1

Aristotle *Cornel. Nepos* שופט *Liv.* 36.7 *Livie* 33 32

Virgil. b.1 *Strabo* b.17 *Appian Punicis* *Plutarch Flaminio* c.1 *Polyb. legat.* 114.3

From the same Founders also they derived another most horrid Rite, to offer an humane sacrifice once a year to *Saturne*, whom they called *Belus*; the Relicks of which Barbarous Cruelty could not be quite abolished by the Destruction of the Citie. The other Manners and Customes of the Citie were more civilized by their conveniency of Commerce and Traffick, to which being by nature, and Education from their Forefathers much addicted, they did apply all their studies and Counsels. Hence by an unavoidable mischief the Love of Riches corrupted their Courts of Justice, made Vertue a servant to money, inflamed the Peoples minds with Covetousnesse, and infected them with a sordid custom of Cheating and Lying, forcing the Commonwealth wholly to give it self up to these arts. Insomuch as it came to passe that as little Faith was had in Carthaginian Contracts and Covenants, so the chiefest part of the publick strength consisted in ships, their Infantry the main support and pillar of all Empires, was had in no Request, Their Horse in very little: As often as they waged War by Land, they made use of Mercenaries, who had no true Love to the Commonwealth, whose faith was to be bought with money, their discord troublesome, and their conspiracies pernicious. Which error was so Capital, that before the utter destruction of the City, no other enemy but those did ever bring them so near to final ruine.

Diodorus 20.14 *Justin.* 18.2 *Hitron. in Isai.* c.16 *Vitr.* 26.8.37 *Frontinus Comment. in Curt.* 4 3.17 *Arist.* Politick. 2 *Cicero contra Rutilium* 2.35 *Polyb.* 6.49 *Polyb.* 1.67 *Polyb.* 1. 65

Neither did a lesser crop of misery spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers did by mutual connivance exercise Extortion and Purloin the State without punishment; so that 'tis the lesse to be wondred, that a war arising between these two Cities, the Romans proved conquerors, when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick stock, and the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were prety well born withal, afterward for a while the greatness of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made them the lesse sensible, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the happiness that ever attended *Carthage*. Their first beginning in Arms was against the Affricans, requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on; neither could they extort that right out of their hands but by many battels: hereby they enlarged their Empire, and the best planted part of *Africa* was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them

Livie 33.32

Justinius 19.1

Illust. 19 2

fair opportunity of passing over into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; the one was rude and Barbarous, not able to resist, into the other they were invited by its Beauty and Fertility, which was, by reason of the Inhabitants perpetual discords exposed to the injuries of the most Potent. Out of *Sardinia* into *Cersica* their passage was short, and they did the more easily possess the Island as being not very rich.

Just. 4. 3 Herodotus 1. 165

But in *Sicily* for a long time they fought with various Fortune, obtaining many victories, and receiving many overthrows: *Amilcar* the son of *Hanno* when he had carried over three hundred thousand men, was vanquished by *Gelo* and slain. With which calamity being terrified, the Carthaginians did abstain from *Sicily*, till being called over by the Ægestans, who were oppressed by the Selinuncians, they sent thither *Annibal* the son of *Gesco* the son of *Amilcar*; he destroying *Selinunt* and *Himera*, did again encrease the Carthaginians power in *Sicily*. *Imilco* did at sea vanquish *Leptis* the brother of *Dionysius* the elder, and the Sicilians Admiral, he took and sunk an hundred ships, and slew above twenty thousand men, he surprised many Cities, and took also part of *Syracuse*, but a sudden Pestilence arising, which consumed most part of his Army, forced him to return home with very few men. Neither did they yet despair of gaining *Sicily*, but in few years after sent out *Hanno* with a fleet, commanding him to fight *Dionysius*. Afterward *Mago* being invited by *Icetas*, when he was in the City of *Syracuse* it self with threescore thousand foot, he was cast out by *Timoleon*; afterward the same *Timoleon* in a very great battel overcame *Annibal* and *Amilcar*, having in their army seventy thousand men, and forced their Camps likewise. But they had not a quicker and greater turne of fortune in any war then in that against *Agathocles*, who being beaten in *Sicily*, besieged in *Syracuse*, having no manifest hopes of safety, did yet of his own accord carry the war over into *Africa*, where having overcome the Carthaginians in many battels, and caused the Libyans every where to revolt, he brought them into very great danger and fear; and returning home again he expelled them clearly out of *Sicily*; till at length the death of the King, and the confusions which followed upon it, again gave them hopes, and opened them a way to regain possession. After this (as we have said) they variously fought with *Pyrrhus*, proving at length to be the superiours.

Diodorus 13.43
Diodorus 14.60
Justin. 20 5
Plutarch Timoleon c. 24 & 30
Ibid. c. 37. & 42
Justin. 22 4
Justin. 22. 8

In the mean time some Cities also in *Spain* became Tributary to them, whether being called to the assistance of the Gaditanes against some oppressing Neighbours, they sent relief to their Kinsmen (for Gades likewise was founded by the Tyrians) and reduced some adjacent Regions of *Spain* into their own Jurisdiction. This was the posture the Carthaginian affairs were in when they took up arms against the Romans. But the Syracusans and their King *Hiero* possessed the greater part of *Sicily* which was not subdued by the Carthaginians; the residue was held by the Mamertines. They while they were in League with the Roman Legion at *Rhegium*, and could have assistance from them, were not content to secure their own Territories, but invaded those of the Syracusans and Carthaginians, forcing many Cities to pay Tribute to them to avoid plunder, wastings of their grounds, and other incommodities of war. But when *Rhegium* was taken, and their companions worthily executed, being bereaved of that help, they were not able to uphold their former greatnesse; and having lost whatsoever they held out of *Messana*, were now at war with *Hiero* for the City it self. Concerning which King *Hiero*, I think it not inconvenient some what at large to discourse, because he in these times being first an enemy to the Romans, afterward for many years a companion and friend, was of very great moment in the setling of affairs. For in him was found singular happiness, great virtue, and most eminent wisdom; and in those dayes the power and state of *Syracuse* did with him flourish and with him fall.

Justin 44 5
Curtius 4. 4
Polybius 1, 10
Polybius 1. 8

This man not being helped forward by any wealth or glory left by his Ancestors, owed all his fortune to himself, promoted from a low estate to vast power, not as many, by accusing great men, or by the slaughter and banishment of his oppofers, but by wonderful modesty both in attaining and in exercising his power, as well knowing there is no Kingdom so well and firmly established, as that which is in such a manner order'd, that it more concerns the Subjects to fear the loss of it then the Prince.

Polyb b 7 apud Valef.

Having reigned therefore four and fifty years, in such a time when two most potent Cities on each hand did with most sharp contentions, fight for the dominion of the world, troubled with no War abroad (unlesse in his first year) nor assaulted by any Treason at home, he died being above ninty years old, his senses being at that age entire and his body sound, as a certain argument of his Temperance, being not only beloved by his own people, but had in great Estimation both with the Romans and Grecians; when he would often have divested himself of the Principality, the Citizenes did openly prohibite him; And his son *Gelon*, who, at above fifty years of age, died before him, did all his life time, even to the last, with constant faith and obedience honour him, shewing a rare example of Moderation, in that he chose rather for ever to want a Kingdom then lose his Father. This *Hieron* was by his Father *Hierocles* (who derived his Pedigree from *Gelon* an antient Tyrant of *Sicily*) exposed to the mercy of the world; forasmuch as he being a Noble man was shamed to bring up a child which he had begotten on a servant. But being destitute of all human succour, the Bees for many days fed him, putting honey into his mouth as he lay upon the ground. *Hierocles* being much affected with this Prodigie, and the answers of the Southsayers, who affirmed, That hereby Kingly power was pre-

Livie 14 4 Polybius
Justin. 23. 4

signified, took home the Infant, acknowledged it for his own, and in hopes of his future greatnesse took diligent care for his Education. As he was learning his book among his equals, 'tis reported, that a Wolf suddenly appearing in the midst of the boyes took his book out of his hand. When he first entred into the Wars, 'tis said, An Eagle pitch'd upon his shield, and an Owle upon his speare; which was thought a signe of wisdom and strength, and by reason of the Kingly bird, of highest honour and dignity. But he himself shortly gave more certaine evidence, being of exceeding comelinesse and strength of body, but much more illustrious and beloved for his wit, Temperance, Gentlenesse, Justice and Moderation; having often fought single Combates sometimes in the Battel, sometimes against private Challengers, he was alwayes Victour, and by *Pyrrhus* frequently rewarded with many Military Gifts for his valour; and *Pyrrhus* his Kinswoman *Nereis* was afterward married to *Gelon* the son of *Hiero*. *Pyrrhus* being driven out of *Sicily*, when (according to the ill temper of those times) a dissension arose between the army and Citie of *Syracuse*, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero* were, in the Camp neer *Mergana*, by suffrage of the souldiers chosen Commanders. By the advice of *Hiero*, and the help of his friends, some souldiers being privily sent into the Citie reduced it into their Power; where *Hiero* shewed himself a gallant Man, and fit for the government of any Realme whatsoever; For, of the several factions which were therein, he neither slew nor banished any one Man, but by his clemencie, Moderation and upright Counsel so compounded their differenes, that he was chosen Pretor of *Syracuse* with the good will and affection even of those against whom he came, as much as of those men who invited him thither. He with his whole heart as sincerely tendring the publick good as his own (having observed an ill Custome of a long standing in *Sicily*, That the General could no sooner lead his forces out of the City but there was either some sedition raised in the Army, or some innovation made at home) began to consult with himself, In whose hands to entrust the City when he should be forced to go out to War. He married therefore the daughter of *Leptis*, who was very popular, of great authority among the Citizens, of eminent honesty and faithful to his trust.

Scaures Scrisbiriensis de suis gis Carthaginens. l. 13 Just. nius
Pausanias. b. 6. Justin 28 3 Polyb. 1. 8
Justinus 23. 4. Polybius

Having thus provided for Domestick affairs, he devised a remedy (very necessary indeed, but not altogether praise-worthy) against the insolency of the mercenary souldiers: For drawing out his army against the Mamertines when they met him near *Centuripa*, he order'd his battel near the River of the *Cyamosians* with such art, that he left a good distance between the Citizens and the Mercenaries, then commanding the Mercenaries to begin the fight, as if he and the City forces would on some other side Charge the enemy while they were already busied. The Mercenaries by this means being surrounded by the greater number of Mamertines, were slain; himself (having thus employed the enemy) marched fair and softly with his other forces to *Syracusei*.

Having in this manner purged the Army of those who were ill disposed and enclined to sedition, he diligently Traineth his City forces, hireth new Auxiliaries, and now having the goodwill of all (the most insolent being removed and the rest not daring to murmure) he order'd the Government according to his own pleasure. In the mean while, the Mamertines proud of their late victory and grown more fierce, rashly, and without fear invaded and spoiled the Syracusan Teritories. *Hiero* now confiding both in the City and Army, forthwith marcheth out against them, and pitcheth his Camp neat the enemies City, almost empty by reason of having sent out every way so many Troops. The Mamertines understanding the danger, suddenly return home to the relief of their City, with all their forces joyned. *Hiero* removing his Camp out of the Mamertine Fields, taketh the City of *Mile*, and in it fifteen hundred souldiers; thence gaining by the way some Castles, he marcheth to *Ameselum* (which is seated in the midst between *Agyrium* and *Centuripæ*) which (though it were well fenced, and protected by a strong Garrison) he forced and demolished, the souldiers he received into pay, and caused to fight under him; the grounds he divided between the Centuripines and Agyrines. Being animated with this success, he again invaded the Mamertine Teritories, taketh *Alesum* upon composition; but the Abacenines and Tyndarites voluntary surrender themselves to him. Hereby were the Cities on each hand next to *Messana* on both the coasts subject to *Hiero*, (for the Tindaritans inhabit toward the Etrurian Sea, the Tauromenians, who were at this time in friendship with the Syracusans, toward the Sicilian Sea.) The Mamertines therefore being streightned, send out their forces under the conduct of *Cio* their Pretor to oppose the enemy, who now was lodged near the River *Longanus* in the Mylean fields. The battel being begun, and the fight along time doubtful, *Hiero* suddenly sending in fresh Troops upon the Flank of the Mamertines, made the Victory his own. For before the fight *Hiero* had placed together two hundred Messanian Exuls, valiant men, who hated the Mamertines, with four hundred choice men of his own Army, commanding them, *To go about the hill* Thorax, *and by a sudden incursion to fall upon the enemy on the other side*, which they stoutly performing were the cause why the whole Mamertine Army fell by the sword.

Diodori Eclog. b. 22
Polib. l. 9 Diodorus

Cio, seeing all lost, and desiring nothing more then to dye, was taken prisoner, sore wounded, and conveyed into the Syracusan campe, finding the Prediction of the Entrailes and Southsayers true in another sense then he expected. For before the Battel the Prophets looking into the Intestines of the sacrifice promised, *He should lie in the Enemies Camp that night*: Which he esteeming an argument of victory too late found himself deluded by another

In-

Interpretation, with grief and ſickneſs caſt down, when the next day among other horſes, he eſpyed that his ſon rode upon in the Field, conjecturing thereby his death, he reſolutely pulling the cloaths and plaiſters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, underſtanding their overthrow, grew full of deſpair, and were now ready to preſent their humble ſupplication to the Conquerours, when an unexpected accident preveated them. It happened that at the ſame time *Hannibal*, the Carthaginian Pretor, was in the *Liparæan* Iſlands, which are adjacent to *Sicily*. He having intelligence of *Hiero*'s Victory, fearing leſt (the Mamertines being utterly vanquiſhed) the Syracuſan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came ſuddenly over under pretence of congratulating with *Hiero* for his Victory; and hindering him from directly marching to *Meſſana*, did himſelf make firſt enterance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only poſſeſſe them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a ſtrong Garriſon of his own ſouldiers amongſt them. *Hiero* underſtanding himſelf by this craft deluded, & being not ſufficiently prepared for a ſiege, made now more difficult, returned to *Syracuſe*, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by an univerſal acclamation ſaluted King, which Title he afterward retained with the conſent both of the Citizens and others of the Iſland without.

Strab. b.6 Diodorus

Polyb. l.9

When *Hiero* was retreated, the Mamertines having a little ſpace of reſuming confidence, began to deliberate upon their preſent condition, but were divided into two Factions; ſome thought it not to be diſputed, 'But that they ſhould commit themſelves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which as for many other reaſons it was convenient, ſo having admitted their Garriſon, 'twas little leſſe then neceſſary. On the other ſide 'twas ſaid, 'The Carthaginians were no leſſe enemies to the Mamertines then *Hiero*, that without doubt their purpoſe of deſending of the City was not out of good will, but deſire of Dominion; That of a long time they had aſpired to the Empire of *Sicily*, neither were caſt down from their bold hopes by loſſe of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in *Africa*, and fear of their own ſtate at home; That therefore without exception they muſt prove Vaſſals if they commit themſelves to thoſe who have ſo ſtrong a Navy, and poſſeſſe greateſt part of *Sicily* it ſelf. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to deſire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them then they could fear from the Syracuſans. If the Punick Garriſon came only with intent to preſerve the City from *Hiero*, they may now upon fair terms be diſmiſſed having done the work: But if they have ſome other Clandeſtine deſign, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendſhip. That they ſhould rather implore aſſiſtance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unqueſtionable faith and ſincerity, who will have neither occaſion nor opportunity of keeping *Meſſana* under their juriſdiction, as having not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, nor any uſe of ſea affairs, and conſequently taking no care therein. That they would be abundantly content to keep *Italy* ſecure from *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, having made *Meſſana* ſtrong, as an obſtacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they ſhould continue to rely upon the Roman faith rather then any other Nation; that indeed they could neither with honeſty or any convenience change their former counſels, having already ſent Embaſſadors and obtained hope of *ſuccour and relief*. For the Mamertines before their laſt battel with *Hiero*, beginning then to diſtruſt in their own ſtrength had craved aſſiſtance of the Romans as their Kinſmen. And the people being perſwaded by the Conſuls who were deſirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid ſhould be ſent to them; but the Senate out of ſhame to be counted authors of the buſineſs, did defer it. For they who had lately ſo ſeverely puniſhed their own Legion for the wicked ſurprize of *Rhegium*, if they ſhould now aſſiſt the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the maſtery of *Meſſana*, they ſaw they ſhould clearly looſe the reputation of their Juſtice and Fidelity, which by their former act they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forſaken by the Romans, they would apply themſelves to the Carthaginians, with one conſent they ordained to ſend them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreſeeing that otherwiſe *Meſſana* quickly, and not long after all *Sicily* would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it were once come to paſſe, they ſhould be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own poſſeſſions in *Italy*.

Polybius

Zonaras. Polybius.

Zonaras

Polybius

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reaſon of the inſatiable deſire of Rule in thoſe who are potent, as by the convenient ſcituation of the places. For *Italy*, proceeding in a long tract between the two ſeas from the Ligurians and Venetians, to the Brutians, is there divided from *Sicily* by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that theſe Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the ſea; whether the grounds being low were eaſily overflown, or whether ſome earthquake or ſtrength of the Tides cut off the *Iſthmus*. From hence many think that Town to be called *Rhegium*, becauſe things which are broken, are by ſome ſuch word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the firſt inhabitants of *Sicily* came out of *Italy*, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are ſaid to have built a Citie on the adverſe ſhore over againſt *Italy*, which becauſe it was ſcituate in a Creek of the ſea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I beleeve, *Sicilia*, which the Grecians afterward coming, called *Zancle*, both thoſe words in the ſeveral Languages ſignifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Iſland, Which was by many called both *Zancle* and *Sicilia*.

Salluſtii frag.

C. Iſidorus Varium 12.14

Confuſed in Strab. Strabo b.6 Macrobius

This

This Iſland far excelleth all others in the *Mediterranean* Sea, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulneſſe of Soile, yeelding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the beſt; adorned with many, and thoſe very great Cities, even to wonder; and if you conſider the Commodity of the Havens, and ſcituation of the whole Iſland, there is ſcarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chiefe ſeat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to *Italy*, on the contrary part it looketh toward *Africa*, on another ſide lyeth *Sardinia*, and on eaſt it hath *Peloponneſus* devided from *Græcia* by the Ionian ſea: On every hand the voyage is ſhort, and the paſſage eaſy for ſhips whether bound outward or homeward. And truly, though other reaſons were alledged, yet the only cauſe of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great deſire each of them had to be Maſters of this Iſland. The Romans found fault, *That the Carthaginians contrary to the league had aſſiſted the Tarentines*; the Carthaginians on the other ſide charged them, *for having entred into Confæderacy with* Hiero *againſt them*. But to ſo great a power were now both theſe Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at ſome time or other for ſome cauſe they muſt needs find occaſion to fall out. For as Trees planted at no great diſtance, for a while do not much hinder one the other, but being grown to ſome bigneſſe bereave one the other of Juice and nouriſhment from the earth, and at full growth enterwinding both root and branches mutually deſtroy one the other: So riſing Empires cannot long be at Amitie and friendſhip, but, ſwallowing up what is inter jacent between each others Dominions, deſire to try the ſuperiority between themſelves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents.

Diodori Eclog. book 23

Florus. 2.2 L. Ampelius c.46

To theſe cauſes may be added the great power the Comminalty had in each City, together with their earneſt deſire of undertaking the War. In *Carthage* the vulgar ſort did much prevail, and now in the encreaſe of their City, growing rich by many Commodities, were willing for gains ſake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars ſuſtained damage in their eſtates, they hoped by the riches of *Sicily* to recompence themſelves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their ſentence who perſwaded the war. Hereby *Appius* the Conſul being commiſſioned (whereas otherwiſe the major part of the Senate had aſſented, overpowring the votes of thoſe who ſtood to old Rules) without delay ſendeth *Claudius* a Tribune of ſouldiers beforehand with ſome few ſhips, *to obſerve an opportunity, and if any were offered, to waſt over into* Sicily. When he was come to *Rhegium*, not daring to hazard his ſhips becauſe he ſaw the ſeas obſtructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entred into a Fiſhermans veſſel and croſſed over to *Meſſana*; there diſcourſing with the Mamertines as the preſent occaſion required, being not able to overcome the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his buſineſſe. But awhile after underſtanding there was a diſſention at *Meſſana*, ſome pleading againſt the Roman aſſiſtance, the greater part bearing ill will to the Carthaginian Garriſon, he again croſſed the ſea, and among other things to the preſent purpoſe told them, *His coming was only to ſet the City at liberty, which when he had effected he would immediately return*. The Carthaginians anſwer'd, *The Romans need not trouble themſelves for the liberty of a City which was under their juriſdiction, the Carthaginians had already out of their good will taken care that the Mamertines ſhould not be compelled to be ſubject to the Syracuſans: That therefore he might depart, or elſe give ſome other reaſon of his being at Meſſana.* Claudius denied, *The City was free ſo long as a Forreign Garriſon continued therein contrary to their pleaſure.*

Ariſtot. Polit. l.11 Zonaras Polyb.l.11

Livie Epkom. 16 Zonaras.

Auct. de viris Illuſ. c.27

Zonaras

To this when no man returned any anſwer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, *'Tis plaine*, ſaith he, *by this your general ſilence, that the Carthaginians cauſe is unjuſt, and that the Mamertines are deſirous of liberty, otherwiſe neither would the one forbeare to juſtifie their own Right, and the others; if they conſented with the Carthaginians, having no cauſe to diſſemble, would freely and openly ſpeak their minds*. At this there ariſing a kind of a noiſe in the aſſembly, many praiſing his ſpeech as true, and indeed agreeing with their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for the preſent, ſufficiently moved the Mamertines and tryed the diſpoſition of their minds) went back to *Rhegium*. And not long after, having made ready his ſhips, he attempted to paſſe over; but being much inferiour to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of veſſels, and skill in ſea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a ſudden ſtorme ariſing, he returned to his port, having loſt ſome ſhips, and hardly ſaving the Reſt. But being nothing terrified with this miſadventure, he new trinoned his ſhips, reſolving upon a better opportunity once more to make tryal of Fortune: When behold meſſengers came from *Hanno* (Governour of the Mamertine Garriſon, and Guardian of the ſeas) bringing with them all the ſhips and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: *Hanno*'s deſign herein was to caſt the blame of the breach of Covenants upon the Romans, he therefore alſo complained, *That they had by force attempted to ſail in thoſe ſeas which were in the poſſeſſion of the Carthaginians*; and furthermore perſwaded them to have a great care of preſerving peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that *Claudius* would not admit of any conditions unleſſe they would withdraw their forces out of *Meſſana*, and that again he endeavoured to croſs the ſea, he vaunted, *That he would not ſuffer the Romans ſo much as to waſh their hands in that ſea*. Nevertheleſs he could

not

not prevent *Clanaius*, who observing the Nature of the sea, laid hold of an opportunity when the wind happily helped the Tide, and arrived in *Sicily* without oppofition. There calling a Counsel of those Mamertines he found in the Haven, he perswaded them, *To call* Hanno *to them, as if they had some busines at present to consult with him about.* For *Hanno*, not much confiding in the Townsmens doubtful minds, had with the souldiers possessed the Castle, neither was he willing to trust himself in any of their Assemblies: Yet fearing if he betrayed his Diffidence he might encrease their complaints, and by his absence give them occasion to joyn with the Romans, he came to discourse with them, where the time being spun out with disputation and wrangling, the Romans, with the Mamertines their approbation, laid hands on him and cast him into prison. So being circumvented by craft, and frightned with menaces, when no other condition would be accepted, he was compelled to restore the Mamertines their Castle, and draw away his Garrison. The Carthaginians upon intelligence of the businesse, were above measure exasperated, and (whereas otherwise they used to punish their Commanders for evil counsels though they prospered) exclaiming both against the folly and cowardize of *Hanno*, miserably crucified him, and immediately sent both sea and land forces to *Messana* with another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, to order affairs in *Sicily*: He drawing his forces together at *Lilybeum*, marched to *Selinunus*, where pitching his Camp, he left his foot army and went to *Agrigentum*, and (having fenced the Castle there) he drew the people, being friends to the Carthaginians, into arms against the Romans: From whence being returned to his Camp, Embassadours came to him from *Hiero*, who being no whit content with the Romans arrival into *Sicily*, thought this the fittest season wherein joyning forces for a time with the Carthaginians, both they and also the Barbarians in possession of *Messana* might be driven out of *Sicily*. Having therefore had discourse with the Carthaginian General, they easily agreed to enter into confederacy against the Romans, who had supplanted both to their equal losse, each of them having failed of their hopes of *Messana*: 'twas ordered they should joyntly besiege *Messana*, and suffer no part of *Sicily* to be subject to any power but the Carthaginians or Syracusans. So the Carthaginian Commander with his whole strength moved against the Mamertines, having first sent an Herauld to charge the Romans, *If they would be esteemed friends of the Carthaginians to depart* Messana, *and within a time prefixed to quit* Sicily. The ships were commanded to keep their station about *Peloras*; the foot army fortified their Camp at a place not far from *Messana*, called *Cubilia*, in the Greek tounge Εὐνὰι. *Hiero* likewise, according to agreement, came with his Syracusant Army, and laid siege to the Citie on the other side, about the Hill *Chalcidicus*, so the Citie, being round begirt, could not safely receive succour either by land or sea.

About the same time, when the Herauld brought back no peaceful answer from *Messana*, the Carthaginians, partly out of anger, partly out of distruct, cruelly put to death all their Mercenary souldiers which were Italians by Nation. These things were no sooner heard at *Rome*, but the Consul *Appius* was forthwith sent with a strong Army to *Rhegium*, thence he sent some before, to treat with the Carthaginians and *Hiero* about breaking up the siege, in the mean time, seeing the seas so strongly guarded, he was very solicitous and intent in contriving how to cross over with the least danger. The Consul's Embassadours brought back no friendly answer from the Carthaginians, but were by *Hiero* with an accurate oration sharply reprehended, he first having recounted the many good offices he had done the Romans, proceed saying, 'I am 'in doubt, Romans, whether I should grieve for my self or for you; I indeed have lost friends of 'you somewhat worse then I took you to be, but ye have lost that Reputation of Justice and Integrity for which ye were so famous among all Nations. With the Mamertins ye never had 'any friendship or society, ye had heretofore League with the Carthaginians, and lately entred into one with Me. Being now willing to breake these Leagues, can ye give an account, by what 'injury from us, or merit of the Mamertines ye are thereunto provoked? But because the 'Carthaginians are able to speake for themselves, omitting what concerneth them, I shall at present put you in mind of things in reference to my self alone. The Mamertines your good 'Country men, did, as you know, receive pay under the Syracusan Banners, and being dismised for their Returne for *Italy*, after they had been entertained as freinds and Companions 'by the poore credulous Messenians, committed a most horrid fact, as hath not been remembred 'by man, slaying in the night time their Land-lords, and keeping in their own power, their goods, 'wives, children and the Citie it self. Which unlesse your selves (being of the same opinion 'with other men) had judged to be a most vile and execrable villany, you would not so severely 'have punished the self same fact of the Campanians committed upon the Rhegians, by the Ma'mertines Example. By the same indignitie therefore wherewith ye were moved to take revenge 'of wicked villanies, by the same am I moved not to let the Mamertines goe unpunished, especially seeing they have since committed so many Robberies almost all *Sicily* over, burying as it were the memory of their first offence with others afterward committed. For (to omit other 'things) in that they destroyed the Cities of *Camarina* and *Gela*, then under the Syracusan protection, is reason sufficient why I should with a Just and pious War prosecute the boldnesse of such 'most impudent Men. If ye therefore undertake to defend them because, being born in the 'same *Italy*, they are as it were your kinsmen, how much more justly might you have spared 'the Rhegians which were your fellow-Citizens? When in the taking of *Rhegium* I helped 'you with Auxiliaries and Provisions, how should I possibly then Divine that ye would hereafter 'hinder

Polib. 1.10

Valer. Maxim. 2.7.1. x. *Polybius*

Diodori Eclog. b.23

Polib. 1.11

Diodori Eclog. b.22

Zonaras. Diodori Eclog. b. 23

Polybius Zonaras

Diodori Eclog. *Fulvius*

Diodori Eclog.

Diodori Eclog. b.21

'hinder me when I should upon as just causes besiege *Messana?* But what need I use many 'words? if you have any care left of your reputation and faithfulnesse, if any sense of honesty, 'at least if any shame, I ought not to doubt but that you will with your forces rather assist me 'in my just cause then oppose me. But if the consideration of these things seem light unto you, 'however the event of war be doubtful, 'tis most certain all the world will plainly understand, 'That the Romans were incited to bare arms against us, not out of any colour of Justice and E'quity, not by any injuries received (for that ye can no way pretend) not out of any pity or 'good will to the Mamertines, but meerly by their own ambition, and inordinate desire of ad'ding this Noble Island to their Empire.

When this answer was returned, *Appius* having observed that so strong a Navy guarding the passage he could not without manifest danger crois over, plotted a very subtil and cunning device, he said, *He did by no means desire that* Hiero *should be alienated from the Romans, that the war was not decreed against him, neither could be prosecuted without the peoples command.* At a day therefore appointed he commanded his Sea-men to be ready, having their ships prepared for the voyage as if he would sail home. Now he was not ignorant that there were many both Carthaginian and Syracusan souldiers in the Rhegian Port, under the pretence of being Merchants, by whom he thought this news would quickly be conveighed to those who would have it true. And it hapned accordingly as he had foreseen, for he no sooner had entred into his ships on a clear Sun-shinie day, and sailed along the Italian shore, but presently news was carried to the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the seas, whereupon they now not fearing the enemy would make any attempt that way, left the passage open, sailing themselves likewise away whither it pleased them. The Consul, who had forethought it would so come to passe, steared his course backward in the night time, and arrived in *Sicily* with his whole Navy, no body so much as observing, much lesse hindring his coming.

Frontinus Stratagem 1.4

Zonaras

It was a bold Enterprize and full of hazard, for an army unskilful in sea-affaires, in the night time, blindly to venture with rude and illbuilt ships through a sea dangerous in it self, though it had not been dark, nor any enemie to be feared: And the exploit was thought worthy to be made known to Posterity, by a new Cognomen thereupon given to the Consul. For, because he made use of many vessells, made of the Trunks of trees, for the transportation of his souldiers, he was, in admiration of the fact, by the simplicity of that age sirnamed *Caudex*, which signifieth the trunk of a tree. For the Romans having no use of sea affairs, had neither any covered ship or long boate, or good skiff in a businesse of such concernment as this was; but made use of those *Triremes* which the Tarentines and Locrians had lent the Eleats and Neapolitans, together with little vessels of Traffick of fifty Oars. But *Appius* landing not far from the place where the Syracusans had pitched their Camp, Encouraged his souldiers and declaring to them, *The Victory would be certain if they came upon the Enemy unawares*, immediately proceeded to assault their Camp. *Hiero* being awakened with the sudden tumult, marched out with what forces were ready; for a time the fight was very sharp, the Roman horsemen were beaten back, but the Legions stoutly standing to it, *Hiero* was overthrown, and with his men fearfully retreated into his works. *Appius* having commanded the dead bodies to be plunder'd, entred into *Messana*, freeing the Mamertines from great fear, and filling them with better hopes for hereafter. *Hiero* seeing himself beaten before he could see the enemy (as himself afterwards confessed) and suspecting that the Carthaginians had betrayed the passage over the sea, when he had revolved many things in his doubtful mind, began to be in fear of the main chance, and in the dead time of the next night he drew his army out of their Trenches, and marched directly without halting to *Syracuse*. When he was gone, *Appius* thought fit to make use of the terror of his late Victory in vanquishing the Carthaginians also, and having ordered his souldiers to refresh themselves in time, marched out in the dawning of the day to assault the Carthaginian Camp, which was pitched in a very safe place, by nature and art diligently fenced, for on one side the sea, on the other side deep Marishes and Bogs encompassed it in the form of a *Peninsula*: That narrow space of ground where was passage to firm land was fenced with a strong wall against all assaults. Here the Roman souldiers beginning the storm, could not prevail against the strength of the place and multitude of defendants, but being beaten back with darts and stones (as in the storm of a City) they were forced to retire without having done their work.

Polyb. 1.12

Seneca de Brev. vitæ. c.13

Polyb. 1.20

Zonaras

Polybius 1.22

Zonaras

Florus 2.2

Diodori Eclog. 22

Polyb. 1.12

Zonaras

Polybius.

Zonaras

Many times it hapneth in war that ill succes in the beginning giveth occasion of better fortune, while they who are worsted endeavour with better advice and more courage to make up their losse, and the enemy on the other side being bewitched with a flattering opinion of felicity, and taking no heed against future chances, are carried away with rashnesse, as at this time it came to passe to the Carthaginians, for they not being content to have repulsed the enemies, issued out of their Camp and pursued them as if they had fled, thinking the Romans had yielded not so much to the difficulty of the place, as to their virtue and courage.

When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were slaine, some fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about; neither durst they any more stir out of their Camp as long as *Claudius* was at *Messana*. The Consul, considering the nature of the place and difficulty of its scituation, thought it no wisdom to make a second assault, and seeing his

Polybius Zonaras.

time

time to be ſpent in vaine thereabouts; leaving a ſtrong Garriſon at *Meſſana*, Invaded the Territories of the Syracuſans and their Confederats; and having without oppoſition waſted the Grounds, he conceived ſuch Confidence, that he marched up with his army even to *Syracuſe* it ſelf: Where the Battel was very doubtful, and at one time the Conſul was in great danger, and had certainely been ſurrounded and taken, had he not ſuddenly bethought himſelf and ſent to *Hiero*, to treat on Conditions of peace. *Hiero* likewiſe ſent a friend of his to conſult about the buſineſſe, and the diſcourſe being on purpoſe drawn out in length, the Conſul had time to bring his men into a place of greater ſecurity: The Syracuſans likewiſe following the ſame example, had many treaties of peace with the Romans, and indeed an agreement had been made, but that *Hiero* was unwilling to be the author thereof. In theſe affaires the greater part of the year was ſpent; then the Conſul returned to *Meſſana*, where leaving ſome forces to protect the Mamertines, with the reſt of his men he croſſed over to *Rhegium*: From thence he went to *Rome* to his Triumph which he made, over the Carthaginians and *Hiero* King of *Sicily*, with great joy of the People, as being the firſt over a Forreign Nation. This was the firſt of the Romans deſignes by ſea, and ſuch was the ſucceſſe of their undertakings in *Sicily*. But theſe things and the actions of following times are much corrupted by the ambition of writers, the cheiſe whereof, *Philinus Agrigentinus*, and *Fabius Pictor*, the one ſtriving to advance the Carthaginians Glory, the other the Romans, they both neglect their duty, and the truth of Hiſtory: Whoſe Levity *Polybius* deſervedly reprehends. For if even in private cauſes it be held an accurſed Crime to circumvent any one by falſe Teſtimony; the author of an hiſtory is certainely to be eſteemed more fouly perfidious if he corrupt the acts of Princes and Commonwealths with falſhood: He ought to value truth more then any earthly Commodity or his own life, and the leſſe deſerveth pardon in that he cannot alledge ſo much as any faire pretence for his Lyes, for if he durſt not for ſome cauſes freely ſpeak all he knew, he might certainely without danger have held his Tougue. While *Claudius* in *Sicily* vanquiſheth *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, *M. Fulvius* the other Conſul bringeth the Volſinian ſiege to an Iſſue, having to deale with men who by deſpair were hardned and made valiant againſt all violence, he at length tameth them by famine. Upon delivery of the City, he did with exquiſite torments put to death that unthankful and inſolent crew of Libertines; the City it ſelf he demoliſhed, the other Volſinians who had not put off the faith of ſervants, and reverence toward their maſters, he diſtributed into ſeveral ſeats round about.

Polybius *Zonaras* *Silius* b. 6 *Eutropius* b. 2 *Polybius* *Livie* Epkor. 16 *Zonaras.*

This war was likewiſe thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Conſul made in the Calends of *November*, as over the Volſinians. While the ſame Conſuls were in office a Luſtration was performed by the Cenſors, *Cn. Cornelius* and *C. Marcius*, and there were regiſtred the names of two hundred ninety two thouſand, two hundred twenty and four Citizens; a very great and almoſt incredible number to one who ſhall conſider how many were loſt in the wars, which hardly ever ceaſed ſince the foundation of the City; and how many were alſo ſwallowed up by the Peſtilence and Malignant diſeaſes as raging as the war it ſelf. But indeed the Commonwealth was made invincible and not to be overcome by any calamity or ſlaughter whatſoever, by the wiſe advice of *Romulus* (which was conſtantly obſerved by poſterity) in daily admitting new people into their City, inſomuch that neither all the loſſes received by *Pyrrhus*, nor their many ſhipwracks in the firſt Punick war, nor the fights of *Thraſimene* and *Canne* in the ſecond, were able ſo much to afflict it, but that ſtill ſhe did riſe more chearful, free and valiant out of all her troubles.

Capitol. Colum. *Liv. Epit.* *Eutropius* 2 *Suidas* in Ἐπιτάφιον πόλις. *Tacitus* 11 24

But in *Greece* the Lacedæmonians who were alſo very famous for their Diſcipline and Valour in war, not any whit inferior to the Romans, becauſe they forbade ſtrangers to coinhabit with them, were not long able to uphold their Dominion, nor long after to maintain their Freedom; when in the Leuctrian battel they loſt not much more then a thouſand men, their Empire preſently fell to the ground; and at *Sellaſia* with the loſſe of not quite ſix thouſand, their Liberty was taken away. But the Achæans, inhabitants of the ſame *Peloponneſus*, admitting freely any neighbours into equal priviledges with themſelves, did conſtitute a very fair and flouriſhing Commonwealth, and likely to have continued, had not ſome few of them, to their own and their Countries deſtruction, madly provoked the Romans, whoſe power then was grown formidable to all people. Such divers events are neceſſarily conſequent to divers inſtitutions: For as in nature it is agreeable, that thoſe bodyes who are to a competent meaſure daily refreſhed with wholſome food, ſhould be ſtronger and longer lived then thoſe who content with their own natural ingenite moiſture deſpiſe all nouriſhment from without: ſo it ſtands to reaſon, that thoſe Cities ſhould better flouriſh, who admit into themſelves and make their own what in any other place they find to be excellent, then thoſe, who by a fooliſh arrogance, deſpiſing whatſoever groweth not in their own ſoil, deprive themſelves of many good aſſiſtants in obtaining and preſerving their power and ſoveraignty.

Dionyſ. 2. 17 *Plut. Agiſil.* c. 49 *Pluta. b Cleomen* 41 *Juſtinus* b. 34.

This year gave a beginning to a cruel cuſtom, which afterward was frequently and moſt intemperately uſurped; That the blood of man ſhould become a publick ſpectacle of pleaſure, being profuſely ſhed for the ſake of any mean and wanton ſpectator. The authors of this barbarous cuſtome were *M.* and *D. Junius Brutus*, who by a ſtrange kind of piety, intending to honour the Aſhes of their dead father, did with great favour of the Citizens exhibit a Fencing-Shew. But this injury to mankind was moſt ſeverely revenged by a Peſtilence, which all this and

Li ie Epitom. *Val. Maximus* 4. 2. 7

and the next year did furiouſly rage. Concerning which when they had conſulted the books of the Sybills, 'twas found that the anger of the gods was the cauſe thereof. There ariſing therefore a ſuſpition that their Religious affairs were not rightly handled, the Prieſts by diligent obſervation and inquiſition, found that many Chappels and Temples were converted into the uſe of private men, and that *Capparonia*, a Veſtal Nun, was guilty of Inceſt; ſhe prevented her doom by hanging her ſelf, but he who had corrupted her, together with thoſe ſervants who were privy to the fact, were executed according to Law. The holy places were redeemed out of private hands to their wonted uſe. So having cleared the City in matters of Religion, the Fathers applied their minds again to the care of the Commonwealth; and becauſe *Etruria* being appeaſed, there was no commotion in *Italy*, they ordered both the new Conſuls to be ſent into *Sicily* with their Legions: the Conſuls were *M. Valerius Maximus* the eldeſt ſon of *Marcus*, who in the time of his office was called *Meſſalla*, and *M. Otacilius Craſſus*, *C. F. M.N.* Theſe having ſafely tranſported their forces were attended with the ſame good fortune. For when after their taking the City of the Adranites by ſtorm they had laid ſiege unto *Centuripæ*, there came Embaſſadors to them from the Alæſines, offering to deliver up their town.

Oroſius *Aug.* de Civ. Dei. 3. 17 *Oroſius* *Zonaras* 490 *Fabulæ Romanæ.*

Thence the Conſuls, marching through ſeveral parts of the Iſland, ſometimes with their forces joyned, ſometimes aſunder, as they ſaw cauſe, overcoming both Carthaginian and Syracuſan, as often as they durſt ſtand to the hazard of a Battel, ſpread their fame and Terrour round about: And ſuch was their happineſſe in following their fortune, and ſo great their force, that in a while after their were reckoned ſixty ſeven Cities which had committed themſelves to their Protection, in which number were the Tauromenitans and the Catanæans: Out of which Cities the Conſuls leavying what Auxiliaries they pleaſed, did daily increaſe in ſtrength, and, pitching the Camp neere unto *Syracuſe* it ſelf, conſulted about the ſiege of it. Which thing *Hiero* maturely conſidering, when he began to diſtruſt in his own and the Carthaginian Forces, and withal thought the Romans were beſt to be truſted, he reſolved to enter into League with the Romans; and in order thereunto ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſuls to treate of Peace. Neither were the Romans at all averſe from making freindſhip with *Hiero* to ſeparate him from the Carthaginians, eſpecially becauſe thereby they might more eaſily ſupply their Legions with Corne for food. For the Carthaginians having command of the ſeas, they could not have Proviſion from *Italy*, by which incommodity the former Conſul reaped more trouble then from the enemy. But, when *Hiero* was once united to them, the Kingdome of *Syracuſe* being very fruitful, would plentifully afford them all Neceſſaries. The Peace therefore was concluded on theſe Articles, *That what places or priſoners* Hiero *had taken from the Romans or their aſſociates he ſhould reſtore without ranſome, and likewiſe pay an hundred Talents of ſilver; that he ſhould without moleſtation vaigne over* Syracuſe *and all Cities under the Syracuſans Juriſdiction*; the chief whereof were *Acræ*, *Leontium*, *Megara*, *Elorus*, *Netini*, *Tauromenium*. The Embaſſadours being thence ſent to *Rome*, the ſame Conditions were there confirmed, and the Senate decreed that Peace ſhould be maintained with that King, and after a few dayes *Cn. Atilius Calatinus* propounding it to the people, they likewiſe aſſented. This League, being made for fifteen years, was perpetually kept enviolable: *Hiero* bearing ſuch Reſpect to the Roman Greatneſſe and they ſo bountifully requiting his good affection, that neither of them had cauſe to repent of their friendſhip. *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, being come as far as *Xiphonia* with his ſea forces, to raiſe the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, having intelligence of the Peace, returned with greater haſt then he came. The Romans being now ſtrengthned by *Hiero* their aſſociate and fellow ſouldier, made no delay, but quickly reduced many Cities from the Carthaginian Juriſdiction. From *Adranon*, a fenced village, and *Macella*, after many dayes ſiege they returned without effecting their Purpoſe: But the Segeſtans they received into protection, when they had ſlaine the Carthaginian Garriſon and voluntarily revolted to them: Among other Conſiderations, they ſaid they Loved the Romans for Kindred ſake, deriving their Pedigree from *Æneas* after his flight from *Troy*. And not long after the Alienæans came into the Romans; But at *Hilarus*, *Territus* and *Aſcelus* they were faine to uſe force and Engines, and therefore dealt the more ſeverely with the vanquiſhed party. Whereupon the Tyndaritans, being terrified, ſeeing themſelves next to danger, and help far from them, Entred into Conſultation about yielding themſelves to the Romans, but were prevented by the Carthaginians; for they, ſuſpecting what was in hand, ſent away the cheiſe of the Citie as Hoſtages to *Lilybæum*, and took in good ſtore of Corne and wine and other proviſions. About this time the ſeverity of *Otacilius Craſſus* the Conſul was of much advantage to the Roman Diſcipline, for thoſe ſouldiers who being taken by *Hannibal*, had baſely, for ſafeguard of their lives, ſubmitted themſelves to bondage, he cauſed to continue without the Camp to receive the firſt charge from the enemy, that ſo, having no fence but their own courage, they might be the more valiant, truſting only in their own courage, and not to any ſecurity of the place they ſtood in.

Oroſius *Polyb.* 1. 16 *Pauſan.* book 6 *Diodori* Eclog. 24 *Polybius* *Zonaras.* *Polybius* *Diodori* Eclog. 23 *Cauſabon in Polyb.* *Tabula Meſſanenſis* *Diodorus* *Polybius.* *Diodorus* *Polybius.* *Diodorus* *Zonaras* *Cicero Verrin.* 3. 33 *Zonaras* *Frontinus* ſtrat. 4. 1

After theſe and other exploits of no greater moment, winter now approaching, the Conſuls diſpoſing ſeveral Garriſons in convenient places, returned into *Italy* and ſo to *Rome* with the reſidue of their Armies. There was a Triumph decreed to *M. Valerius* (whoſe ſucceſſe and pains had been moſt remarkable) over the Carthaginians and *Hiero*, which was performed the ſixteenth of the Calends of *April*. Among the ſpoils was brought a Clock, which is therefore taken notice of, becauſe it was the firſt which was ſeen at *Rome*; it was taken at *Catina*, and by

Zonaras *Feſti Capitolini.*

Valerius placed upon a Pillar in publick near the Roſtra: He alſo on the ſide of the Court built by *Hoſtilius* ſet up a Table, whereon was painted the Battel wherein he overcame *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, which before his time was not done by any man, but afterward by many. This *Valerius* had his Sirname *Meſſalla* from *Meſſana*; but I wonder that ſome Authors of no ſmall note ſhould imagine it was derived from his taking that City, whereas the ſeries of affairs doth evidently demonſtrate, that it rather proceeded from his delivering that City from the troubles it ſuſtained (after *Appius Claudius* his departure) from the Carthaginians and *Hiero*, removing the one enemy and reconciling the other.

Varro apud Marobium Saturn

In the mean while the Peſtilence ſtill rageing, a Dictator was named for the knocking in of a Nail, who was *Cn. Fulvius, Cn.F. Cn.N. Maximus Centumalus*, he choſe for Maſter of the Horſe *Q. Marcius. Q.F. Q.N. Philippus.* In the ſame year the Æſernian Colony was planted, whereas the year before one was deduced to *Firmum*, or as ſome will have it to *Caſtrum*. After this *L. Poſthumius, L.F. L.N. Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius, Q.F. M.N. Vitulus* were created Conſuls, and both of them had *Sicily* allotted for their Province: There were but two Legions allowed them, which were thought ſufficient, becauſe now having Amity with *Hiero* the war was more eaſie; they conſidered likewiſe that proviſions would be the better procured if the Army were but ſmall. The Conſuls having tranſported their forces into *Sicily*, and being joyned with their aſſociates, paſſing by things of leſſer moment, thought fit with their whole ſtrength to beſiege *Agrigentum*, which City the Carthaginians had plentifully furniſhed with all manner of accommodations, intending it for the Magazine of their wars. For they ſeeing *Hiero* had forſaken them, and that the Romans made *Sicily* their chiefeſt care, they thought it behooved them to make the more diligent preparation for the war. In the firſt place therefore they ſent the greater part of their forces into *Sardinia*, to lie in wait againſt the Italian ſhore, by that means to divert the Romans from *Sicily*, or at leaſt to compel them to ſend the ſmaller forces then otherwiſe they would have done.

Capitolina Marmora. Livie Epit. 17. Velleius. 1. 14 491 Polib. 1. 17

Zonaras

But being fruſtrated of their hopes (for the Romans had ſtrength ſufficient, both wherewith to guard their own Coaſts, and invade *Sicily* with a new army) they hired many Mercenary ſouldiers of the Ligurians and *Gauls*, but more out of *Spaine*, whom, together with great plenty of proviſions, they ſent to *Agrigentum*; reſolving to make that their Magazine of Corne, and the Receptacle of their Armies; being, by reaſon of its conveniency of ſcituation, and multitude of buildings, fitter for ſuch occaſions then any other Citie of *Sicilie* of their Juriſdiction. The onely ſeat of War therefore being about that Citie, the Romans, having confined the Carthaginians within their works, pitched their Camp within a mile thereof. The grain was then ripe in the fields, and becauſe they foreſaw the ſiege would prove long, the ſouldiers ſent out to reape and bring in Corne, wandred ſomewhat too far and more careleſsly then ought to have been done having an enemy ſo near. The Carthaginians omitted not to make uſe of this occaſion, and had indeed given a great overthrow to the Romans, but that they regained as much by their courage, as they had loſt by their negligence. For, when they who were ſent out to forrage were not able to reſiſt the aſſault of the Enemy, the Carthaginians purſued them even to the Camp, where deviding their forces, ſome prepared to ſtorme the workes, while the others maintained the fight with the guards without. Then, as often at other times, the Laws of warfare duely obſerved and the incorrupted Rigour of the Roman Diſcipline ſaved them from an hazard tending to the deſtruction of their whole army. For (it being a deadly crime among the Romans for any cauſe whatſoever to forſake their ſtation) the guard without, knowing it was to no pupoſe to fly back, though they were much overpowred in number, maintained the fight with wonderful courage, loſing many of their own men, but killing more of the enemies, till the Troupes had time to arme themſelves and come to their Relief, ſo the Enemie being there repulſed, and thoſe who had now almoſt entred the workes ſurrounded, the Romans made a very great ſlaughter of them, and purſued the reſt even to the Citie. This accident made both the Enemie more fearful of Iſſuing out, and the Romans more wary in their Forrage. Henceforth the heat of their Contention being not ſo great as before, (for the Carthaginians ſeldom made a ſally, and then only in manner pickeering and light skirmiſh) the Romans thought fit to divide their forces, and plant their Camps on two ſides of the Citie, on the one ſide near to *Æſculapius* his Temple, on the other in the high way leading to *Heraclea*. Their Camps were fenced with Trenches on both ſides, toward the Citie, againſt their Sallies, and toward the Country both to ſecure themſelves from any invaſion, and to hinder Relief from entering the Citie. The ſpace between the two Camps was guarded with many companyes of ſouldiers.

Polybius

In all theſe affaires they were much aſſiſted by the Sicilans, who lately had made friendſhip with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thouſand; They brought proviſions as far as *Erbeſſus*, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it into their Campe. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Neceſſaries. At this ſtay the ſiege continued for almoſt five moneths, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmiſhes) till at length the Carthaginians began to have the worſt on't. For a great number of men, little leſſe then fifty thouſand warriers, having been ſo long ſhut up in one town, had ſpent almoſt all their corn, and ſaw no likelyhood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the paſſages; ſo that they were much afflicted both with their preſent miſery,

Zonaras

ſerie, and expectation of future. Therefore *Hannibal* the ſon of *Geſco* (who was Commander in chief at *Agrigentum*) by many meſſengers craving relief againſt hunger and other dangers, *Hanno* the elder was ſent into *Sicily* with ſome Elephants and Souldiers which were for that purpoſe raiſed. His Army conſiſted of fifty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and threeſcore Elephants, with which forces he failed to *Lilybæum*, thence he marched to *Heraclea*, whither forthwith came meſſengers promiſing to deliver up *Erbeſſus* to him: Being by their means made maſter of *Erbeſſus* (from whence the Romans hitherto had all their proviſions) he ſeemed to have effected a buſineſſe of great moment, as much afflicting the Romans now for want of neceſſaries as they had done the Agrigentines.

Polybius

Polybius Diodori Eclog. b.23

And now the Romans began to conſult about raiſing the ſiege, which they were very near giving over for a deſperate buſineſs, had not the King of *Syracuſe*, by trying all wayes, made a ſhift by ſtealth to convey to them ſome corn and other commodities, whereby their preſent want was in ſome meaſure relieved. *Hanno* conſidering the Romans now to be faint with hunger and other infirmities following it, whereas his own men were well and luſty and in perfect ſtrength, approached near the Romans, reſolving, if occaſion were offered, to fight them. Marching therefore with his fifty Elephants, and whole army from *Heraclea*, he ſends his Numidian horſmen before to play about the enemies Camp, to provoke the Roman horſmen, and, if poſſible, to draw them out into ambuſh. The Numidians according to order careleſſely flying about the Conſul's Camp, the Romans iſſue out, beat back thoſe who oppoſed, and purſued them as they fled out of order, that way which they knew *Hanno* to be coming. The further they followed the purſuit, the more difficult was their return to their own works, inſomuch that many of them were loſt after they had met with freſh forces, which cauſed thoſe who fled likewiſe to turn and fight. *Hanno* being by this much encouraged with hopes of the main Victory, placeth himſelf upon an hill called *Torus*, about a mile and a half diſtance from the Roman Camp; nevertheleſſe the battel was deferred longer then was expected between two Armies ſo near one the other; ſometimes the Carthaginian, ſometimes the Roman unwilling to hazard their whole fortune in one battel; while *Hanno* was deſirous to fight, the Romans contained themſelves within their Trenches, becauſe they were exceeded by the enemy both in number and chearfulneſſe, being themſelves terrified and dejected with the loſſe their horſemen had ſuſtained.

Zonaras

But when they, (ſeeing their aſſociates troubled and daunted at this their fear, the Enemy on the contrary grow more confident, and thinking it better to fight with the Carthaginians then endure ſuch want) were reſolved upon the Battel, then *Hanno* began to fear, and decline the encounter. Two months were thus ſpent; nothing of greater moment being performed, but light skirmiſhes which happened every day. At length, being moved with frequent entreaties from *Hannibal*, who had daily ſent out Meſſengers, and by lighted fires given him often notice, That the beſieged were no longer able to endure hunger, and that many were thereby compelled to flee to the enemy; *Hanno* was reſolved no longer to defer the battel, giving order to *Hannibal* at the ſame time to iſſue out of the City. The Conſuls having intelligence hereof, kept themſelves very quietly within their Camps; *Hanno* the more furiouſly preſents himſelf in Battel-array, marcheth up to their very Works, boldly provokes them to fight, reproaching them with fear and cowardize. They on the contrary being content to repulſe the enemy from their Trenches, neither ranged battel againſt them while they ſtood, nor purſued them when they retreated. When things had been thus tranſacted for ſome dayes together, and the Carthaginians were fully perſwaded the Romans durſt not venture on any further action, *L. Poſthumius* the Conſul wiſely made uſe of the enemies ſecurity and contempt to his own good. For ſilently ordering his whole battel within the works, when the Carthaginians according to their cuſtome came up to the works, he iſſued out with a few and held them in action with light skirmiſhes from day break till noon, then the enemy withdrawing themſelves, he brought forth his Legions and made a charge upon them.

Zonaras Fronsinus ſtrat. 2.1

Hanno, though he ſaw a neceſſity of fighting contrary to his expectation, ſtoutly entring into battel, maintained it doubtful till the day was almoſt ſpent. But the Romans, having on purpoſe well refreſhed their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not ſo much troubled with heat, thirſt and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battel, being weary with faſting and ſtanding all day, the longer they fought, were the leſſe able to reſiſt by reaſon of the weakneſſe of their Bodys. At length the Mercenary ſouldiers who ſtood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themſelves, but falling in diſorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind, routed the whole battel and cauſed them to fly before the enemy who ſo hotly charged them. Things were managed with the ſame ſucceſſe in the other place, for *Hannibal*, iſſuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater loſſe, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty ſlain, eleven came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the ſame fortune, for of ſo great an Army very few eſcaped with their General to *Heraclea*; they who were ſhut up in the City, ſeeing no way or means of ſafety left them, were afflicted with very great terror and deſpair: When *Hannibal* following the beſt counſel his ill fortune had left him, obſerving that the Romans, what with wearineſſe of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not their guards ſo ſtrickt as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Merceoaries, and having croſſed the Trenches filled up with boats ſtuffed with

Zonaras Diodori Eclog. b.23 *Oroſius* 4. 7 *Polybius. Zonaras*

Polybius

straw (which he had beforehand prepared for this purpose) he was a good way on his journey before the Romans, at break of day perceiving what was in hand, surprised part of the hindmost Troops; *Hannibal* with the rest betook himself into places of security. The Agrigentines seeing themselves forsaken by the Carthaginians, either out of anger, or to curry favour with the Conqueror, slew many of those who remained in the City. The Town was not therefore saved from destruction, above five and twenty thousand Free-men were sold into slavery.

Zonaras *Polybius* *Diodorus*

Orosius

In this manner was *Agrigentum* taken, in the seventh moneth after it had been first besieged, to the great profit and glory of the Romans, but with the expence of much blood, for of the Consul's Army and his Auxiliaries, there perished by several means above thirty thousand during this siege; for which cause, and by reason winter now approaching, nothing of moment could be undertaken, they returned to *Messana*. These Commanders going to *Rome* in hope of Triumph the next year *L. Valerius, M.F. M.N. Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius, C.F. M.N. Crassus* being made Consuls went into *Sicily*. The Carthaginians having set forth a great Navy as to the plunder and wasting of *Italy*, thought thereby to divert the Consuls from the care of *Sicily*, but they having sufficient guard upon the coasts to repel the invaders, did nevertheless cross over into *Sicily*, where they received many towns which yielded themselves to their protection, being terrified by the late example of the Agrigentine overthrow. The Carthaginians in the mean time made no resistance, for besides their late ill successe they were vexed with the sedition of their Mercenaries, the *Gauls* being chief in the Mutiny for want of many moneths pay; for the punishment of whom, *Hanno* devised this stratagem, first soothing them with fair speeches he desires them, *At present for a while to be quiet*, telling them, *He was in certain hopes of suddenly surprising a very rich Town, by the plunder whereof the* Gauls *should be sufficiently satisfied, both for their pay, as also for the forbearance of it.* Having by this means at present appeased them, and moreover received thanks, he takes a convenient time to treat with his Treasurer, (who was most faithful to him) *That he would, as a Runegado, flie over to* Otacilius *the Consul, under pretence of having perverted his Accounts, and inform him, That next night he might circumvent four thousand* Gauls, *who would come to* Entellia *to take it with the help of some Traitors within.*

Zonaras. 492 *Eutropius* b. 2 *Zonaras* *Polybius* *Frontinus strat.* 3 1 *Zonaras.* *Frontinus* *Diodorus*

Frontinus

The Consul though he gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a businesse not to be neglected, did send a Choice Brigade of souldiers upon the design; the *Gaules* came accordingly as they had been deceived by *Hanno*, and the Romans suddenly arising out of ambush to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the *Gaules* were slain, and because they died not unrevenged, *Hanno* was doubly pleased, both that he was rid of his insolent Mutineers, and that he had cunningly punished them to the no little losse of the enemy. At *Rome*, in the mean time, *Minucius* the Prætor propounded in the Senate, the bringing of the water of the River *Anien* to the Citie; which work *M. Curius* the Censour had designed out of the enemies spoiles, but several impediments arising, the businesse for nine years deferred, was now again consulted about: and two men appointed as supervisours, *Curius* and *Fulvius Flaccus*; but *Curius* dying within five dayes, the Glory of finishing the work was attributed to *Fulvius* alone. About the same time *Hamilcar* came from *Carthage* into *Sicilie* as successour to *Hanno*. For the Carthaginians, when *Hanno* returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominy, fined him in his six thousand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being deceived by the likeness of Names, have delivered, that this *Amilcar* was Father of *Hannibal* who managed the second Punick War against the Romans; but not rightly, for *Hamilcar* the Father of *Hannibal* came into *Sicilie* with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great fame prevailed, that the acts of another lesse known *Amilcar* were ascribed to *Amilcar Barcas* the most Noble and Egregious of that Name. *Hamilcar* therefore the successour of *Hanno* seeing the Romans far stronger then himself in their land army, durst not assault any In-Land Cities, nor descend out of the Mountaines and difficult places into the Campagne: but having a strong Navy whereby he was doubtless Master of the seas, made diligent use of those his Forces, and, having sent *Hannibal* againe to plunder the Coasts of *Italy*, himself sailing about the Sicilian shore, easily recovered many Port Townes which had joyned themselves with the Romans. Whereby it came to passe, that the Romans easily taking and defending the Inland places, the Carthaginians the Maritime, the Feare and hopes were on both sides very equal, and it was hard to judge to which of these two Nations the Victory of the whole War would ensue.

Frontinus de Aquæ ductibus *Zonaras.* *Cicero de Offic.* *Cornel. Nepos Amilcar c. 1.*

Polybius 1. 20 *Zonaras* *Polybius.*

BOOK

BOOK VII.

FOUR years were now expired since the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cause to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battel, both over Carthaginians and Syracusans as often as they durst encounter: They had taken many rich Cities by storm, and others upon Articles submitted themselves; but as long as they waged war in an Island, they could not at their pleasure send provision and recruits when need required. And the Carthaginian ships with free and unexpected arrival being themselves secure, did not only molest and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the shore, but likewise wasted the coasts of *Italy*, both to the losse of the Roman Empire, and likewise to their disgrace; whereas the African shore was clear and free from the enemies invasion. The Senate therefore and people of *Rome* diligently consulting upon the matter, did resolve to prepare a Fleet, and fight the Carthaginians not only by land, as hitherto they had done, but to try their fortune at sea also. This was the very first serious thought the Romans had concerning sea affairs, which they accomplished with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wisdom and Resolution: Insomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by sea to encounter a people most skilful in sea affairs, wanted neither Boldnesse to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Constancy effectually to perform it. For the Romans to that day being so utterly ignorant of sea affairs, that there was not a man amongst them who ever had seen one, neither had any one Man of War of their own, or any Carpenter who knew how to build one, yet having with great confidence undertaken the design, they did in a very short time both learn to sail and venture to fight and overcame those people who for many ages had had experience in sea affairs.

Polybius.

The care of building the ships was committed to *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Asina*, and *C. Duilius*, who had newly entred the Consulship. They had one Carthaginian ship of five Oars, which *Claudius* took with his foot army (at what time he was studying to passe over into *Sicily*) while in heat of fight it came too near the shore and was grounded upon the sands in a shallow place. The Consuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Patterne, and so diligently prosecuted the work, that in threescore days after the timber was felled, they had threescore ships standing at Anchor. But the Consuls hastned their expedition no less by their wit, then by their Industry, For, (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskilful at the oar, nor yet to streighten the time allotted them for action in training up and exercising men on purpose) they contrived a device, which though it may at first shew seem ridiculous, yet in the use and event proved exceeding Commendable, That, while the ships were in building, their Men should sit on shore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For being placed in the same order as they were to observe in the ships, and a Boatswaine being set in the midst of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again to forbear, even as if they were sailing.

Orosius. 437 *Aust. de viris Illus. c. 37* *Plinie* 16. 39 *Florus* 2. 2

By this exercising themselves in fancy onely they were so improved, that when the ships were ready, after a few daies real paines-taking, the Consuls were willing to trust themselves and

and the safety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were cast for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to *C. Duilius*, the Fleet to *Cn. Cornelius*; who, taking along with him seventeen ships, sailed before hand to *Messana*, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered suddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to passe by the cunning of *Boodes*, *Hanniball*'s Vice-Admirall, and his own Credulity, giving credit to some Liparæans, who were suborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of *Lipara* by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ships, he nevertheless resolved to encounter them, and seek his safety by fighting: but that *Boodes* by another fraud, trained him and his Colonells into his own ship, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no sooner come but clapt up in chaines, the others being hereby terrified did without blowes yield themselves up; *Boodes* gaining all the Vessels, sent the Prisoners to *Carthage*. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater shame, in that the fresh example of the Consul's incogitancy did not learn him to be more circumspect. He had understood that the Roman Navy sailing by the Italian shore, was putting forth to sea, and that they could not now be farre off. Desiring therefore, as neer as might be, to observe it, that he might occurately know the number of their ships, their swiftnesse, and in what fashion and plight their new made Vessels were in, he sailed forward with fifty ships, not foreseeing any danger, his ships being confusedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any safe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, suddenly falling into the Roman Fleet, which came prepared and sailing in good order; he was vanquished before he could prepare himself to fight, and having lost the greater part of his Navy, himself likewise being in great Danger, he very hardly escaped with the rest. The Victorious Navy, understanding *Cornelius* his mishap, sent Messengers to *C. Duilius* to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themselves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ships were not farre off. There while they deligently considered the inconvenience of their own Vessells, that they were rudely made, and farre inferiour to the Carthaginians in swiftnesse, it came into the mind of a certain ingenuous man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep fast the Enemies ships; which Ertgine they afterward called *a Raven, or Crow*; the fashion of it was this. There was a straight round piece of Timber, four ulnes long, some nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof a pully or windlase, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fitted a bridge, six ulnes broad, and four feet long, made of plankes fastned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fitted to the piece of Timber, by the space of four ulnes, even the whole length of the Timber. The other part of the bridge or ladder, which was not inserted in the Timber, being of two ulnes long, was so fastned by hinges, that it might be pulled up, or let fall; to the end of the bridge was affixed a strong sharp piece of iron, with a ring at it's head, whereto a rope being tied, through the pully of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredecke; Then as they lifted, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its sharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping fast whatsoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Consull *C. Duilius*, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonells, came to the Navy, and understanding that the Enemies spoiled the Region of *Mylaites*, failed with his whole fleet to that shore.

The Carthaginians were glad of this, assuredly promising themselves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskilfull in sea affaires; whereby they became an example, That no Enemy whatsoever ought so to be despised, as to cause one to remit ordinary discipline, and grow secure. *Hanniball* the Admirall, who had conveighed his Forces out of *Agrigentum*, was in a Vessell of seven oares on a side, which formerly belonged to King *Pyrrhus*, the other ships followed him: not as to a fight, in any distinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making hast to their despicable Enemy. But, when approaching neerer, they saw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman ships, wondring at the novelty of the businesse, they paused a while; at length the most Couragious men laughing at the rude invention of an unskilfull Enemy, the foremost ships with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down, into what ships soever they light, so pierced the planks thereof that they held them fast against their wills; The Roman souldiers, if the ships were fastned side to side, did on every part leap in and assault the Enemy; if they were joyned onely in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with so much the more facility, because on each side of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their passage safer, and their footing more secure: They who went foremost, holding their bucklers before, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, those who followed held their shields down to the little fence, so guarding their sides, and entring the Enemies ships; so that the fight was not performed with the Beakes of ships, but with swords and hands, like to a set Battell; The Romans therefore excelling in strength and Courage, had an easy victory over men lightly armed, and trusting more in the nimblenesse of their ships, then in their hands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ships, among which the Admiralls frigot was taken, but *Hanniball* leaping out of his ship, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boat escaped Captivity, and sending a trusty friend in post-haste to *Carthage*, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capitall punishment which otherwise had attended him. His friend entring the Senate, as if all things had been well,

Zonaras. Polybius

Ὁλυμπ. ἀναγρ. Polybius Livie Epit. Zonaras Florus

Orosius 4.7

Polyb.

Florus. 2. 2.

Florus. Polyb.

Frontinus Strata. 2. 3. Polyb.

Val. Maximus 7. 3. Ext.

well, asked their Advice, *whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy should be fought withall?* and every one unanimously agreeing, *That there was no scruple to be made, and that the businesse should not be deferred*; he told them, *'Tis already done, and we are beaten*; whereupon, no body daring to accuse the Fact, whereof every one in his own Person would have been Author, *Hanniball* escaped the sentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admirallship. The rest of the Carthaginian ships, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admirall, were very much troubled and doubtful in Counsell what to do; they were ashamed to fly having received no harm, the Enemy not so much as pressing upon them; on the other side to set upon the Roman ships they were afraid, by reason of their Engines; At length sailing round about, and finding on every side the foredecks of the ships opposed against them, with those formidable Engines, having used all the art they could, they despairing of the victory went their way.

Zonaras

Author de viris Illust. 138. Zonaras

'Tis reported that fourteen Carthaginian ships were sunk in that fight, one and thirty taken, with seven thousand men, three thousand having been slain. With this success did *C. Duilius* fight with the Carthaginians neer the *Liparæan Ilands*, where the Romans got much prey, but much more ample Glory and Renoun. The Consull taking charge again of his Land Army, Marched to *Segesta*, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmost extremity by the Carthaginians; after that he took *Mocella* by storme, *Hamilcar* never daring to encounter with him: and so having confirmed the mindes of the Associate Cities, Summer being past, he returned to *Rome*: After his departure the *Carthaginian* affaires began again to prosper. For first the Romans after seven moneths continuance were fain to raise their siege of *Mutistratus*, having lost many men before it. When afterward a Dissension arose between the Romans and their Auxiliaries, and that the Associates encamped themselves apart between *Paropus* and *Therma*: *Hamilcar* thought fit to make use of this their madness, and falling on them unawares slew four thousand of them: and it wanted little but that the whole Roman Army had likewise been involved in the same overthrow.

Eutropius b. 2. Orosius. 4. 7. Florus 2. 2. Zonaras. Polybius.

Diodor. Ecteg. 23. Polybius.

Diodorus.

Then again many Townes were taken by *Hannibal*, some by force, some by Treachery: which though it was no good newes at *Rome*, yet the loss was counted small in respect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it self invincible by Land, they had great cause to rejoyce, that by this Fight they had gained reputation of strength by sea also. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themselves as to the whole Warre, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy also of new Honour; *Duilius* therefore was the First who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewise bore with him, when, not content with this Honour, he did without all precedent assume another to himselfe, that returning from supper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Minstrells Sang; A Beaked Pillar likewise was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white *Parian* Marble, which is yet to be seen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) conteining the Number of ships taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thousand seven hundred pieces, of silver above an hundred thousand, of heavy Brass seven score hundred thousand pounds. The Triumph being accomplished, *Duilius* called an Assembly, wherein *L. Cornelius, L. Jo. Cn. N. Scipio* and *C. Aquilius M. F. C. N.* were chosen Consulls. The Senate ordered their Provinces to be *Sicily*, and the Navy. The Admirall had permission, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. This Charge happening to *L. Cornelius*, having prepared his ships he failed away.

Eutropius b. 2.

Tacitus 2. 49. Colum. Triumph Cicero Cato c. 13. Livie. Epit. 17 Plinie. 34. 5. 7 Sellius Fin. 6. Pighis annalis 494.

This was the first Roman expedition into *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; the Islands are so neer adjoyning that they seem but one and the same, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, so in the Dispositions of the inhabitants. *Sardinia* as bearing the shape of a mans footing, was by the Ancients called *Ichnusa* and *Sandaliotis*, afterwards 'tis said, *That* Sardus *the son of* Hercules *of* Lybia *much frequenting the Island, gave it the name it is now known by.* Old Fables affirm that the Grecians came into those places with *Aristæus*, and after the Trojan war the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulnesse of soil, it yieldeth not much to the biggest and best Islands of those seas. It breeds excellent cattel, very fruitful it is of the best Corn, rich in Metals, especially Silver. But the air is not so wholsome, insomuch as forreign Nations commended not so much its Fertility as they dispraised its Pestilent air; for in Summer it is sickly, especially in the most fruitful places. It produceth likewise an Herb, much like the Bee flower, of very violent Poyson, being eaten it distracteth the mind, and forcibly attracting the Nerves distorteth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, unless after vomiting you drink good store of milk and honyed water: the present force of the disease is so remedied, the other incommodities thereof are cured by the same means as other Convulsions of the Nerves.

Salust. Hist. 2. 1 Plin. 3. 7. Silius. b. 12. Salust. Fragm. Pausan. b. 10. Ælian apud Hist. Anim. 16. 34. Solinus c. 10. Pomp. Mela. 2. 7 Strab. lib. 5. Plinie 20. 11. Matthiol. in Dioscor. 6. 14.

Likewise there is a very little creature called *Solpuga*, a kind of Pismire, which is deadly to those who unawares sit upon it, it is so much the more dangerous, because hardly to be seen or taken notice of by those who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed of divers sorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty, chuse rather to live by robbery and plunder, then by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and short Sword, their

Solinus Plin. 29. 4. Lucan 2. 837. Strabo.

Brest-

Ælianus Claudian de bel. Gildonico Eustath. in Dion. περιήγ. Salust. Hist. 2.1 Sardho

Breſt-plates they ſew together the out skins of their Rams, which they call *Muſmones*, bearing not wooll as others, but in ſtead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefeſt City is *Caralis*, looking towards *Africa* and from thence built, with a very fair haven. *Corſica* is not to be compared with *Sardinia* either for largeneſs of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigneſs of all thoſe Iſlands; The inhabitants derive the name from one *Corſa* a woman, out of whoſe Heard a Bull croſſed over into this Iſland from *Liguria*; the Greeks called it *Cyrnus*. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almoſt impaſſible; and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild beaſts. When they are taken priſoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of impatience of labour and ſervitude kill themſelves, or by their contumacy and ſtubbornneſſe are troubleſome to their maſters.

Plinie 16.16 Lycus apud Athenæum b. 2 Marsian. Capeta Diodorus 5.13 Seneca Conſ. ad Helvium c. 8

The Iſland is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter taſt, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholſome, and many think your Corſicans to be therefore long-lived, becauſe they ordinarily uſe that Honey. Their Towns are not very great nor very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are *Aleria* a Colony of the Phocæans, and *Nicæa* of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troubleſome, and therefore the ſeas rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with theſe nations, and obtained the dominion of both Iſlands, except places inacceſſible. But becauſe wild and rude men were eaſier to be vanquiſhed then tamed, they bethought themſelves of many means whereby to keep them under, they likewiſe corrupted all the fruits of the Iſland, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to ſow or plant any ſuch thing, that they might be forced to fetch all neceſſaries from *Africa*, till at length grown ſomewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

Ariſtotle περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

To theſe Iſlands at this time did *Cn. Cornelius* ſtear his courſe, and firſt in *Corſica* ſtormed the City *Aleria*, after which without much labour or danger he took the reſt. From thence as he ſailed towards *Sardinia*, he met the enemies Fleet, which he preſently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to *Olbia*, where ſeeing many Carthaginian ſhips in the Haven, and thinking himſelf not ſtrong enough in foot to ſtorm a City ſo well ſcituate, and defended by a great multitude, for the preſent he omitted the buſineſs, and ſailed home for a recruit of men.

Fricn. ad Flor. 2.2.16 Zonaras.

About the ſame time a ſervile Commotion, in the Citie, which was in the beginning happily ſuppreſſed, did both afflict the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewiſe ſecure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were preſſed for ſea ſervice, whereof there were then four thouſand in *Rome*, moſt of them Samnites; theſe men abhorring the ſea, did ſecretly bemoane their own Condition and ſo far exaſperated one another that they were reſolved to burn the Citie and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thouſand accomplices into the conſpiracy, which daily gathered more ſtrength, when *Erius Potelius*, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wiſdom prevent all danger. For he feigning himſelf engaged in the ſame faction, was made privie to all their Contrivances; he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular perſon in the conſpiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accompliſhment of his own private deſign, but onely to diſcover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunitie of going, becauſe the Samnites would never ſuffer him to walk alone; at length having deviſed this trick, he perſwadeth them, *That when the Senate next met, they ſhould come by bands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Meaſure of their Corn, that then they ſhould have occaſion offered of executing their Purpoſe, or at leaſt underſtand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon ſuch ſudden motions and ſtirs.* And to gaine the more Credit in the buſineſs, he went along with them, manifeſting himſelf not ony a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he diſcovered to them the danger of the ſecret Plot and cauſe of his own diſſimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, ſent Meſſengers with good words to pacifie the Rout, and command them home, aſſuring them with all, *That the Senate would take order for Redreſſe of their Grievance, and that every one ſhould enjoy his Right.* The Conſpiratours, thinking their Deſignes was ſtill kept cloſe, went their way: The night following every Maſter bound his ſervants, whom according to *Potilius* his Information, he knew guilty of the treaſon, the Samnites alſo were moſt of them ſeized upon in their Quarters. Either the care of this or ſome other buſineſs, or ſickneſſe was an hindrance to *C. Florus*, that he did not goe into *Sicily* ſo ſoon as ordinary, whereby *Hamilcar* after his laſt Victorie had time much to encreaſe the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken *Camarina* and *Enna* by Treachery, he fortified *Drepanus*, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the Erycines thither to Dwell, whoſe Citie, leſt it ſhould be ſervicable to the Romans he totally demoliſhed, excepting the Temple of *Venus*. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceit or by force, and was in a likelyhood of conquering all *Sicilie*, but that *Florus*, for this reaſon not daring in winter to forſake the Iland, tarried to oppoſe him. The other Conſul had an Eaſier Taske with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at *Olbia*; whether being returned with encreaſe of ſtrength, he found *Hanno* there, who after the removal of *Hannibal* was made Admiral. The battel waxing

Diodori Eclog. b. 23

Zonaras

Oroſius 4.7

ing vehemently hot, *Hanno* couragiouſly fighting, feeing his own party worſted, ruſhed in to the thickeſt of the Enemies and was there ſlaine: After which the Town yielded it ſelf. The Conſul much graced the ſame of his Victory by his ſingular humanity toward the Enemie. For he took care to have the Body of *Hanno* to be conveighed out of his Cabbin to Burial, and made a large Funeral for him, laying aſide hatred after Death, and rightly judging that virtue is to be honoured even in an enemie. Then not ſuffering the Terrour of his late Victorie to grow ſtale and be forgotten, he took many other Cities of *Sardinia*, furthering his Courage with Counſells and ſtratagems. For he uſed in the night time to land ſome choice bands not far off thoſe townes he meant to aſſault, who conveniently placing themſelves in Ambuſh lay quiet, till the Conſul coming to the walls and giving an Alarum, had under pretence of Flight drawn the Townſmen a good way out of their works, then they in Ambuſh haſtily ariſeing took the Citie void of Defendants: By this wile he obtained many places, and ſo proſecuted his Atcheivements, that the Carthaginian armies had no abiding place either in *Sardinia* or *Corſica*. For which cauſe, at his Return, there was no doubt made, but a moſt ample Triumph decreed him, which he made over the Carthaginians. *Sardinia* and *Corſica* the fifth of the Ides of *March*, having brought great ſtore of plunder out of thoſe Iſlands and many thouſands of Captives. But in *Sicily C. Florus* beſieged *Mytiſtratus*, which was attempted in vain, neither could it be gained till the new Conſul *A. Atilius A.F. C.N.* came thither; For to him was allotted *Sicily* for his Province, the Navy was committed to his Colleague *C. Sulpitius Q.F. Q.N. Paterculus*. They underſtanding that *Panormus* was the Carthaginians winter Quarter, marched thither with all their Forces, and, ordering their Men, preſented Battel to the Enemie, but no man coming out againſt them, they went thence to *Hippana*, which Citie in their jorney they ſtormed and preſently maſtered. Thence *Atilius* marched to *Mytiſtratus*, which being ſtoutly defended, at length the Garriſon ſouldiers, being wearied with the cries and Lamentations of women and Children, forſook it. The Carthaginians went out in the night time; at break of day the Townſmen opened the Gates. But the Romans bearing too much in mind the Incommodities they had endured in the ſiege thereof, ſlew every one they met without diſtinction of age or ſex, till *A. Atilius* the Conſul cauſed proclamation to be made, *That both Plunder and Priſoners ſhould belong to thoſe who took them.* Then at length Covetouſneſs overcame Cruelty, and the reſt of the Citizens were ſaved and made Captive: The Citie was plundered and demoliſhed. The Army being thence led towards *Camarina*, fell into very great danger, for want of knowledg in the Country. For the Carthaginian General meeting them had firſt poſſeſſed the higher places, and as it were beſieged the Romans raſhly entred into a diſadvantagous vallie; every one thought they ſaw before their Eyes the very picture of the *Caudine* overthrow; but the wiſdom and Valour of *M. Calpurnius Flamma* a Colonell in the army, in their utmoſt point of diſpaire did releive them. For he following the Example of *P. Decius*, who being a Colonell in *Samnium* had done the like, taking three hundred ſouldiers along with him, went up to poſſeſs a certaine Hillock, not out of hope to eſcape, but both he and his ſouldiers being animated with the Love of honour, and deſire of ſaving the whole army; 'Tis ſaid when he had brought them thither, he thus ſpake unto them, *Let us die fellow Souldiers, and by our death deliver the Legions now round beſieged.* And ſo it came to paſſe, for while the enemy converted themſelves wholly upon theſe men, they being reſolved to die, did ſo long maintain a ſharp fight with the greater number, that the Conſul had time to explicate himſelf out of that unhappy place. The Carthaginians having ſlain thoſe who did indeed on purpoſe offer up themſelves (putting no hope in their ambuſh which was now diſcovered) departed. The fortune of *Calpurnius* was next to a Miracle, for he being found among the heaps of his own and the enemie dead bodies, was the only man had breath left in him; and being carryed away and diligently fomented (among many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful ſervice to the Commonwealth; and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among the Grecians performed ſuch a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have beſtowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor: But being a Roman all the reward of ſuch an exploit was a Garland made of Graſs; nay, they were ſo negligent in the memory of the very Fact, that the name of this valiant man is ſcarcely known: Moſt Authors call him *Calpurnius*, but *M. Cato* calls him *Q. Caditius*; *Claudius Quadrigarius* gives him the name of *Laberius*. But the Conſul being freed from thoſe ſtraits he was in, made his error an argument of ſhame, and his danger of watchfulneſs and circumſpection. Therefore with the greater courage and care he proceeds to the aſſault of the City, and being not able to prevail againſt it without Engines of battery, he borrowed ſome of *Hiero*. With them he brake down the walls, and reduced *Camarina* into his power, the Citizens for the moſt part he ſold for ſlaves. Thence he marched to *Enna*, and had that by treachery delivered to him; the Garriſon ſouldiers were part of them ſlain by the Romans after they were entred, the reſt fled away and betook themſelves to places poſſeſſed by their own party. *Sittana* was obtained not by craft but courage, the defendants being driven back and the City ſtormed. Some ſmaller Towns in that part of *Sicily* made no delay, but forthwith ſent meſſengers with promiſe of ſubmiſſion. The Conſul placing Garriſons in all places convenient, marched into the *Agrigentine* Territories, and by treachery had the Caſtle *Camicus* delivered to him. Where-

Val Maximus. 5.1

Silius b.6

Frontinus 3.9 & 3.10

Florus 2.2

Faſti. Capitol. Eutropius b.2

Zonaras

Diodorus

495.

Polybius 1.24.

Zonaras

Diodorus

Zonaras

Agellius 3.7. Frontinus ſtrat. 4.5.10.

Livie Epit. 17.

Oroſius 4.8

Author de viris Illuſt. c.39.

M. Cato apud Agellium. Plinie 22.6. Fronsinus.

Agellius.

Diodorus

Polybius. 1.24.

Diodorus.

Diodorus. Polybius.

Zonaras.

Diodorus. Florus.2.2.

Whereupon the Garrison of *Erbessus* being disheartened, forsook the Town. So *Erbessus* came again into the Romans hands. The Consull Encouraged with this success, and thinking that many of the Liparæans favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City: But there he had not the like Fortune. For *Hamilcar* having intelligence of the Romans Design, privately entered *Lipara*, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans being ignorant of this, boldly and unawarily coming up to the walls, were by a sudden sally of the Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflict, and no small number slain. In the mean time *C. Sulpicius* the Consul had many encounters with the Enemy in *Sardinia*, and all prosperous. And his mind was so erected, that he made bold to sail toward *Africk*.

Polybius
Zonaras

The Carthaginians by no meanes enduring any such Attempt, once more made *Hannibal* Admirall, who since his flight out of *Sicily* had continued at *Carthage*, along with him they sent their best Sea Commanders, with Order, *To chase the Enemies Navy from their Country-shore*. He puts to Sea with a resolution to fight, but a Tempest prevented the Encounter, which being very violent on both Navies, drove them against their wills into more calme places: Both Admiralls fortuned into *Sardinian* Ports. There lying at Anchor, *Sulpicius* to draw the Carthaginians out to sea, suborned some, under pretence of Runnagates, to perswade *Hannibal*, *that the Romans were again sailing to Africa*. He being deluded by this Craft, suddenly setting saile, before he was aware, met with the Consull who in a convenient place waited for him: Many Carthaginian ships were sunk, before they knew what they were about, the Consul's stratagem being much favour'd by a Mist opportunely arising: At length understanding what was the matter, the other ships went some back into the Haven, others drove themselves on shore, where the men landing themselves, most of the Vessels were taken empty: *Hannibal* despairing to recover the Port, betook himself to *Sulci*, where, in a sedition, being apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of the same fight, he was by them Crucified, saying, *that his Folly and Rashness was the cause of their Overthrow*. But this Victory of the Romans was an occasion of some loss to them afterwards. For being freed from fear of the Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and securely wasted the Grounds, they were suddenly routed by an unexpected incursion of Sardinians and Carthaginians, one *Hanno* being Commander. *C. Duilius* was this year Censour, and built the Temple of *Janus* in the *Herb*-Market. After this two Triumphs were made, the one of *C. Aquilius Florus* Pro-consul over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of October, the other of *C. Sulpicius* the Consull over the Carthaginians and Sardinians, the third of the Nones. When *C. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius, L. F. Cn. N. Blasio* again were Consulls, the Senate ordered Sacrifices to be made for avoiding the Omen of some Prodigies. In the *Albane* Mount, and other places, and in the City it selfe many stones fell as Haile; 'Twas thought fit to Solemnize *the Latine Festivall*, and in order to that, a Dictatour was created, *Q. Ogulnius, L. F. A. N. Gallus*: The Master of Horse was *M. Latorius. M. F. M. N. Plancianus*, *C. Atilius*, the Admirall having sailed to *Tyndaris* in *Sicily*, when he espied the Carthaginian Navy passing by, out of order, suddenly resolved to set upon it; And commanding the other ships to follow, hastily sets forward with ten which were Ready, and with all speed both of sail and Oare endeavours to overtake the Carthaginians, still before him. *Hamilcar*, a very considerable Commander, was in that Fleet, who seeing but few ships neer him, others scarce yet out of the Haven, the greater part still at Anchor, steering back, circumvented *Atilius* and his ships with his whole Navy, nine of them he sunk presently, not able to maintain fight with so great a Number. The Admirals Frigat being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged by the presence of the Consull, brake out from amongst them by main strength and saved it selfe. For the other Roman Vessells were now come up, by whose help the Fortune of the Battell was changed. Eight of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, ten with all their men taken; the rest steered to the *Liparean* Ilands. These things were done at Sea. The Land Forces were not so quick at their Work, having in vain assaulted the City *Lipara*: But with all hostility they spoiled the open Fields; the same Calamity also attended the Iland *Melites*, not farre distant. For these Exploits *C. Atilius* the Consull made a Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians. The same year *A. Atilius* the Pro-Consull Triumphed over the Carthaginians of *Sicily* the fourteenth of the Calends of *February*. The Romans were then in a very joyfull state and Condition, being Victours not onely at Land, but at sea also; And did now begin to Consult not onely of the Conquest of *Sicily* and the Neighbouring Ilands, which they thought sure enough their own; but of invading *Africa* also, and bring the Terrour of the War to the Gates of *Carthage* it selfe.

Livie Epit. 17.
Zonaras.
Capitolina Magist.
Tacitus 2. 49.
Capitolin. Marmora.
496
Zonaras
Fragmenta Capitolina.
Polyb.
Zonaras
Polybius
Zonaras.
Orosius. 4.8.
Capitol. Colum. Author de virh Illust. c. 39. Colum. Capitol.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

AFterwards *L. Manlius, A. F. P. N.* commonly called *Longus*, did enter upon the Consulship, and *L. Cædicius, Q. F. Q. N.* after whose death, *M. Atilius, M. F. L. N. Regulus*, who had been sometimes Consul, succeeded in his Office. Then onely in this year[497] *Africa*, which hitherto had been free from any miseries by an Enemy, began to be sensible of a war, when the Romans had made an invasion thereinto, after they had in a great Sea-fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians fleet; which exploits, as they were atchieved, we shall in this Book set forth, and both the one and the other fortune of that same *Regulus*, and his end not suitable to the gallantry of the man; The year before when the *Carthaginians, C. Atilius* being Consull, did so strive to get the best in a Sea-conflict, that when they had lost many ships, they first gave over fighting; yet because they had sunk some certain of the Roman Vessels, they would not take themselves to have been of lesser reputation; On the other part, the Romans did judge that event as an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vast multitude on both sides did bend their mindes with greatest emulation to the study of Sea-Affaires. And therefore the Consulls being charged to remove the warre into *Africa*, when they were come to *Messana*, with an Armado of three hundred and thirty ships, and from thence passing by the Coast of *Sicily* on the right hand beyond *Pachinus*, to take in the Foot Forces, they having also some Forts near the Hill *Enomus*, they sailed forward. And about the same time *Hamilcar* General of the Carthaginians, and *Hanno* the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and sixty ships, having passed by *Lilybæum* in *Carthage*, and then *Heraclea Minoa*, in that bay they consult of casting Anchor, observing the motions of the Romans, and if they durst bend towards *Africa*, they were in a posture to stop their course; which when the *Consulls* were informed of, they with good advice make all things ready for either chance; that they might not be to seek for Counsell, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or to draw some whither for safety: therefore committing the ships to some of the stoutest Souldiers, they make four Squadrons, as so many parts of the whole fleet; the choicest men they set in the first Squadron, the two next Squadrons they place in their order, in the Reare-guard they put their chiefest men for strength, the Triarii, these forces they dispose of in such array, that each ship did carry 300 rowers, and six score Souldiers. So the Muster-Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thousand men.

From the foundation of the City.
497. *Capitolina Tabulæ.*
Polyb. 1. 25
Orosius 4. 8.
Polyb.

The Carthaginians did somewhat exceed that number, leading more souldiers then an hundred and fifty thousand. And indeed the Consulls did scarce esteem of any other sort of souldiers in comparison of their own. There was so much the more consulting, when it did appear, they must needs fight in the deep Ocean; where the swiftnesse of the ships, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell-aray against that danger; finally they consider of placing the whole Fleet aright. They set two Gallies wherein the Consulls themselves were carried, very even in the Van, to both those Gallies they joyn on this side the first Squadron, on that side the second in a long continued row; the ships being placed in such manner, that the fore-castles of them all were turned outwards, and the

the Gallies did move almoſt joyned together, the ſhips next to thoſe did keep from each other more apart, and ſo conſequently the ſpace left between the oppoſite ſhips did grow wider according to their being ſet in order. So when the form of the Van in manner of a wedg was ſhaped, with ſmall diſtance between the firſt ſhips, and with great ſpaces between the laſt, then did they cauſe the third Squadron to advance, which bearing that open ſpacebetween the two firſt ſhips, did meerly by their order, exhibit a triangular form of the whole array; behind this, at the third Squadrons back, the long boats were drawn by a Barge with Cables to pull with, reaching to the ſhips of the *Tertian* ſouldiers. The *Triarii* the ſouldiers ſet in the Rear-ward, did ſo inviron the former, the ſhips being ſtretched out into a halfe circle, that from each Wing they did appear; So the whole body with a deep hollow front, the hindmoſt parts being firmely ſolid, did reſemble the ſnout of a ſhip, not leſs able to receive a violent aſſault, then fit to give one.

But the Carthaginian Captains having intelligence by their Scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, when they conſidered, the paſſage to their City was not difficult, the common ſort were nothing manly, the bordering Neighbours inconſtant, and very prone to fall from their fidelity, they conclude to go out to meet them: being reſolved firſt to try all that might be, rather then they would ſuffer, that the Roman Veſſels ſhould have a ſafe Voyage into *Africa*. Therefore they betake them to their ſhips, incouraging their men in ſhort, *That they would undertake the fight with mindes firmely bent and cheerfull, well remembring they were to fight, not only touching things preſent, but in reference to all things, which each one held precious at home*; and with their own good hope, and that of their fellow Seamen, they lanch forth out of the Harbour; nor was the Romans fleet far diſtant, therefore not far from *Heraclea* they give the ſhock againſt each other with equall ſtoutneſs; The Carthaginian Captains did ſo provide, that *Hanno* ſhould charge on the Right Wing, (but it was he that had been unfortunate at *Agrigentum*) *Hamilcar* ſhould be Commander over the reſt. And they alſo divide their ſhips into four Squadrons, having obſerved the array which the Romans had made uſe of; Of theſe, that which was the left Wing of the whole array being crooked like a bow, did make towards the ſhore, the reſt were extended in their plain order, and turned upon the firſt Squadron of the Enemies ſhips. Hereupon the Right Wing in which there were very ſwift Veſſells with ſnouts and five oares in a ſeat, *Hanno* did ſtretch it out all he could towards the main Ocean, being ready to ſurround the Enemy, if the ſkirmiſh ſhould begin at any other part. And the Conſulls not ſtaying long did venture themſelves with their two Squadrons into the midſt of the Carthaginian ſhips; *Hamilcar* that he might break the array of the Romans did charge his ſouldiers, when the Conflict began, they ſhould preſently take their flight, which being done, and the Romans eagerly purſuing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ſhips were ſwift: but the array of the Romans, as *Hamilcar* wiſhed, and had foreſeen, was rent aſunder, when yet the *Triarii*, and the third Squadron did keep their places, which, when he ſaw it performed, he ſuddenly gives a ſign out of his own ſhip, that their fore-caſtles being turn'd, they ſhould encounter thoſe that did purſue them: the fight was doubtfull, the Carthaginians excelling in ſwiftneſs, and in ſkill for Navigation. The Romans being farre tranſcendant in the ſtoutneſs of their ſouldiers; Therefore ſo long as the fight rather of the ſhips, then of the men, did laſt, the Carthaginians had the better clearly: But when they began to fight hand to hand, the ſhips being faſtned cloſe with grapling irons, then the Victory did certainly incline towards the Roman party: When the ſouldier full of confidence through his hand-ſtrokes, and fighting before the Conſulls, did ſtrive to approve his valour to them with a more notable endeavour: while the skirmiſh was ſo managed in that part, *Hanno* with the Right Wing, which hitherto he kept unmov'd, made a fierce aſſault, being carried by the tide amongſt the ſhips of the *Triarii*, and did create them much troubleſom work, when they were brought to great diſtreſs; At the ſame time almoſt, the Left Wing alſo of the Carthaginians, the firſt poſture being changed, and with a front made even, does aſſail with dangerous beaks the third Squadron of the Romans, which drew their long boats by a Barge. The Romans having ſlipt their Cables, did prepare themſelves for reſiſtance; Here alſo they ſhew much Gallantry: So in three places, there do happen even juſt ſo many Sea-fights, far diſtant from each other.

Zonaras. Polybius.1.28. When they had fought ſo hard, the Victory long enough inclining to either ſide, at laſt it chanced, as needs it muſt, where there is fierce bickeering in ſundry places at once, with equall force and vehemeacy, that the ſelfe-ſame part which is firſt routed, ſhould cauſe the whole Victory. For when *Hamilcar* was utterly unable any longer to withſtand the Violence of his Enemies, his ſingle flight did immediately diſperſe even the whole fleet of the Carthaginian. For *L. Manlius* one of the Conſulls, being very much buſied about bringing together the ſhips that were taken, and chaining them to his own, *M. Regulus* eſpying the fight to begin afreſh in another place, he made halte to relieve his own ſide, taking to him the ſhips of the ſecond Squadron, all that eſcaped out of the former fight ſafe and unſhattered; The *Triarii* did ſoon perceive that reliefe, and recollecting their Spirits, which had even failed them in extremity of Danger, they began to oppoſe their Enemies with great undauntedneſs. *Hanno*, when he ſaw that both thoſe before him made ſtout reſiſtance and that himſelfe was ſo over-charged on the Reare with freſh ſupplies, hoiſing up ſail he did his beſt to avoid his approaching overthrow. And when *L. Manlius*

lius amidſt theſe tryalls beheld the third Squadron of the Romans to be enforced towards land by the Carthaginians Left Wing, he ſteer'd that way, and *M. Regulus* overtook him unawares, who had even now ſet the long boats and the *Triarii* out of harmes reach. So the ſtate of things is ſoon quite changed, and they are ſurrounded very cloſe, who but juſt before had hemmed the Romans in. Whom indeed being ſtrangely encompaſſed, and in a manner ſtraighely beſieged, they might e're this have utterly deſtroyed, unleſs not daring to go near them for fear of the iron raven-beaks they were wont to grapple with, they gave the Conſuls time enough, that themſelves being ſafe they might even ſecure their own ſide, and the Carthaginians, that were environ'd by a ſudden ſurprizeall, had leiſure to take, as with a net, fifty ſhips, and all that were therein, ſo the other few ſtealing away by the very ſhore ſide did make their eſcape.

This Sea-conflict as well in regard of various ill accidents, and the eagerneſs of the encounter, as alſo for the number of ſhips loſt on both ſides, was of fair remark. Of the Carthaginian ſhips ſixty and three were taken, above thirty were ſunk. The Conquering Romans loſt four and twenty by reaſon of ſoul weather, but not one of them did fall into the hands of the Enemy. *Oroſius 4.8*

When this victory was over, returning to *Meſſana* they allotted certaine daies to mend their ſhips, and refreſh their men, and to take in ſtore of new proviſion. Amongſt which, *Hamilcar* when he would not yeild by any means, the Romans ſhould go to *Africa*, but wanted ſtrength to ſtop their march, he betook himſelf to ſtratagems, and ſought, by ſending *Hanno* to them to ſue for peace, to prolong the time, till the arrivall of the forces which he lookt the Carthaginians would ſend him. *Hanno* when he made his addreſſe to the Conſuls, and heard the exclamations of the people, that the ſame decree ought to paſs againſt him, which five years before the Carthaginians had deſign'd againſt *Cornelius Aſina* then Conſul, he ſhifted off the threatned miſchief with a ſubtill anſwer, *Verily if ye ſhall do ſo*(ſaies he) *ye ſhall not be bitter at all then the very Africans*; and preſently the Conſuls well reſented what he ſaid, commanding thoſe to be ſilent that had voted him to chains, and there was a voice heard well beſeeming the gravity of the Roman ſtock, *O* Hanno, *the faithful dealing of our City does quit thee from that fear.* It was in vain to move for peace becauſe the Carthaginian did not deal ſincerely, and the Conſuls did rather aim at Victory then at Peace. Therefore they had no mind to defer any longer their intended voyage to *Africa*; Neither did the Carthaginian Commanders croſſe the deſign, though they engaged to each other, not to endure the enmy ſhould march without diſturbance, but to infeſt him from ſundry quarters, and to bar his paſſage. But *Hanno* making haſt to fortify *Carthage* beforehand, *Hamilcar* not daring to attempt ought, tarries at *Heraclea*. The Romans ſhips made a ſafe voyage free both from enemies and from tempeſts. And there wanted not ſome that did ſtrangely abominate any travelling far by ſea, and the enemies coaſt, and the very name of *Africa*. *Manuius*, an Officer among the ſouldiers, did firſt begin to ſpeak ill of government, but *Regulus* was ſo incenſed againſt him, that he threatned him that ſcourges and the axe ſhould be his lot, unleſs he would ſubmit. So at length the Conſul was obeyed, and the nearer and the greater fear did expel the dread of travelling by ſea. The Promontory is called *Hermæum* which from the boſome of *Carthage* does ſtretch very far into the Sicilian ſea. That coaſt was firſt found out by the Roman ſhips, then after a little ſtay while the whole fleet came up together, the Conſuls having paſſed by the coaſt of *Africa*, they arrived at the Citie *Clupea*. Here the ſouldiers are expoſed to hazard, and when the ſhips were put into harbor, there was a Trench drawn round for the more ſecurity. The Citie becauſe it refuſed to ſurrender, was beſieg'd, and preſently through the timerouſneſſe of the Citizens it being either yielded or deſerted (for 'tis reported either way) it was reduced to the obedience of the Romans. *Zonaras Polybius Zonaras* *Val. Max. 6.6* *Zonaras* *Polybius Zonaras.* *Florus. 2.2* *Polybius*

But the Carthaginians though they did endure things truly harſh, and very ſtrange, yet they rejoyced at their weal, that they fared ſomewhat better then they expected: for when they heard what iſſue the Sea-fight had, they were ſore afraid, leaſt preſently the conquering forces would have been drawn even againſt *Carthage* it ſelf. Therefore re-aſſuming ſome courage after their former fright, they were fully bent to make what ſtrength they could to defend their City and the Suburbs thereof. Mean while the Conſuls having ſent meſſengers to *Rome* which would acquaint the Senators what exploits had been atchieved already, and ſhould beſeech their advice touching new attempts, they make *Clupea* a Garriſon, that they might make uſe of that ſeat of war. And having ſet a guard to defend the City and field adjoyning, they march. ing a great way forward with all their other forces, they utterly waſte a very fruitful Country, which from the dayes of *Agathocles* had not ſeen the ſword of an enemy; they deſtroy many goodly Villages, they force away whole droves of cattel, moreover they lead away by force above twenty thouſand men, no man daring to gainſay; they alſo take many Towns by ſtorm or by ſurrender, wherein they apprehend ſeveral Revolters, and ſet free many Roman Captives, that were taken in the late wars, amongſt whom I believe even *Cn. Cornelius* to have been, that was choſen Conſul again after two years were expir'd. While things are thus acted, they that were ſent to *Rome* by the Conſuls, return with Orders from the Senate. One of them was commanded to quarter in *Africa*, with ſuch conſiderable forces as they held needful to be kept there. The other was required to bring back the reſt of the fleet, and the reſidue of the army *Zonaras Polybius.* *Zonaras* *Polybius*

to

Zonaras
Polybius
Zonaras
Oroſius. 4. 8.
Capitolin. Columna.
In the Year From the foundation of the City 493.
Livie. Epit.
18
Frontinus Stratagemat. 4. 3. 6.
Val. Max. . 4. 6.
Seneca ad Helvid.
Dionyſ. apud Valeſium
Polybius.
Zonaras.
Florus. 2. 2.
Livie Epitom.
Val. Maximus 1. 8. 19
Oroſius 4. 8.
Tubero apud Agellium.
Flin. 8. 14.
Oroſius
Silius lib. 6
Val. Maximus
Zonaras
Plin.
Polybius
Zonaras

to *Rome*. So Winter now drawing near, *M. Regulus* continued there with almoſt fifteen thouſand foot, five hundred horſemen, and with forty ſhips, what remained of the Fleet being richly loaden with Captives, and other booty *L. Manlius* having ſafely paſſed by the Coaſt of *Sicily*, he carried back to *Rome*. I find he led along with him to *Rome* twenty ſeven thouſand Captives, and the Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians was ordain'd for him. Afterwards *Ser. Fulvius*, *M. F. M. N. Patinus* the more noble, and *M. Aimilius*, *M. F. L. N. Paulus* were made Conſulls.

The Government of *Sicily* and the Command of the Fleet are committed to the charge of thoſe two: They were not minded to call back *Regulus* from amidſt his Victories, while he went on proſperouſly in *Africa*; and he was ordered by the Proconſul to manage the War there That decree of the Senate no one did worſe reſent, than he himſelfe, for whoſe honour it was made. Therefore in his Letters to the Senate he made that his grievance, and ſet it as the main ground of his ſuit, that another might ſucceed him in his Office, upon the death of his Bailiffe (he undertook to manure a piece of ground of ſeven Acres, which his Maſter had in *Pupinia*) having gained an opportunity, he thence delivered up his Commiſſion, and left his charge; wherefore he muſt needs depart, leaſt in his abſence, when his ground lay untilled, his wife and children ſhould want bread. And the Senate did ordain, that *M. Regulus* his ground ſhould be dreſſed at the Publick charge, that what damage he had ſuſtained ſhould be made good, and fair proviſion ſhould be made for his wife and children. Such good orders were then in uſe! But when I read of or relate theſe things and the like, I cannot chuſe but recollect with my ſelf, which is the more laſting recompence for virtue, a reward by Coin, or by commendation; by pounds, or by praiſe. *M. Regulus* his renowne does endure many ages after his death; the wealth of others hath periſht with their Maſters, and oftentimes before them: In the mean ſeaſon the Carthaginians having choſen two Generalls at home, *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno's* ſonne, and *Boſtar*; they ſent alſo for *Hamilcar* their third Commander in chief to come out of *Sicily*. Who with five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe came in all haſte from *Heraclea* to *Carthage*. Theſe having called a Councell do decree, that the Army ſhould not be kept within Walls, as the manner heretofore had been, neither ſhould the Roman ſouldiers be permitted to do what they liſted without any puniſhment. So when they were encouraged to wage War, the Army was drawn out.

In the mean time *M. Regulus* did march to all places near adjoyning, through which the River *Bagrada* does ſlide, ſubduing all before him, not far from which the Romans that held certain Caſtles, were ſmitten with a ſudden peſtilence, and loſt many, and were ſore amazed. A waterSerpent of huge bigneſs did ſet upon the ſouldiers, and they being much affrighted, and reſiſting all in vain, the Serpent did ſwallow down many of them with his wide yawning jawes, others he bruiſ'd to pieces with his furious windings, and with the ſtrokes of his tail, ſome again he poyſoned to death with the blaſting of his peſtiferous breath, and he made ſo much ado for *M. Regulus*, that with all his forces he muſt fight with the Serpent for the poſſeſſion of the River, which when it was done with the loſs of many ſouldiers, and the Dragon could neither be overcom, nor wounded, he with his extream hard cruſt of Scales eaſily repelling, what ever darts they did throw at him, they muſt make uſe of Engines, and without great Guns and Mortar-pieces, like a well fenced Tower, the Enemy is not to be overthrown; After ſeverall hurlings that were made in vain, a great ſtone being caſt, did break his back-bone all to ſhivers, and did diſſolve the vigorous violence of the formidable Monſter. And the buſineſs was effected with ſo much difficulty, and with ſo great terrour to Horſe and Foot, that the ſouldiers did averre they had rather oppoſe *Carthage* it ſelfe, then ſuch another Monſter. And the Camp could ſtay there no longer, but muſt ſhun the infected waters, and all the Country round about, which was blaſted with the contagious ſtink of his lying there. This was ſome ſhame to the pride of men, which are wont to think very fondly, that they can Conquer all things. Truely when *M. Regulus* was Generall, that had been Conquerour by Sea and Land, one ſingle Serpent when he was alive, did hold the whole Roman Army in plea, and being killed he made the Army draw off. And therefore the Proconſull did hold it no immodeſty to ſend the ſpoils even of this very Enemy to *Rome*, and to acknowledg with a publick Monument the greatneſs of his own fear, and his rejoycing at the victory. For he took order the ſkin of the beaſt ſhould be taken off and carried to *Rome*, which is reported to have been an hundred and twenty foot long, and being hanged up in a certain Temple to have laſted even till the Wars at *Numantia*. When the Camp was remov'd from *Bagrada*, the Conſull commanded the Army towards the City *Adis*, all Towns and Caſtles being won and demoliſht that lay in their road.

But to *Adis*, which was hard to take, there was a certain way of laying ſiege by the help of warlike engines. To the croſſing of which, when the Carthaginian Captains did ſpeedily make haſte they ſate down on a certain hill, but full of wood and full of other impediments that was very near the Roman Camp. *M. Regulus* having well conſidered the nature of the place, and what manner of enemies he had to deale with, when he ſaw their foot were not comparable to his, but that they put much confidence in their Elephants and horſemen, but ſuch forces being very formidable in open fields by the inequality of the places would not be come at, and would be made very uſeleſs; he wiſely taking ſome advantage by the folly of his enemies, before they could perceive and correct their error, determines to fall upon them in their own Tents. Wherefore

fore encouraging his ſouldiers, and diligently obſerving what reaſon did ſuggeſt, he goes out of his Camp before the dawning of the day, and does cauſe his army to advance towards the hill directly oppoſite, where the Carthaginians had pitcht their Tents. Firſt of all, the audacious confidence of the Romans did even amaze the Carthaginians, which being far leſſe in number did ſet upon ſuch a vaſt army even in their own trenches, from a low place, and of great diſadvantage. Then they were in the greater confuſion even in this reſpect, becauſe the horſemen and Elephants, from which they did hope for moſt aſſiſtance, were not only of no advantage, but did extremely hinder and diſturb them, and the very time did augment their trembling, that the Romans did ſet upon them unawares, and moſt of them, as yet, being faſt aſleep, therefore many of them are put to the ſword even in their huts, the others ſtragling in their amazed flight, and not knowing where to hide themſelves, were taken by parties ſet on purpoſe to way-lay them. *Zonaras*

Nevertheleſs the Carthaginians Mercenary ſouldiers, the Spainards and the French, being inſtantly in a good poſture, and fighting Couragiouſly on the other ſide of their bulwark it was doubtful a great while which would get the upper hand. The forlorn hope even now being put to the run, the whole Roman army had been overthron; if the horſe from another quarter that were commanded to wheele about had not in the very nick of time charged the enemie on the reare that were purſuing thoſe which fled. Then they alſo which a little before had deſerted their ſtation might now be rallied up and encouraged to fight afreſh. So the enemy being ſet upon on both ſides, when he had for a long time with much gallantry made reſiſtance, he was conſtrained to cry quarter. When the Carthaginians ſaw what was done, immediately they fling themſelves out of their Sconces, and fall to running with all the ſpeed they could make, and indeed the Elephants and the horſemen when once they came into plaines they could retreat well enough and ſafely too. The Conquerors having purſued the infantry ſomewhat far, they turn back at length to throw down their fortifications. In this Battel there were ſeventeene thouſand of the Carthaginians that were ſlain, five thouſand are reported to be taken priſoners, and eighteen Elephants. The ſucceſſe of this battel did purchaſe the Romans much friendſhip not only from all the Countryes round about, but even from people that were moſt remote. And in few dayes about fourſcore walled towns vowed fidelity to the Romans. Whereas upon the newes that *Tunis* ſuch a fenced City was taken by *Regulus*, did even aſtoniſh the Carthaginians that were greatly ſtraitned before, and which was built twelve miles from *Carthage*, leaſt it ſuffer what ever they did there to be kept ſecret from the enemy, then being a fair proſpect both to the very City it ſelfe, and to the ſea hard by. *Polybius* *Oroſius.* *Eutropius. 2.* *Zonaras* *Oroſius.* *Livie, 30.*

And the terrible dread of their war with the Romans did not onely dance round the Carthaginians, but the Numidians alſo, out of an old grudge being ſtirred up by a freſh opportunity, took up arms, and by ſpoiling and fireing the Carthaginian towns, brought more terrour and miſery upon them, then the Romans did. And the Boores from all parts flying for refuge to the City, did cauſe not only a huge dread, but alſo a great dearth, when ſuch a multitude of people did devour a world of proviſion, and the avarice of the owners did conceale the plenty as yet in ſtore, who gaping greedily for gain by that Common Calamity were full of hope the price of victuals would raiſe daily according to the decreaſe of their moſt neceſſary food. Whereupon it followed, the Embaſſy of *Marcus Regulus* was hearken'd to with greater heed, who aiming at the honor of finiſhing the war, and fearing leaſt ſome one that might ſucceed him with a new commiſſion from *Rome* ſhould prevent him; he moves the Carthaginians to Conditions for peace. To that purpoſe ſome of the prime Senators are ſent unto him; but when they ſaw ſtrange harſh conditions offer'd, and their buſineſſe at a ſtand, they took their leave of *M. Regulus*, who was verily perſwaded he had Victory by the hand. *Sicily* forſooth, and all *Sardinia* were commanded to yeeld, to ſend freely home what Romans they had taken, to ranſome their own men, to bear the whole charge of the war, and to pay beſides a penſion by the year. They had other impoſitions, full as burthenſome as theſe; That they ſhould be confederates with the Romans for offence and defence; that they ſhould uſe but one great ſhip; But ths Romans they ſhould aſſiſt with fifty gallyes well appointed as oft as they ſhould be required. The Embaſſadours being tranſported with wonder at ſuch Articles, and that *Regulus* might grant his vanquiſht ſuppliants more milde conditions, he made this anſwer, *Men muſt either Conquer or crouch to thoſe that ſubdue them.* By the return of which words the Carthaginians were much incenſed, though they had often made ſuite for peace, yet they are fully bent, rather to endure the worſt that could happen than to embrace thoſe Conditions, which they held no other than the bondage and ſervitude of their Citie. *Zonaras* *Dio.* apud *Vulvium Urſinum.* *Diodori* Eclog. b. 23 *Polyb. 1. 3.*

In that ſtate of affairs certain ſhips which were ſent to waft ſome ſouldiers into *Greece*, did return when they had gathered up no ſmall body of Mercenary ſouldiers; Among theſe there was one *Xanthippus*, by race a *Lacedemonian*, who did couple the noble exerciſe of warfare with the diſcipline of his Country, wherein he had been well trained up from his youth. He ſufficiently underſtanding what feats had been done already, and having inſight enough into the other furniture of the Carthaginian forces, of the Elephants and Horſemen, he made bold to ſpeak a proud word openly, that the Carthaginians were not ſubdued by the Romans, but by themſelves, by the weakneſs of their Commanders, that knew not the duty of their places. This rumor being ſoon diſperſ'd, when *Xanthippus* was call'd before the Magiſtrates, he does produce *Polybius* *Florus. 2.* *Polybius*

ſuch

such evident reasons of that his judgement, that scarce ought could be more manifest; he shews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joyning Battell, it was their manner still to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would listen to his advice, he does assure them not *Zonaras* onely of safety, but also of Victory. When severall of the Chiefe Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders also themselves, and with beseeming modesty preferring the welfare of their Country before his single opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army shouldbe committed to a foreigner; *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge, *Polybius.* dayly drawing his souldiers out of the City, he does accustome the field Forces to observe and change their ranks, and instantly to do what they are commanded, and the confidence of better success does fill the souldiers with admiration of him, the whole City being cherished even in desperation, is raised up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this Universall Cheerfulness, they also taking heart thereby, resolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their souldiers, as opportunity did require, they march out against the Romans, even with almost twelve thousand Foot, with four hundred horse, and well nigh as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they saw the Carthaginians make their inroads through the plain fields, having changed their first design, avoiding all steep and craggy places: But being puffed up with pride through their constant felicity, they set at nought the souldiers that *Zonaras.* were wont to vanquish, and *Graculus* their Leader. And *Regulus* was not corrupted with that fawning poyson of fortune waiting on him. When he well considered that he had routed the Sea-Forces of the Carthaginians, and the foot Souldiers too, that he had taken almost *Author de viris Illustr. c. 40.* two hundred Townes, two hundred thousand men, and that *Carthage* being sore streightned, might be enforced to surrender, he denied them peace when they sued for it on reasonable termes, *Zonaras* and wrote to *Rome*, That the very Gates of *Carthage* which he had begirt did tremble at him. So also moderation hath oftner deserted great Spirits in prosperity, then constancy in adversity: But the Carthaginians having pitcht their tents in a plain field, *M. Regulus* whose chiefest strength was in his infantry, and thither he could not be followed but over Mountainous and steep difficult places, thinking it all one to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to trust himself in the Camp, even to the greater vanting of his confidence, passing over the river that was in the *Appian. Zonaras.* midst, and distant from the Enemy even two hundred thousand paces. *Xanthippus* perceiving the indiscretion of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promised the Carthaginians; for he had got the Romans even tired with long Marching, where his heart could wish them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; the time also did seem most commodious for the fight, because the day now drawing towards the evening, the *Africans* knowing well all places thereabout, if they should be overcome, they might make their escape the better in the night, or if they should conquer, the night would not hinder the pursuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians con- *Polyb.* sulting what was to be done, *Xanthippus* calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they might not lose such a singular opportunity, he did earnestly perswade his men to undertake the Battell, so much the easier, because the souldiers themselves crying out to *Xanthippus*, they did of their own accord with unusuall cheerfulness desire to encounter with the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the *Spartan*, he drawes out the Army, and does exercise them af- *Frontinus Stratagem. 2. 2. Polybius.* ter this manner. A four square body of 8000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Chosen men of all their foot, was set for a reserve; before this body, a convenient space being left between, the Elephants are set in order, being drawn up as broad as that square body; on either Wing the Horse are placed, behind these on the Right Wing, stands the main body of hired soul- *Frontin. 2. 3.* diers. The Army being set in such array, he commanded the skirmishers, that having thrown their darts, they should stand in open order for the advantage of their own side, and when their main body should joyn with the Enemy, they should violently break out again from the Wings, and should on a sudden furiously flanke the Romans, when they were charging the opposite reserve. On the contrary part *Regulus* having well drawn up his Army, when he saw the Ele- *Polybius.* phants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he soon takes advice, he brings his souldiers lightly armed to the Van, he sets the well Compact foot-Companies in the Reserve, the Horse are drawn upin the Wings, the Army is firme in respect of depth, but much narrower then before; so that the chiefe danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horsemen, they did indeed take a right course against the Elephants, but being in an open and Champain Country, there was room sufficient for the Horse to surround, the whole Army being so close compacted. The Fight was began by the Elephants, which *Xanthippus* commanded to be led against the opposite Regiments, and the Romans making a great shout, set forward to meet them. The Horse were likewise engaged in both Wings; but there the Romans being much inferiour in Number, and not able to resist the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot which were of the Left Wing, (whether it were to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more easily to obtain the Victory) charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, pursued them to their very Camp. *Frontin. Stratagem. 2. 2. Polyb.* The rest of the foot had an harder taske against the Elephants, by whose vast bodies their ranks were disordered, themselves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling house, struck down to the ground, yet the very thickness of the Battell hindred them from breaking through; till at last they were distressed on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were galled by the Horse, the foremost who made a shift to break through the Elephants, were slain by the Enemy

Enemy standing yet Entire, and the light-armed men flying in upon them. There was no less execution done in the Flight, the Elephants and *Numidian* Horse pursuing them in an open plain place. *Regulus* with almost five hundred souldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army *Florus 2. 2.* there escaped but about two thousand (who had charged and put to flight the Mercenaries) *Polyb.* who beyond all Hope, by their haste, got safe into *Clupea*; of the Romans and their Associates *Oxyran. Epitaph. Eutropius Polybius* were slain about thirty thousand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting beside eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought against the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to *Carthage* after so great a Victory, carrying the Roman Generall Prisoner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others standing in the streets, or in their houses, beheld the spectacle with wonderfull Pleasure, which they durst lately scarce hope for; their mindes being not capable to believe so great an Happinesse attending them; For being of late so neer despair, giving not onely their Country, but very City for lost, they durst scarce be- *Victori 33. apud Varronem.* lieve so great a Change, though they saw it with their eyes: But they took most speciall notice of the Generalls, every ones eye and thought being settled on them, looking sometimes on *Xanthippus*, sometimes on *Regulus*, Extolling the greatnesse of their own Commander, by the Estimation they had of the other. *He must of necessity be a gallant Man who hath overcome so stout a Generall, so fortunate a Warriour, a proud Conqueror, an implacable Enemy, the Terrour and Plague of Carthage, now of a sudden bereaved of a numerous Army, having lost his antient Fame and Liberty together.* Their Admiration was encreased by the habit and *Silius. 6.* Garbe of the Man, who under a small body, and none of the best lookes, carried a large and *Polyb.* virtuous mind. For this Exploit *Xanthippus* had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he used as much art as in finishing the Warre, for whereas he might justly expect an everlasting reward of his good service at *Carthage*, yet he resolved to leave those doubtful hopes and full of Treachery, and return home, before other mens affections, or his own fortune were *Orosius 4. 9.* altered. For this is for the most part the disposition of men, that openly they professe the love of their Country, but really study their own private good; as long as their City being in safety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty love to their Country: But where there is danger lest they should bestow the same benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, then have him in the least way hinder their private commodity: As long as they think themselves able to equall others, their envy is hidden and more remiss, but when they see themselves farre exceeded, and that Honour duely given to others which they desired for themselves, then what they were not able by vertue to obtain, they seek it by by Calumnies and Criminations. So that the best men have ordinarily most Enemies and are most subject to Treachery; But a Native of *Polyb.* the Country hath some remedy against this Evill in his Friends and kindred; A stranger being voide of all helpe and assistance encreaseth the Malice of degenerate mindes by his being easy to be hurt, in that he is more exposed to Treasons, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That *Xanthippus* apprehended and considered these things, the sequel doth evidently demonstrate, *'Tis reported *he was drowned by some sent after him from the Carthaginians, who after so great a benefit received, hated the Author of it, who being* *Zonaras Appian Zonaras.* *once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Country was preserved by a Forreigner.*

Others deny *Xanthippus* thus to have perished, yet confess the Treachery of the Carthaginians, *who at his Departure allotted him an old Ship, full of Leakes, fairly pitcht over as if it had been sound, but that he discovering the Cheat, went aboard on another Ship and escaped the danger.* About the same time they committed another fact of no less Treachery, but much more cruell, by reason of the number that perished thereby. The Mercenarys in somewhat a tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their paines taken, and happy Valour, were put into *Livie 28. 2.* ships being made believe that in some other place they should have their Desire: But the Cap- *Zonaras* tains of the ships who had such private Order, landed them and left them in a Barren Iland, where being destitute of all helpe from man, without food, without ships, having famine on one side, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and perished; a fowl and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracusans *Diodor. 5. 11.* and Carthaginians, and that the Iland was thereupon called *Ostodes*, or the *Bonie* Iland, it lieth in the main Sea beyond *Lipara* Westward. These deeds whensoever and howsoever performed, do nothing disagree with the Carthaginians usuall Cruelty. And if thus they served their Friends and Associates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily severe against their Enemies. Other Prisoners indeed were somewhat tolerably well used, for they likewise had many Captives at *Rome*, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But against *M. Regulus* they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of wayes; they allowed him food which was neither pleasant to the Palate, nor strengthening to the Body, but which with much adoe by a stirgh nourishment served to produce his Miserable life. But more grievous were the Contumelies and Reproaches daily heaped upon him, amongst the rest, they would frequently on a sudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noise and ugly shape of it, not suffering him to rest neither in Mind or body, and being thus miserably handled, and brought low, they cast him into the common Gaole.

When these things were heard at *Rome*, the City was filled not only with great grief but with fear also; for they mistrusted least the Carthaginians, provoked with the sense of their own calamities, and encouraged by this victory, should recompence them in the like kind and dare to come even to the walls of *Rome* to inflict on them the same mischiefs themselves had suffered. The Senate therefore commanded the Consuls, *To strengthen* Italy *as diligently as might be with sufficient Garrisons, themselves with a vast Navy to sail into* Sicily, *and thence if they thought fit into* Africa, *to divert the Carthaginians from any expedition into* Italy. But the Carthaginians in the first place made it their care to reduce those Cities which the Romans had possessed, to punish those Africans who had revolted from them, and by strength of arms to vanquish those who persisted in rebellion. *Clupea* was indeed by the Romans stoutly defended, but in *Numidia*, and over the other Africans (though their war was great) their victory was easie.

Polybius 1.36. In the mean time, understanding that a great Fleet was preparing in *Italy*, they left the siege of *Utica* which they had commenced, trimmed up the old ships, built new ones, and studiously endeavour'd to prevent the Romans from landing on the African shore. The Consuls used such *Zonaras* incredible diligence, that by the beginning of Summer they had three hundred and fifty ships ready fitted and laden, with which sailing to *Sicily*, when they found all things safe there, and no danger, but that they were full of expectations and fears, they left Garrisons where most need was, and with the rest of their army steared towards *Africa*. But being by a tempest forced upon *Cossura* (an Iland between *Atrick* and *Sicily*, near the Promontory of *Lilybæum*) *Strab.* b.17 *Zonaras. Polybius. Strabo* they wasted the grounds there, took a City of the same name, and placed a Garrison in it. Then they set forward to the Promontory of *Hermæus*, which being in the mid-way between *Carthage* and *Clupea*, shutteth in one side of the Carthaginian Gulf. At this place the Carthaginian Navy met them, and a very sharp fight was entred into on both sides, when help came to the Romans from *Clupea*, which totally inclined the victory, being before doubtful. An hundred and four of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand souldiers lost; *Eutropius Orosius Polybius Orosius Zonaras* on the Roman side eleven hundred men were lost, and nine ships. The fleet then failed to *Utica*, where they landed their men, and pitched their Camp near the City; The Carthaginians likewise brought their forces thither under the conduct of *Hanno*, where in a land fight they were overcome with the loss of above nine thousand men. There were some Noble men taken prisoners, whom the Consuls reserved whereby to redeem *M. Regulus* and others who were in the like condition. They then consulted on present affairs, and conceived great hopes *Polyb.* they might keep *Africk* in possession: Nevertheless the country round about being plunder'd and spoiled, they, fearing a famine, thought fit to return into *Sicily*, together with those Romans who had defended *Clupea*. They carried away very vast and rich spoils, which had been *Eutropius. Polybius* laid up in *Clupea* in the time of *Regulus* his prosperity, and much encreased by late victories. They had a safe Voyage into *Sicily*, and sufficiently fortunate had been the Consuls if they would have set a bounds to their happinesse. But because in their return to *Italy* they thought by the by to take some Port towns of *Sicily*, not regarding the ship-masters counsel (who advised them, *Not to sail in those dangerous and rough seas against the coast of* Africa, *now Orion and the Dog Star were rising*) they suffered such shipwrack by tempest as hath hardly been heard *Eutropius Diodorus.* b.23 *Polyb.* 2 of, of three hundred threescore and four ships, scarce fourscore, having cast out all their lading, were saved; much about the same number of horse-boats and other sorts of vessels were lost, insomuch as the whole shore, even from the coast of *Camarina* (where the storm began) to *Pachynus*, was filled with the Corps of dead men, and horses, and pieces of broken ships. In *Diodorus.* this their hard distresse the humanity of King *Hiero* was no small comfort to them, who bountifully entertained them, furnishing them with cloths, and victuals, and tackling for their ships, and conducted them safe to *Messana*. But the Carthaginians made no delay to take advantage *Zonaras* of this their misfortune, they presently regained the Iland and City of *Cossura*; and forthwith *Diodorus* crossing over into *Sicily* besieged *Agrigentum* under the command of *Carthalo*, and no relief coming, they took it and demolished it: A great multitude of persons were here slain and taken prisoners, the others, who escaped through the midlands into the territories of *Syracuse*, planted themselves in a Village near the Temple of *Jupiter Olympus*. Neither were they out *Zonaras.* of hopes of recovering the whole Iland, but that the Romans associates confirmed and strengthened themselves against present fears, hearing what diligence was used in preparing a new Navy; *Polib.* for the Consuls were so intent upon the work, that with wonderful speed, in the space of three 499. moneths, an hundred and twenty ships were built. With these *Cn. Cornelius L.F. C.N. Scipio Asina*, and *A. Atilius A.F. C.N. Calatinus* being Consuls again, having made a new leavy of stout souldiers, were commanded with the first opportunity to set to sea. This *Cn.* *Val.Max.6.9.11* *Cornelius* was a great example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, and of Patience in Adversity, for having seven years agoe, when he was Consul, been circumvented by the craft of the Carthaginians, and suffer'd captivity, imprisonment and chains, and whatsoever misery is incident to mankind, he now resumed not only the other Ornaments of his degree, but likewise the Consular Dignity with so much the more joy, by how much the sadder misfortune he had been before bereaved of them.

The Consuls having arrived at *Messana*, and joyned to themselves what ships they found there, being chiefly the Relicks of the last ship-wrack, sailed with two hundred and fifty ships to

to the mouth of the River *Himera*, and took by treachery the Town of *Cephalœdium*, some *Diodorus* eighteen miles distant upon the same shore: From *Drepanus* (for thither they had steared *Cluverius Sicilia antiqua* their course) they departed without effecting their purpose, being not able to take it on the sud- *Diodorus.* den, and *Carthalo* having sent thither supplies in case of a siege. Being not thereby discouraged from farther attempts, they happily accomplished another design of greater moment. They *Polybius* directed their course to *Panormus*, the principal City of the Carthaginians jurisdiction, and *Diodorus* possessing the Haven, sate down under the very Walls, and the Panormitans refusing to yield, they encompassed the City with a Ditch and Bulwark. The nature of the ground favour'd their intendments, yielding plenty of materials and wood for their works, which being finished, they began the assault, and battered down with their Engines a Tower by the sea side, and the souldiers entring by the breach, with great slaughter of the enemy, took the outward City, which was called *New Panormus*; the old City did not long hold out, for a great number flying thi- *Zonaras* ther out of the new City, bringing along with them more terror then provisions, they were de- *Diodorus* jected with consideration of their present danger, and fearing sudden scarcity, sent messengers to the Consuls with proposals to yield up all but their bodies; the Consuls knowing the wants of the besieged, accepted not the conditions unless they would redeem themselves at a certain price. Every head was valued at two *Minæ*, fourteen thousand persons were ransomed, the rest, being thirteen thousand were sold together with the plunder. This Victory was very glorious, of great and sudden concernment, for hereupon many Towns on that coast, some also far distant, cast out the Carthaginian Garrisons and submitted themselves to the Romans. The Jetines began, and *Polybius* their example was followed by the Soluntines, Petrines, Tyndaritans and others. Affairs being thus transacted, and a Garrison left at *Panormus*, the Consul returned to *Messana* and so to *Rome*. The Carthaginians lying in wait for them at their return, surprised some ships of Burthen with *Zonaras* mony in them.

At *Rome* there was two Naval Triumphs made immediately one after another, by the former *Marmora Capitolina.* year Consuls (whose command was prorogued) over the Cossurans and Carthaginians; *Serv. Fulvius* triumphed the thirteenth of the Calends of *February*, and *M. Aimilius* the day after. The five hundreth year after the foundation of the City a fruitlesse expedition was made into *Africa*. *Cn. Servilius Cn.F. Cn.N Capio*, and *Cn. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blæsus* 500 being Consuls, crossed over into *Sicily*, where having in vain attempted *Lilybæum*, they di- *Polybius* rected their course to *Africk* with two hundred and threescore ships, and sailing along the coast *Zonaras* and sometimes landing, they took many Towns and got great plunder. They effected nothing *Orosius.4,9.* of greater moment, being hindred of entring into the most convenient Towns by the Carthaginians who every where met them with very good courage, having recovered whatsoever *M. Regulus* had possessed, and punished the revolters. For *Hamilcar* having ranged through *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, had reduced and quieted all that Tract, imposing a fine of a thousand *Orosius.* Talents of silver, and twenty thousand Oxen, and punishing the prime men who were thought to favour the Romans, three thousand whereof were Crucified. But the enemies encounter *Appianus apud Fulvium Urs.* was not so formidable to the Romans as their own ignorance in the places, and their dangers in *num.* the sea; for sailing to *Meninx*, an Iland of the *Lotophagi*, near unto the lesser *Syrtis*, they *Polybius* struck upon shallow places, the Tide going out, and were detained till the ships being emptied of their burthens, were by the Tide coming in again relieved from extreme danger. Having therefore escaped so great a distresse, and fearing those dangerous places, without delay they sailed *Solinus c. 30* away as if they fled, not that no lesse a calamity attended them then what they had avoided. To *Panormus* indeed they returned very safe; but in their Voyage to *Italy*, as they sailed about the Promontory of *Palinurus*, which reacheth out into the sea from the Lucanian Mountains, *Diodorus* a terrible storm arising sank above threescore great ships, together with many horse-boats and *Orosius* vessels of Burthen. The City being exceedingly grieved at such frequent losses, as if the very *Diodorus* winds and water denyed the Romans the Soveraignty of the sea, the Senate decreed that their *Zonaras* Navy should consist but of threescore ships, for the guard of *Italy* and transportation of provi- *Eutropius* sions to their Army in *Sicily*. Nevertheless this misfortune hindred not one of the Consuls *Polybius* *C. Sempronius* his Triumph over the Carthaginians on the Calends of April, ten dayes after *Cn. Cornelius* Proconsul had made the like Triumph. There were Censors that year created *Fasti.Capitol.* at *Rome*, but *L. Posthumius L.F. L.N. Megellus* (who was likewise then Pretor) dying in his Office, the other Censor *D. Junius D. F. D.N. Pera* did also lay down his Office.

The next Summer *C. Aurelius L.F. C.N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius C.F. Cn. N. Geminus* 501 being Consuls, crossed over into *Sicily*, and amongst other Towns took *Himera* (upon the Rivet *Himera*) but void of Inhabitants, whom in the night time the Carthaginians had carryed away. Yet it was a great advantage to have the possession of so considerable a place, and hereby the Romans wiped away that disgrace they had heretofore received at this City, for they had failed of their expectation of taking this City (named likewise *Thermæ*) by the covetousness of their souldiers. [For a certain Captive within the City, to whom was committed the custo- *Diodorus* dy of one of the Gates, that he might thereby recover his liberty, did upon an appointed night give admittance to the Roman Souldiers, who were sent to take possession of the City. When the chief of them were entred, they desiring to ingross the richest spoils unto themselves, gave order, *To have the Gates shut again and no more men to be let in.* Whereupon the Thermitans receiving an Alarme took arme, and the Romans by reason of their small number not able to

reſiſt, and having no reliefe from their Friends, whom they had ſhut out, were rewarded according to their Folly, being every man of them ſlain.] *Himera* being thus reduced into the Roman Power, *C. Aurelius* the Conſull thinketh of beſieging *Lipara*, which had been ſo often in vain attempted; And in order thereunto gathereth together the choiceſt ſouldiers they had in all *Sicily*, and borrowing ſhips of *Hiero*, tranſporteth them into the *Liparean* Iland. From whence having occaſion to return to *Meſſana*, to conſult the Entrailes of Sacrifices, he deputed his Lieutenant in the ſiege his Kinſman *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* (ſome ſay *Q. Caſſius* a Colonell) with order, diligently to defend the Workes, but otherwiſe not to fight at all: But he, not obſerving the Conſulls advice, and thinking it would much redound to his Credit, to take *Lipara* in his abſence, made an Aſſault upon the City, and that to his Coſt; for, not being able to Maſter it, he loſt many men, and by a ſally out of the Town had one of his Forts ſet on fire, having alſo much adoe to defend his Camp. But upon the return of *Aurelius*, Fortune wheeling about, there was a very great ſlaughter made at the taking of the City, after which he proceeded to the puniſhment of the Colonell, whom he commanded to be beaten with ſtripes, and take pay among the common ſouldiers; a very remarkable ſeverity, whereof he made ſome other prooſes in the time of his Conſullſhip. When *Lipara* was taken, an Immunity was granted to the Poſterity of *Timaſitheus* (once Governour of theſe places) that they ſhould for ever be free from all Taxes and Tribute; wherein the Romans manifeſted the conſtancy of their Thankfulneſs, not to be outworne by time; becauſe when the Pirates of *Lipara* had taken a Golden Cup, which they had ſent to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, *Timaſitheus* cauſed both it, and the Embaſſadours who conveighed it, to be ſafely conducted into *Greece*, and the Men back again to *Rome*.

Zonaras

Frontinus Strategem 4. 1. Val Max. 2. 7. 4. Zonaras

Val. Maximus

Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ. *Livie 5. 28.*

The Romans afterward beſieging *Erica* a very ſtrong Caſtle, with forty thouſand foot, and a thouſand Horſe, were neither able to take it, neither durſt they fight with the Carthaginians: For ſince the miſfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Romans ſtood ſo much in fear of the Elephants that they alwayes avoided Battell. Oftentimes within the Territories of *Lilybæum*, and often in the *Selinuntian* fields, they have ſtood in Battell-array about halfe a mile from the Enemy, yet durſt neither venture according to their wonted Courage, to begin the Charge, or deſcend into plain and open ground, but ſtill kept themſelves in craggy and difficult places. The Carthaginians hereupon erecting their Spirits, (ſeeing they now had Confidence in their land Army, and knew the Romans had had greater loſſes by tempeſts at Sea, then themſelves by unluckie fights, eſpecially having intelligence of the Senates Reſolution to ſet out no more Navies) conceived hopes of recovering *Sicily*, if they did but ſend good ſtore of land and ſea-forces thither. But their main impediment was want of Money, the late continuall Warres having exhauſted their Old ſtore, and conſumed their new raiſed Taxes. They ſent therefore Embaſſadours to *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, to borrow two thouſand Talents of Money. The King being loath to offend either them, or the Romans (being both in League with him) offered himſelf as a Mediatour of Peace between them: But notwithſtanding all importunities he denied the Carthaginians Requeſt, ſaying *He would willingly helpe a Friend againſt an Enemy, but thought it not fit to aſſiſt one Friend againſt another.* About the ſame time at *Rome Tib. Coruncianus* was the firſt of the Plebeians who was created Chief Prieſt. The ſame year alſo Cenſors were created, becauſe the Duties of that Office could not laſt year be performed, one of the Cenſours dying, and the other laying down his Commiſſion, *M. Valerius M.F. M.N. Maximus Meſſalla*, and *P. Sempronius P.F. P.N. Sophus* made the ſeven and thirtieth *Luſtration*. Two hundred ninety ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred ninety ſeven Citizens were rated. This was a ſad and ſevere Cenſourſhip, for in taking a view of the Senate, Thirteen were degraded, four hundred young Knights had their horſes taken away, and made common ſtipendarie ſouldiers. This came to paſs by the Complaint of *C. Aurelius* the Conſull, who informed the Cenſours, *That in Sicily, when need required, being commanded to their Duty, they had refuſed to obey.* The Conſull, not content with this Revenge for their contempt of Diſcipline, prevailed likewiſe with the Senate to keep back their Pay. And truely as times then went, the conſideration of his ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, as well as his exploits performed, was occaſion of his Triumph made over the Carthaginians and Sicilians upon the Ides of *April*. The next year was fuller of Threats, then action: For great preparations being made on both ſides, and each ſtanding in ſome fear of the other, the whole ſummer paſſed away without any conſiderable thing done. *L. Cæcilius L.F. C.N. Metellus*, and *C. Farius C.F. C.N. Pacilus*, being Conſulls, tranſporting their Legions over into *Sicily*, neither themſelves much provoked the Enemy, or were provoked by them, though *Aſdruball* a new Carthaginian Generall was lately come thither with two hundred ſhips, an hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot. This buſineſs cauſed the Senate to enter into Conſultation of preparing another Navy; for the Publick Treaſures began to be exhauſted by protracting the Warre, and ſince the Miſfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Legions degenerated from their wonted Valour, and though all things ſhould ſucceed proſperouſly at Land, yet 'twas manifeſt, the Carthaginians could not be kept off *Sicily*, ſo long as they had the ſovereignty of the Seas. Reſuming therefore their former reſolutions, they began to put confidence again in their ſhips, and with all care to trimme the old, and build new ones. In the mean time *L. Metellus* being left at *Panormus*, *C. Furius* returned to *Rome*, to the chuſing of the new Conſuls, who were *C. Atilius M.F. M.N. Regulus*, and

Diodorus

Zonaras

Appianus apud Fulvium.

Livie Epitom. 18.

Tabula Romana.

Val Maximus. 2. 9. 7.

Frontinus Strategemat. 4. 1. Columna Capitolina

502 *Oroſius 4. 9. Polybius Eutropius*

and *L. Manlius A.F. P.N. Vulſo*, to theſe was committed the charge of preparing the Navy and men for the ſhips; *L. Metellus* was continued in his Command, with Commiſſion to manage the War in *Sicily* as Proconſul. 503 *Polyb. 1. 39*

Aſdruball underſtanding that one of the Romans Generals was abſent with half their forces, and computing with himſelf, that though the Armies had long ſtood in Battel-aray one againſt the other, the Romans had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own ſouldiers who accuſed him of cowardize, he drew all his forces out of *Lilybæum*, and after a long and difficult march through the Selinuncian Territories, he invaded thoſe of *Panormus* and there pitched his Camp. It fortun'd, that the Proconſul, with the remainder of the Roman ſtrength was then at *Panormus* to guard their Aſſociates, now harveſt grew on, in reaping and carrying in their grain. He, having inteligence that ſome of the enemies ſpies lay ſecretly at *Panormus*, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Aſſembly, then giving order they ſhould examine one another, and queſtion thoſe who were leaſt known, *What they were, or what buſineſs they had at* Panormus, found out the ſpies and feized on them. By them he underſtood the enemies deſigns, and obſerving there was more raſhneſs then good counſel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himſelf within the works of the City, that ſo he might encreaſe their fooliſh confidence. Whereupon *Aſdruball* growing bolder, advanced his forces, ſpoiling and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconſul regarded neither the loſs ſuſtained nor the diſgrace thence redounding, foreſeeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians would ſufficiently ſatisfie him for both with good Uſe. Above all, he thought good to expect till they croſſed the River *Orethus*, which runneth on the South ſide of the Town, and then he had contrived a ſure and ſudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to ſignifie his fear, ſo he placed but few ſouldiers upon the walls, deſiring that the enemy ſhould not underſtand either the courage or number of his men. This counſel ſucceeded according to his expectation, both the enemy by his confidence, and fortune by a ſudden chance furthering the deſign: For *Aſdruball* Forded the River with his Foot, Horſe and Elephants, and planted his Camp cloſe under the walls of the City, with ſo much contempt of the enemies Cowardize, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark.

Zonaras

Polybius

Flagellus de rebus Siculis.

Frontinus Strat. 3. 17

Diodorus

Thither the Sutlers and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank ſtoutly, and elevating their voices according to their ſeveral dialects, in much noiſe and confuſion gave good notice of their preſent temper, that they were not very ſober. Then did the Proconſul think the fitteſt time to ſend thoſe his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it ſucceeded ſo happily, that ſtill ſending out by degrees freſh ſupplies, *Aſdrubal's* whole Army at length came out of the Camp. *L. Cæcilius* the Proconſul placeth part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, *If the Elephants approached to fling their darts at them, and if they found themſelves ſore preſſed to retire into the Trench, and thence come out again to a freſh charge.* The mean Artificers and common rout he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and fling them over the wall that the light armed men ſhould not want plenty of them. Himſelf with his companies completely armed, ſtood in Rank and File within the gate over againſt the enemies right Wing. They who were already engaged ſometimes being overpower'd in number retreated in good order, ſometimes being aſſiſted by ſupplies from the Town did maintain the fight. When the Rectors of the Elephants deſiring in emulation to ſeem Authors of the Victory as well as *Aſdrubal*, and advancing with their beaſts, beat back thoſe who oppoſed them, and raſhly preſſing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a ſhower of Arrows flying from the walls, and freſh light armed men aſſaulting them with Spears and Darts, the Elephants being wounded began to rage, and betaking themſelves which way ſoever anger and pain led them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and diſorder'd whole companies of armed men.

Polybius

Diodorus

Zonaras

Frontinus Strat. 2. 5

Whereupon the Proconſul crying, *This is the time of the long look't for Victory*, iſſueth out, and being freſh and in good rank had an eaſie victory over the confuſed multitude of the enemy; there was a great ſlaughter made both in the field and in the purſuit, their calamity being encreaſed by a ſudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For about the ſame time the Carthaginian Navy appearing at ſhore, the whole multitude trembling and blind with fear, promiſcuouſly ran thither as to the only refuge, in which hurly burly many were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to ſwim, and many too haſtily ſcaling the ſhips and tumbling down periſhed in the ſea. Neither before this time nor after it, amongſt all their proſperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans reſumed their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was ſo diſheartened with fear, that they caſt off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army ſo long as that War laſted.

Polybius

Diodorus

Zonaras

Florus. 2. 2.

Oroſius 3. 9

Zonaras

Twenty thouſand Carthaginians are ſaid to be ſlain, ſix and twenty Elephants were preſently taken, and afterward all the reſt. For the Proconſul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beaſts being looſe and enraged, commanded a Cryer by Proclamation to promiſe, *Liberty and ſafety to any priſoner by whoſe means the Elephants ſhould be taken*; hereby laying firſt

first hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the rest. *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transportation; for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hogsheads, fastning a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part one from the other, then planking them over, spreading earth and durt upon them, and erecting walls on each side in the form of stables, the Elephants otherwise very fearful of sailing by water, entred them and were safely conveighed to *Rhegium*.

Frontin. Stratagem. l. 7. Zonaras Plin 8.9 Zonaras.

Oroſius

Aldruball from this overthrow escaped to *Lilybæum*, but being condemned at *Carthage* while he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanus*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable conditions. Whereupon they remembred *M. Regulus* and the conditions he once propounded to them, and perswaded themselves that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at least for what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners; nothing doubting but that for his own sake he would effectually interpose himself in such a business: *For what man can be imagined so obstinate as not to free himself from the miseries of a Gaole, and desire to see his dearest relations, and enjoy his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours?* M. Regulus *hath a wife and children at* Rome, *friends and kindred in the Senate and publick offices, a Cousin* German *now Consul, he is both much beloved by the Senate and people of* Rome *for his former victories, and pitied for his affliction; if therefore he heareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no man certainly will be more earnest in prosecuting, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design:* He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward appeared, but that he might in person the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of the Commonwealth. So being joyned with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come to the City, he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alledging, *The Custome of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City.* The Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his Message, *That himself also being by the War a servant to the Carthaginians, had command from his Masters to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem fit to both parties, or that at least an exchange of prisoners would be granted.* The Embassadors presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited, would he be present in the Senate at the debate of the business till the Carthaginians assented to it. Then sitting silent till his opinion was required, he thus expressed himself, '*Conscript* Fathers, 'I am still a Roman: my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the ene-'mies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the same. Following therefore the reason 'of my Soul, which is my own, rather then the inclinations of my Body, which is anothers, my 'advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to restore the 'Captives while the war continueth is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold 'but my self who am an old man, you have many, and those young, amongst which are some 'no way to be despised. And to finish the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a 'complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is pernicious to the Com-'monwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs 'can be transacted without great pains and cost: But if you rightly consider the state of *Car-'thage*, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We 'were indeed once overcome in a great Battel, whether it were my fault or fortunes; but we have 'so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now, 'by the Victory at *Panormus*, pressed down to the utmost despair. They have lost all *Sicily*, 'except one or two Cities, and in the other Ilands their condition is naught. You have a Navy 'which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war ye are also superiours. And 'the losses ye have sustained by Tempest hath not bereaved you of so much strength as it hath 'taught you Circumspection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Ita-'lians are more obedient to you then are the Africans to the Carthaginians, whom as they ne-'ver truly loved, so have they of late learn't to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked 'by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former masters have wasted 'their Grounds, plundred their Cattel, exacted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do 'you think they can more desire, then that a new Army would come from hence into *Africa*? 'But that your leavyes of men are easie and large, that your souldiers are valiant, of the same 'Language, the same Mind, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great 'an advantage, that if in all things else ye were exceeded, this one only thing would be sufficient to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what 'help is there in a company of Mercinaries against such a force? and if there were any, the 'Carthaginians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as 'difficult to hire strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xanthippus* to whom *Carthage* 'is indebted for its preservation, having been so ingratefully and treacherously used, is sufficient 'warning to others how they lend their assistance to such a people who know not how to recom-'pence the greatest desert but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest Bar-

Zonaras.

Appian apud Fulvium Ursinum. Dio. apud Fulvium Ursinum. Cicero de Offic. 3.27 Dionys. apud Fulvium Ursinum. Liv. Epit. 18 Zonaras

Silius b.6 Cic. de Offic. 3.27

'Barbarians, a Brutish and slavish sort of men, will be deterred by Cruelties so often exercised 'upon their Fellowes, who have been sometimes murthered by hangmen, or their fellow Soul-'diers, sometimes exposed into barren and uninhabited Ilands, receiving instead of the pay 'they have fought for, most inhumane punishments, and horrible deaths. And this Conscript 'Fathers is my Opinion, that neither Peace is to be made with *Carthage*, nor yet an exchange 'of Prisoners granted.

This Counsell displeased not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the safety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himselfe for the Common good, the more they pitied him, and manifestly inclined upon any termes whatsoever to restore so Gallant and Generous a Person to his Country. And voices were given out, *that seeing he was now so happily returned from forreign Captivity, he might lawfully tarry in the City, or be detained there.* The High Priest likewise affirmed, *that he might stay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury.* But he to the Amazement of the Senate it selfe, with a fierce Spirit, and severe Countenance, proceeded, saying, *Why do ye not resolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me.* Ye in 'vain attempt that which will be neither pleasing to your selves, nor profitable to the Country, 'nor honest in me For suppose, for a while ye would be willing and joyfull to see me amongst 'you, when once the short spurt of this affection is vanished, the Baseness of my Return will 'make me more odious to you, then my absence made me desirable. For my part I am resolved 'not to live in that City, where after an *African* slavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of an 'honest Citizen, and if I should desire it, my fidelity would hinder it, the remembrance of my 'sacred Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I 'assured the Carthaginians of my return: And should I forswear my self, I fear that Revenge 'would be taken not only on me, but on your selves, and the whole Roman People also. The 'Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Punishment be affronted by the 'Perjuries and Contempts of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be absolved, that the bookes of the *Augurs* mention expiations of such crimes, and that Attonement may be made by Ceremonies and Sacrifices for Perjury and Treason; I would have him 'understand the Majesty of the Gods is more severe, then being offended by Perjury, to be appeased by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reason, that a Guilt contracted by 'the sins of man, should be washed away with the blood of Beasts. As for my self, I am not 'ignorant that great and exquisite torments are prepared for me at Carthage. But to deceive a 'trust, I think to be worse then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Tor-'ments they hurt only something about me. I think not that man miserable, who is able to endure 'misery. Slavery, Reproach, Contempt, Griefe, Hunger and Watching, I never yet esteemed evill, but now by a long custom they have left off to be troublesom to me. That they are 'tollerable, I have learn't by suffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not 'to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other Ca-'lamities. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not Death, which is easie at 'any time to obtain, and truely I had inflicted it on my self, but that I thought it the part of a 'man rather to overcome sorrow then to avoid it. I have spoken these few and confused words, 'that ye may understand, I am not to be perswaded from my Opinion, and withall that you 'should not bewaile me as an unfortunate and miserable Man: My Resolution is easy and constant: 'Tis my care to return to *Carthage*, what I shall there suffer I leave to the 'Gods.

Terentii Metaphrasis in Europium.

Europius b.6

Silius b.2

Zonaras.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, *that before he was dismissed from* Carthage, *they had given him a gentle Poison, which by slow degrees feeding on his vitall spirits, should consume him after the exchange was made.* Wonderfull was the constancy of this Man, who rather then swerve from the Rule of Honesty, did with more earnestness pursue Contumelies, Torments and Death, then others avoid them; a true and profitable Lesson to Posterity, That those men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are constant in their honest resolutions, who have a sense of their own nobility, and think themselves borne not onely for this world. For certainly *M. Regulus* would not willingly have undergone so great miseries, if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great punishment for evill men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of *M. Regulus*, he with a settled countenance followed his Sullen and angry Masters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repulse upon his Person, insomuch as many were moved to detain him against his will. Moreover his Wife *Marcia*, and his Children making Lamentable complaints, the Consulls said, *if he tarried they would not deliver him up, neither would they hinder his going.* So he refusing to discourse with his Wife, and avoiding the Embraces and kisses of his little Children, was carried back to *Carthage*, where with cruell torments he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the Sunshine they suddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the sky, at length they put him into a Wooden chest (right over against the Sun) full of nailes on the inside, and so narrow that he was forced alwayes to stand upright; if at any time he lean't on one side to ease his weary body, he was pricked and goared with the nails, and so in torment and continuall watching yielded up the Ghost.

Tuditanus apud Agellium. Silius b.6 Zonaras. Silius. Dio. apud Fulv. Ursin. Horat. car. 3 5 Appian punic. Livie Epit. 18. Author de viris Illuſ. c.40 Aug. de Civ. D. l. 1, 15 Silius Val Maximus. l. 1. exc. Tubero apud Agellium. Gli. de Off. 3.27

This was the end of *M. Atilius Regulus*, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with

with great honesty and Honour: He was a man of great Integrity of Manners, of an Invincible Spirit, and for his Counsell not to be despised, wherein neither his own nor after ages could accuse him, but that he seemed not very moderately to bear his prosperous Fortune, and that by denying the Carthaginians requeſt he was the occasion of the wars continuance for many years after to the great detriment of both Cities. But he wiped off this his fault by his other many egregious virtues, and chiefly by his wonderful constancy at his death, being more happy in suffering calamitie then if he could have avoided it. The Senate hearing the news of his death, and the Barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians, delivered up the Noblest of the Captives to *Marcia* and her children, whom they shut up in an Engine thrust through with sharp irons, resolving to put them to the like death as *Regulus* had suffered; for five whole daies they had no food allowed them; in which *Boſtar* with grief and hunger pined to death; *Hamilcar* being stronger in body continued five dayes longer, shut together with the carcasse of *Boſtar*, with sustenance sufficient only to prolong his miserable life, Till at length the Magistrates understanding what was in doing, did restrain their cruelty, commanding that the Ashes of *Boſtar* should be conveighed into his own Country, and that the other prisoners should be handled with more mercy. Whereby appears a remarkable difference of manners in the two Cities, in that the one being not unjustly offended, nor able with security to offend, with horrid punishments extinguished that virtue they ought to have reverenced; the other mitigated a most just revenge not regarding their own enraged grief, but the Rules of Humanity, and that moderation which becometh Illustrious Empires.

Dio. apud Valeſium.

Zonaras. Tubitan. apud Arell. 6. 4 Iod-us b. 24 Valeſ. apud

BOOK IX.

UPON the departure of the Carthaginian Embassadors the Consuls having Order from the Senate to transport their Army into *Sicily*, did very readily obey, being highly incensed against the enemy for *M. Regulus* his sake, and likewise provoked with emulation and conceiving great hopes from the Victory of *L. Metellus* Proconsul. For they measured not the greatnesse of the businesse so much by the losse of the Carthaginians, who were much weakened by the losse of an Army and so many Elephants, but chiefly they were encouraged because the souldiers, having successfully fought against the beasts, did now no more stand in fear of them. And hopes were conceived the war might suddenly be finished if opportunities were not neglected. The Consuls therefore with a Navy of two hundred ships, and four Legions sailed to *Panormus*, where taking in likewise the other forces and ships (unless what were left for the guard and security of some places) they went to *Lilybæum* with 240 Beaked ships, threescore Barks of a shorter size, called *Cercuri*, and many other vessels of all sorts, with resolution to make an assault upon it. This is that famous siege of *Lilybæum*, which beginning the fourteenth year of this war, lasted full ten years. and at length was ended, neither with the surprise of the City, nor with its surrendry, but together with the whole War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well understanding of what concernment that City was, either to the Guard of the *African* Coast, or the Empire of *Sicily*, did with all their might, the one

Polyb. l. 1.

Etymologicum in Καρκιῆσιν.

one assault, the other defend it. The Triumph of *L. Metellus* did somewhat comfort the City of *Rome*, after their sorrow for *M. Regulus*, not only with the memory and consideration of their successes, but with the sweetnesse of Revenge also over so cruell and inhumane a People: He Triumphed Proconsull over the Carthaginians, the seventh of the *Ides* of *September*, thirteen of the Enemies Commanders were led before his Charriot, and a great troope of Elephants, even an hundred and Twenty; some reckon many more. These being afterwards produced when the Games were celebrated, were chased up and down the *Circus* with speares headed with iron, that the People might accustome themselves to contemne those beasts they had heretofore so terribly feared. *Virrius Flaccus* affirmes they were all slain, the Romans not caring to make use of them themselves, and thinking it no way for the advantage of the Common-wealth, to make a Present of so considerable a strength to any Prince. The same yeare Corn was very cheap at *Rome*, a bushell for a penny, at the same price was sold a gallon of wine, thirty pound of dried figgs, ten pounds of oile, and twelve pound of flesh. For there was greater store of these Commodities then of money, which by the long continuance of warre grew very scarce. While these things hapned at *Rome*, the Consulls in *Sicily* assaulted *Lilybæum* with all their strength, and the besieged as stoutly resisted. The first attempt was against a Tower, which stood farthest toward the *Libyan* sea, this being demolished, they did by degrees proceed to those which were next, till they had destroyed six. For the more easy battering of the rest they began to fill up the Trenches, that they might draw over and plant their Engines. Though the labour were very great (for the ditch was threescore cubits broad, and forty deep) they did readily set upon and diligently promote the work. The Carthaginians to hinder their design, made holes on the inside of the Trench, out of which they cast the rubbidge again, but, the heapes still encreasing, and the ditch at length made even with the ground, (by reason of the multitude of Labourers) they changed their Counsell, and erected another wall within the former: *Himilco* being at all Workes indefatigable, who besides the multitude of Inhabitants in the City, had ten thousand Mercenaries, and did by his wisdom, Vigilance and constancy elude and overcome all the Enemies force and Stratagems. He suffered nothing to be out of order among his own men, nor any thing to be secure on the Enemies part; he built Work against Work, digged Mine against Mine, opposed Armes to Armes, sometimes he issued forth, fighting with such resolution, that in these tumultuary skirmishes there were sometimes slain little fewer, then usually fall in set Battells.

M. Varro apud Plin. 18. 3.

Polybius 1. 42.

Zonaras

Diodorus 24. Zonaras. Diodorus

Polybius.

The Romans undermineing the Foundation of the Walls, *Himilco* made his countermine over against the place where he observed the Romans to cast out earth, and opening their Mine he sent in forthwith a Band of Armed souldiers, who set upon the naked Romans busie at work, and slew a great number; and as many were burnt with brush faggots (thrown into the Trench and set on fire) while they approached the Walls to helpe their fellowes. Notwithstanding feare and consternation of mind encreased among the besieged, whereby some Mercenary Commanders taking advantage, and pretending want of pay, plotted to betray the City to the Romans; nothing doubting but that they could easily induce every man his souldiers to approve of the design. On a certain night therefore slipping out of the Town into the Roman Camp, they declared the state of the City, and what they had intended. Amongst the other Mercenaries at *Lilybæum*, there was one *Alexon* an *Achaian*, a Man not unskilfull in Martiall Affaires, and of singular Integrity: He understanding the Traytors design, without delay discovers it to *Himilco*, *Himilco* as in a great and imminent danger, immediately summons together all the Mercenary Commanders, who were yet in the Town, declares to them what was in agitation, and by whom, and vehemently inveighing against them, he exhorteth those who are present, *not to become partners in the rashnes and Treachery of others, that persisting in their Duty, they should find all fair dealing from the Carthaginians, their Pay should be certain, and great Rewards moreover accumulated, that if they tainted themselves with the infamous crime of Treason, they would be hatefull to God and man*; withall, as much money as in hast and fear he could at present raise, he distributes among them, promising *that, himselfe would take care to see the Common souldiers pay assoone as may be discharged.*

Polybius. l. 43

Zonaras. Polyb.

An Oration made in season, hath certainly great power over the Minds of men, especially if the gravity of the speaker be mixed with truth and sincerity to be relied upon; Every one assented to what *Himilco* spake, and chearfully offered their utmost endeavours to continue their souldiers in their Duty. *Himilco* commending them, and furthermore encouraging them with hopes, commands *every one to apply himselfe to his own Companys, and endeavour to keep them in subjection*: He sendeth likewise along with them *Hannibal*, the son of *Hannibal 4.* who perished in *Sardinia*, and *Alexon the Achaian*; *Hannibal* to the Gaules, with whom he was acquainted, and very gratious, by Reason of his former conversation with them in the Wars; *Alexon* to other Marcenaries of severall Nations, by all whom he was equally beloved. These engaging their Words, *that whatsoever Himilco had promised should be performed*, so effectually made up the business, that the Traitors a while after returning to the Walls, were not onely kept out, but beaten back with darts, and reproached for their Villany. So they returning to the Consulls without effecting their Design, were nevertheless rewarded with Gifts, and had Land in *Sicily* bestowed on them.

Polyb.

Zonaras

Thus did the fidelity of *Alexon* at that time support the Carthaginian Affaires, brought almost

Polyb.

Colum. Trium. Livie Epit. 19. Dionyſ. l. 2. L. Piſo. apud Plin. 8. 6.

most into a desperate condition by this Treason: He had before likewise preserved the Agrigentines, whom the Mercenaries of *Syracuse* had by the like wickedness plotted to betray, and therefore deserveth to have his memory and praises recorded in History.

Diodorus 24

The Besieged were afterward much encouraged by the comeing of new Auxiliaries. For the Carthaginians, though they were ignorant of what hapned at *Lilybæum*, did judge it fit to carry on affaires with much Vigour, therefore they commanded *Adherbal* the Admiral to provide a Navy and convey Men, Money, and Corne to *Libybæum*. By him was sent *Hannibal* the son of *Hamilcar*, who having a fresh gale of wind, from the *Ægusan* Ilands, failed directly into the port of *Lilybæum*, his men ready armed for fight, and resolving to break through all opposition. The Romans had from the beginning of the siege stopped up the mouth of the haven by sinking fifteen ships, which they had for that purpose laden with stones, being therefore suddenly overtaken with the Enemies hast, and fearing lest themselves might by the force of the winds be driven into the Port, a place made unsafe for Navigation, they did not at all oppose the Enemie. *Hannibal* safely entred the Harbour, and landing his men to the number of ten thousand, was received into the City with very great joy of the Lilybætans. The Romans seeing they could not prevent the Enemies Arrival, entred into Consultation how to defend their Works, which they thought *Himilco* would not delay to set upon, having so great a recruit of fresh souldiers; neither were they deceived, for *Himilco* intending to make use both of his new strenght and of the Courage of the others now revived, summons all his forces together, and by hopes of Victory and ample rewards perswades them to make a sallie, and haveing disposed his Companies as the Occasion required, by break of day he assaulteth the Romans works in many places. The Romans were provided for them, and where they feared most danger had placed strong Guards, with these a very sharpe fight was begun, many fell on both sides, for they fought with great Courage and Resolution, and the number of men was great on each part, no less then twenty thousand issued out of the City, and were opposed by a greater Multitude of the Besiegers.

Polyb.

Zonaras.
Orosius 4.10
Polyb.

Diodor.

For the Consulls having raised Auxiliaries from their friends in *Sicily*, were above an hundred thousand strong, whereof threescore thousand were imployed in the siege, the Residue being sent abroad to bring in Provisions. The fight therefore being very hot in every place, the sharpest Contention was about the Engines, some striveing to spoile them, other to defend them, with so great Vehemence, that they spared their own lives no more then their Enemies. A great number of slaine men lay in that station where the Assault first began, the Clamour and noise of the Warriours, and Terrour of the Battel were much encreased by another Company, which brake out, with links and torches, rushing, through all dangers and Deaths, to set fire on the Engines; and the Roman Souldiers were very neer giving place to the fierceneesse of the Enemie, as no longer able to defend their Engines. But *Himilco* seeing many of his men perish, and the Romans as yet nothing to remit of their Courage in resisting, sounded a Retreat, and went first out of the Battel. Neither did the Romans pursue him, being content they had preserved their works which were almost given for lost.

Polyb. 1.45

The next night *Hannibal*, while the Enemy was weary after the fight, and observed not his Motion, secretly stole out of the Harbour with the ships he came in, and went to *Adherball* at *Drepanus*, carrying along with him the Horsemen, who being of no use to the besieged in a close place, he rightly judged might otherwise be better employed. These making frequent excursions from *Drepanus*, infested the high ways, obstructed the Conveiance of provisions, surprized many forragers who straggled far from the Campe, afflicted the Roman Associates with all kinds of misery, and very much confounded the counsells and designes of the Consulls. *Adherball* likewise much perplexed them at sea, suddenly falling sometime on the *Sicilian*, sometime on the *Italian* shore, leaving nothing unattempted whereby he might mischief the Romans. Hence it came to pass that there was great scarcity in the Roman Camp, for they had almost no food left but onely the flesh of beasts, many died of Famine, and many more, as is usuall in such cases, of Diseases; whereupon many thousands perished, and therefore it was concluded that one of the Consulls with his Legions should return to *Rome* to the Assembly of the People, that the other Besiegers might have the greater Plenty. After this the Romans again with greater pains and deligence endeavoured with earth and stones to stop up the mouth of the Haven, fortifying the Damme on both sides with strong pieces of timber joyned together cross-wayes, and fastned with iron Anchors, to conteine the heap of earth and stones from washing away: But their labour though great proved fruitless, for the sea was so deep, that whatsoever was flung in, was carried aside before it lighted right, and upon the arising of Tempests, the Tide being very violent, destroyed their Work.

Diodor.

Zonaras

Diodorus

Zonaras

Diodorus

Polyb 1.47.

Diodorus.

But the very fame of the Work did for a time keep the Haven block't up, which very much troubled the Carthaginians: that they could now by no means hold intelligence with their friends, neither durst any man undertake to visit the Lilybætans and give an account of their Condition, till at length one *Hannibal* sirnamed *Rhodius* ingaged himself to enter the City, and having viewed all things, to returne with a faithfull Account. The promise pleased the Carthaginians: but they had little faith in it; because they knew beside the heapes of rubbish, that the Haven was watched and warded by the Roman ships at Anchor there: But he having rigged a private ship he had, failed to one of the Ilands over against *Lilybæum*, and the next day having a favourable wind, at ten of the clock in the day time, openly in the face of the

Polyb.1.46

the enemy wondring at his confidence entred the Haven. But the Consul to intercept him in his return, in the night time placed ten choice ships on each side the Haven, five as near the mouth as might be. *Hannibal* trusting in the swiftnesse of his Vessel came out in the day time; the Romans were ready in the expectation of him, and with all their endeavours set forward against him, but he was so much too quick for them, that not contenting to escape he moreover insulted over them, sometimes sailing, sometimes wheeling about as if he would challenge them to fight. When he had often used this bold exploit, it proved of great advantage to the Carthaginian affairs, in that the Besieged were infinitely comforted with messages from their friends, in that at *Carthage* they daily understood the state and progresse of things at *Lilybæum* as occasion required, and in that the Romans were so much ashamed and madded at the rashnesse of the men which they could not revenge. He was much helped in his design by his knowledge of the Channel and the passages thereabouts; for between those Fenny and moorish places whereby is the passage to *Lilybæum*, he diligently observed a very safe and sure course for his ship. For when he came from the main Sea within sight of the City, he so turned his ship, that the Stern of it was toward *Italy*, and from the Foredeck the Tower of *Lilybæum* which was upon the shore, hindred the sight of all other Towers toward *Africa*, and this is the only safe way of entring the Harbour with full sail.

And now many more being encouraged by the boldnesse and succesS of *Hannibal*, began to correspond with *Lilybæum*, till at length by a certain chance a vessel of great swiftnesse was taken. For though in other places the Romans Dams were carried away by the winds and water, yet in one place, where the Sea was somewhat shallow, they stood firm; there the ship striking and being detained was taken by the Romans, and being furnished with stout souldiers and good towers proved the ruine of *Hannibal* also. For having entred the City in the night time and returning in the open day, he spied this ship every where waiting upon his motion, whereupon apprehending danger, at first he fled, but that being in vain, he made some opposition and was taken by the Romans.

The Romans being possessed of this ship, and observing the same course of entring the Haven, did afterward easily hinder any other vessels from sailing to *Lilybæum*. The Besiegers began now very fiercely to intend their main business, and assaulting one of the Works near the Sea, drew the whole company of the besieged to defend that side where the storm was made, whereby opportunity was given to other forces who were referred for that purpose to make an assault upon the contrary part and take the outward wall; but this proved in vain, for the Carthaginian General seasonably coming with a supply of choice men, beat the Romans out with great slaughter. Another greater fortune gave the Besiegers hope of the universal Victory; there arose by chance very great gusts of wind, which as it were on set purpose blew hard upon the Romans works, shaking their very Rampires, and tumbling down the Towers built thereon. The townsmen were not ignorant of this, and thought now an opportunity given them by the gods of firing the Romans Engins, which they had so often in vain assaulted. The substance of the Engins was very apt to take fire, having been long felled and dried with the heat of the Sun. The Romans were not slack in defending themselves, but not to much purpose, for the enemy was directed by the light of the fire which had seized on the Engines, and assisted with the strength of the wind to cast their darts more surely and with greater force, the others received no less hinderance and danger thereby, then by the weapons of the enemies, for the wind being fierce and against the Romans blew smoke, and flame, and ashes into their mouths and eyes, and brought the enemies darts with greater violence upon them, whereas themselves by reason of darknesse were uncertain whither to direct their strokes, and by reason of the vehemency of the gusts were not well able to stand. So that all the Roman Engines and works either for digging of mines or battering the walls were every one consumed by this fire.

Diodor.sic 24. 1.

Diodorus

Then was all hopes laid aside of taking *Lilybæum* by force, and the siege had been presently raised but that *Hiero*, sending plenty of Corn and provision, perswaded the Romans to stay; where not intending to make any more storms upon the City, they did on every side fence their Camp, resolving to commit the issue of things to Time and Fortune. The Besieged likewise building up what part of their walls had been battered, were now the more encouraged to endure the siege hereafter. These news were very sadly entertained at *Rome*, nevertheless they determined by war to make up what losses by war they had sustained: and their resolution herein was so immoveable, that, 'tis said, a Senator was slain in the very Court because he made mention of Peace.

Polybius
Diodorus.
Polybius

Great preparations were now made, and a new leavy of ten thousand Rowers sent into *Sicily*, for they had sustained a great losse of them. The Consuls were *P. Claudius Ap. F. C. N. Pulcher*, and *L. Junius C. F. C. N. Pullus*. 'Tis falsely by some delivered, that this *Claudius* was the son of *Cæcus*. He, when he was come into *Sicily* and had taken possession of the Army at *Lilybæum*, assembled the Souldiers together, and sharply reprehended the former Consuls, *That by their idleness and luxury they had trifled away time before* Lilybæum *more like men besieged then besiegers, without any fruit, and to the losse and dishonour of the Roman Majesty.* He was a very crabbed sowr man, and being Violent by Nature, and Arrogant by reason of his Nobility, he was apt to let fall Speeches and perform Actions not well becoming a serious sober man. He was very severe in punishing, letting passe no crime with pardon, but prosecuting even the very

Zonaras. 504
Plinie 15.1.
Diodorus 24 apud Valef.

very ſmalleſt with too great ſeverity; himſelf in matters of the greateſt moment miſerably failing, even to madneſs. For he followed the former Conſuls courſe which he had ſo ſharply condemned in damming up the Haven, and (what argued greater folly) he raſhly and inconſiderately aſſaulting *Drepanus* loſt a very gallant Fleet, no leſſe by his own indiſcretion then by the valour of *Adherball*. He perſwaded himſelf and his ſouldiers, that the enemy not having intelligence of what ſupplies were come from *Rome*, might be unawares ſurpriſed at *Drepanus*; not believing that the Romans had either courage or ſtrength ſufficient to provoke them at ſea. So that making choice of two hundred and twenty of the beſt ſhips with the ſtouteſt Rowers, and moſt valiant men out of the Legions (for they offered themſelves freely as to a ſhort buſineſſe and certain prey, *Drepanus* being not above fifteen miles from *Lilybæum*) he privately ſet ſail about the third Watch, and had in the night time a proſperous Voyage, not being ſeen by the enemy. But at day break the ſhips being diſcovered not far from *Drepanus*, gave an Alarm to *Adherball*, becauſe ſuch a ſight was there unuſual, inſomuch as no doubt was made but that it was the enemy who approached; the Carthaginians were forced either preſently to encounter and enter fight, or to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded and beſieged by the enemy; this latter they reſolved againſt, becauſe as it would have involved them in much trouble and danger, ſo it would have been imputed as a crime upon their miſcarriage. *Adherball* therefore on a ſudden called together his Sea-men, and by a Cryer ſummoning the Mercenaries to an Aſſembly, in a ſhort but very pithy ſpeech admoniſhed them what hopes there were of victory if they would readily and chearfully take Arms, and what danger of a ſiege was imminent if they declined battel. When every man with one conſent had agreed to follow his counſel, *Adherball* commending their obedience, forthwith gives order that they ſhould take ſhip, and obſerving what courſe the Admiral ſteered (wherein himſelf ſailed) to follow it. Whereupon he before the reſt ſaileth toward the main ſea, going out of the Haven juſt under the Rocks hanging over it at the ſame time when the Roman ſhips entred on the other ſide. *P. Clodius* finding the enemy no whit diſmayed, or declining fight, as he had hoped, but ſtoutly prepared to defend themſelves, was much troubled, and retreated back with his ſhips to encounter the enemy in the open ſeas. But his were in no good order, but as chanceably they had outſailed one another, ſome were entred the Haven, others were making toward it, and ſome were juſt in the mouth of it: Whereupon it came to paſſe, that while they all endeavour'd to make a ſudden return, they daſhed one againſt another, and ſtruck their Oars together, till being got out of the Haven as well as they could, becauſe they wanted time, they ranged themſelves in Battel-array juſt under the ſhore.

Polyb. 1. 49

Diodorus. 2 1 r *Polyænus* *Polib.* 1. 46 *Polyb.* 1. 49

The Conſul, who had ſailed in the Rere before, now changing his Station, came before all and placed himſelf in the left Wing; but the Carthaginians ſailing by the enemies left Wing with five Beaked ſhips, tacked about facing the Romans, and had the open ſea on his back, other ſhips as they came he commanded to place themſelves at a convenient diſtance, and when all were order'd according to his mind he ſetteth forward againſt the enemy. And now ſign of Battel being given from both the Admirals they fiercely encounter on all ſides, at firſt with equal hopes, but afterward to the Carthaginians better fortune. For though they had the leſſer number of ſhips, to wit, but ninety armed; in other reſpects they did exceed, for their ſhips were better and their water-men more skilful; they had likewiſe made choice of a moſt convenient place of fight, for as often as they were hard put to it they had free egreſſe into the open ſea, where they could eaſily by their ſwiftneſs avoid the enemy, or if he long purſued them, return and encompaſſe him. But the Romans being ſo near the ſhore had not the like convenience, they could neither ſail into the main nor with ſafety well retire, but as often as the enemy preſſed upon them, they either ſtuck in the ſands or endanger'd themſelves upon the ſhore. Being therefore unable to break through the enemy by force and charge him in the Rere, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of their ſhips and unskilfulneſs of the Rowers, and being cooped up in a narrow place not able from the Stern to help their fellows who were in danger, they were beaten to the Carthaginians little loſs.

Diodorus 14. 1 *Polybius* 1. 51.

To theſe difficulties was added another cauſe of deſpair from their Religion, and they thought themſelves worſted by the anger of the gods, becauſe the Conſul undertook to fight contrary to the indication of the Birds, adding likewiſe a Jear to his neglect; for becauſe the Chickens did not eat, he commanded them to be flung into the ſea, *that they might drink though they would not feed.* This occurrence made the ſouldiers more ſlack and faint-hearted, fighting, as they thought, with the ill will of the gods. But the author of all this calamity, when he had loſt every thing elſe, he wanted neither wit nor boldneſs to preſerve himſelf; for when he ſaw his ſhips in ſuch numbers ſank and taken, he ſlipt away between the ſhore and the enemy with thirty ſhips which ſtood next him. And that he might ſafely arrive to his Army at *Lilybæum*, being to fail by ſome of the Carthaginians Guards, he adorned his ſhips in token of Victory. The Carthaginians therefore imagining the Conſul had been victorious, and that his other ſhips would ſuddenly follow, ſuffered him ſafely to paſſe by, being themſelves much terrified and dejected. The enemy took all the ſhips the Conſul left behind, even ninety and three, together with the Souldiers and Rowers, except only thoſe who ſtriking upon the ſhore, caſt themſelves on land and fled. But in the fight a greatnumber were ſunk; for *Clodius* brought above two hundred from *Lilybæum*. This great victory coſt the Carthaginians very little, for they loſt not

Eutropius b 2 *Cicero de natura deorum* 2. 3 *Florus* 2. 2 29 *Val Max.* 1 4, 5 *Sueton Tiber.* c. 2 *Polybius* *Frontinus* Strat. 2 3 1

Polib. 1 51 *Eutropius.* *Diodorus.* 24. 1

not a man, much leſs a ſhip, and very few are ſaid to be wounded; of the Romans eight thouſand men were ſlain, and twenty thouſand taken.

About the ſame time likewiſe the Carthaginians took ſome ſhips laden with Corne from *Panormus*, and carryed them to *Drepanus*, and carrying proviſions into *Lilybæum* from the Territories of *Drepanus*, did plentifully relieve the beſieged with accommodation of all ſorts. Neither here did this yeares fortune make a ſtop, but afflicted the Romans with another great calamity, whereby they loſt not onely the preſent poſſeſſion of the ſeas, but all hopes of regaining it. For the other Conſull *L. Junius* coming out of *Italy* with many ſhips of burthen, laden with Corn for the Army, and fifty beaked ſhips arrived at *Meſſana*, where he met with a great number of other Veſſells, from the Army, and other parts of *Sicily*. Joyning himſelf with theſe, he made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty long ſhips, almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, and ſaileth to *Syracuſe*. Being arrived thither, he ſendeth the *Queſtors* before with part of the Navy to *Lilybæum*; himſelfe remaineth at *Syracuſe*, expecting thoſe others from *Meſſana*, who were not able to overtake him, and taking in grain which his Midland friends brought down to the ſea ſide. In the mean time *Adherball* having ſent the Roman ſhips and Captives to *Carthage* (Fortune and Glory putting him forward to action) delivered thirty ſhips more to *Carthalo*, who had brought ſeventy, with as many ſhips of *Burthen* from *Africa*, and ſent him to drive out the Roman ſhips from the Haven of *Lilybæum*, or to fire or ſink them. He at break of the day entring the Haven with great Terrour, ſome ſhips he boorded, and others he fired; in the mean time *Himilco* Governour of the City, made a ſally with the Mercenaries upon thoſe Romans who went to defend the ſhips, which cauſed great fear in the Camp. In fine *Carthalo* having deſtroyed not very many, carried away five, and directed his Courſe to *Heraclea*. Lying there in wait to obſtruct the Romans Voiage to *Lilybæum*, he heareth newes of a conſiderable Navy of all kinds of ſhips ſailing by.

Oroſius. 4. 10. *Diodorus* *Polyb.* 1. 52 *Diodorus* *Polybius.* *Diodorus* *Polyb.* *Diodor.*

He therefore joyning other Commanders with himſelfe, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty good ſhips, conſiding in which ſtrength, and animated by former ſucceſs, he preſently maketh out of the Haven to meet the Enemy. By the ſhore of *Gelus* the Navys came in ſight one of the other, but the Roman Quæſtors fearing a diſadvantageous encounter, diverted their courſe to *Phintiades*, a Town in League with the Romans, at *Phintiades* there is no Haven, onely the rocks running out into the ſea afford a pretty ſafe riding for ſhips. Here the Romans larding, prepared themſelves for the Enemies coming, having brought Engines of offence out of the Town, and placed them on the ſhore for ſafeguard of the ſhips. The Carthaginians at firſt reſolved to have beſieged the Enemy, thinking that out of fear they would have fled into the Town, and have left their ſhips for a Prey: But when the Romans ſtood ſtoutly to their own defence, and that they found the fight full of danger, likewiſe not much truſting in a place ſomewhat inconvenient for the ſhips they deſiſted; and having taken a few Veſſells laden with proviſion they ſailed to the River *Halycus*, not farre diſtant, there they healed their wounded men, obſerving the motion of the Enemy. Other Writers following, I believe, *Philinus*, affirme, *that the Romans ſuſteined greater loſs; that the Quæſtors being daunted at the firſt ſight of the Enemy, in their flight to Phintiades left behind their ſhips of burthen, and all other Veſſells but men of Warre, that in the fight fifty round Veſſells, and threeſcore long ſhips were ſunk, and thirteen ſo ſplitt and ſhatter'd that they were made unfit for ſervice.*

Polybius. *Diodor.* *Polybius.* *Diodor.* *Polyb.* *Diodorus* *Polyb.* *Diodor.*

Not long after the Carthaginians ſtill abiding at the River *Halycus*, *L. Junius* the Conſull, having done his buſineſs at *Syracuſe*, ſailing toward *Lilybæum*, about the Promontory of *Pachynus*, was diſcovered by ſome of *Carthalo* his ſhips, who thereupon with all ſpeed makes out to meet him (being ignorant of all paſſages at *Phintiades*) that he might fight him as farre from *Quæſtor's* Navy as might be, leſt they ſhould come in for his ſuccour. The Conſull ſeeing the Enemy make up toward him, not daring to fight, nor being able to avoid them, drives his ſhips into a rough and troubleſome creeke, neer *Camerina*, a greater fear overcoming this leſſer, leſt his whole Army ſhould fall into the Enemies Power. *Carthalo* not daring to venter into the ſame place, takes up his ſtation at a certain Promontory, from whence he might equally intend himſelfe againſt either Navy. A while after, when the Winds blew high, the Carthaginian ſhipmaſters (skilfull in ſuch Affaires) foreſeeing a tempeſt, perſwaded *Carthalo* to forſake that ſtation, and ſteere to *Pachynus*, and ſo the Carthaginians, but not without great paines, avoided the force of the Tempeſt; But both the Roman Navys utterly periſhed upon the Rocks, inſomuch that of the whole ſhipwrack there remained not a piece of board of any uſe, excepting onely two ſhips, wherein the Conſull with the ſmall remainder of his men arrived at *Lilybæum*. All the ſhips of proviſion were loſt, and above an hundred long ſhips; but part of the Armie was ſaved, leaping into the ſea and ſwimming to ſhore. The Senate, who had lately called home *P. Clodius* the Conſull, for his miſcarriage in *Sicily*, hearing alſo of *Junius* his misfortune, gave over all confidence in the ſeas, reſolving nevertheleſs with all their ſtrength and Counſell to proſecute the Warre by land. They thought good to continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*; appointing certain men to take care of conveighing neceſſary accommodations in good ſeaſon, to the Army there. Though the Carthiganians were Maſters at ſea, yet they were incouraged, in that at land they were ſuperiour, and that almoſt all *Sicily* was either under their power, or in League with them: But they were not pleaſed with their Conſulls this year, neither did they think that things would ſucceed proſperouſly under the Conſulls com-

Oroſius 4. *Polyb.* *Diodor.* *Eutropius* 2. *Livie* Epit. 19 *Polyb.*

Cicer. de nat. deor. 2.3.

command, becauſe they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis ſaid that *L. Junius* did likewiſe fet faile neglecting the Indication of the Birds. They fled therefore to a new and unuſuall Refuge, and created a Dictatour to go into *Sicily*; whereas, before this time, never any one ſo impowered, had led an Army out of *Italy*. The Inſolence of *P. Clodius* the Conſull was then very notable, and almoſt incredible; For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictatour, he named *M. Claudius Glycias*, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Sergeants; as if he had not ſufficiently offended his Countrey, by what loſſes he had brought upon it, unleſs he had likewiſe abuſed the Majeſty of the Empire with ſuch a ſcoffe. Whereupon the whole Senate being juſtly incenſed againſt him, he was forced to reſign up his Office, and was referred to the cenſure of the People. What Authors *Cicero* had read, report he was condemned, but others have obſerved, *that when no Queſtion was to be made but that the People would condemne him, he eſcaped by a ſudden chance, a ſtorme then ariſing which diſſolved the Aſſembly; And it ſeeming hereby that the Gods interpoſed themſelves, they thought not fit to ordain any other meeting for the purpoſe.* But *Glycias* being forced to diſclaim his Office, in that the City was aſhamed to ſee a man of mean ranke to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheleſs admitted to all ſpectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room *A. Atilius A.F. C.N. Calatinus* was nominated Dictatour, who made *L. Cecilius L.F. C.N. Metellus* Maſter of the Horſe, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. Theſe two went indeed into *Sicily*, but performed no very memorable action there.

Livie Epitom.

Suetan in Tiber

Faſti Capitoni

Polyb. 1.52

Cicer. de nat. deorum.

Val. Max. 8.1.4

Livie Epitom.

Faſti Capitolini.

Plin. 7.43. *Dion.* 36.

In the mean time *L. Junius*, much troubled at his croſs fortune, and deſirous to wipe away the blot of his ſhipwracke, by ſome noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take *Eryx*, by the Treachery of ſome within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promiſes. *Eryx* is the higheſt Hill in *Sicily* except *Ætna*, ſcituate between *Panormus* and *Drepana*, in that part of the Iland which lieth towards *Italy*, being more craggy toward *Drepana*. In the top thereof there is a Plaine whereon ſtandeth the Temple of *Venus*, therefore called *Erycina*, the Richeſt in all *Sicily*, juſt under the Top of the Mount, in the midſt of the Aſſent, is a City of the ſame name, very hard to be approached unto, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow paſſages from the foot of the Hill. *L. Junius* therefore well underſtanding the nature of the place, appointeth a ſtrong guard both upon the Ridge of the Mountain, and likewiſe in the narrow paſſages below, being very ſafe himſelfe, and having the advantage with much eaſe to repulſe the Enemy. He alſo encompaſſed *Ægithallus* with a wall, and ſtrengthened it with a Garriſon of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* landing his men there in the night time, ſtormed that Caſtle, and took and killed part of the Garriſon ſouldiers, others eſcaped to *Eryx*.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1.55.

Diodor. 24.1.

Polyb.

Diodor.

The other paſſages concerning *L. Junius* are very doubtfully reported by Hiſtorians, *ſome affirm he Was taken by Carthalo at Ægithallus*: Others, *that he killed himſelfe fearing to be condemned for the loſs of his Navy*. There is no leſs uncertainty whether the *Secular* ſports were celebrated this year, or fourteen yeares after, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus* were Conſulls. I think it more probable they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrows, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereunto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitfull year, inſomuch as twelve pound of oile was ſold for an *Aſſis*; In the mean time the Dictatourſhip being expired, or *Atilius* having reſigned it up, *C. Aurelius L.F. C.N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Q.F. Cn.N Geminus* were choſen Conſulls. The Conſulls were prettie ſucceſsfull in *Sicily*, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth They kept in the Carthaginians of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, that they could make no large Excurſions, nor ſo often as they had done, and took their Garriſons which were remote from the ſea. *Carthalo* having made many attempts againſt them in vain, reſolved at length to waſte the *Italian* Coaſts, that thereby he might divert the Conſulls from *Sicily*; or if they refuſed to come back to ſuccour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his deſignes. For the *Prætour* being ſent out with the City-forces for defence of the Countrey, compelled him to return to *Sicily* without effecting his purpoſe.

Zonaras.

Cicero de nat. deorum.

Livius Valerius.

Antias

Auſtin. de Civ. Dei.

Plin. 15.1. 505.

Faſti Capit. Zonaras.

Where when the Mercenaries mutinied for want of Pay, he expoſed many of them in barren Ilands, and ſent others to receive their Puniſhment at *Carthage*. The reſt being incenſed hereby, began manifeſtly to revolt, ſo that a new warre was feared from them: But *Hamilcar* who ſucceeded *Carthalo*, coming in ſeaſon, ſet upon them in the night time, ſlew ſome, and drowned others; the remainder ſubmitting themſelves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that *Hamilcar* ſirnamed *Barcas*, one of the beſt Commanders *Carthage* ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that *Hanniball* was his ſon. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans ſide; For having ſuddenly appeaſed the Mercenarys, he failed to *Italy*, and in very great compaſs ſpoiled the *Locrian* and *Brutian* Territorys.

Diodor 23. 69. 24. *apud Valeſ. Oroſius.* 4.1. *Polyb.* 1.56.

But the Romans having found the faith of *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* very conſtant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendſhip and ſociety with him. In the interim *Hamilcar* being returned out of *Italy* landed in the Panormitan Grounds, and pitched his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, in a place by nature very ſtrong, it is called *Epeirte*, an Hill craggy and full of clifts on all ſides, exalting it ſelf from the circumjacent Region to a very

Appian. apud Fulv. Urſin. Barclay's Argenis.

very great height; The top of it is not ſharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable ſoil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from ſea, and void of all harmful and venemous creatures. Therein is a certain Hillock which ſupplieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for thoſe that fail from *Drepanus* and *Lilybæum* to *Italy*, with ſtore of freſh water. There are three wayes of aſcending this Mount, two from the Land, one from the Sea, but all very difficult and full of obſtructions. Here did *Hamilcar* plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midſt of his enemies: But truſting in the ſtrength of the place and his own courage and skill in Marſhal affairs, he found the Romans work enough, and very well ſetled the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to ſucceed well at home alſo. For another Carthaginian General, *Hanno*, who had a great emulation of *Hamilcar's* Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealths coſt out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of *Lybia* about *Hecatompylor*, and having obtained the City, ſent three thouſand Hoſtages to *Carthage*; yet they had ſome alay of this their proſperity; For *L. Cecilius L.F. C.N. Metellus* being the ſecond time Conſul, and *Num. Fabius M.F. M.N. Buteo* being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which waſted the Coaſt of *Africa*. For though the Senate had again reſolved againſt ſending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens requeſt they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they ſhould ſafely reſtore thoſe ſhips which were built at the publick Charge, reſerving the prey to themſelves; ſo that a Fleet was ſet out very conſiderable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coaſts of *Africa* and aſſaulting Kings: *Hippo*, none of the meaneſt Cities, they fired the ſhips of *Hippo* and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counſel they deviſed a way to explicate themſelves out of preſent danger, for ſailing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and ſo the Fore-Deck being lightened eaſily wafted over the Chain; then ſuddenly running to the Fore-Decks and depreſſing them, the Stern likewiſe ſlid over, and they had free liberty of ſailing, having delivered themſelves from imminent danger.

Diodorus 24

Polyb. 1. 73 *Diodorus.*

506

Zonaras

After this eſcape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed againſt them. The Roman Conſuls divided their forces, *L. Metellus* beſieged *Lilybæum*, and *Num. Fabius Drepanum*. Not far from *Drepanum*, toward the South, lyeth an Iland, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call *Peliæ*, we *Columbaria*, which the Conſul ſtormed in the night time, and ſlew the Carthaginian Garriſon there. *Hamilcar*, who came to defend *Drepanum*, made no delay, but at break of day ſet forth to recover the place again, which the Conſul obſerving, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole ſtrength aſſaulteth *Drepanum*, whereby drawing *Hamilcar* from his deſign, he kept the Iland in poſſeſſion, and afterward made much advantage of it in beſieging *Drepanum*, for he dammed up the ſea, and joyned it to the Continent; and becauſe the Walls of the City were weakeſt on that ſide, he there began his aſſaults. But the encounters between *Hamilcar*, and theſe, and the Conſuls of the following years, *Polybius* thinks impoſſible to be deſcribed becauſe they were ſo many, and judgeth it unfit, leſt it might give an occaſion of the like. For *Hamilcar*, having his Camp at *Epeirte* for almoſt three years together, had almoſt daily encounters with the Romans, eſpecially when their Camp being before *Panormus* was ſcarce five furlongs diſtant from the enemy. For neither did they refrain from ſkirmiſhing, having their Armies ſo near; Neither did they ever come to the trial of a main battel having many hinderances, eſpecially becauſe their forces being equal and their Camps alike ſtrong, they were likewiſe on each ſide protected by the vicinity of their Camp, to which the party worſted might quickly retire. Hence it came to paſs that as in fight ſome were alwayes ſlain, ſo when the battel declined they had a ſafe refuge to their Works. But while *Drepanum* was beſieged, the Carthaginians Fleet infeſted not only the *Sicilian* but the *Italian* ſhores; and *Hamilcar* plundering as far as he could, waſted the *Italian* territories even to *Cuma*. Many of the Romans Citizens being fallen into the Carthaginians power by theſe incurſions, and the *Sicilian* fights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Priſoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of ſilver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the mony accordingly.

Culverius Sicilia antiqua 2.5

Zonaras

Polyb. 1.57

Zonaras

Polyb. 1.56

Liv. 22.23.6

Zonaras

I find two Colonies planted in *Italy* this year, one at *Æſulum* the other at *Alſium*. There was likewiſe a Luſtration made at *Rome* (being the eight and thirtieth) by *A. Atilius A.F. C.N. Calatinus*, and *A. Manlius T.F.T.N. Atticus* being Cenſors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thouſand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Luſtration there were found little leſs then three hundred thouſand; ſo great a number of Citizens were conſumed by War and Shipwracks. Nevertheleſs the Sicilian army was duly recruited, the ſupply being led by the Conſuls *M. Otlavius C.F. M.N. Craſſus* (the ſecond time Conſul) and *M. Fabius C.F. M.N. Licinus*. Theſe had a very buſie and difficult warfare, but not being able to diſpoſſeſſe *Hamilcar* of his ſtrong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewiſe to the ſucceeding Conſuls for the ſame reaſon, as likewiſe becauſe new Generals (being on the ſudden every year elected againſt an old experienced Commander) ſpent more time in making their preparations, chuſing their ground, and inſinuating themſelves with the ſouldiery,

Valerius 1.14 *Faſti Capitol.*

507

Zonaras.

diery, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded (when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to chuse a Dictator then to recal either of the Consuls out of *Sicily*. *Ti. Coruncianus Ti.F. Ti.Nepos* was chosen to summon the Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse *M. Fulvius Q.F. M.N. Flaccus*. In the mean time the two Tribunes of the people, *C. Fundanius* and *Ti. Sempronius* appointed a day for *Claudia* the daughter of *Appius Cæcus* to plead her cause before the people, being accused, that returning from a Play, and her Chariot having no easie passage through the crowd of people, she let fall a wicked speech, *Oh! that my brother were alive again and had Command of the Fleet.*

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There was hardly any Noble Family in *Rome* but had had some relation to the Claudians, either by Cognation or Affinity, so that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, *The Nobility of her house, the merits of* Appius *her father, the frailty of her sex; that it was a thing unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgment: Neither was now the cause so great why a new custome should be begun against* Claudia, *which had not by any plot or practice offended the Majesty of the people, but only in a few words.* On the contrary, the Tribunes alledged, 'What an 'impious and execrable speech she hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is 'there any need of Witness, she her self confessing it; neither indeed can she deny it if she 'would, because she spoke openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude 'of Citizens round about her. When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of 'the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letter 'of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it. 'Tis objected, That it 'is unusual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why it is unusual likewise for a woman thus to 'offend: Neither hitherto did our Commonwealth ever afford so wicked and impudent a wo- 'man. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being desirous that '(offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of a- 'gainst the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment, 'must of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would 'be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth; who being skilful in the Laws can- 'not be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expresly made of women, yet 'in these words, *If any One*, and the like, both sexes are equally comprehended. What wonder 'is it then if we believe the Law against Treason to concern both sexes, seeing this very *Clau- 'dias* is an example that both sexes may offend against it? But they Extenuate the businesse, 'and would have the crime seem small, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was 'wanting; she did not joyn her endeavours, counsels and actions with the Carthaginians; 'she did not raise Troops, arme Slaves, seize on the Capitol, nor actually with her hands effect 'that wickedness against the City which in words she expressed; Notwithstanding this, the Laws 'provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and designes also; if indeed a 'mad man or an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions: yet the mind and 'intentions of others in many causes is made as manifest by Words as by Deeds. She who made 'so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it 'to pass? Unless we despise the Judgment of other men (which we have no reason to do) 'we shall find that in other places wicked wishes are accounted Crimes. At *Athens*, which for 'reputation of Wisdom exceedeth all Cities of *Greece*, there was a man whose office was to 'provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make 'great gains, which could not be unless a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words 'might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But *Claudia* plainly, and without any 'ambiguity wished Destruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity 'to the whole Commonwealth. *Would my Brother were alive again!* A naughty wish it is, 'if she had made it only for her brothers sake; for why should life be restored to him by whose 'means so many Citizens lost their lives? who no lesse affronted the Commonwealth by his 'Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Rashness? who being by the votes of all men precon- 'demned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment? 'Would you, if you were wise, have this man to live again, whose memory if you could hide 'in the same Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not 'vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merits of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to 'you if any shame or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though per- 'haps foolishly she hath desired her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and chari- 'table consideration. Yea, clearly absolve her, if the cause of her wish be not more abominable 'then the wish it self foolish and insolent. For why did you wish your brother alive again? 'that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinsman, that his labours might 'redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None 'of all these. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again: This, this, wicked 'wretch, was the reason why you desired, as much as in you lay, to raise the Dead, to reduce 'Nature to its former habit, and unlock the Cloisters of the Grave that you might find a man 'by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impunity is craved by 'those who while they approve themselves good Kinsmen, regard not though they be esteemed 'ill Citizens. And truly no man is against it, that (according to their desire) ye should have 'mercy

Suetonius

L. 29. C. seq. ff. de Legibus

L. 1. ff. de V.S:

Seneca de benifit. 6. 38

'mercy on her, had she had any mercy toward you. But seeing she hath wished the death of 'some, the grief of others, that they should be childless and fatherless, nay, the general 'calamity of all: who will be so foolishly tender as to judge her hostile, cruel, inhumane soul 'worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Cen- 'sors upon the last Lustration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things these 'years last past succeeded prosperously, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very 'safe or good condition by reason the number of the Citizens was so much decreased. But this 'woman nothing moved at the loss of those who perished, therefore only grieveth because any 'are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, she wisheth him alive 'by whose fault chiefly the number of Citizens is so small. But it may be said, The woman 'her self being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not yet pardon her crime for her Ancestor's, 'for her Father's sake? Shall we then establish such a Law in our City, That if any man by 'any means do good to the Commonwealth his posterity shall have the liberty to offend it 'without punishment? Truly our Fathers were not of this Opinion, when they precipitated '*M. Manlius* from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans last hope and refuge was, not 'by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himself defended from the '*Gaules*. For saving or assisting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be re- 'quired but the conscience of the fact: But *Appius*, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth 'received abundant reward, being much inriched and full of honour, in which state he continu- 'ed flourishing even to his last old age. Though perhaps it were safer not to make any menti- 'on of *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, then to put you in mind of those injuries, very high 'and bold ones, which that Family (from its first Original never well affected to the people) 'hath committed against you. For what *Appius* is it they would have you remember, but him 'who always with an enemies mind, crossing your designes, chose rather to perish with his 'Army then be saved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who against the will of all the De- 'grees and Tribes persisted in his Censorship beyond his due time? And now let them reckon 'up the merits of the *Claudian*-Family, even from the time of the *Decemviri*, or from the first 'Original thereof, they shall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Ancestors in 'pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear she ought to be pardoned for their sakes. 'What cause therefore have these, or can any other man alledge why this woman ought to go 'unpunished, unless it be feared the City should loose a woman of so good example? of which 'opinion if ye also are, O Romans, keep her, keep *Claudia* amongst you; that when our Ma- 'trons kneel at the feet of the gods, supplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble, 'she may hinder their devout Prayers by her Curses; that while they wish for Salvation for our 'Armies, she may wish Destruction; while they desire to see the souldiers return safe and found, 'she may desire to hear they are vanquished, captivated and slain; that while they solicite the 'gods that few or none may fall in battel, she may repine and accuse Providence if any return 'home. Keep the woman, that as other Matrons provoke and encourage their children and 'kinsmen, in emulation of Illustrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country, 'she may instruct hers by the example of *P. Clodius* to fight rashly, to run basely, wickedly to 'destroy the Citizens, and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth it self in contempt. Let her 'propound these things unto young Nobles to be resolved upon from their Infancy, to be practis- 'ed in their Youth; so let those men be educated to whom you must hereafter commit the charge 'of your *Navies* and *Armies*.

Such speeches being frequently vented *Pro* and *Con*, the People assembling in judgement, condemned her, in a fine of five and twenty thousand pound of heavy brass. With this and other fines, *T. Sempronius* the *Ædile* built and dedicated the Temple of Liberty. After this *M. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buteo* and *C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* were made Consuls. There was a Colonie this year planted at *Fregenæ*, a *Maritime* City of *Etruria*, nine miles from *Alsium* whither one was led two years since. These Consuls fought a very great Sea battell, the issue thereof was profitable to neither Party, for the Carthaginians lost a multitude of Ships and men; And a tempest bereaved the Romans of their rich spoils: In *Sicilia* affaires were managed with the same advice, and the same fortune as the year before; The Romans haveing an hard task not onely by reason of the Craggginesse of the places, but of *Himilcar* his boldnesse and subtilty in martiall stratagems, whereby he so equally opposed the Romans, that he not onely defended what places he had possessed, and by frequent incursions vexed the Enemies associates both on the *Sicilian* and *Italian* Coasts; but minding other things also, did every where support the Carthaginian Power even ready to fall, being very industrious, of a resolute minde, and of excellent judgement in takeing seasonable Counsells. Desirous therefore to relieve the Lilybætans from fear and want, being more closely besiged by land, he commandeth part of his Navy to appear in the main sea, as steering their Course to *Lilybæum*, which while the Romans failed out to Encounter, he slipt himselfe into the Haven, with some ships he had for that purpose placed where they could not be discoverd, and so strenghtned and encouraged the besieged with his presence, and abundance of provisions which he brought. While the war was in this manner continued in *Sicilie*, *A. Manlius. T. F. T. N. Torquatus Atticus* and *C. Sempronius T.F. T.N. Blasus* being againe Consulls, came and tooke charge of the Army. About this time the manner of their war was changed, not so much as ordered more closely and in nar-

Agell. 6. 10 *Liv. 24. 14. 16* 508 *Fasti Capitol.* *Livie Epit. 69* *Valleius 14. 18* *Florus. 2. 2. 19*

Frontinus Strat. 3. 10

509 *Fasti Capitol.*

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Suetonius

L. 29. & seq. ff. de Legibus

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Seneca de beneficie. 6. 38

'mercy

'mercy on her, had she had any mercy toward you. But seeing she hath wished the death of 'some, the grief of others, that they should be childless and fatherless, nay, the general 'calamity of all: who will be so foolishly tender as to judge her hostile, cruel, inhumane soul 'worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Cen- 'sors upon the last Lustration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things these 'years last past succeeded prosperously, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very 'safe or good condition by reason the number of the Citizens was so much decreased. But this 'woman nothing moved at the loss of those who perished, therefore only grieveth because any 'are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, she wisheth him alive 'by whose fault chiefly the number of Citizens is so small. But it may be said, The woman 'her self being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not yet pardon her crime for her Ancestor's, 'for her Father's sake? Shall we then establish such a Law in our City, That if any man by 'any means do good to the Commonwealth his posterity shall have the liberty to offend it 'without punishment? Truly our Fathers were not of this Opinion, when they precipitated '*M. Manlius* from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans last hope and refuge was, not 'by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himself defended from the '*Gaules*. For saving or assisting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be re- 'quired but the conscience of the fact: But *Appius*, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth 'received abundant reward, being much inriched and full of honour, in which state he continu- 'ed flourishing even to his last old age. Though perhaps it were safer not to make any menti- 'on of *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, then to put you in mind of those injuries, very high 'and bold ones, which that Family (from its first Original never well affected to the people) 'hath committed against you. For what *Appius* is it they would have you remember, but him 'who always with an enemies mind, crossing your designes, chose rather to perish with his 'Army then be saved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who against the will of all the De- 'grees and Tribes persisted in his Censorship beyond his due time? And now let them reckon 'up the merits of the *Claudian* Family, even from the time of the *Decemviri*, or from the first 'Original thereof, they shall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Ancestors in 'pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear she ought to be pardoned for their sakes. 'What cause therefore have these, or can any other man alledge why this woman ought to go 'unpunished, unless it be feared the City should loose a woman of so good example? of which 'opinion if ye also are, O Romans, keep her, keep *Claudia* amongst you; that when our Ma- 'trons kneel at the feet of the gods, supplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble, 'she may hinder their devout Prayers by her Curses; that while they wish for Salvation for our 'Armies, she may wish Destruction; while they desire to see the souldiers return safe and found, 'she may desire to hear they are vanquished, captivated and slain; that while they solicite the 'gods that few or none may fall in battel, she may repine and accuse Providence if any return 'home. Keep the woman, that as other Matrons provoke and encourage their children and 'kinsmen, in emulation of Illustrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country, 'she may instruct hers by the example of *P. Clodius* to fight rashly, to run basely, wickedly to 'destroy the Citizens, and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth it self in contempt. Let her 'propound these things unto young Nobles to be resolved upon from their Infancy, to be practis- 'ed in their Youth; so let those men be educated to whom you must hereafter commit the charge 'of your *Navies* and *Armies*.

Such speeches being frequently vented *Pro* and *Con*, the People assembling in judgement, condemned her, in a fine of five and twenty thousand pound of heavy brass. With this and other fines, *T. Sempronius* the *Ædile* built and dedicated the Temple of Liberty. After this *M. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buteo* and *C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* were made Consuls. There was a Colonie this year planted at *Fregenæ*, a *Maritime* City of *Etruria*, nine miles from *Alsium* whither one was led two years since. These Consuls fought a very great Sea battell, the issue thereof was profitable to neither Party, for the Carthaginians lost a multitude of ships and men; And a tempest bereaved the Romans of their rich spoils: In *Sicilia* affaires were managed with the same advice, and the same fortune as the year before; The Romans haveing an hard task not onely by reason of the Cragginesse of the places, but of *Himilcar* his boldnesse and subtilty in martiall stratagems, whereby he so equally opposed the Romans, that he not onely defended what places he had possessed, and by frequent incursions vexed the Enemies associates both on the *Sicilian* and *Italian* Coasts; but minding other things also, did every where support the Carthaginian Power even ready to fall, being very industrious, of a resolute minde, and of excellent judgement in takeing seasonable Counsells. Desirous therefore to relieve the Lilybætans from fear and want, being more closely besiged by land, he commandeth part of his Navy to appear in the main sea, as steering their Course to *Lilybæum*, which while the Romans sailed out to Encounter, he slipt himselfe into the Haven, with some ships he had for that purpose placed where they could not be discoverd, and so strenghtned and encouraged the besieged with his presence, and abundance of provisions which he brought. While the war was in this manner continued in *Sicilie*, *A. Manlius. T. F. T. N. Torquatus Atticus* and *C. Sempronius T.F. T.N. Blæsus* being againe Consulls, came and tooke charge of the Army. About this time the manner of their war was changed, not so much as ordered more closely and in

Agell. 6. 10 *Liv. 24. 14. 16* 508 *Fasti Capitol.* *Livie Epit. 69* *Valleius 14. 18* *Florus 2. 2. 10*

Frontinus Strat. 3. 10

509 *Fasti Capitol.*

narrower bounds. The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City *Eryx* upon the Top of the Mountaine, another below at the foot of the Hill. The
Polyb. 1.58. natural strength and scituation of the place, with the helpe of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surprise. But the boldness and Valour of *Hamilcar*, makeing any thing possible, which he listed to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noise ascend-
Diodorus 4. 2 ing thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprised the Romans unawares, and haveing slaine greateſt part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the reſt to *Drepanum*. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe, for *Hamilcar* being now in the midſt of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible paynes and danger, did for almoſt two years next insueing performe the office of moſt Valiant ſouldiers; For the Camps being ſo neare there paſſed not a day, nay ſcarce an houre without alarmes and skirmiſhes, neither party all this while fainted or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but ſtill they continued equall and unvanquiſhed, designeing in the mean time to proſecute the Warre at Sea alſo.

Vellei. 1.14. 8. This year a Colonie was planted at *Brundusium*, in the *Salentine* Territories, twenty yeares
Livie Epit. 19. after that Countrey was ſubdued by the Romans. About this time *T. Coruncianus*, who was the firſt High Prieſt of the Plebeians, died in a great old age, and in his place ſucceeded *L. Caecilius Metellus*. The next Conſulls were *C. Fundanius C.F. Q. N. Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpitius C.F. Ser. N. Gallus*. By them the war with *Hamilcar* was mannaged in the ſame manner, and with the ſame fortune as before, onely the Mercenary Gaules, and others who kept Garriſon in *Eryx*, being diſcontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavour'd to betray
Zonaras *Polybius* 2.7. the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Conſulls, and theſe
Polyb. 1.77. were the firſt Forreigners the Romans ever entertained into ſociety of Armes. Notwithſtand-
Zonaras. ing this acceſs of ſtrength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finiſh the War, chiefly by reaſon of *Hamilcars* virtue, who could neither be circumvented by craft, nor vanquiſhed by
Polyb. 1.59. Force.

Once more therefore they conſulted about ſetting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other meanes could the Carthaginians be kept from *Sicily*, unleſs they were maſtered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their reſolution, by reaſon of their former ſucceſs, when the Navy was ſet forth at the coſt of private men: But money was wanting, the Treaſury being long ago exhauſted with the charge of a continuall War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit ſeaſonably relieve the wants of the Common-wealth, ſo generous were the Senatours, that in a time of publick danger they ſcorned to ſpare their private purſes, out of which on the ſudden more mony was raiſed then the building of a Navy required. Thoſe who were richeſt did every man undertake to build a *Quinquereme*, ſetting it forth compleatly manned and arm'd; others according to their eſtates joyned two or three together in the ſame deſign, upon this condition, that when the Common-wealth was reſtored to a better Condition, every man's money ſhould be paid back again. By this meanes two hundred ſhips of five Oares on a ſide were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from *Hannibal Rhodius*. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their laſt refuge, they reſolved with this Navy of Neceſſity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While theſe thing were
§ 11. in doing, *C. Lutatius C.F. C. N. Catulus*, and *A. Poſthumius A.F. L. N. Albinus* entered the Conſulſhip. *A. Poſthumius* was then Prieſt of *Mars*, and therefore when he deſired
Livie Epitom. 19. to caſt lots for his Province, *L. Metellus* the High Prieſt would not ſuffer him, pronouncing it
Tacitus 3.71.5. unlawfull for a Prieſt to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unper-
Val. Maximus 1.1.12. formed, which was likewiſe allowed of, and agreed upon by ſucceeding Generations. The Se-
Cicero Phil. 13 8. nate likewiſe at the ſame time ſhewed a like Example of defending their Countrey's Religion,
Tacitus for they forbad *C. Lutatius* the Conſull to ask counſell at *Preneſte*, and mannage the Affaires of
Val. Max. 1.3.1 the Common-wealth by direction of outlandiſh Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (becauſe both the Conſulls could not be ſpared with ſafety of their Religion, and one ſeemed not ſufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the *Pretours* (this being
Livie Epitom the firſt year wherein they began to create two) to accompany *C. Lutatius*, and it fell to the Lot of *Q. Valerius Falto*. Theſe gathering together all the Publick and private ſhips, to the number
Eutropius b.2 *Diodorus* 24.3. of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Veſſells to the number of ſeven hundred; aſſoon
Polybius 1.59. as Winter was over, ſailed to *Sicily*, whither being come, they find both the *Lilybatan* and *Drepanitan* Havens open for them; For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from *Italy*, were returned to *Africa* with all their ſhips. The Conſull animated with this proſperous beginning, being by nature full of ſpirit, hating Idleneſs, and deſirous of Action, beſieged *Drepanum*, raiſing Workes againſt it; in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-ſouldiers, daily exerciſing them (as foreſeeing ſudden uſe of them in fight) inſomuch as they who were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affaires and chances, ſeemed ſufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

The City of *Drepanum* being fiercely aſſaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even
Zonaras. to the utmoſt danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; It chanced that the Conſulls

Conſull Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; where-
Oroſius 4.10 upon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, miſſed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even almoſt in their hands: Before the Conſull had recovered the uſe of his foot, newes was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of four
Eutropius *Florus.* 2.34. hundred ſhips, ſtored with proviſion for their Army, with a very great ſtrength of ſouldiers, and abundance of Armes and Money. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in
Polyb. 1.60 Chiefe; his chiefe care was to get ſafe to *Eryx*, eaſe his ſhips of their burden, and ſo manning them with ſtout Souldiers from *Hamilcar*, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His deſign was well contrived, but prevented by the wiſdom and circumſpection of *C. Lutatius* the Con-
Livie 21.14,15 ſull, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ſhips were heavy laden, and encombred with the burthen of their own proviſions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ſhips with choice ſouldiers, he ſaileth to the Ilands
Eutropius *Diodorus* *Liv.* *Polybius.* *Ægates*, over againſt *Lilybæum*, where he diſcovereth *Hanno* coming from *Hieronesus*; then encouraging his Sea-men and ſouldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began to doubt, becauſe the wind was ariſen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himſelfe. Weighing then the Reaſons on both ſides, he thought it ſafer to fight with the winds, and *Hanno* while he was alone, and had his ſhips laden, then ſuffer him to paſs by to unlade his ſhips, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and alſo *Hamilcar* himſelfe, who at that time was very formidable. Obſerving therefore the Enemies ſhips as they paſſed by with full ſaile, he ſetteth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, cauſeth himſelfe to be carried into the Admirall-Gally, having not recovered the uſe of his limbe:
Eutropius ſigne of battell being given on both ſides, *Q. Valerius* performed the Office of Generall, by reaſon of *C. Lutatius* his infirmity, not ſuffering to ſupply the place. The fight laſt-
Val. Max. 1.8.2 ed not long before it plainly appeared on which ſide the Victory inclined; for the Roman ſhips being light and nimble, did on every ſide, at their pleaſures aſſault the Carthaginians, being heavy, and almoſt immoveable; they were likewiſe in every thing elſe ſuperiours, being taught by ex-
Florus perience to avoid and amend whatſoever heretofore they had found inconvenient, and harme-
Polyb. 1.61. full; Their ſhips were built after the beſt faſhion, they had carefully laid aſide all lumber which was of no uſe in fight, their Rowers were luſty, and well trained up, and they had a very conſiderable ſtrength of Legionaries; All theſe were very great advantages toward the Victory. On the other ſide, the Carthaginian ſhips were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leavied, and their men negligent, as being in ſecurity; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it muſt needs be, where the difference is ſo great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians loſt an hundred and twenty ſhips, ſeventy
Florus *Polyb.* whereof were taken, with all the men, to the number of ten thouſand, the reſt upon an happie
Diodorus 24 change of winde in the time of fight, eſcaped to *Hieronesus*. This was that famous battell at the Ilands *Ægates*, as it is chiefly deſcribed by *Polybius*.

For other writers affirm, that ſeventy three ſhips were taken, an hundred and twenty five
Eutropius *Oroſius.* 4.10. ſunke, two and thirty thouſand men taken priſoners, and thirteen thouſand ſlain, the Prizes
Eutrop. *Zonaras* taken were very great, not only in Proviſions and Armes, but in gold and ſilver alſo. Of the Roman Navy twelve ſhips were loſt. Tis reported that from the beginning of the fight a fiery meteor was ſeen in the aire, threatning as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed againſt it, preſignifying the event which preſently enſued. *Hanno*, with the reſt of the ſhips which eſcaped out of the Fight, except thoſe which fled to *Lilybæum*, returning to *Carthage*,
Oroſius *Zonaras.* was put to death for this his Misfortune. *C. Lutatius* the Conſul went to the Army before *Lilybæum*, where, while his wound was in cureing, he ſpent his time in takeing an account of the ſhips, and Captives, and ordering how they ſhould be diſmiſſed. Thence he went to
Oroſius *Eryx*, where he fought *Hamilcar* with good ſucceſſe, having ſlain two thouſand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home underſtanding what a great Overthrow they had received,
Polyb. though their ſpirits were great, yet found that they wanted ſtrength and meanes, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, ſo long as the Romans were Maſters at ſea, to ſupply their Army at *Eryx* with neceſſary accommodations; and, if that Army miſcarried, they knew not where to raiſe any more ſouldiers, or find a Generall they durſt confide in. Being
Cornel. nepos *Hamilcar.* 1.3. by this Neceſſity driven into deſpair, they ſent to *Hamilcar*, empowering him with full Commiſſion to do what he himſelf ſhould think fit or convenient for the Republick: He having hither-
Polyb. to performed the Office of an excellent Generall, did now no leſs behave himſelfe as a good Citizen. For having duely and ſeriouſly conſidered all arguments on both ſides, when he found
Cornel. Nepos. there was no other meanes but Peace, whereby to preſerve the Common-wealth; he ſent Em-
Zonaras. baſſadours to the Conſull to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not unwellcome to the Conſull, for being now ſhortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any meanes hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that, of having finiſhed the War; and to tranſmit that to his ſucceſſour which was in his own power to accompliſh, and moſt properly belonged to him, he thonght both unſeaſonable and unadviſed: He was the more forward, as
Polyb. being very well conſcious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Countrey, after ſo many yeares continuall labour, ſhould enjoy ſome reſt. Wherefore after a long diſpute of Articles on both ſides, it was agreed, *that the Carthaginians ſhould totally depart Sicily; that they ſhould not wage war againſt* Hiero, *and the Syracuſans, or any of their*

Appianus apud Fulvium Urſinum *Polyb.* 8, 27 & 29

Aſſociates; *that they ſhould forthwith without ranſome reſtore all Captives, and deliver up all Runagadoes*; *that they ſhould in the ſpace of twenty years, by equal portions, pay two thouſand two hundred Euboican Talents of pure ſilver*: *That the confederates of each party might live ſecure and unmoleſted*; *That neither party ſhould exerciſe any command, or make any publick building, or raiſe any ſouldiers within the others juriſdiction, nor admit the others aſſociates into friendſhip and confederacy.* 'Twas added, *that theſe Articles were firmly concluded, if the people of* Rome *would agree thereunto.*

But it could by no means be obtained (though the Conſul earneſtly inſiſted upon it) that the ſouldiers within *Eryx* ſhould reſign up their Armes; *Hamilcar* proteſting, *That he would rather ſacrifice himſelf and his country to deſtruction, then yield to ſuch a diſgrace*: Nevertheleſſe he condeſcended, *That every man at his departure thence ſhould pay eighteen pence.* Hereupon meſſengers were ſent both by the Conſul and the Carthaginians to inform the Senate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace, but ſent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumſtances, who being returned, they heightened the Conditions, *That the Carthaginians ſhould preſently lay down a thouſand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thouſand two hundred, that they ſhould clearly quit not only* Sicily, *but all other Ilands between that and* Italy, *that they ſhould not ſail in a long ſhip either into* Italy *or any of the Romans Ilands, nor hire any ſouldier from thence.*

Livie 21.41.6 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 1. 63 *Zonaras.* *Polybius Auſt. de viris Illuſ.* c. 12

Zonaras l. 8. *Polyb.* 1. 66 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 1. 64

The Carthaginians, ſo they might have peace, refuſed nothing; *Hamilcar*, before the Articles were ſworn unto, laid down his Command and went to *Lilybæum*, and from thence to *Carthage*, having approved himſelf, without compariſon, the moſt excellent of all their Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counſel. After this manner was managed and finiſhed the firſt Carthaginian War, which laſted for four and twenty years with various chances and great loſſes, but to the greater damage of them who at laſt proved Victors.

Polybius 1. 63. *Appian.* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.* *Polybius*

For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian ſhips to have been loſt, and ſeven hundred of the Romans; which is a great argument of the Romans Conſtancy and Reſolution, that, not regarding ſo many loſſes by fight, or ſhipwracks ſuſtained, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy, the frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pains, and the poverty of their Treaſury.

512 *Faſti Capitol.* *Zonaras*

After this the Government of *C. Lutatius* the Conſul was prorogued, that he might ſettle affairs in *Sicily*; thither likewiſe was ſent his brother one of the new Conſuls, *Q. Lutatius C.F: C.N. Cerco*, whoſe Colleague was *A. Manlius T.F.T.N.* Theſe did by their wiſdom order the Province, and ſetled all things in peace and quiet, deſiding all controverſies and taking away all cauſes of quarrels and tumults, which after ſo great motions and alterations were unavoidably remaining. They diſarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to *Hamilcar*, as likewiſe the *Gauls* who had revolted from him; furthermore the *Gauls* were commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire, becauſe, beſides other offences, when they were in the Garriſon on the top of Mount *Eryx*, they plundered the Temple of *Venus*. The Sicilian Cities according to their ſeveral abilities were forced to pay Tribute and Cuſtom; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was ſent to command and govern yearly.

Polybius 2. 7

Appian

Eutropius b. 2

In the mean time Embaſſadours came from *Carthage* to intreat, *They might redeem their Captives*, and by Order from the Senate they were all reſtored without Ranſome, as many as were in Publick cuſtody; they who were priſoners to private men were redeemed at a certain rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treaſury. But unlucky accidents at home did much diminiſh the joy of the Roman people. The River *Tibur* did this year flow higher then ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the firſt force thereof waſhed to the ground, and others, having their foundation rotted (for the Inundation continued many dayes) after the fall of the water, did much decay.

Oroſius. 4, 10 *Auſtin* de Civ. Dei. 18

Val. Max. 1. 4. 4 *Oroſius*

Val. Max. *Livie Epit.* 19 *Auſtin* *Dionyſius* 2. 67 *Oroſius* *Plinie* 7. 43

After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which ſuddenly beginning in the night time, and running through many ſtreets of the City, deſtroyed an incredible multitude of houſes and men; and, not content with private harmes, conſumed all the buildings in the whole Circumference of the Forum. At length it ſeized upon the Temple of *Veſta*; but then *L. Cæcilius* the Chief Prieſt, ſeeing the *Holy things* and ſecret Pledges of the Roman Empire to be in danger, behaved himſelf worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midſt of the fire without any care of himſelf, ſo he might but reſcue the *Holy things* which the Virgins had forſaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himſelf having his Arme half burnt and his Eye-ſight ſpoiled, beſide the comfort he received from his good act, was eminently rewarded by the people of *Rome*, who Decreed, That as often as he went to the Senate he ſhould be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never granted to any man before.

In the mean time *Q. Lutatius* the Conſul, with his brother *Catulus* and *Q. Valerius* the Propretor, having ſetled affairs in *Sicily* returned home to the City and made each of them

them their Triumph; *C. Lutatius Catulus* on the fourth of the Nones of *October*, and *Q. Valerius* on the day before the Nones of the ſame moneth. There was a memorable ſtrife between theſe two concerning the Triumph of *Valerius*; for *Lutatius* his Triumph being without diſpute agreed upon, *Q. Valerius* contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory deſired the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. *Catulus* on the other ſide alledged, That the leſſer authority ſhould not be equalized with the greater in the diſtribution of honours.

Trium. Capitol

The queſtion being hotly argued, *Q. Valerius* challenged *Catulus* to ſtand to arbitration, *Whether or no the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduct?* *Catulus* refuſed not to anſwer him; whereupon *Atilius Calatinus* was choſen Arbitrator, who asked *Valerius*, *Whether the Conſul's authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in caſe they had diſſented in their conſultation about fighting? and in caſe their Auguries had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed?* To which when *Valerius* anſwered, *That in both caſes the Conſul's authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretor's*; *Calatinus* not expecting till *Catulus* ſpake, paſſed ſentence on his ſide. But *Q. Valerius*, though he was caſt by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *M. Fabius Buteo* being Cenſors, made the nine and thirtieth Luſtration. There were numbred two hundred and threeſcore thouſand Citizens; two Tribes being ſuperadded, the one called *Velina* the other *Quirina*, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and ſo continued. *Sicily* being now wholly ſubdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things ſeemed not only quiet but very ſafe and ſecure; when behold a ſudden war, ariſing from whence it was leaſt feared, did for a few dayes aſtoniſh all *Italy* both with the terror and fear of an Inteſtine broil, as likewiſe with wonder at the ſpeedy diſpatch and iſſue of it.

Agellius 13. 14 *Valer. Maxim.*

Pighii Annal. *Euſeb. num.* 772 *Livie Epit.* 19

The *Faliſci*, I know not upon what account, grew ſo mad as to riſe up in arms againſt the Romans; but the Conſuls being ſent with the Legions quelled them within ſix dayes, and reduced them to ſubjection. In the former battel, for 'tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their foot prevailed though their horſe were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans ſide complete, cauſed the *Faliſci* to humble themſelves and beg peace, having loſt fifteen thouſand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the loſſe of their arms, horſe, houſhold-ſtuffe, ſervants and half their Territories. Their City in whoſe ſtrength they confided was tranſlated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of *Rome* were meditating a more ſevere revenge, out of anger againſt a City which had ſo often rebelled, but reſtrainig their wrath by the advice of *Papyrius* (who had written the form of ſubmiſſion by the Conſuls own command) *That the* Faliſci *ſubmitted not to the Power but the Faith of the Romans*: And ſo much did the ſacred name of *Publick Faith* prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party to no ſeverer puniſhment then was agreed upon. This war gave occaſion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Conſuls; *Q. Lutatius* Triumphed on the Calends of *March* over the *Faliſci*, *A. Manlius* the fourth of the Nones of *March*.

Eutropius b. 2 *Livie* Epit. *Polyb.* 1. 65 *Zonaras* *Oroſius* 4. 11 *Eutropius* *Zonaras* *Val. Max.* 6. 5. 3

Faſti Capitol.

BOOK

BOOK X.

ITaly being now once more at Peace within it selfe, their Publick Pleasures, and Delights did likewise encrease with their Power and security. When the Roman Games were exhibited, *C. Claudius A. P. F. C. N. Centhe*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tuditanus* being Consulls, *L. Livius Andronicus*, in immitation of the Græcian Comædies and Trajedies, reduced the Stage-Plays, which heretofore were onely Satyrs into Fables, and feigned representations. The same year likewise gave beginning to another sort of sports. On the fourth of the Calends of *May*, the *Floralia* were instituted out of the *Sybills* books, to avert the blasting of fruits and plants then springing forth. *L.* and *M. Publicius Malleolus*, Brothers and Ædiles of the People did exhibit publick shews out of the Fines raised from Herdsemen who had fed their Cattel on Commons. The Magistracy of these Brethren was in another respect very memorable; in that they caused that Clift (which from them received the name of *Publicius*) to be made plain and even, for the more commodious passage of Carriages into Mount *Aventine*, whereas before the Rock in that place was craggie and almost impassable. They likewise built the Temple of *Flora* in the great shew-place.

Anno 513. *Agel.* 17. 21. *Eutr.* 3. 2. 6. *Cic. Brut* c. 18. *& Cato* 14. *& Tusc.* 1. 2. *Cassiador. Cron. Velleius* 1. 14. 8 *Plin.* 18. 29. *Ovid. Fast.* 5.

Ovid. Varro de ling. Latina.

Ovilius Tacit. 2. 49. 2.

These things were acted at home, while all things were quiet abroad, onely there was a suspicion that the Gauls and Ligurians had a designe for War. That these Provinces therefore were assigned to the Consulls, and war then commenced with the Gauls, is rather a Conjecture, then a true History, there being no antient writer extant which accurately describes those things; This one thing is Certain, that a Latine Colonie was planted at *Spoletium* in *Umbria*. The next year also 'tis easier to say, there was no Peace because the Temple of *Janus* was not shut, then to declare where or with what successe the war was managed. And the Consulship of *Q. Mamilius Q. F. Q. N.* and *Q. Valerius Q. F. P. N.* is hardly known by any other passage then that *Ennius* the first Elegant Roman Poet was that year borne. But the year after, when *Ti. Sempronius Ti. F. C. N. Gracchus* and *P. Valerius Q. F. P. N. Falto* were Consulls, the Gallick wars brake out again, and the Ligurians a new Enemy, were then first invaded by a Roman Army. This Province fell to the lot of *T. Sempronius*. *P. Valerius* encountred the Gaules, at the first with ill success, having lost three thousand five hundred men: But, entring fight again he obtained a signall Victory, wherein fourteen thousand Gaules were slain, and two thousand taken. But, by reason of the loss susteined in the former battel, the Consul was denied the honor of Triumph, especially seeing his prosperous fight was rather to be attributed to the Fortune of the Common-wealth, then to his wise management of the business. For after the first fight, understanding that assistance was comeing to him from *Rome*, he said, *he had rather perish with all his Army, then obtain Victory by the helpe of others*; and in this fury he cast himselfe and the Roman Army into the hazard of a battell. *T Gracchus* had better and more happy success, for having overthrown the Enemy in a set battell, he depopulated great part of *Liguria*: From thence he crossed over into *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, and bringing back a vast multitude of Captives, gave occasion to that proverb of *Sardi Venales*, whereby is signified any thing that is plentifull, and at an underrate to be sold.

Livie. Epit. 20 *Valei.* 1. 14. 8.

514. *Fasti Capitolini Marc. Varro apud Cicer. Brut.* c. 18. *Livie Epi to Orosius.* 4. 11.

Zonaras

Sivius Capito apud Festum voce, Sardi Venales.

But

But to confess the truth, the Romans had at this time rather a good opportunity then a just cause of possessing *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. The Carthaginians after the *Sicilian* Peace, were involved in a very troublesome war with their Mercenaries, and reduced even to the utmost extremity; whereupon other their Hirelings, who were in a Garrison in *Sardinia*, slew *Bostar* the Carthaginian Generall with all his men: *Hanno* being sent from *Carthage* to punish their Villany, they inveigled his Army into a society of Rebellion, and apprehending him, nailed him to the Cross, and having slain all the Carthaginians, they had possessed almost all the strong holds throughout the Iland, till upon a' falling out between them and the Sardinians, they were expelled the Iland, and betook themselves into *Italy*. Then did they accomplish that which while they were in *Sardina* they could not, for at that time they had invited the Romans to the Dominion of that Iland: But being now present either by the importunity of their Entreatys, or by plainly demonstrating what an occasion was offer'd of encreasing the Roman Power, they prevailed with them to sail over into *Sardinia*. For it is a virtue of no ordinary strain, to abstain from other mens goods when they may with ease be possessed, neither can covetous or ambitious men well or long dissemble their greedy desires: But 'twill not be amiss for the better understanding of this business, to relate some foregoing circumstances. The Romans, that they might gain the Reputation of Humanity, did in the beginning of this Warre, very much favour the Carthaginian cause. And, though they sent them no assistance as was desired, yet they refused to entertain the Uticans, or any others who revolted to them: They commanded their Merchants out of *Sicily* and *Italy* to accommodate the Carthaginians with all necessary Provisions, prohibiting all traffick with their Enemies; and gave licence of hiring men out of *Italy* for this war. They sent likewise Embassadors, though in vaine, to compose the strife: A little before there arose a controversie, because the Carthaginians had taken some *Italian* Merchants conveighing Commodities to the Enemy, and secured them in publick Prisons, and they had now five hundred of them in chains, and having slain not a few, had cast them into the sea to prevent the discovery of the thing; whereupon the Romans declared themselves agrieved, and began to threaten War: But the Carthaginians restoring those whom they had in custody, so pacified the Romans, that they in answer sent back without Ransom all other Prisoners taken in the *Sicilian* war. Yet at length Ambition prevailed, with a desire to crush that People, with whom they had for four and twenty yeares together waged war with various success, and foresaw, that unless in time they prevented it, they must be forced to fight again. Wherefore when the Carthaginians, (having against their wills lost *Sardinia*, and now finished their war with the Mercenarys) meditated Revenge upon the Authors of Rebellions and Revolts; the Romans laid hold of this occasion, and decreed, *that War should be proclaimed against Carthage, unless they laid down their Armes, which they had taken up, seemingly against their Rebells, but indeed and really against the Romans.* Whereupon the Carthaginians unwilling in an unseasonable time to undertake so great a War, did not only quit *Sardinia*, but upon the Romans demand, added likewise twelve hundred Talents of silver, to their former fine. This injury did most of all incense the minds of the Carthaginians, and is thought to be the only cause of that war which was soon after commenced, and prosecuted by *Hannibal*. For *Hamilcars* constant Hatred of Romans (to which the second Punique war is chiefly imputed) was not by any other meanes more hotly exasperated, or strongly fomented. But these things happened afterwards.

Polyb. 1. 65 *Polyb.* 1. 83. *Polyb.* 1. 88. *Zonaras Polybius.* 1. 83 *Cornel. Nepos. Hamilcar. Appian.* spud *Fulv. Ursin. Zonaras Appian Polybius. Zonaras. Appian Zonaras Polyb. Apian Fun & Hispan. Polyb.* 3. 28. *Zonaras. Apian apud Fulvium Ursinum. Polyb.* 1. 88 *Zonaras Polyb. Polyb.* 1. 10. *Cornel. nepos Hamilcar.*

In the mean time *L. Cornelius L. F. Ti. N. Lentulus Claudinus*, and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* being made Consuls had *Gaul* on this side the *Po* for their Province. That a Colonie was this year planted at *Valentia*, though many affirm it is no constant and general opinion, unless there be another *Valentia* besides *Vibo*, which Authors of better credit affirm to have been peopled fifty years after in the Consulship of *Quintus Flaminius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*. The Consuls in *Gallia*, while they kept their forces united, had a safe and prosperous Expedition, but after they had divided their Legions out of greedinesse to waste more places, the Camp of *M. Fulvius* was in the night time assaulted and very hardly defended. The Gauls departing without effecting their design, did afterward return with greater terror having their forces much augmented. For the prime men of the *Boii* taking counsel secretly together, raised a vast power of Transalpines against the Romans. In the mean time *L. Lentulus* the Consul, who had marched with his Army into the Ligurian Territories, obtained there a great victory. It was ordered therefore he should make a Triumph, which accordingly he did on the Intercalary Ides. Some Authors report, *That these Consuls were the first who led the Roman army over the Po, and that in divers fights were slain four and twenty thousands of the Ligurians and Insubrian Gauls.* But I rather believe, that the *Po* was crossed over and the Insubrians first encountred in their own Country in the next Gallick commotion. About this time Embassadors were sent to *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt* to profer him assistance in his wars against *Antiochus* and the Syrians. The King returned thanks, telling them withall, *That he had now no need of assistance inasmuch as the quarrel was compounded.* After this *Hiero* came to *Rome* to the great joy of the Romans, who entertained him with all the respect as befitted them to do, being a confederate Prince, having deserved much of them, and a companion in their greatest Victory. He bestowed on the people of *Rome* two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; he came to behold the sports which were prepared against next year.

516. *Fasti Capit. Velleius* 1. 14. 8 *Livie* 35. 40. *Zonaras* *Polyb* 2. 21. *Eutropius Sanctenses M.S. quem vidit Pighius.* *Eutropius* b. 3.

For according to some Authors the secular sports were celebrated in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius*

Fasti Capitolini 417. *Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus* and *C. Licinius P. F. P. N.* The Masters of the Revells were *M. Æmilius M. F. & M Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator.* In the mean time the *Boian* Princes, confideing in the multitude of Auxiliarys they had from beyond

Zonaras the *Alpes*, fent to the Confuls demanding, *That Ariminum with it's Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be reſtored them, otherwiſe a terrible and Deſtructive War would enſue.* The Conſuls, having not drawn their forces together, durſt not hazard thoſe few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they conſent unto the *Gaules* their demand, they anſwered therefore, *They ſhould ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, to ſignifie their minds.* The *Gauls* accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for ſome days, while the Embaſſadours could go and return again. The Ambaſſadours at *Rome* received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no uſe, in aſmuch as Fortune without the expence of Roman blood put an end to it? While the Embaſſadoures returned, the Boians fought a ſet Battel with their *Tranſalpine* Auxiliaries, upon this Occaſion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people,

Polyb. 2. 21. had marched as far as *Ariminum*, whence a ſuſpicion aroſe, that their maine Errand was to poſſeſs that Territory themſelves; the Boians therefore were ſo enraged, that having ſlain their Kings *Ates* and *Galatus* as Traitours, they endeavoured by force to expell theſe ſtrangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battell was fought with much ſlaughter, and both ſides being thereby

Zonaras. much weakned; the Tranſalpines returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being ſo quickly diſpatched, the Conſuls went into *Liguria*: where *P. Lentulus*, having in a ſet Battel Overthrown the Enemie, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Caſtles, ſome by ſtorme, ſome by compoſition. *C. Licinius* intending to faile over into *Corſica*, not having boats enough to tranſpott his whole Army, ſent *M. Claudius Glyſias* before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he ſaw that the Corſicans were terrified at his coming, without any reſpect to the Conſull by whoſe direction he was ſent, or conſideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain

Dio. apud *Valeſium.* Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himſelfe the Glory of having reduced that Iland. But the Conſul following with the Reſidue of the Army, forbore not to proſecute them with armes (notwithſtanding they alledged in their own behalfe the Claudian Peace)

Zonaras *Marcel.* 14. 40. till he brought them into ſubjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputa-

Val. Maximus 6. 3. 3. tation of Breach of Faith, ordered *Glycias* the Authour of that diſhonourable peace, to be

Faſti Capitolini. delivered up into the hands of the Corſicans; and they refuſing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Cenſours *L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus & Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco*, who made no Luſtration becauſe *Q. Cerco* died in his Cenſourſhip. For all *Claudius* was delivered up to the Corſicans, and then executed as a Male-

Zonaras. factor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be perſwaded, that the Roman war afterward was juſt againſt them. Their minds therefore being agrieved with the memory hereof were eaſily tempted to break out in armes, in imitation of their neighbour Iland *Sardinia.* For the Carthaginians by ſecret promiſes had incited the Sardinians to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Maſters, nor loving their new ones.

This news being brought to *Rome*, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded *Sardinia*, but becauſe they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which becauſe they believed the ſooner it was begun would prove the eaſier; (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themſelves ſince the laſt war) they reſolved to prepare themſelves, and commence it as ſoon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to

Oroſius. 12. endure any thing rather then a Roman war, were hereupon ſo terrified, that having once and again ſent Embaſſadours in vaine, they did at length ſend ten of their Prime Nobility, moſt humbly entreating, *That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained.* Nevertheleſs they could not receive any mild Anſwer; till *Hanno* the youngeſt among the Embaſſadours, but of an undaunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, *If you are premptorily determined to deny us that*

Dio. apud *Ful. Urſinum* *Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at leaſt reſtore us our price we gave you, Sicily and Sardinia: In private contracts 'tis no honeſt man's part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them.* Then the Romans, being aſhamed to ſeem the Authors of an unjuſt war, diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours

518 with a better Anſwer. So one of this yeares Conſulls *C Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* (now

Faſti Capit. *Zonaras* *Liv.* 23 34. 12. *Capit Columna* *Florus* 2. 3. 1. *Vel* 2. 38. 3 *Liv.* 1. 19. 3. *Oroſius* 4. 12. the ſecond time Conſull) remained in *Italy*, the other, *T. Manlius. T. F. T. N.* went according to his lot into *Sardinia.* He, in many places encountring the Enemy with good ſucceſs, appeaſed the whole Iland, ſubdued the Sardinians, and triumphed over them the ſixth of the Ides of *March.*

Theſe things being accompliſhed, and the Roman Armes laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut; an unuſuall ſight in *Rome*, and not ſeen, after the dayes of *Numa*, for the ſpace of about four hundred and forty yeares. In which reſpect I account the City of *Rome* very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wiſe man wageth war but to procure Peace, this City after ſo many and great warres happily finiſhed, ſometimes could not obtain: but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few moneths, were heard of

of, which bereaved them of the ſweetneſs of that Peace, which they had ſcarce well taſted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been ſubdued, ſhake off the yoke, and the Corſicans brake out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raiſed Tumults, even in *Italy* it ſelfe. Therefore *L. Poſthumius A. F. A. N. Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C. N. Maximus* being Conſuls had order *Flor.* 2. 3. to leavy new Armies, which being diſpoſed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping 519 one the other, *L. Poſthumius* aſſailed the Ligurians, Sp. *Carvilius* the Corſicans, and *P. Cornelius* was deſigned for *Sardinia.* This Iland being of a very unwholſome aire afflicted his *Zonaras* Army with the Plague and other diſeaſes, whereby many mortals with the Pretor alſo himſelf periſhed. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were ſoon quelled after the arrival of Sp. *Carvilius* in a great ſet battel; the Corſicans were likewiſe ſubdued by him. For which exploits it was decreed he ſhould Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April. In *Ligura* *Livie* Epit. 20 *Capitol. Colum.* likewiſe affairs ſucceeded well by the management of the other Conſul with his Army. At *Zonaras* *Rome Tutia* one of the Veſtal Virgins being condemned of Inceſt which ſhe had baſely commit- *Livie* Epit. ted with a ſlave, ſlew her ſelf with her own hands. After this *C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* *Marianus Scotus.* *A. Poſthumius A. F. L. N. Albinus* being Cenſors, made the fortieth Luſtration. 'Tis probable the number of Citizens was this year leſſe then heretofore (though I find not the number recorded) becauſe the Cenſor, in order to the encreaſe of Citizens, compelled every man to ſwear, *That he would marry for the Procreation of children.* This year *Cn. Nevius* a Campanian who had received pay in the Carthaginian war, did firſt add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean *Agellius.* 4. 3 time the Ligurians and Sardinians again rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Conſuls; *Agel.* 17. 21 *Zonaras.* *Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verrucoſus* managed the Ligurian War, *M. Pomponius M. F.* 520 *M. N. Matho* the Sardinian; whereas it was reported, *That the Carthaginians were the cauſe of this* *Faſti Capitol.* *commotion, by private meſſengers ſtirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion*: There were Embaſſadors *Zonaras* ſent to *Carthage* with very harſh inſtructions, *To require the tribute due, to command them to abſtain from all Ilands under the Roman juriſdiction, adding threats of war unleſs they performed what was required at their hands.*

The Carthaginians had now ſince their former calamities gathered ſtrength and courage, chief- *Dio.* apud ly by the induſtry of *Hamilcar*, who did not only reduce thoſe who had revolted in *Africa*, *Valeſium.* but had further extended the Empire: They had likewiſe by his conduct acquired great Domi- *Polyb.* b. 1 nions in *Spain.* Wherefore they anſwered the Embaſſadors roughly enough to all particulars; *Cornelius Ne-* but when they, according to their inſtructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a *pos in Hamilcar.* Cadureus, offering them their choice of which they pleaſed, they anſwered, *That they would chuſe, neither, but would accept of which ſoever the Legates ſhould think fit to leave behind.* Heneeforward a cruel hatred began to burn between theſe two people, but neither parey being willing as yet to commence the war, they continued in a ſhew of friendſhip, rather becauſe they did not fight, then that the peace was firm.

Both the Conſuls, returning to *Rome* and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. *Q. Fabius* had ſlain many Ligurians in battel, and had compelled the reſt to contain *Plut. Fabio c.* 3 themſelves upon the *Alpes*, and made the skirts of *Italy* ſecure from their plundrings. He Tri- *Capitol. Tabul.* umphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ides of March afterwards *Auct. de viris* *M. Pomponius* Triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcome. Nevertheleſe the Sar- *illuſ. c.* 43 dinians did not abſtain from War, but being by their loſſes rather incenſed then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater ſtrength. Therefore both the Conſuls, *M. Amilius* *M. F. M. N. Lepidus* and *M. Publicius L. F. L. N. Malleolus* were ſent into *Sardinia*: they 521 gathered together great ſtore of plunder and ſpoil in that Iland, which when they carried over *Zonaras* with them into *Corſica* they utterly loſt, the Ilanders there taking it from them. At home *Polyb.* 2. 12 likewiſe there were very vehement tumults at this time, for *C. Flaminius* Tribune of the people *Cicero Bruto* propounding an Agrarian Law, *That the Picene and Gallick grounds which belonged to the Senones* *c.* 14. & *Acad.* *ſhould be equally divided among ſt the people.* The Senate oppoſed it, and not being able to per- *Queſt.* 4. 5 ſwade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magiſtrates to raiſe an *Val. Max.* 5. 4. 5 Army for defence of the Commonwealth; *Flaminius* could not yet be drawn from his reſolution, obſtinate againſt all force, and inexorably by intreaties. His father likewiſe admoniſhed him, *To ſubmit himſelf to the will of the Senate, and not be eſteemed an author of ſedition.* But he ſtill perſiſting in his deſigne, called an Aſſembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father *Flaminius* in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his ſon by the hand pulled *Cicero de Jue-* him away. *ven.* 2. 17

A wonderful Example was there ſhown with what Piety and Reverence all men held eſteem of the power of a Father: For he who had contemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of work, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Conſtitution of Law would have been moſt acceptable, ſuffered himſelf by the hand of one only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modeſty of the Aſſembly in this *Val. Max.* buſineſs is not to be forgotten, who though they ſaw all their hopes fruſtrated by the Tribune's departure, did not by the leaſt murmure ſignifie their diſcontent at his fathers action. But the *Cic. Citatus a-* Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. *C. Carvilius* the other Tribune aſſiſting *pud Sofipatrum* his Colleague, this as it cauſed corruption of manners amongſt the Commons, ſo it gave be- *Charif.* ginning to that moſt grievous Gallick war which brake out the eighth year after the diviſion *Polyb.* 2. 22 of the grounds. *Faſti Capitol.*

524. *Zonaras.*

After this *M. Pomponius M. F. M. N. Matho*, and *C. Papirius C. F. L. N. Maso*, being Conſulls, had for their Provinces *M. Pomponius Sardinia*, and *C. Papirius Corſica*. In both places the Enemies gave back, betaking themſelves into woods and craggy Mountains, defending themſelves more by the ſcituation of Places then by Armes. Therefore *M. Pomponius* ſeeing it more hard to find the Enemy, then to overcome him, cauſed hounds to be brought him out of *Italy*, who by their ſcent conducted him to the men, whom he ſurprized like wild beaſts in their dens, and kennells. *C. Papirius*, having overcome the Corſicans, purſued them into the mountains, where both his labour and danger was very great, and many of his ſouldiers periſhed either by thirſt, or by the ſudden incurſion of the Enemy, till having found water and refreſhed his Army; the Corſicans fearing the Iſſue hearkned to the Conſul's counſel of ſubmitting themſelves.

Capitol. Marmora.

While the Conſuls were detained by theſe Employments, a General Aſſembly was called by *M. Duilius. M. F. M. N.* who was made Dictatour for that purpoſe; he nominated *C. Aurelius L.F. C.N. Cotta* for Maſter of the horſe; there were likewiſe Cenſours *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus*, *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus*, but being not Legitimately made, they reſigned up their office. Writers doe to this year aſſigne the Original of a new Cuſtome, not unworthy to be mentioned. There had been no divorce from the beginning of the City to this time, *Sp. Carvilius Ruga* firſt of all diſmiſſed his wife becauſe ſhe was barren, being by the Cenſours bound in Oath, *to Marry a Wife for procreation of Children*. The people were much diſpleaſed not ſo much at the Novelty as cruelty of the things, for wives being joyned in a perpetual ſociety of life, they thought it unjuſt and inhumane for any cauſe whatſoever to repudiate them. They likewiſe ever after hated *Sp. Carvilius* though he was of neceſſity compelled by the judgment of his friends to diſmiſs his wife who was much beloved by him, and very agreeable in her Manners. From this time there was more knots in the Law, and more ſuits in the Prætours Courts, then being invented the Marriage Cautions, of which cunning there was no need before Divorces were in uſe. This yeare likewiſe began a new cuſtom concerning the Honours of their Generalls; *C. Papirius* perſwading himſelfe he had performed Actions worthy of a Triumph (having now at length firmely ſetled *Corſica*) and being denied that honour by the Senate, he did toward the End of his Conſulſhip make a Triumph in Mount *Alban* on the third of the Nones of *March*. It pleaſed many to imitate this Example when they were denied a Triumph to make one in the *Albane* Mount, henceforward he was preſent at all ſports in a mirtle Crown in memory of the Action, that he had overcome the Enemie in the Mirtle Fields. All things being at quiet in Sardinia and Corſica, the Ligurians ſtill held out, againſt whom were ſent *M. Aimilus L. F. Q. N. Barbula* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera*, then Conſulls. They, in their March underſtanding that the Gaules began to ſtirre, entred their Territorys with the Army. For they being incenſed and provoked by the Flaminian Law, the Romans feared leſt being Warlike, and angry men, they ſhould raiſe any Commotions; it was therefore forbidden by the Magiſtrates to accommodate any Gaule with Gold or ſilver; for the Boians, and other Gaules by ſelling of ſlaves and other Commodities had gathered a great bank of Money, and a ſuſpicion was raiſed, that it was for a Roman War. Wherefore being more incenſed, 'tis ſaid that they underſtanding the Conſulls were deſigned for *Liguria*, did in private meetings conclude, while the Roman Armies were far abroad, to March up to and aſſault the City it ſelfe. But, being terrified with the coming of the Conſulls, and not prepared to make head againſt them, they entertained the Romans with all ſhew of Peace and friendſhip, and counterfeit Reſpects. The Conſulls likewiſe being contented they had prevented the War, fained another cauſe of their coming thither; *that through the Gallick Territories they might have a more commodious march to Liguria*. The laſt year the Cenſours renounced the office; This year therefore *Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verruſcoſus*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tuditanus* made the one and fourtieth Luſtration, While theſe things are acting in *Italy* and at *Rome*, a new war was occaſioned with the Illyrians upon their ground. The Illyrians exerciſing Pyracy, a cruell and greedy kind of theft, had taken many Italian Merchants coming out of the Haven of Brunduſium and had ſlain ſome; at the firſt the Senate hearing this, among other complaints, did not much regard it. But the Pirates boldneſſe encreaſing by their impunity, and complaints more frequently and earneſtly made unto them, they thought fit to ſend Embaſſadours, to demand ſatisfaction; as alſo to plead the Iſſæans cauſe who had lately committed themſelves to the faith of the Romans; for they inhabiting an Iland in the Jonian ſea, were daily proſecuted with all manner of injuries by the Illyrians, from whom they had revolted. *C. & L. Corunçanii* were ſent on this Errand: While they were in their journey, *Agron* (the ſon of *Pleuratus*) King of the Illyrians, called *Ardyæi*, to whom their meſſage was directed, departed this life leaving a ſon under age, by name *Pinneus*, and the Kingdom was governed by *Teuta*, Step-mother to the young Prince, with the advice of her friends: She being proud, and puffed up with Proſperity, having given Audience to the Roman Embaſſadours with ſome contempt, anſwered, *That ſhe would take care that the Romans ſhould receive no publick injury from the Illyrians; but that it was not the cuſtom of the Illyrian Kings, to prohibit private perſons from making what gain they could by ſea.* *Coruncanius* the younger could not refrain his anger at this arrogant ſpeech but uſing an unſeaſonable liberty, though not unjuſt, replied, *But 'tis a cuſtom with the Romanes*, Teuta, *to proſecute private wrongs with publick*

Plutarch Numa. c. 48. Agell. 4. 3. Val. Maximus. 2. 1. 4. Dion. 2. 26. Agell. 17. 21. Agell. 4. 3. Servil. Sulpicius. de dotibus apud Agellium.

Columna Triumphales. Val. Max. 3. 6. 5

Plinie 15. 29. 20.

523. *Zonaras*

Polybius. 13.

Capitol. Marmora.

Polyb. 2. 8. Dion. apud Fulvium. Urſinum. Polyb. Dion. Zonaras.

Appian Illyr. Polyb. 2. 4. Livie 22-33. Polybius. Polyb. 2. 8.

lick vengeance, and reſtrove the injur'd party; and we will endeavour, by the aſſiſtance of the gods, to compel you gladly and quickly to mend and reform your Kingly Cuſtoms. The woman was above measure offended at theſe words, but, for the preſent, diſſembling her mind, when the Embaſſadors were departed, ſent ſome Pirates after them, who ſlew *Coruncanius* the younger with part of his Retinue, burnt the Governours of ſhips with fire, and clap the reſt in chains. *Colemporus* alſo the Embaſſador of the Iſſæans was ſlain by the ſame Pirates.

Florus 2. 5. 8. Zonaras.

The Romans underſtanding theſe things, did erect ſtatues of three foot long in honour of *Coruncanius* the younger, and *P. Junius*, and decreed war againſt *Teuta* and the Illyrians. *Teuta* ignorant in government, having not learn't either by Reaſon or Cuſtome to correct the Vices of her *Faminine* wit, behaved her ſelf as timerous in bearing the anger of others, as ſhe had been headlong in provoking it. Having therefore intelligence that a war was preparing againſt her, ſhe promiſed, *To reſtore thoſe who were living, as for the dead, whom the Pirats had ſlain without her command, it lay not in her power to reſtore them.* This Embaſſie (though it offered little ſatisfaction for ſo great injuries, yet becauſe the Romans hoped to compoſe the Illyrian broils without a war) was entertained, only they required, That thoſe who ſlew the Embaſſadors ſhould be delivered up to them.

Appian Illyric. Plinie 34, 6. 2. Liv. Epit. 20 Zonaras

Dio.

The woman ſeeing the war, ſhe ſo much fear'd, to be deferred, out of the lightneſs of her mind returned from fear to her former inſolence, denying to deliver up any one; and that ſhe might confirm her words with as much fierceneſs in action, ſendeth forces preſently to beſiege *Iſſa*. Whereupon the Romans thought fit to make no more delay, but ſent both the Conſuls thither with land and ſea forces; the Conſuls were *L. Poſthumius A.F. A. N. Albinus*, and *Cn. Fulvius Cn.F. Cn.N. Centumalus*. *Cn. Fulvius* had the command of the Navy conſiſting of two hundred ſhips; *L. Poſthumius* was General of the Legions. Then again *Teuta*, being terrified, ſent *Demetrius Pharius* to the Conſuls to crave Peace. And they agreed upon a Truce, *In caſe the Illyrians would quit Corcyra* which they had lately poſſeſſed. The Romans being gone to take in *Corcyra*, *Teuta*, as if all fear were now far from her doors, returned to her former counſels, and ſent Deputies to beſiege *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. Others report, *That* Corcyra *was not ſurrendred with the conſent of* Teuta, *but by the private deſign of* Demetrius, *who, knowing that he was ſecretly accuſed of ſome crimes before* Teuta, *thought by betraying that place he was Governour of, to find a ſure refuge and protection amongſt the Romans againſt her fury.*

Zonaras Polyb. 2. 11 Faſti Capitol. 524 *Polybius*

Polyb. 2. 12 Dio. apud Fulvium Urſinum. Polybius

The Illyrian Garriſon was no ſooner ſurrendred, but the Corcyrians by publick conſent ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans, ſeeing no other means left for their ſafety, but to be protected againſt the injury of the Illyrians by the power of ſo illuſtrious a City. From *Corcyra* the Conſul ſailed to *Apollonia*; where he met *L. Poſthumius* having waſted over his Army from *Brunduſium*, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. The Apolloniatæ greedily entertained the Romans, and committed themſelves to their Faith. This being relieved they went to *Dyrrachium*, which preſently became the Romans: The Illyrians who had began the ſiege thereof, running away for fear upon the firſt intelligence of the Conſul's coming. With the ſame haſt alſo the Ardyæi were forced into ſubjection, and Embaſſadors came from divers Nations of the fartheſt *Illyrium* with promiſe, *To obey their commands if they might be admitted into Friendſhip*; in which number were the Parthini and Aſintanes. *Demetrius Pharius* was a great help and furtherance in theſe Atchievements, for being carried up and down with the Conſuls, he extolled the Strength and Integrity of the Romans, accuſed the Raſhneſs and Inconſtancy of *Teuta*; and ſome by reaſon and counſel, others by his authority he perſwaded into a ſociety and confederacy with the Romans. After this they ſteared their courſe to *Iſſa*, and in their paſſage landing at many places, they took moſt Towns without any great difficulty. *Nutria* was ſtoutly defended by the Illyrians, and coſt much blood before it was taken, ſome Colonels alſo and a Queſtor being ſlain there. The Romans grief for this was the leſſer becauſe they ſurpriſed twenty Veſſels coming from *Peloponneſus* with money and great ſpoil. When they were come to *Iſſa* it happened as it had done at *Dyrrachium*, the ſiege was preſently raiſed upon the approach of the Roman Navy: The Barbarians flying this way and that way into ſeveral places, except only the Pharians, who for *Demetrius* ſake, with the ſafety both of body and goods, were received into protection, foraſmuch as he was born in the ſame Iland, and had the Government of it under King *Agron*. The news of theſe did diverſly affect the inſtable mind of *Teuta*, ſometimes dejected with fear, ſometimes again very confident, as ſhe conſidered the occaſion. For as ſhe was poſſeſſed with fear when ſhe remembred ſo many Towns taken and demoliſhed, that the ſea coaſts were plunder'd and waſted, that the Illyrians every where turned back and fled: On the other ſide ſhe was encouraged at the ſtoutneſs of the Nutrines, and her hopes encreaſed conſidering Winter drew nigh, and that the Romans for feat of ſtorms would ſuddenly depart; wherefore with a ſmall Retinue ſhe retired to *Rhizon* ſcituate upon a River of the ſame name, expecting what remedy time would afford.

Appian Illyric. Zonaras. Dio Polybius Zonaras Dio Polybius Dio Zonaras Polybius Appian Polybius Appian. Polybius

Oroſius. 4. 13

Dio

Polybius

Her vain opinion was confirmed by the actions of the Conſuls, who having committed to the Government of *Demetrius* the greater part of the Country they had taken, retired to *Dyrrachium* with the Navy and Army. But when ſhe ſaw that *L. Poſthumius* ſtayed behind with forty ſhips, and leavied an Army out of the Neighbour Cities to protect the Ardyæans

and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then *Teuta* began utterly to despair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatsoever. At the beginning of the spring therefore she sent Embassadors to *Rome*, excusing what was past as being done by the Command of *Agron* whose Acts it was necessary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of administring affairs, neither had deserved any favour at their hands, but to *Pinnens* the son of *Agron*, on these conditions, *That he should duely pay what tribute was imposed on him, that he should quit all* Illyrium, *some few places excepted, that he should not sail beyond* Lissus *with above two Boats, and those unarmed.* By this peace *Corcyca, Pharus, Issa, Dyrachium* and the Asintanes became wholly the Romans; what else was under *Agron* his jurisdiction being left to *Pinneus*. *Teuta* either for shame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which *Demetrius* undertook under the name of Protector.

Appian

Polybius.

Appian Illyric. Tit.

Zonaras

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to *Greece*; the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to rise up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily encrease in *Spain*, which could not be established without great danger to the Romans. *Hasdrubal* the Son-in-law and successor of *Hamilcar*, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Armes, but more frequently by his Wisdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthaginian subjection; and built another *Carthage* called the *New*, in a gulf of the sea by a most commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearer concernment, hindered for the present their designes against the Carthaginians: They endeavoured therefore to stop the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They sent likewise Embassadors to *Carthage* and to *Hasdrubal*, warning them, *To contein themselves beyond the River* Iberus, *and permit the Saguntines to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Laws.* These things happened in the year when *Sp. Carvilius Sp.F. Cn.N. Maximus* and *Q. Fabius Q.N. Maximus Verrucosus* were again Consuls. About the same time *L. Posthumius* Proconsul, who wintered in *Illyrium*, sent Embassadors from *Corcyca* to the Ætolians and Achaians, declaring what he had done, *For what causes the war was undertaken, with what success managed, and upon what conditions finished.* They were kindly entertained forasmuch as those Nations and all other the Grecians did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reason of the continual Pyracies exercised by them under *Agron* and *Teuta*.

Diodorus b. 25

Livie 21.2.5 *Polyb.* 2.13 *Livie* 26.42.6. *Polybius Appian Hisp. Polibius Florus*. 2.6.4

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The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconsul had done, and moreover decreed another Embassie in the name of the Commonwealth, to the Corinthians and Athenians, declaring, *The people of Romes good affection toward them, and their equity toward all men.* Hereby the Romans purchased great good will amongst those people, and the Corinthians forthwith decreed this honour to the people of *Rome*, *That they should be Partners in the Isthmian Games*, which was one of the four greatest Solemnities in *Greece*. They were chiefly moved hereunto because the Romans had set at liberty, as *Apollonia* and other Grecian Cities, so *Corcyca* likewise, which was a Colonie of the Corinthians; the Atheians also embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, *They should have the liberty of the City of* Athens, *and of the Eleusinian Mysteries.* In the mean time *Cn. Fulvius* Proconsul made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of *Quintilis*, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the first Triumph over the Illyrians.

*Zonaras Polybius Appian Illyr. Thucid.*1. 10.8 *Zonaras. Tab. Capitolina Flor.* 2.5.4 *Eutropius* b.3

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Livie Epit. 20 L.2.8 32.de O.I. *Solinus* c.11 *Sextus Ruffus Zonaras Polyb.* 2. 22

The next year *P. Valerius L.F. M.N Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius M.F. M.N. Regulus* being Consuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might send some with command into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Amongst these *M. Valerius* was Pretor of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, *C. Flaminius* of *Sicily*. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for 'twas reported that the Boians and Insubrians consulted not only one with the other, but with the Transalpine people, and had hired a great strength of Mercenaries of the Gæfatæ a people of *Gallia*. They used therefore not only ordinary remedies against this evil, but such as a severe judge would by no means excuse, but that the love of ones Country makes some things pardonable which in themselves are horrid. For when (besides other prodigies they were terrified with) they found in the Sybills books, *That the Gauls and Grecians should one day possesse the City of* Rome; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Priests, they buried alive two Gauls, of each sex one, and likewise two Grecians a man and a woman, in the Beef-market, that so they possessing part of the City, might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when *M. Valerius M.F. M.N. Messalla* and *L. Apustius L.F. C.N. Fullo* were Consuls. This year, amongst other no considerable occurrences, was most of it spent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raised a most incredible number both of horse and foot, toward this war all *Italy* in general joyning with the Romans. *Q. Fabius* the Historian, who was present at the transaction of these affairs, reports, *There were in arms eight hundred thousand men.* That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thousand and two hundred footmen, and six and twenty thousand and six hundred horsemen. All the other multitude were Italians. The *Veneti* also and *Cenomanni* afforded the Romans the help of twenty thousand men, who by frequent alarms and incursions might compel the neighbouring Boians to tarry to the defence of their own Country, and not join themselves with the other forces of the

Livie 22.57.6 *Orosius* 4.13 *Fasti Capitol.*

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*Zonaras Plin.*3.20 *Eutropius* 3 *Diodorus* 25 *Orosius* 4.13

Livie Epit. 20 *Polyb.* 2.24

the Enemy, because they refused to hearken to Termes of Peace which the Romans propounded. For the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* being perswaded to renew friendship with *Rome*, the Insubrians and Boians persisted in Hostility; nevertheless their strength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men: but being forced to leave some at home to defend their Countryes, with the rest (to wit, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse) they began their march through *Etruria* towards *Rome*.

Strab. b.5

In the mean time *L. Æmilius, Q. F. Cn. N. Papus. & C. Atilius M. F. M.N.* had *Sardinia* and *Ariminum*, with the adjoyning Gaules for their Provinces. For the Sardinians being aggrieved at the perpetuall presence of a Prætor, with his Virges and signes of Authority did again move Tumults; but *C. Atilius* the Consull soon quieted them without any great difficulty. *L. Æmilius* had more to do with the Gaules, having broken through *Etruria*, and marching to *Rome*. The Prætour of *Etruria* being not able to hinder their passage, overtook them at *Clusium*, and late in the Evening planted his Camp not farre from them. The Gaules invented a stratagem whereby to entice the Romans out to battell. In the dead of the night they marched with all their Foot to *Fæsulæ*, leaving the Horse behind with instruction, at break of day only to shew themselves to the Enemy, and presently betake themselves to the Foot Army, where should be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewise they would on the sudden charge the Romans unawares.

Zonaras

Polyb. 2.23. *Cluver. Polyb.* 2.25. *Polyb.* 2.23. *Polyb.* 2.25.

The Romans were hereby deceived, and pursued the horse as if they had fled, and about *Fæsulæ* were received by the Enemy, fresh and ready prepared, being themselves weary and void of Counsell, as in an occurrence not foreseen by them: Their only course was either by fight to defend themselves, or to sell their bloods at a dear rate: But the Gaules exceeding in number, besides other advantages, slew of the Romans six thousand upon the place, and put the rest to flight. The Gaules endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whither the greatest part of them which fled had betaken themselves) finding their strength to faile with their last nights march, the dayes fight, retired to cure and refresh their bodyes, leaving a party of horse to besiege the hillock, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or composition. In this very nick of time came *L. Æmilius*, rather to be wished for, then upon any reasonable ground expected. For upon the first newes of the Gaules setting forward, he was sent to *Ariminum*, to defend the Coasts upon the *Adriatick* shore, but hearing their intention was to march to *Rome*, he marched by very great journeys from *Ariminum*, and by good luck came to this very place, and pitched his Camp not farre distant from the Enemy. The besieged seeing fires in the night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the Roman Army was come, sent out some of their men unarmed, that they might the easier pass the Enemies Guards. The Consull by them understanding the state of Affaires, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day set forward with his horse to the Hillock, giving order to the Tribunes to follow him with the Legions. The Gaules likewise were informed by the same fires, that the Romans were come, and entred into counsell concerning the present affaires. King *Aneroestus* advised, *that they should not encounter the Enemy, whose souldiers were laden with rich spoiles, but to return home, and lay aside their plunder. and then, if occasion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble.* Every one approving the counsell, they departed before night, taking their journey through *Etruria* by the sea side. *L. Æmilius* having taken in those who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a set battell, but resolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time should afford.

Diodorus 25. *Polyb.* *Polybius.* 2. 25 *Polyb.* 2.26

In this conjuncture of Affaires fortune once more dispenced an unexpected accident. The other Consull *C. Atilius* arriving at *Pisa* from *Sardinia*, and there landing his Army, marched toward *Rome*, along the very same *Etrurian* shore where the Gaules were returning. Neer *Telamon* a Port of *Etruria*, the Scouts of each Army first met one the other, and the Consull, by some Prisoners who were brought to him, understanding of the Gaules march, and his Colleagues following them, wondred at so unusuall a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy cooped up between two Consular Armies, gave order to the Colonells, *To array the Army as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiments in a square body, and a slow march:* Himselfe, observing a piece of high ground, opportunely overlooking the way the Gaules must of necessity pass, set forward with a Party of horse to prepossesse it. For he made what hast he could to fight the Enemy, being assured, if he were any thing worsted, to be relieved by his Colleague, if his undertaking succeeded, to carry away the chiefe Glory of the Victory. The Gaules seeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horse, sent round about in the night time by *Æmilius*, sent out likewise some of their own horse, with the assistance of some light armed men, to open the passage. But being informed that the other Consull was come, he was forced to array and marshall his foot, with their faces each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joyned one to the other: For they saw *C. Atilius* before them, and well knew that *L. Æmilius* followed them behind. Against *L. Æmilius* they placed the Transalpine Mercenaries, in the front (who from their weapons are denominated *Gæfatæ*) behind these, for a reserve, were the Insubrians. Against *Atilius* were opposed the Taurisians and Boians. The Waggons and Carts were placed as a rampire about each Wing: all their plunder, with a sufficient guard, was laid aside upon a neighbouring hill.

Cluver. Ital. Antiq. 2.2. *Polyb* 2.26.

*Livie.*26.6.4. *Orosius* 4.13. *Polybius.*

hill. The fight was now begun at that hill which *C. Atilius* had poſſeſſed, whereby *L. Aimilius* conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whoſe journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at *Piſa*. Taking Counſel therefore on a ſudden he commandeth ſome of his own horſe to ride to the place of fight. There the horſe on both ſides had a very hot encounter wherein *C. Atilius* the Conſul was ſlain, and his head carried to the Gallick Kings:
Diodorus b. 25 At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulſed the enemy. The Horſe-fight being thus managed, the Foot charged each the other. There was to be ſeen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & ſtrength of both parties, ſo for the ſtrange ordering of the Battel; for the Gauls being included between two Roman Armies turned their faces on each ſide to battel; it being very doubtful whether this poſture were a greater advantage to them, in that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear ſecure, and were of neceſſity compelled to ſtand to it having no way to flee; or that it were a greater diſadvantage to be hemmed in by two Conſular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aſpect of the men who ſtood in the front, with ſterne countenances and vaſt bodys; partly encouraged not only with the ſweetneſſe of praiſe, but of plunder alſo, for among the former ranks of the Gaules there was not a man, but gliſtred with golden bracelets and arme ſtrings.

The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great ſlaughter of the Enemie, eſpecially where the Gæſatæ ſtood, who in a barbarous oſtentation had flung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the gallick ſheilds being long and narrow not able to cover the whole body, they ſtood like ſo many marks expoſed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to ſtrike the enemie, not to come to pel-mel with light armed men. Wherefore growing deſperate ſome runing raſhly upon the enemie were killed with darts before they could come to handy-ſtroks; others by degrees retiring backward diſordered their own Battel. The Gæſatæ being thus vanquiſhed by the light-armed men; the compleat-armed did on every ſide charge the Boians, Inſubrians, and Tauriſcans and ſlew a great number; nevertheleſſe the enemie ſtood with reſolute minds, being in nothing inferriour but in their weapons; for neither did their ſheilds defend their bodys, neither did their ſwords much offend the
Polyb. 2. 33 Romans, for being made only to hacke and hew they had no good poynts; they were likwiſe made crooked at the firſt blow, and unfit for a ſecond, unleſs they be ſtraightned againe by
Polyb. 2. 30 your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were aſſured of the victory
Zonaras *Polybius* by the returne of the horſe, who, having put the Gallick horſe to flight, riding down the hill made an impreſſion upon the flank of the enemie, ſo much the more irreſiſtible as coming from the higher ground. After this manner *Polybius* deſcribeth the Battel of the Gaules in *Etruria*; from whome others with little reaſon do diſſent. For who can eaſily beleive, that the
Zonaras Gaules were compelled by a tempeſt to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that *C. Atilius* ſetting upon their Rear was ſlaine? That afterward, each party for ſome dayes kept within their defences, *L. Aimilius* fought happily with them? neither are they any more to be credited, who relate the Battel as fought, not on the ſea Coaſts, but, *in the* Aretine Territories. There is no queſtion made but that fourty thouſand Gaules were then ſlain, little leſſe
Oroſius 4.13 *Eutropius 3* *Polyb.* then ten thouſand taken, with *Concolitanus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anerooſtus* who
Diodorus 25 *Polyb.* was of greater reputation for power and courage, eſcaping with a ſmall company, in his flight
Zonaras *Polyb.* cut the throats of all his Kindred and his own alſo. There was great plunder found, which
Diodorus. *Polyb.* the Conſul cauſed to be reſtored to thoſe from whom it was at firſt taken, every maſter owning his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of *Atilius*, through *Liguria* into the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his ſouldiers as a reward of their pains taken, and they in a few dayes being ſufficiently laden with ſpoils, he returned to *Rome*, to the greater joy of all, becauſe the war was formidable. Scarce any mans Triumph was ever ſo much celebrated with acclamations of the people; being otherwiſe of it ſelf very gallant and memorable as for the glory of his noble performances, ſo for the number of the Captives and the worth of the ſpoils. There were many military Enſignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongſt the Gauls. But all mens eyes were cheifly
Flor 2.4.3 *Zonaras* *Florus* intended upon *Britomarus* and the other Gallick Princes, whom *Aimilius* by way of ſcoff led
Feſti Capitol. girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he tooke care they ſhould fulfil the vow they had made, *Never to unlooſe their girdles or Belts, till they had aſcended the Capitol. L. Aimilius* made this Triumph over the Gaules on the third of the Nones of march. This year was made the one and fortieth Luſtration by the Cenſors, *Q. Claudius Ap. F. C.N. Centho* and *M. Junius D.F. D.N. Pera*. The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the deſire of revenge remained, and both the next years Conſuls had *Gallia* for their Province; the Conſuls were *T. Manlius T.F.T.N. Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius M.F. Q.N. Flaccus* again. The people chear-
529 fully decreed them Armies and whatſoever accommodation belongeth to the Commencing or
Feſti. Capitol. *Polyb 2.32* *Zonaras* *Polyb.* proſecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after ſo great a victory, they might eaſily drive away the Gauls from about the *Po* if they minded their buſineſs. The Conſuls being gone with
Oroſius 4.13 their Armies preſently terrified the Boians into ſubmiſſion; their expedition afterwards was not ſo quick by reaſon of the Peſtilence and ſo many ſhowrs which fell. Others affirm, *That theſe Conſuls croſſed the* Po, *and in a ſet battel overcame the Inſubrians, that they ſlew three and twenty thouſand and took five thouſand.* But I rather follow the authority of *Polybius* in theſe affairs.

In the mean time becauſe the Conſuls being in a far Country, and were hindred either by action, or by ſhowres, ſo that they could not return to the general Aſſembly: *L. Cæcilius L. F.* *Feſti Capit.* *C.N. Metellus* was Created for Dictatour, who conſecrated for Maſter of the Horſe *M. Fabius M.F.N. Buteo*, by the Aſſembly, and *Flaminius C.F.N.* and *P. Furius Sp.F.M.N. Philus* were made Conſuls. Theſe as I think were the firſt Romans, who making an invaſion 530
into the Inſubrians Countrey, croſſed the Po with their Army, where the River *Paduſa* falleth *Liv.Epit.20.* *Zonaras.* into the *Po*. *Polybius.2.23.*

This boldneſs coſt them much labour and ſome blood; for in their paſſes over the River, and *Zonaras* while they pitched their Campes, the enemie fiercely falling in upon them ſlew a conſiderable *Oroſius.* number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily encreaſed by many Pro- *Plutarch. Marcel.c.4.* digies related, *as that in the Picenian Territories, a River ran blood, that in Etruria the skie was ſeen to burn, that at* Ariminum *in the night time light appeared, and three Moones were ſeen at the ſame time*; alſo a Vultur was ſaid to ſit many dayes together in the Forum at *Rome*. For though *Zonaras* about the ſame time *Caria* was ſhaken with an Earthquake, and the *Rhodian* Coloſſus fell down, *Marianus.* theſe things were not thought to concern the Romans at all: Concerning the other Prodigies, *Oroſius* the Augurs being asked their advice, anſwered, *that the Conſuls were not rightly choſen*, where- *Plutarch.* upon letters were ſent after them to recal them back to the City. In the mean time the Conſuls *Zonaras.* having made a Truce, had quitted the Inſubrians Countrey, and afterward having raiſed Auxi- *Polybius.* liaries in the Countrey of the Cenomanni, had again began to infeſt the gounds lying under the *Strab. b.5.f. 149.* Alpes; whereupon the Inſubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden enſignes (out of the Temple of *Minerva*) which were called *Immoveable*, becauſe it was not lawful to ſtir them but in the time of Extreem Neceſſity; and had now met the Romans with *Livie. 22.63.* an Army of fifty thouſand men, ready to enter battel. At this very time came the letters from *Zonaras* the Senate. *C. Flaminius* either gueſſing at the ſubſtance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perſwaded his Colleague, *not to open them before battel.* *Polybius*

Being reſolved to fight, they conſulted about their Mercenary Gaules, *leſt if they were neglected, they might have cauſe to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occaſion of doing harm.* For they feared their inconſtancy, eſpecially fighting againſt Neighbours and Kinſmen. At laſt they thought fit to place them on the other ſide of the River, where the bridges being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to flie, but to truſt in their courage: After a ſharp diſpute the Romans obtained the Victory, to the greater praiſe of the *Tribunes* then the Conſuls. For *C. Flaminius* had ordered the Battel ſo near the brink of the River, that there was no ſpace left to receive the Troupes in caſe they had been forced to Retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the *Tribunes* having had experience by former battels, that all the Gallick Valour conſiſteth in the firſt charge, which is very hot, but ſhort, and if the brunt of it be once borne, there is no more to be feared from them; did divide the ſpears of the *Triarii* among the firſt ranks, that with them they might receive the firſt onſet, and afterward ſlinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallick Swords were preſently blunted, and made crooked at the firſt ſtroke upon the ſpears, and while they were buſie in making them ſtraight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the uſe of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallick Swords, that being made only to hack, ſome time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the ſtroaks, which if it be denyed, they are of no uſe: But the Romans thruſting with the point could do their buſineſs in a moment, and ſo preſſing forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did ſecurely thruſt them into the face and breaſts.

Tis reported that nine thouſand Gaules were ſlain, and double the number taken. After the *Oroſius 4.13.* Victory, they ſpoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they *Plutarch. Marcel.c.4.* thought fit to read the Senates letters, the contents whereof *Philus* was ready to obey: But *C. Flaminius* inſiſted, *that this was the envy of ſome Senators, and not the fault of the Auſpices,* *Zonaras* *whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he ſaid alſo he would not return till either the War was finiſhed, or his Magiſtracy expired: adding moreover; that he would cauſe the Romans to leave off the fooliſh obſervation of Auguries, and ſuch other fopperies.* Nevertheleſs *P. Furius* perſiſting in his reſolution, the Army of *Flaminius*, fearing that after his departure they ſhould not be very ſafe in the enemies Countrey, perſwa- *Liv.22.6,3.* ded him to tarry for ſome few dayes; but he did utterly abſtain from all actions; *Flaminius* *Zonaras* taking in the mean time ſome Caſtles, as alſo a City of no ſmall renown among thoſe people, The ſpoiles he gave to his ſouldiers, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he *Liv.22.63.* knew would ariſe between him and the Senate. This City indeed was ſo moved with indignation, that none went out according to the cuſtome to meet the Conſuls, and not only *Flaminius* but *Plutarch* for his ſake *Philus* alſo was denyed the honour of Triumph. At length *Flaminius* by the *Zonaras.* peoples favour entred the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. Many *Colum. Capitol.* rich ſpoiles were to be ſeen in that Triumph: Great ſtore of Armes, and chains *Liv.23.14.* of Gold, out of which *Flaminius* dedicated a Token of Victory to *Jupiter* in the Capitolium, *Florus.2.4.4.* inverting the Gallicks Vow, who had promiſed *out of the Romans ſpoiles to dedicate a Chain to* *Colum. Capitol.* *Mars*. Afterward the other Conſul triumphed over the Gaules, and the Ligurians on the fourth *Plutarch* of the Ides of *March*. The Senates ill will being hereby rather intended then overcome, did not

Livie.26.23.8. Plutarch. not cease till they were both forced to disdain this their second Triumph : about the same time, by the like severity, two very eminent persons were deprived of their Priesthood, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, because he had not aright laid open the Entrailes, and *Q. Sulpicius*, because in the time of sacrifice his cap fell from his head. When these Consulls time was out, the Assembly

231. *Plutarch. Polyb 2.34. Plutarch.* was held by an Interrex, where *M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus* being made Consull, assumed for his Colleague *C. Cornelius. L. F. L. N. Scipio Calvus.* These Consulls denied Peace to the Insubrians though they petitioned for it, *M. Marcellus* chiefly refusing all Conditions, out of his desire to Triumph. And the Gaules themselves seemed to meditate war rather then Peace, for having a new hired thirty thousand *Gesatæ*, and overcome the Alpes, they had gathered together a far greater number of Insubrians.

Polyb. Plutarch Polyb. The war being thus begun, the Consulls set out in the beginning of the spring, and besieged *Acerræ*, a Town between *Po* and the Alpes. It seeming difficult to drive the Romans from the siege, *Britomarus* with ten thousand *Gesatæ*, resolved to go forth, and waste the Regions about *Po*, which the Consulls understanding, so divided their Forces, that *Cn. Cornelius* might

Plutarch with part of the Army prosecute the siege, while *Marcellus* with two thirds of the Horse, and a choice company of light armed men, went about to succour and defend their Associates. Having chosen the lightest and nimblest, not above six hundred, with these and his Horse he marched day and night toward the Enemy, whom having overtaken at *Clastidium*, he presently encountred before he could refresh his men, not of his own good will, but forced by the fury of

Polyb. the *Gesatæ*, who being superiour in number, and arrogating to themselves the mastery in horse-

Plutarch. manship, hearing the Consull had brought but few foot along with him, left off their siege of *Clastidium*, and forthwith spurr'd on to crush him. *Marcellus*, having drawn out his battell at length, that he might not be encompassed by the multitude of his Enemies, marched forward to meet them. Their bodyes were now not far asunder, when the Consull intending to begin the Charge, his Horse affrighted with the clamour and shouts of the Gaules, started aside and carried him back. The Consull fearing least this accident being esteemed an ill Omen,

Frontinus Stratagem 4 5. Plutarch should daunt the courage of his men, as his horse wheeled about he adored the Sun, as if he had turned about his Horse for the same purpose; according to the antient custom, men using to turn themselves about when they worshipped the Gods: 'Tis reported, that before the first onset, he vowed *to Jupiter Feretrius the fairest of the Enemies Armes*; And presently espying *Britomarus* in the head of his Troopes, his armour glistering with Gold and Silver, and other colours, he judged these to be the Armes which he had vowed. The King also, having seen the Roman Generall, advanced far before his men, and by voice and gesture challenged him to Combate; *M. Marcellus* accepted, and immediately having run him through the brest-

Orosius. 4.13. Plutarch. plate, wounded him with the speare, and with the force of his horses *Careere* tumbling him to the ground, reiterating his strokes he slew him in the place, whereupon leaping off his horse, and holding the armes in his hands, he lift up his eyes to heaven, saying, *Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the deeds of Valiant Commanders in battell ! Behold, I the third Roman, as thy selfe canst witness, a Generall having slain a Generall of the Enemies, doe consecrate the Royall spoyls unto thee: Doe thou suffer our affaires prosperously to succeed even to the issue of the Wars.* *Marcellus* taking horse again, they entred battell with all might and main, the Romans fighting

Val. Maximus 3.2.5. Zonaras Polyb. 52.34. Plutarch Polyb. Orosius 4.13 Plutarch. most courageously; the Consull's boldness and good Fortune having filled them no less with Valour for the Encounter, then with hopes of Victory. Wherefore neither the Gallick horse nor yet the Foot which came to their reliefe could endure the brunt; so that a few men, which is rarely seen, carried away the Victory from a numerous Army. The spoils being gathered up, the Consull returned to his Colleague, who having taken *Acerræ* where he found great store of

Eutropius b. 3. Zonaras Orosius Zonaras Livie. Epit. 20 Capit. Mar. Corne, being now about *Mediolanum*, had much adoe to defend himselfe from the Enemy, for while he was busie in the siege of their strongest and most populous City, the Metropolis of *Insubria*, they had as it were round besieged him with great multitudes: But *Marcellus* his approach quickly alterred the *Scene*. For the *Gesatæ* being informed of their Kings death, went away, and *Mediolanum* being by them forsaken, was not able to defend it selfe. So that many of the *Insubrian* forces being slain, *Mediolanum*, and after that *Comum* taken, the other Cities together with the whole Nation submitted themselves to the Romans, being fined in a summe of money, and part of their grounds, having otherwise good Conditions of Peace. *M. Marcellus* being returned home, made a most illustrious triumph over the Insubrian Gaules, and the Germans on the Calends of *March*. This is the first mention of the Germans in the Roman History, who being hired, came from the Nations beyond the *Rhene*, under the conduct of *Virdomarus* their Generall. These and the Gallick Captives, men of vast stature of body, with other rich

Troguet 4 10 Plutarch. Mar. c. 8. Virg. Æni. 6. 860. Florus 2.4.5 Plutarch Livie 1.10. 9. Plutarch. spoiles were led before the Triumphant Chariot. The Consull followed, with the rarest spectacle, carrying the armes of the slain General to *Jupiter Feretrius*; after him marched his souldiers harnessed with glittering Armes, making shouts, and Military Acclamations. In this order being come to the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, *M. Marcellus* descending from his Chariot, dedicated his Royall spoils to *Jupiter*, being the third after *Romulus* and *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who had done so, and after him no man ever did the like. The people of *Rome* beheld these Armes with the greater pleasure, in that the Enemies were said to have vowed the Roman Armes to *Vulcan*. So great was the Joy of this Victory, that the Romans out of the spoiles, sent a

Florus Plut. Marc. 8.22 Golden Cup to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, and of the Gallick Armes to their Associate Cities round about.

about. To *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, besides some of the spoiles, they sent the price of that Corn he had accommodated them with during the Gallick War. After this a new enemy arose, *Liv.24.21.9.* the *Istrians* who infested the Seas with Piracy, and had taken some of the *Roman* Cornships. A- *Diodor.25.* gainst these both the Consuls were sent, *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Minucius Rufus*, who brought into *Orosius 4.13* subjection many people either by force or composition. Nevertheless I do not find that these *Eutropius 3* Consuls Triumphed; perhaps because their Victory cost so much *Roman* blood. This year a- 532. rose a Starre in *Spain* destructive to many Cities and Nations; to wit, *Hannibal* the successor *Zonaras* of *Hasdrubal*, of whose beginnings and proceedings ye will shortly read more from a greater *Orosius* pen.

In the mean time the new Consuls *L. Veturius*, and *C. Lutatius* marched to the Alpes with their 533 Army, but making more use of Treatyes then Armes, they joyned many of those people with their own good liking to the Roman societie. At this time the Illyrian War was renew'd, by *Zonaras* *Demetrius Pharius* his fault, against whom many complaints were made, in as much as under pre- tence of the Roman friendship, he had vexed and afflicted the neighbour Cities according to his *Livie Epit. 20.* pleasure. For being by the Romans invested with power, because he had revolted from *Teuta*, *Zonaras* and having the *Tuition* of *K. Pinnens* whose mother *Triteuta* he had married, he behaved him- *Appian Illyr.* selfe like a King, and grew very heavy and intolerable both to the people of the Country, and *Dio apud Val.* to Neighbouring Regions. He endeavoured likewise to bring under his own Dominion, *Justinius* the people of *Illyricum*, the friends and associates of the Romans, and moreover contrary to 29.2.1. the league, he sailed beyond *Lissus* with fifty Armed Vessel, to the Ilands *Cycladæ*, some of *Polibius 3. 16.* them he plundered, from others he exacted money, and had now drawn into his party, as ma- *Polybius 4. 26.* ny Illrians as since the late War bore a grudg to the Romans, and forced the *Atintanes* to his *Appian* side. Neither did he any whit fear the Romans, who being involved in a Gallick War, and *Polybius 3. 16.* fearing a *Punick* one, he thought had neither strength nor Liesure enough to revenge the Injuries of their associates. And he promised himself any favour from *Philip* Kings of *Macedon*, whom he had assisted in the *Cleomenian* War, being General of the Illyrick Auxiliaries: A War was therefore decreed against him, and preparations made. In the mean time *L. Aimilius* and *C. Flaminus* being Censours made the three and fourtieth Lustration, there were numbred *Livie 23.22.2.* two hundred and seventy thousand, two hundred and thirty Citizens. A promiscuous multitude *Livie Epit. 20* of Libertines being dispersed amongst the Tribes, had hitherto made great confusion; in imitation therefore of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the Censours reduced them into four Tribes, the *Esquiline*, *Livie 9.46.14.* *Palatine*, *Suburrane*; and the *Colline*. *C. Flaminius* in the same Censourship fenced in the *Livie Epit.* high way to *Ariminum*, and built a shew-place, both called by his name; The *Flaminian* shew *Cassiodorus* place, and the *Fluminian* way. The same Censors committed *Matilia*, of the Dyers trade, *Festus Voce* to the judgment of the people; not thinking it to be beneath the dignity of so high a Magi- *Circus Flam.* stracy to enquire into petit things. About the same time the *Illirian* rebellion caused the Se- *Pliny.35.17.* nate to give the charge of that province to *M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator*, and *M. Aimilius*, 534 *M. F. Paullus* the Consuls. *Demetrius* on the other side, was not slack in preparing himself *Polybius 3. 18.* for the War, having sent a strong Garrison to *Dimalus*, and providing all necessaries for the sustaining of a long siege. In some places he gave order for the slaughter of the prime men, whose fidelity he mistrusted, and committed the Government to his own creatures. Out of the whole Kingdome he gathered a choice strength of six thousand men, whom he kept with himself in Garrison at *Pharos*.

In the mean time *L. Paulus* the Consul setting forth in the beginning of the spring, sailed o- *Polybius 3. 16.* ver into *Illiricum*, and understanding that the enemy put great hopes in the strength of *Dimalus*, *Polybius 3.18.* which they thought impregnable; he rightly judged that it would strike much terror into them, in case he should make himself Master of it: Assaulting it therefore with very much courage and cheerfulness, he took it by storm in seven dayes time. Neither was the Consul deceived in his project, for the news hereof being spread into the neighbour Regions, messengers came flocking from every City, offering up themselves, and all their goods into the hands of the Romans. The Consul having received them into protection, failed to the Iland of *Pharos*, where *Demetrius* kept his Court. But understanding that it was well manned with a Garrison of stout Souldiers, furnished with provision of all sorts; strong, both by scituation, and also with artificial works, and guarded with the presence of the Tyrant himself; the Consul unwilling to begin a tedious siege, contrived a stratagem of great use to the speedy effecting of Victory.

For sending over the greater part of his Army in the night time, with order to cover themselves in woody Tracts; Himself app ears in open daty with twenty ships making towards the Haven, whereby he drew out the *Pharians*, among whome was *Demetrius* himself, to hinder his landing. Upon the first engagement it hapned, as is usual, that many more by degrees running to the succour of their friends, the City was left almost naked of Souldiers. In the mean time those Romans who had landed in the night time, taking their journey through covert places, possessed an hill even in the midst between the City and the Haven; thereby rendring it impossible for those who were come out of the Town to return safe back.

Demetrius observing what was done, tooke as good Counsel as in such a dangerous case could be; for declining the present skirmish, and calling his souldiers together, *Valiant men*, saith he, *it appeares that our courage is formidable to the enemie*; for, betaking themselves to stratagems, they declare little trust in their force of armes. They have made use of the night season to creep into this Iland, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they shall possesse no more, then what they can cover with their bodys having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of *Pharos*, and young men of *Illyricum*, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and make the Romans know, 'twas neither their valour nor our cowardize, which gave them occasion once to Triumph at *Rome* over the Illyrians. It was not *Fulvius* or *Postumius* with all their Counsel and strength, but *Teuta* which conquered *Illyrium* by her rashness and impotence of affections. And, to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been so easie, but that *Teuta* chose to have me rather her enemie then her Protector. But because I firmly trust to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I shall say no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye see the necessity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your selves, and your Citie unless by your valour ye repel it. Let us on then and with happy fortune charge these men who are newly crept out of their hiding places: We shall do well enough with those who are landing: if we once overcome these, the others will flie to their ships in greater *hast then now they leave them:*

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge those who were possessed of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themselves sustained his charge, till they, who in the meane time had landed, coming upon his Reare utterly routed his whole body with great slaughter. Some few by slight escaped to the Town, others by blind paths slipt away. *Demetrius* who in certaine by-places had boates ready prepared for all adventures, getting aboard one of them fled to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, by whom being entertained, he did by flattery, and Tyrannical advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likwise was authour unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this fight *Pharos* was taken; and by the Consul's Command plunder'd and demolished. The Illyrian affaires being afterward settled to his own liking, the Consul now at the end of Summer returned to *Rome* to obtaine his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewise chosen to follow *Polibius*, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finishing this War to both the Consuls, who having summoned *Demetrius* to appeare before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Iland of *Issa* by the same arts as I have related, and then taking *Pharos* by Treachery expulsed him out of the Dominions. Concerning whose end likewise they differ from *Polybius*, who lived neerer these times and these places; but those things as being after this time I shall passe by. But the Romans, for King *Pinneus* his sake, whose years declar'd him innocent of these designes, did spare the Illyrians, and renewed the league with him, with addition of some Articles. *L. Aimilius* made a most glorious Triumph over these people, and I find also that *M. Livius* Triumphed for this War, but most writers mention it not; 'tis likely, because the performances of *L. Paulus*, being the more eminent, did obscure the glory of his Colleague.

Polyb. 4. 66

Polyb. apud Valesium

Polyb. 3. 19
Appian Illyr.
Livie Epit. 20
Polybius

Zonaras.
Dio. apud Valesium.
Zonaras.
Appian

Polyb. 4. 66
Author de viris Illus. c. 50

More notable a while after was the Judgment and condemnation of the same *M. Livius*. He and *L. Paulus* being out of Envy accused, That they had not equally distributed the spoils among the souldiers, but had converted many things to other uses, did undergoe the sentence of the people. *L. Paulus* hardly escaped, *M. Livius* was condemned by all the Tribes except only the *Mecian*, Which disgrace and indignity he took so heavily, that departing the Citie, he avoyded all meetings, till the Commonwealth's occasions recalled him to his former course of life. But these things hapened in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. But in the same year when *M. Livius* and *Paulus* were Consuls, one *Archagathus* the son of *Lysanias* came out of *Peloponnesus* to *Rome*, who professing Physick was made free of the Citie, endowed with all the priviledges of a Roman, and had a shop bought for him at the Publick charge in the Acilian street. A thing not so much worthy taking notice of, but that then first was the name of the Medicinal faculty heard of and known at *Rome*; they having to this time preserved their healths by temperance and remedies not bought. In the same Consuls time Colonies were deduced to *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the Gallick Territories; Being none of the least causes of anger which moved the Boians and Insubrians to incline to *Hannibal*, who, now assaulting *Saguntum* with all might, did by the ruines thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But these and other commotions, which in great number, and with no lesse Terrour and violence presently assailed the Romans, will the better be understood by relating foregoing Circumstances.

Justin. 29. 2
Frontin. Stratagem. 4. 1.
Livie 22. 35. 2
Livie 27. 36. 2

Plinie 29 1

Liv. Epit. 20
Livie 21. 25. 2

A Cata-

A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

Ælianus
Agellius.
Ammianus Marcellinus.
L. Ampelius.
Appianus & ejus Excerpta à Fulvio Ursino & Henrico Valesio edita.
Aristoteles.
Athenæus.
Author de Viris Illustribus.
Augustinus.
Berneggerus.
Bongarsius.
Capitolina Marmora.
Casaubonus.
Cassiodorus.
Cato.
Censorinus.
Cicero.
Claudianus.
Cluverius.
Cornelius Nepos.
Curtius.
Dio & ejus Excerpta.
Diodori Excerpta.
Dionysii Excerpta.
Dionysius Periegetes.
Ennius.
Etymologici Author.
Eusebius.
Eustathius.
Eutropius.
Fasti Capitolini.
Fazellius.
Festus.
Florus.
Frontinus.
Gotefridus Viterbiensis.
Herodotus.
Hieronymus.
Horatius.
Joannes Antiochenus.
Joannes Sarisburiensis.
Julius Higginus.
Julius obsequens.
Jus Justinianeum.
Justinus.
Livius & ejus Epitome.
Lucanus.
Lycus.
Macrobius.
Marianus Scotus.
Martianus Capella.
Matthiolus.
Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή.
Orosius.
Otto Frisingensis.
Ovidius.
Panvinius.
Paulus Diaconus.
Pausanias.
Pighius.
L. Piso.
Plinius.
Plutarchus.
Polyænus.
Polybius & ejus Excerpta.
Pomponius Mela.
Ptolomeus.
Quintilianus.
Sextus Ruffus.
Sallustius.
Seneca.
Servius.
Sigonius.
Silius.
Sinnius Capito.
Solinus.
Strabo.
Suetonius.
Suidas.
Ser. Sulpicius.
Tabulæ Veteres.
Tubero.
Tuditanus
Valerius Antias.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vegetius
Velleius.
Virgilius.
Zonaras.

FINIS.